HARYANA SAHITYA AKADEMI
JOURNAL OF INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA
COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Editor
O. P. BHARADWAJ

Vol. II, Nos. 1-2
Spring 1987

HARYANA SAHITYA AKADEMI
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CHANDIGARH
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Journal of Indological Studies

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Publisher

JAI NARAIN KAUSHIK
Director, Haryana Sahitya Akademi, Chandigarh

Subscription:
Inland Rs. 60
Foreign $15
FORM IV
(See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication
   Haryana Sahitya Akademi,
   1563, Sector 18-D, Chandigarh-160018.

2. Periodicity of its Publication
   Yearly

3. Printer's Name
   Jai Narain Kaushik
   Nationality
   Indian
   Address
   Director, Haryana Sahitya Akademi,
   1563, Sector 18-D, Chandigarh-160018.

4. Publisher's Name
   Jai Narain Kaushik
   Nationality
   Indian
   Address
   Director, Haryana Sahitya Akademi,
   1563, Sector 18-D, Chandigarh-160018.

5. Editor's Name
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   Nationality
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   Address
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   Institute of Sanskrit &
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   Kurukshetra-132119.

6. Names and Addresses of
   individuals who own the
   newspaper and partners of
   shareholders holding more
   than one percent of the
   total capital.
   Haryana Sahitya Akademi,
   1563, Sector 18-D, Chandigarh-160018.

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IN MEMORIAM

GOPIKAMOHAN BHATTACHARYA
1930-1986

He would have joined us on the 7th July, 1986 on the reopening of the University after completing his term as Visiting Professor at Vienna University but for its reluctant extension by the K.U. authorities.

It was not to be.

For us at the University and for the Sanskrit World in general it proved a very unlucky day. When he was struggling to recover from a massive heart attack fate cruelly snatched him from his family, friends and admirers, cutting short what were going to be the most productive years of his dedicated life.

Gopikamohan was a perfect gentleman and a gifted scholar, possessing many endearing qualities for which he will always be remembered.

He was a sincere friend, devoted teacher, faithful public servant, and an understanding husband, concerned all the time more about the health of his ailing wife Smt. Shiwani Bhattacharya than his own. To him work was worship and duty dearer than life. He would not hurt a fly. Being driven to a view adversely affecting anyone was worse than self-torture. On such occasions his anguish would find expression in an increased intake of nicotine. I had seen him worrying over possibility of harm to a defaulting colleague in a situation where others would not give it a second thought. He exuded warmth of affection which was matched by the hospitality of a kind and considerate life-companion.

To such a person how could the Goddess of Learning be miserly?

Throughout his academic career distinction followed him like a slave. But long before he entered college Gopikamohan had to overcome a tragic handicap. Born at village Joynagar Mazilpur in district 24 Parganas of West Bengal on the 1st of September, 1930 he was deprived of the parental love and protection of his father when he was hardly 6 months old. Love for Sanskrit was a legacy of his family
tradition and it earned him his first honour when he won the Ganga-
manj Devi Medal for securing highest marks in B.A. Hons. in Sanskrit
with specialisation in Nyāya Vaiśeṣika at Calcutta in 1949. Two years
later he did his M.A. in Sanskrit with a first class and second position
in the University bagging the Golak Ghosh Gold Medal and an addi-
tional Rani Ram Rakhī Gold Medal for his dissertation on Sāmānyā-
vāda in Nyāya. Thereafter having earned a D. Phil. on his thesis
entitled "Theism in Nyāya Philosophy" for researches done under the
noted scholars Prof. Satkari Mukherji and Dr. Gauri Nath Shastri
he joined as a Lecturer at the Gobardanga College near Calcutta
shifting in 1955 to the Post Graduate Sanskrit Deptt. of Jadavpur
University. An Austrian Govt. Scholarship took him to the University
of Vienna where he carried on his researches in Navya Nyāya under the
celebrated savant Prof. Erich Frauwallner and won another D. Phil on
Raghunath Shiromani's Dīdhīti before returning to Jadavpur with a
promotion to the post of Reader.

Prof. Gopikamohan's association with the Kurukshetra University
began in October, 1970 when, on return from foreign assignment as
Visiting Professor at the East Asian Studies Deptt. of the Toronto
University, he was appointed as Professor of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit.
Once in position he identified himself with the Deptt. and nurtured it
like his own child which in a way it did become.

During the years many honours came his way. He attended many
conferences including the German Indological Conference at the Heidel-
berg University in 1965, Conferences on Indian Philosophy at the John
Hopkins University, Baltimore in 1970 and Toronto University in 1974,
the World Sanskrit Conference at Delhi in 1972 and Varanasi in 1981,
and the International Conference on Comparative Religion at Athens
in 1984 and presided over the Buddhism Section of the International
Conference on Buddhist Philosophy at Oxford in 1982 and the Inter-
national Conference of Human Sciences in Asia and Africa at Kyoto
Earlier he had been elected Local Secretary of the All India Oriental
Conference Session XXVII at Kurukshetra in 1974 and presided over
the Indian Philosophy section of the A.I.O.C. at its Dharwar (1976) and

The confidence and respect that he inspired in the minds of his
colleagues often involved him in the University administration in one
capacity or the other and kept him constantly busy. Yet he produced
a number of articles and works of high standard. His dissertation on

Additionally he edited Prācī Jyoti (the prestigious Digest of Indological Studies) being published by the Kurukshetra University, guided many research scholars for their doctorate and took active interest in the affairs of the Asiatic Society Calcutta as its life member and of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad Calcutta as its Secretary for four years.

He presented a rare combination of traditional Sanskrit scholarship and Western methodology. It was a treat to hear him address a gathering in sweet and chaste Sanskrit. To him goes the credit for the U.G.C. sanction to the creation of the Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies. Having been associated with the move from its initial stages, I know how assiduously he worked for it. And when his efforts bore fruit he left for Vienna even before the inauguration. In the event he was not destined to see the Institute which is now a living monument to his hallowed memory.

While leaving for Vienna he presented me with a set of cassettes of Western classical music. We hoped to work together on his return. After all he was then going abroad only for one term.

But the parting became unusually sad and tearful. Was it a premonition? Did the subconscious fear the lurking finally about it?

On reaching Vienna he wrote to me on the 11th of October, 1985:

"My wife is keeping well. We shall miss both of you much. You came and we left. It would have been nice if I could stay for a few months and then start for Vienna. But everything was fixed here and I could not decide otherwise. But I am sure your presence will help a lot for the good of the University. My only request is that you should take care of your health first. Hope everything there is going on
well. I am sorry, I could not be of any help to you when you came. Anyway after 9 months we again meet. My term here is upto June, 30. So, we shall be back in the first week of July.”

And again on the 4th of March, 1986 after the fateful extension of his leave:

“To-day I have received the telegram saying that my leave upto the end of the Summer Vacation 1987 has been sanctioned. It has come from the Registrar’s office. I have no words to thank you and express my gratitude to you for getting this done….. …

I am relieved of tension now. The Director is also happy. Now I can finish my project here.

I won’t thank you but shall only pray for your health…..

I know how much favour you have done me in convincing the Vice Chancellor and getting the things done. I would be ever grateful to you. You have saved me from an embarassing situation here.”

While worrying over others’ health he had been neglecting his own.

Alas! his project, his leave, everything—his very life—was abruptly cut short with one fell blow.

Like the mali plucking the best of flowers for a bouquet Death often picks the finest gems of humanity.

On the 10th of July, 1986 came the telegram bearing the funereal tidings. Some were struck dumb and mourned silently, some wept openly. All were left to treasure his memory for the rest of their lives.

With a heavy heart I requested one of Gopikamohan’s affectionate friends to write an obituary for our Journal. He expressed his helplessness saying that even if he persuaded himself to make an attempt he would be only shedding tears instead of putting words on paper.

How true he was!

O.P. Bharadwaj
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SOME NON-VEDIC RITUALS IN THE VEDIC TRADITION

By

SINDHU S. DANGE

The Vedic texts indicate that the Asuras, Rākṣasas and others of such category were antagonist to the Vedic people, and were a constant source of trouble and competition for them. There are also traces of assimilation of these other people into the Vedic fold, as is clear from the examples of the Sarpas etc, who figure in the Pārīplava. This close contact can hardly be said to keep the Vedic ritual pure in the real sense of the word. The Asuras, especially, are often mentioned, along with the Devas (the Vedic word—symbol for the Vedic priests), as having their own speciality in ritual. This conflict, and competition, goes back to the very Ṛgveda (RV), where Indra is said to be destroying the Asuras;¹ and the Brāhmaṇa-texts are replete with the conflict. The problem of the identity of the Asuras is tackled by many scholars; and, it is not necessary to probe the matter further at this juncture.² But, there should be no doubt that the Asuras were the enemies of the “gods”; and the latter are said to have vanquished the former, though the Brāhmaṇa texts tell us that they were “brothers”, being born of Prajāpati, their common father.³ This is clear from the fact that the Asuras are said to be having the bhrātrya-sāpatna relationship with the gods.

What has been said would indicate that these were two separate clans. As such, it would be interesting to see if we could get some details regarding the rituals of these people. These details are reflected in the accounts from the Brāhmaṇa-texts, which get mixed up with the artha-vādās, the glorificatory portions. However, to take every such account as indicative of a socio-cultural or historical fact might lead one to amusing results.⁴ Yet, close scrutiny could help differentiate social facts from the artha-vāda, though the latter is used to show the superiority of the Vedic ritual.⁵ The point will be clear from a few instances that we take here as example.

As the first example we take up the case of the Rauhīṇa. According to an account from the Śat. Br. (11.1.2.13-17), the gods and the Asuras competed for supremacy. The Asuras thought of constructing a fire-altar, named Rauhīṇa; and they actually started the work, with the idea of
ascending the heavenly world. Indra thought that if the Asuras would construct the Rauhiṇa, they would go to heaven and would overpower the gods. Hence, he took the guise of a brāhmana, and went to the Asuras with a brick of his own, requesting them to lay it on the rising fire-altar that they were constructing. The Asuras agreed, and Indra placed his brick there on the layer of the altar. The altar went on rising with the bricks being placed on into subsequent layers. As the altar was about to get completed, Indra pulled out the brick placed by him; and the whole structure came tumbling down. Indra created several bolts from the bricks that fell hither-skelter, and cut the necks of the Asuras. The gods, who saw this spectacle, exclaimed with surprise, "O, what a wonder! We have killed so many enemies." Because, it is said, the brick created the wonder, it got the name citrā. Hence, as a further step in arthavāda, it is enjoined that a person who is a kṣatriya and wants to perform a sacrifice, should establish his fire on the constellation called citrā. This would give him the power to kill his enemies.  

Apart from the arthavāda of extolling the constellation Citrā, the fact that comes to the surface is that the "rising" (rauhiṇa) fire-altar was a speciality of the Asuras. Before we study the point in some detail, it would be better to set aside the opinion that fire-worship itself was adopted by the Vedic people ("Devas") from the Asuras. On the very face of it, this opinion has to be set aside, as it presupposes that there was no fire-worship anywhere apart from the people known as Asuras. It is very well known that fire-worship, like the worship of the sun, obtains in regions far and wide. The point in question is the brick in the altar. Now, on the basis of pottery-techniques disclosed by archaeological surveys of India Converse suggests that the use of bricks in altars like the Agnicayana ("laying down the fire-altar") was adapted by the Vedic priests from the indigenous culture, by which he means the Harappans. The reasons put forth are: (1) The Harappans used millions of “fired” bricks; but, the Rgveda does not even refer to bricks—it has no word for brick; and (2) The Agnicayana is the only rite which used bricks, the other Vedic altars being of packed earth. This view is refuted by Naama Drury, with the support of a passage from the Sat Br. (VI.2.1 10) which brings out the difference between the iṣṭakā-s and the anīṣṭakā-s. The iṣṭakā-s are those that are seen by one after offering (iṣṭā) an animal thus getting associated with the animal sacrifice; and anīṣṭakā-s are those which have no such connection. From this distinction Drury surmises that the baked bricks were used only at the Agnicayana; or, there was a distinction between the baked bricks themselves, those called iṣṭakā-s being used or seen after an animal sacrifice. What the ordinary ones were called is a moot
point, which may go both ways. According to Drury there is much Vedic content in the Agnicayana which could not prove its origination from a non-Vedic society.\textsuperscript{10} In that case, the brick said to have been taken by Indra need not be a speciality of the Asuras. The real point is rather different.

Apart from the question whether the Agnicayana was, or was not of the Vedic origin, the point to be noted is that the fire-altars made by the Vedic Aryans were not much above the ground. The mekhalā of the later period also was not for making the altar high; it was only for decoration, as also to make the altar resemble a woman. In all cases, the altar showed a pit in the earth, or it was a surface to surface structure in the main. But, here we have the Rauhiṇa going high up, as the very name and the account show. The Rauhiṇa of the Asuras recalls to memory the tower of Babel, that went high up, but was got tumbled when the apprehensive gods confused the language of the labourers, with the result that none could understand other's instructions; and the tower remained incomplete. In connection with the Rauhiṇa, we may compare a fire-altar from about the same region. This is the Achaemenian fire-altar, thought to have been built about the 6th century B.C. It was excavated near Cyrus's capital of Pasargadæ. In a photograph of this fire-altar actual steps are seen to reach the top which appears to be quite high.\textsuperscript{11} Could the fire-altar excavated at Pasargadæ be a later modification of the Rauhiṇa? In any case, in the face of the Vedic account and later period (which is very near the Brāhmaṇa period) raised altar noted above, one could strongly say that the Rauhiṇa was a definite ritual-artifice of the Asuras.

With this, we now go back to the Rgveda, which mentions Rauhiṇa twice. At both the places, Sāyaṇa (and almost all translators) understands the word to mean an Asura, and Yāska takes it to be the cloud.\textsuperscript{12} At one of the places (II.12.12), Rauhiṇa is said to be ascending the sky (dyām ā rohantum), much like the case in the account from the Śat. Br. A marked difference between Rauhiṇa, on the one hand, and other Asuras on the other is that the latter do not appear as names of objects, as is the case with Rauhiṇa. Some of the mythological Asuras figure in the context of the Vedic ritual, but only symbolically; they are presented in the form of some objects, which in many cases, stand for some part of the body of the so-called Asura. Thus, the Somavat is said to be the head of Vṛtra (Śat. Br. V.5.1.3; also Mait. Sam. IV.7.4) or a round piece of lead is tossed away as the head of Namuci in one rite associated with the Rājasūya.\textsuperscript{13} On the other hand, Rauhiṇa appears as the name of the fire-altar of the Asuras. The case does not appear to be of an imaginary demon turning into a fire-altar in the Brāhmaṇa
period; on the contrary, there is a point for suspicion whether the Rgveda itself did not present an Asura-device as a formidable “demon” in its mythopoetic style! In Rauhina, then, we certainly see the Asura-altar—a raised one as against the Vedic one—that was practically close to the earth.

Another instance of a non-Vedic glimpse is in the method of the pressing of Soma and in the ritual of Soma. The Ai. Br. (VI.1) mentions a sacrificial session of the gods; and it is said that they could not destroy the evil, or the sinful, with the result that their sacrifice remained unsuccessful. There came a seer from the Sarpa clan, named Arbuda Kādraveya (=“the son of Kadrī”), who pointed out to them that their ritual was lacking in a detail that could destroy the evil. This detail was the invocation of the pressing-stones at the mid-day pressing. This he did; and the juice of Soma thus obtained invigorated the gods. But, the gods had a suspicion. They said the Sarpa-seer looked at Soma, their lord, and thus putrefied him. They wrapped his eyes with his head-wear. But, they imitated the scene in the tradition; and from that time onwards, they started wrapping their own eyes with the head-wear while invoking the pressing stones. The gods contemplated that the Sarpa-seer was invoking Soma with his own chants; so, they mixed his chants with their ṛc-s. Sāyaṇa glosses that the gods mixed the chants of the Sarpa-seer with the ṛc-s to remove the poison in the chants of the Sarpa-seer.14 The fact seems to be that in addition to the invocation of the pressing stones, which is a speciality of the Sarpa-seers, the special chant and (or, at) the mid-day pressing at the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, where the account is ushered in15 was a loan from the Sarpa clan. The manner in which the Sarpa-seer is brought in supports this suggestion. Otherwise, had the speciality been indigenous to the Vedic tradition, one would not expect the Sarpa, nor the remarks about the putrification feared to be caused by him. The Rgveda has already the hymns by the seers of the Sarpa clan (X.76; 94, 175), which appears to have influenced the Vedic ritualists in the later phase of the Rgvedic period itself, especially in the method of pressing Soma with the pressing stones.16 The passage from the Brāhmaṇa noted above indicates not only the loan of the methodical ritual but also of the chants, not unmixed with a sense of rivalry.

The ritual of Soma itself has traces of loan. Not only is Soma said to be coming from a very far off place, but the rite of the purchase of Soma hints that it was borrowed from a non-Vedic (or non-Aryan) clan. The same germ of rivalry is reflected when Soma is said to be ritually purchased from a Śūdra or from a person of a lower status, called Kautsa who was, then, forced out (Sat. Br. III.3.3.7; Tait. Sam. I.2.7).
We, now, turn to the account of Purūravas, who is already a figure in the Rgveda, along with Urvasī (X.95). At another place in the Rgveda Purūravas is said to be su-krta, i.e. “the performer of a ritual” (I.31.4). Both these references to him occur in the later part of the Rgveda, a point to be noted. With this, it may also be noted that the references to the Sarpa-seers—Arbuda Kādraveya and Jaratkarna (X.94; and X.76)—also occur in the later books of the Rgveda (X.94 occurring just before the hymn of Purūravas. may be taken as accidental). Sat. Br. (XI 5.1.1-17) which gives the legend in detail points out that Purūravas learnt a new method of sacrifice from the Gandharvas. At first, they give him fire in a fire-pan for the sake of sacrifice. But, on the way that fire is lost; but the Gandharvas say that what was the fire is now an Aśvattha tree, and what was the pan is now the Śamī tree. To gain the fire back the Gandharvas suggest two methods: (i) cooking of a mess of rice, sufficient for four persons; then taking each time three faggots from the Aśvattha tree, anointing them with ghee and placing them on the (ordinary) fire with verses having the words somit and gṛhta (lb. 14). The idea seems to be that the ordinary fire itself gains the status of the fire that was lost. The fire given earlier was, obviously, the household fire of the Gandharvas, who, like all tribes including the Vedic Aryan, constantly maintained it for practical purposes. The difference seems to be (i) only in the ritual and the faggots; and (ii) making the upper arañi of the Aśvaatha and the lower one of the Śamī wood (lb. 15). The Gandharvas say that both these methods are recondite (parokṣam iva vā etar); and they instruct him in the third method, in which both the arañi-s are prepared from the wood of the Aśvattha tree. The fire that would result from these two arañi-s of the same wood (Aśvattha) is said to be the very old one that had been lost! Here we have a clear evolution of the kindling method, and it is indicated that the final method was learnt by Purūravas from the Gandharvas. Even so, the earlier method of churning fire from the lower arañi made of Śamī continued, in spite of the great status that Purūravas gained in the Vedic ritual tradition, which identified him and Urvasī with the upper and the lower arañi.

Now, even with the importance of Purūravas in the Vedic ritual tradition there is reason to believe that he was not entirely an authority, nor was he respected totally. The Purānic tradition says, on the one hand, that he introduced three fires in the place of the original one fire. It should be noted that the Rgveda does not mention three fires, as they are known later. The word gārhapsitya occurs thrice (RV I.15.12; X.95.27 and 36); but it does not indicate the ritual-fire of that name. RV states (II.4.2) that the Bhrgus established the earthly fire for the benefit of men, which itself was good for ritual. On the other hand, certain Purānas say that Purūravas was beaten by the Brahmans of the Naimiṣa
region. If this detail cannot, and should not, be discarded as being merely from the Purāṇas, the question that stares us in the face is, who was Pururavas in the origin? Himself of the tribe of the Gandharvas? Probably, Yes! In that case, the tribe influenced the Vedic ritual immensely, itself going into oblivion, merging into the mist of myths. This would show, that the tradition remained Vedic, but the tribes that loaned to it got mythical. But, this is exactly the proven characteristic of the Vedic priestly class, which continued even in later times. The Rauhina, however, was never borrowed, even with the modifications of the old altar.

REFERENCES

3. Thus ‘देवावधानंद्रारीविभेदया प्राणवताय’ is an oft-mentioned expression in the Brāhmaṇa-texts; for their rivalry cf. the expressions प्रस्तर्पंते, परशुचिरे, etc.
4. Sat. Br. I.6.1.2-4 refers to the importance of the seasons; in this Shedghe sees that the Devas obtained the knowledge of the seasons “only later, and probably from the Asuras” (op. cit., p. 95); also see her remarks regarding the Audumbara (op. cit.) and Barley (op. cit., loc. cit.).
5. cf. Arthasaṅgraha प्राणवस्यनिति। तत्तत्त्त्वं वा वाक्यमयंस्वाहः।
6. The same account occurs in the Kāoṣa recension of the Śat. Br. Almost a similar account is recorded by Tait. Br.I.2.4-6, where the Asuras are named Kālakaṇjas. It is said that the Asuras who tumbled down became the spiders; and, two of them, who flew up, became the heavenly dogs.
   Kuhn, A. (*Über entwicklungsstufen der mythenbildung*, p. 129) quoted by Eggeling, J. (*SBE*, Vol. XII, Sat. Br., Pt. I, pp. 286-7, fn. 2) compares such Indian myths with those from Homer’s *Odyssey*, xi, pp. 305-325, where Otos and Ephialtes piled Ossa on Olympus, and Pelian on Ossa, in order to fight the immortal gods, and are ultimately destroyed by Apollon. In the Homer-myths mountain appears in the place of altar-bricks.
12. RV I.103.2c; II.12.12; AV XX.128.13.
14. RV I.91.16=IX.31.4; the rc is:
   श्र व्याधवम् संभवे ते निवेदयत: सोम वृषभयम्।
   संवा वाजस्य संघे।
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1-9-1930

7-7-1986
15. Sāyana on Ai. Br. VI at the very outset ढ़ुँढ़नं कलेव्रविवाहायेव प्रावस्तुद्वस्तस्तस्मात्
विषानकत्रियोऽक्ष्य विधायणमुपाख्यायांमहः
16. Soma-pressing with the ulākhala and musala (mortar-pestle). seems to be a later
method, as these two things are mentioned only in one hymn (RV I.28.1-4, 5, 6).
17. Cf. Śākuntala, IV.4 dagñigarbhāḥ samātm iva.
18. Brahmāṇḍa P. II.3.66.19 एकोऽन श्रीमानि पृणमासीदे ऐवंस्ते श्रीनक्लपयति।
19. RV II.4.2 इस्म विषुस्तो श्रावं सच्चे हि तात्वचुर्गुणो विश्वा ३ योः।
एष विषुस्तम्वस्तु भूमा देवानारम्निररतिनिरास्वः॥
21. Dange, Sadashiv, A. says that Purūravas was a neo-ritualist. “Purūravas: A Research
for Identity”, A Corpus of Indian Studies (Gaurinath Shastri Fel. Vol.), Calcutta,
1980, pp. 52-60.
RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND MEDICINE IN THE LATER VEDIC LITERATURE

By

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Introduction

Ancient Indian medicine has been studied several times from the point of view of "History of Science". Such a study is no doubt important in itself. But it is equally important to note that the ancient Indian medicine has many magico-religious aspects. So it deserves to be studied from the point of view of "History of Religions" also. In ancient Indian culture as well as in many other similar cultures many times an inseparable mixture of magic, science and religion is observed. In this paper it is intended to study the magico-religious aspects of medicine as revealed in the later Vedic literature viz. the texts of Atharvaveda, Brāhmaṇas, Kauśika-sūtras, etc. In this connection we shall take into consideration the causes of diseases, ways of curing, the curing and prophylactic substances, medical mythology, significance of place and time in the Vedic medicine and the doctrine of disease and cure of Vedic medicine.

Causes of diseases

(1) Evil beings

In the primitive way of thinking in many parts of the world, evil beings are supposed to be one of the major kinds of causes of diseases. In the Vedic literature also we meet with this idea. Thus in KS X.5 it is said, "The rākṣāsas (evil beings) have attacked him who is diseased (rakṣāṇaḥ-syetaṁ sacante ya ṛmaṁ迦t)". Gandharvas (another kind of evil beings) are notorious for causing dementia to women. Thus from AV IV.37.11 we come to know that a Gandharva takes the form of a dog; another of an ape; another of an all-hairy boy; another becomes pleasant to look at. In this way a Gāndharva fastens up women (gandharvah sacate strīvaṁ). We often meet with an expression meaning "a maiden seized by Gāndharva (kumāri gandharvagṛhitā)" (AB V.29. KB II.9, etc.) In the Kauśā. 26.29 f., magico-religious rites of curing some one suffering from dementia caused by Gāndharvas are prescribed. Thus a medicine-man-priest is asked to offer fragrant—substances besmeared with clarified butter, with two hymns, viz. AV II.2 and VI.111. With what remains after the offering, he anoints him who is possessed by a Gandharva. Similarly an offering of
fragrant things mixed with butter is to be made on the burning coals put in a potsherd which is kept on an indva (= a coil of cloth etc. with the help of which a burden can be carried on the head without letting it fall), made of darbha-grass, which again, is put on the head of the dementiated person. This ceremony is to be performed on a cross-way (Kau. Sū. 26.29 f).

Evil beings are believed to be creating trouble to pregnant women. AV VIII.6 is a hymn specially meant for guarding a pregnant woman from the evil beings. One of these evil beings is described to be of black colour, hairy and tuft-bord (5). These evil beings appear to be residing in the pudenda and buttocks of the pregnant woman (5). They are described as much-licking, flesh-eaters. They sometimes take the form of a brother of the Father (7). They trouble the women while they are sleeping (7f) as well as walking (8). They kill children and therefore a dead child is born (9). They are buck-clothed, ill-smelling and red-mouthed (12). In this same hymn a prayer is also made to the evil beings not to disturb the pregnant women (See AV VIII. 6.5 etc.).

In the Grhyasūtras magico-religious ways of curing are given for the children caught by evil beings. Thus if a child is caught by an evil being called Śva-graha (an evil being in the form of dog), the medicine-man-priest, having devoted himself to the austerities e.g. fasting etc., should cover the child with a net and take it to an assembly-hall, while producing sound of gongs or small bells. Then he should raise a place of gambling in the middle of that hall and sprinkle water thereon. Then he should throw dices there and keep the child on the dices with its mouth upwards. Then the child becomes diseaseless. This ceremony is to be performed in the morning and repeated in the midday and evening (Āpastamba-grhyasūtra VII. 18.1f; cf. Hiranyakesīghryasūtra II. 2.7.1ff; Pāraskaragrhyasūtra I.16.24). In a rite for curing a person caught by the evil beings called Piśācas, the medicine-man-priest makes powder of Pṛśniparṇī (Hemionitis Cordifolia), performs an offering with AV I. 35, pours the remnants of that offering on the powder, utters the same hymn on it and besmears the patient with it from top to bottom (Kau. Sū. 26.26). According to Kau. Sū. 27.5f, in order to cure a person possessed by a Brahmarāksas, a wooden amulet is bound around the neck of the patient. This amulet is, earlier, to be kept in sour milk and honey for three days and on it remains of the offering-material offered with AV II.9 are to be poured and it is to be made sacred with the same hymn. The patient should then consume that sour milk and honey. Then ten priests who have been gratified earlier, should touch the patient, muttering AV II. 9.
(2) Sins

Another cause of diseases is the sins committed by a man. And in order to cure a patient, he must be made free from sins. Thus a medicine-man-priest addresses a person suffering from Kṣetriya-disease (leprosy), “Free from sin (anāgas), I make thee by my powerful formula (brahman)” (AV II. 10.1). It will thus seem that disease and sin are just identical with each other. In the later literature of the Śrauti-type as well as in the classical medicinal literature the sins are very often described to be causes of diseases.

Sometimes diseases are supposed to be caused by worms (krimi). AV II.31 and 32 are known as “Worm-destroying (krimi-nāśana)” hymns. These hymns are used in a magico-religious rite against worms. In AV II.31.1 a medicine-man-priest says that he mashes together the worms. In the next stanza the worms are classified into two classes viz. seen and unseen. Some worms are named as agantar, Sakunās, Avaskavya or Vyadhvara (AV. II. 31.2; 4). The medicine-man-priest, with the help of his magico-religiously potent formula (vacas) tries to draw down (3), grind up (4), smite down the whole generation of the worms (5). In AV II. 32.1 a prayer is made to the sun to smite the worms. In Kau. Sū. 27.14-20 it is prescribed that V II.31 is to be used in a magico-religious rite against red worms. Kau. Sū. 27.21-26 prescribes AV II.32 for being used in a similar rite for killing the worms of cows. It may be pointed out in this context that the worms are considered to be semi-demons and as such are a magico-religious rather than a physical phenomenon.

(3) Black magic

Black magic performed by one’s enemy is also considered to be a cause of disease. A person cursed by one’s enemy may suffer from disease. In Kau. Sū. 29.15-17 a rite is prescribed for curing a person who is suffering from disease because he is cursed. In that rite the medicine-man-priest makes powder of a leaf of Khalatula plant with AV V.15 and 16 and lets the diseased person eat it through Mantha (=stirred flour and water).

In the Vedic literature we sometimes meet with the rites which are to be performed for the sake of creating diseases to one’s enemy. Thus, e.g. AV VII. 90.1ff there is a prayer for destroying someone’s virile power.

Ways of curing

Just as the causes of diseases described in the Vedic literature are significant from the magico-religious point of view, similarly the ways of curing described in the Vedic literature are also significant from the magico-religious point of view.
Sometimes offerings are made to the deities for the sake of curing the patients. Thus in AV III. 11.1 ff there is a mention of offering made to Indra and Agni in order to cure a patient suffering from consumption. According to Kau. Sū. 31.4 an offering should be performed if a patient is caught by evil beings. That offering should be made with AV VI. 34 or VII. 114.2.

Music is supposed to possess many medicinal significances. The sound of music is believed to be apotropic and therefore, by removing the evil beings it cures the patients. In AV XI. 6.14 Sāmans (melodies) are described as redresses (bhesaja-) and are requested to release those who are praying, from diseases. Gods themselves take the help of music for curing themselves. Thus when Prajāpati’s eye was swollen he redressed it with the Śaśūva-sāman (JB III. 102). Similarly when Indra lost his power of hearing, he got it back by means of the Kāṃśavāsa-Sāman (JB III. 163).

Various kinds of magico-religious formulas, prayers, spells etc. are recited in the course of curing ritual. In some of these, gods are requested to cure, while some of these have a magical power which can cure the patients without any divine help. Thus in RV X. 162.1f Agni is propitiated and requested to repel the disease-demon. In AV I. 23.4 however, a medicine-man-priest is confident about the power of the powerful formula being used by him and declares that he can himself cure the patient.

Many times curing substances are consecrated with recitations over them before they are given to the patients. Thus, it is not the substances which cure the patient but the magico-religious power inserted in them. To a person suffering from Wind, Bile, and Phlegm, the medicine-man-priest should give fat, honey, clarified butter or sesame-oil after having consecrated these things with the recitation of the AV I.12 over them (Kau. Sū. 26.1). In order to stop bleeding, he should give mixture of milk and liquid butter to the wounded patient for drinking, after he has consecrated it with the recitation of AV IV.12 over it. He should also besmear the wound with that consecrated mixture (Kau. Sū. 28.6).

Confession is another way of curing. By confessing the sins committed by one, one becomes free from sins and thus from diseases. A speaker of truth i.e. a confessor is expected to be free from diseases in AV IV. 16.6. In the Cāturmāsa-sacrifices which are originally meant to be performed in order to be free from diseases, a confession rite occurs.

One of the interesting ways of curing is transference of disease, from the patient to his enemy etc. In AV VI. 16.6-8 a person caught by
Varuna i.e. suffering from some disease prays to Varuna to free him from his fetters and at the same time also wishes that his enemy should suffer from the same disease. The disease Takman (fever) is requested to go towards a slave woman or a Śūdra-woman of bad behaviour (AV V. 22.6f) or to the countries like Mūjavat or Bālhīka (AV V.22.7g) or the other countries like Gāndhāra, Aūga and Magadha (AV. V.22.14). In order to cure a kind of fever, a bird is bound to a frog which is to be situated under the bed of the diseased. Then the water, which is consecrated with AV VII. 116 and (or) 117, is poured on the patient in such a manner that from him, it falls upon the frog and then the disease is transferred to the frog (Kau. Śū. 32.17).

In addition to these, there are many other magico-religious ways of curing. Thus a patient can be cured when he is touched by a Brāhmaṇa (Kau. Śū. 32.6), when he is besmeared with some power substances (Kau. Śū. 31 ff) etc. All these rituals are accompanied by the sacred recitals. And if the patient is cured the credit goes to such recitals.

Curing and prophylactic substances

The curing and prophylactic substances also are believed to be medicinally useful not by themselves but on account of the recitations and rituals that accompany their use. Thus they are useful not on account of any physical properties, but on account of magico-religious powers in them. Various herbs and herb-products, animal-products like curds, butter, cow-dung and water etc. are supposed to be possessing medicinal powers. They are used in the magico-religious medicine of the later Vedic literature.

The herbs are sometimes deified and praised. The Kuṣṭha plant (Costus speciosus or arabyicus) is described as all-healing (Viṣṭa-bheṣṭaja) (AV XIX. 39.5; 8.9). By praising a herb in this way one tries to make the spirit of that herb pleased and favourable so that the medicinal effects expected from that herb will be realised. Homage is also paid to the herbs (e.g. AV VI.20.2) with the same intention. In AV VIII. 2.15, 17 etc., one praises the herbs and requests them to cure the patient. Amulets made out of woods of various herbs have curing and prophylactic significances because they are supposed to be apotropic. Amulets made out of Varaṇa (Crataeva Roxburghi) or of bamboo or darbha are mentioned (AV X. 3.3, 1.2.4; XIX. 32.1). To the patient suffering from Kṣetriya (hereditary) disease, an amulet made of Arjuna (Terminalia Arjuna) wood is bound. Before binding this amulet the medicine-man-priest pour the remnants of the offering performed with AV II.8.3 on it and consecrates it with the same formula (Kau. Śū. 26.43).
Animals and animal-products have also curative values. Thus Kau. Sū. 32.17 describes a rite in which an effort is made to transfer fever from the patient to a frog. To one who is bitten by a poisonous creature, excrements and flesh of a porcupine are given after they are properly consecrated with AV V.13.11 (Kau. Sū. 29.11 f). Horn of an antelope (cp. AV III.7.1), skin of an antelope (Kau. Sū. 27.29), butter (Kau. Sū. 29.22 f), curds (Kau. Sū. 31.23), milk (Kau. Sū. 32.3) etc. are also used in the medicinal ritual after they are properly consecrated with the sacred texts from the Atharvaveda.

Medicinal mythology: Gods and medicine

In the magico-religious medicine as revealed in the later Vedic literature the role of gods is significant. Many times they are said to be the originators of the medicinal lore. Sometimes they are prayed to cure the patients and offerings are offered to them so that the gods when propitiated, will cure the patients. The gods are, however, of double nature. When offended they can cause diseases also. Moreover, the medicine-man-priest sometimes declares that he can cure the patient without the help of gods, but sometimes he has to take the divine help.

In AV I.6.2 it is said that Soma declared that there are all the medicines in water. Aśvins are many times described as physicians of gods (TS II.3.11.2-3). In AV III.11.1 a medicine-man-priest first says that he can release a patient from a disease, but later requests gods like Indra and Agni to release the patient. Gods are also supposed to be creating diseases. In AV VIII.7.2 a disease is described to have been “sent by gods”.

Some individual gods are specifically concerned with the medicinal activities. Agni is often requested to bestow long life upon the mortals (AV VI.110.2). According to the Baudhāyana grhyasūtra III. 7.1ff an offering of rice is to be offered inter alia to Agni in order that a child may get long life. Agni is well known for his apotropeic powers. Thus in AV I.28.1 it is said, “Here hath come forth, god Agni, demon-slayer, disease-expeller, burning away deceivers, Kimidins”. Varuṇa is particularly known as a double-natured god. When a person goes against his laws, he punishes him by making him suffer from a disease. When, however, a prayer is made to him, Varuṇa cures the patients. The rite named Varuṇaprāgḥāsas is to be performed in the course of Cāturmāsya-sacrifices in order to bring diseaselessness. Aśvins, the Divine physicians, cure both gods as well as men. Indra is also helpful in treating the patients. Thus in AV VI.85.2 the medicine-man-priest says, “We ward off thy (= patient’s) disease with the word of Indra.” In AV VI.138.2 he is requested to make someone impotent (cf. Kau. Sū. 48.32). Thus he is beneficent as well as
maleficient. Rudra's nature is also of the same type. In *AV VI*.90.1 a prayer is made to Rudra and homage is paid to him. In *AV XI*.2.21 he is requested not to create disease among the men as well as animals. Elsewhere he is described as one who possesses one hundred remedies (*AV VI*.44.2). The sun-god is requested to make remedy (*AV VI*. 83.1).

As far as the position of the physicians or medicine-men-priests in the society at the time of later Vedic literature is concerned we may note that they were generally looked down upon. For even in connection with the divine physicians, Aśvins, it is said that they are impure, and unworthy for a sacrifice because—as their profession expects—they wander among all types of people (*TS VI*. 4.9.1-2) and thus mix themselves with the society at large. *TS VI*. 4.9.2 prohibits, for the same reason, the profession of a medicine-man-priest for a Brāhmaṇa (**tasmād brāhmaṇena na bheṣajam kāryam apūto hyeṣo mediho yo bhiṣak**).

**Place and Time**

In the magico-religious medicine of ancient India place and time have their own significance. Evil beings (= causes of disease) are supposed to be powerful at particular places and times. Therefore, one is likely to be possessed by them (i.e. to be diseased) if one happens to be there and then. Places and times have curative significance also. Therefore, a curative rite should be performed at a particular place and at a particular time only. There and then it becomes effective.

The cross-roads are most significant in this respect. They are believed to be a favourite place of evil beings. One who wants to preserve one's health, is advised not to wander on cross roads, particularly during the night time (*Aṣṭāṅgaḥdāya, Sūtra* II.37). On the other hand many curative rites are prescribed to be performed on the cross-roads (cp. *Kau. Sū.* 30.18; 27.7; etc.) Similarly one who desires to preserve health is expected not to wander near a place which is near water, at an odd time. On the other hand the rite to be performed in order to cure a patient of dropsy, is to be performed on a place near water (*Kau. Sū.* 34.1). Similarly a rite to be performed against miscarriage and for obtaining of a male progeny is to be performed on the bank of a river (*Kau. Sū.* 32.29).

Some particular periods in a year are supposed to be causing disease. Thus, the autumn season is specially connected with diseases and death especially of animals. Thus it is said that Rudra kills many animals in the autumn season (*MS I*.20.20). The joints of seasons are also supposed to be a period when diseases occur. The Cāturmāṣya-sacrifices
which are performed at the joints of seasons are, therefore, described as redressing-sacrifices (bhātayayajñyā vā ete yaccaturmasyāni tasmadṛusandhiṣu prayujyante ṛusandhiṣu hi vyādhir jāyate (KB VI. 1; GB II. 1.19).

Some curative rites are prescribed to be performed on a particular day or at a particular time of a day. Thus in an ancillary text of the Atharvaveda viz. Nakṣattrakalpa, it is said in general that the curative rites should be performed on the day on which the moon is associated with the Śatabhiṣaj constellation (10.8). The rite in which water which is consecrated with AV II.8.2, in which the remnants of the offering performed with the same formula are mixed, is to be poured on the head of the patient in order to release him from the Kṣetriya (hereditary) disease, should be performed in the morning (Kau. Śū. 27.39). When a cow is troubled by worms, the rite which is to be performed against the worms should be performed in the morning, at the midday and evening time (Kau. Śū. 27.9).

The doctrine of Vedic medicine

Behind all the medicinal details there are some thoughts at the background and unless we are acquainted with them we cannot be able to understand the significance of those medicinal details. Thus we must try to get fair knowledge of the philosophy or the doctrine of the Vedic medicine. Let us see the thoughts scattered in the Vedic literature about the patient, disease and cure.

The patient

The state of being diseased is considered as something “wholly other”. Thus a person who is ill is supposed to be neither living nor dead (nāsla jīve na mṛtyu yadāmayāvi—KS XI.5.5.8). Because of his wholly otherness, a patient is considered to be a taboo, a residential place of many dangerous powers and any inauthentic contact with a patient is supposed to be detrimental and therefore interdicted. Thus in the Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra I.23.20 it is said that a diseased person is not qualified for performing a sacrifice. But if even in that case he proposes a sacrifice, nobody should accept the work of a priest at his sacrifice (Āśvalāyana-gṛhya Sūtra I.23.15 f.). Thus a diseased person is a taboo.

To be caught by Varuṇa etc.

A diseased person is supposed to be ”Caught by Varuṇa” (Varunagrhitio vā esa ya âmayaवी—MS II. 1. 2; KS X. 4; XII. 12) KS XI.1.6 says, “When a disease takes hold of an ill man. it is Varuṇa who takes hold of him (Varuṇo vā enam gṛhyati yam Vye(o) mānāṁ
Varuṇa grhnāti). To be diseased is at times supposed to be “caught by Varuṇa’s nooses” (cp. AV II. 10. 1). To be cured is naturally to be free from Varuṇa or Varuṇa’s nooses. A diseased person who is white-spotted, bald-headed, and with protruding teeth and reddish-brown eyes is supposed to be symbolizing Varuṇa himself. On the hand of such a man who is made to stand in the water, an offering is to be made in the Avabhrtha—rite in the Asvamedha-sacrifice. The aim of this rite which is of expiatory nature is “to remove Varuṇa away” (cf. SB XIII. 3.6.5; TB III. 9. 15.2). It is not unlikely that this man must have been drowned also.

Many times offerings to Varuṇa are prescribed as a way of curing a patient (cf. MS XII. 1; TS II. 1. 13. 1-2). In this connection the expression to be free from Varuṇa is used in order to signify to be cured.

Similarly, Rudra is also sometimes supposed to be disease or death personified and “removal of Rudra” means to cure (cf. TB I. 6.8.1).

A diseased person is also described to be under the control of Askins, the divine medicine-men-priests. So, in order to cure a patient, an offering of the goat with black spots is to be made to Askins. Thus in MS II. 4.1 it is said “Askins are the deities of him who is diseased. He approaches them with their share (in the form of the he-goat). (Then) they redress him” (cp. KS XIII. 7).

Prāṇa

In the Vedic doctrine of medicine the concept of breath or vital air (Prāṇa) is very important. The word Prāṇa is equivalent to the life itself. Thus in JB I. 212, it is said, “There is nothing more desirable than Prāṇa (life) (na hi prāṇat preyāḥ kiñcanāṣṭi)”. To be diseased is sometimes supposed to be defective in respect of Prāṇa (Breath). Thus in KS XXX. 3 it is said, “He lacks breath who is ill (Prāṇena esa vyrodhyate yasyāmayati)” (cf. TMB XVI. 13.2). On the other hand to make one’s vital air in tact is almost equivalent to curing (cp. KS XXX. 3; TS VII.2. 7.1; KPXS 46.6). Elsewhere it is said, “Pain approaches to his vital airs who is ill (Prāṇān vā etasya sugrechati yasyāmayati) KS XXX, 3). Similarly in MS II.5.1 we read, “His vital airs, verily, have gone away who is ill prāṇo hi vā etasyāpa-kranto ‘thaitasyāmayati’”.

Saṁvatsara (year)-ideology

In the doctrine of Vedic medicine, the year-ideology is also very important. Year (saṁvatsara) and death are sometimes identified. Thus in SB X.4.3.1 we read, “This is, verily, death namely the year. It reduces the
life of mortal beings with days and nights (esa vai mṛtyuryat saṁvatsaraḥ esa hi mṛtyānām ahoratrābhyaṁ āyuḥ kṣīṇoti). For the identification of year and death see also JB II.350 (saṁvatsaraḥ mṛtyuḥ). In JB I.246 also it is said, “This, verily, is death which is year. Seasons are its mouths (yo hi sa mṛtyuḥ saṁvatsaraḥ eva saḥ tasyartava eva mukhānī)”. In AV II.28.1 also year is metaphorically described as death; “For just thee, O old age, let this one grow; let not the other deaths, that are a hundred. harm him”. Elsewhere year is also identified with life (cf. MS IV 6.8; KS X.4; XI 8). To be diseased is sometimes described as “to lose a year”, while to be cured is “to obtain a year” or “to be established in the year”. Thus an offering to Devikā (Minor Deities) is to be offered for the sake of curing a person suffering from some disease. In that connection it is said, “Year of him has gone astray (mudha: MS; “has been greedy”; lubdha KS)”. In this offering Dhātr, who is mystical identical with the year, is to be situated in the middle among the deities so that the patient is reborn out of the year and thus cured—(MS IV.3.6: KS XII.8). By performing the Cāturmāsya-sacrifices which are redressing-sacrifices (bhaisajya-yajñāḥ cf. KB XXV.1) one wins the year (cf. TB I.4.10.3 etc.).

Pratiṣṭhā

Another thought included in the Vedic medicinal doctrine is that of firm establishment (pratiṣṭhā). Thus a diseased person is supposed to be devoid of firm establishment. In TMB XVI.13.4 it is said, “Unestablished, verily, is he who is diseased (apraṭiṣṭhito vā esa ya ānayāvī)”. Therefore, by using the twenty-one-versed stoma (which is identical with firm establishment), in the course of the second Sādyakṣa-sacrifice, the diseased sacrificer can be given firm establishment (i.e. he can be cured).

Payas (vital milk) Rasa (sap)

Sometimes the idea of disease is expressed by saying that the “vital milk (payas)” or “sap (rasa)” in the body of a person becomes defected and then he becomes ill. The way of curing naturally concerns with the provision of fresh milk or sap. Thus according to MS II.1.6 an offering of a milk-mess (āmikṣa) should be offered to Soma and Rudra for the sake of curing a diseased sacrificer. For, “Man, verily, is milk; his milk is diseased who is diseased; by means of milk, he redeems the milk (payo vai puruṣaḥ paya etasyāmayati payasaivasya payo niśkrānīt). cf. KS XI.5). Instead of the expression “milk” sometimes the expression sap (rasa) is used. Thus a person who is ill is advised to offer a rice-pap to Soma and Rudra. For, “When one becomes ill, one’s sap (rasa) goes to Soma and body to Agni (=Rudra)”. By means of this offering the sap and body of the sacrificer are redeemed (TS II.2.10.4 f).
Aṁhas (distress)

Disease is sometimes considered as distress (aṁhas)⁴ and the efforts of curing are connected with freeing the patient from distress. Thus in KS X.9, we read, “Caught by distress is he who is diseased (aṁhasā vā esa gṛhitō ya āmayāvī)”. Therefore, an offering to Indra Aṁhomuc (=one who releases from distress) should be offered so that Indra will make the patient free from distress i.e. disease (KS X.9).

Āgas, Pāpman (sin) etc.

In the magico-religious doctrine of disease and cure reflected in the Vedic and later Indian literature, sins are not only supposed to be the causes of diseases but just identical with them. Thus to be free from sin means the same as to be cured. In AV II. 10.1, a medicine-man-priest says that he releases the patient from sin i.e. he cures him: “From Kṣetriya disease, from Nirṛti, from imprecation of sisters, from hatred, do I release thee from Varuna’s nooses, free from sin (āgas) I make thee by my incantation”. In KS XIII.2 and 6 it is said, “One who is diseased is caught by sin (Pāpman) (Pāpmanaiśa gṛhitō ya āmayāvī)”. In order to free him from pāpman (=sin= disease) a black he-goat should be offered to Varuna; for black colour represents sin (KS XIII.2). In ŚB (V.1.3.9 also disease and pāpman are identified.

Nirṛti (disorder)

In medicinal philosophy of the Veda, diseases are sometimes associated with Nirṛti (disorder).¹⁵ Naturally removal of Nirṛti is the same as removal of disease. In AV II. 10.1 a medicine-man-priest says to the patient, “I release thee from Nirṛti”. He means “I release thee from disease”.

Fire and Fire therapy

Agni (fire) and fire-therapy are significant in the Vedic medicinal doctrine. In JB I.96, it is said that a person suffering from a lingering disease is caught by Agni and Varuṇa. According to MS III. 2.1. Agni is identical with death. Agni is often requested to expell the evil beings which are supposed to be causes of diseases (cf. ŚB 1.2.1.6 etc.) and thus Agni seems to have apotropic powers. Agni is also requested to bring “milk” (vital fluid) and unite the devotee with power (RV I.23.23). Many rites of curing are performed near fire. Thus when a child is troubled by worms, the medicine-man-priest treats it after placing it on the lap of its mother who must be sitting near the household fire, towards the west of it (Kau. Śū. 29.22). In most of the curative rites offerings are made in fire. But some offerings require a particular kind of fire. Thus for example the
offering to be performed in order to cure a patient of bilious fever; the
offering is to be made in the fire of forest-trees (Kau. Sū. 30.7; cp. 29.19).
The offering to be offered against phlegmatic disease is to be made in the
fire of reed-mats (Kau. Sū. 29 30) In another rite, fire of bird’s nest is to
be used. Thus when someone is caught by evil beings and therefore ill, rice-
pap cooked on the fire of bird’s nest, should be given to him for eating
(Kau. Sū. 29.27). In all these cases we notice that in the Vedic time,
fire was supposed to be full of curative power and therefore all these
cases are examples of firetherapy.

Wind-therapy

Similarly there are some thoughts on wind-therapy in the Veda.
In AV IV.13.3, deified wind is implored, “Blow as a medicine, O Wind,
blow up whatever rupture there is; you are a medicine of all”. Similarly,
in RV X.186.1, Wind is requested to bring medicine and lengthen life. I
have already mentioned above how the ideas of disease and cure are
closely associated with the concept of Prāṇa (breath or vital air) and how
efforts are made to put Prāṇa in the patient in order to cure him.

Water-therapy

There are many references to water-therapy in the Vedic litera-
ture. In AV I.4.4 it is said, “There is ambrosia (amṛtām) in water; there
is a remedy (bheṣajam) in it.” Further the poet-priest says, “Soma told
me that in waters there are all the remedies (viśvāni bheṣajā)... Waters are
all redressing” (AV I.6.2). It has also been said, “The waters are remedial,
the waters disease-expelling, the waters remedial of everything”
(AV III 7.5; cp. VI. 91.3). In the Brähmana-texts water is said to be
identical with peace (śānti) and remedy (bheṣajā) (AB VII.5; KB III.6;
GB II. 1.25; ŚB I.2.2.11 etc).

The deified waters are sometimes prayed to give some medical help.
Thus AV I.6.3 says, “Fill me, O waters, with remedy so that I shall see
the sun forever”. In AV I.5.4, a medicine-man-priest says “I beg the waters
for remedy (āpo yāccāmi bheṣajaṃ). AV VI.24 is also a hymn where waters
are prayed to give remedy. Waters are requested to give long life also
(AV XIX.40.3). Waters are supposed to be apotropic, killers of evil beings
(āpo vai raksoghnīḥ: TS II.6.4.4 etc.).

In many magico-religious curative rites water is used as a medic-
cinal substance. It is sprinkled on the patient or given him for drinking.
Thus when a patient is suffering from Kṣetriya-disease, the medicine-
man-priest consecrates water with AV II.8.4 and then sprinkles it on the
patient. At that time the medicine-man-priest should hold with his one
hand the yoke of a yoked plough (Kau. Sū. 27.1). When a patient is
suffering from the poison of an arrow, the medicine-man-priest after having paid homage to Taṣḍaka, lets the patient sip water, while he himself utters AV IV.6 and 7 and then sprinkles water on the wounded place (Kau. Śū. 28.1).

Miscellaneous thoughts

There are many other miscellaneous thoughts which form the medicinal philosophy of the later Vedic literature. Thus about the state of being diseased following statement is made in TMB XVI. 13.3—"The food and nourishment go away from him who is diseased (apa vā etasmād annādyan kramaṇi ya amayavi)". The second Śādyaskra-sacrifice is mystically connected with the Virāj-metre and the Virāj-metre with food. So when the second Śādyaskra-sacrifice is performed, food is mystically placed in the diseased sacrificer and then he is cured (TMB XVI.13.3). According to another thought "Hurt by langour, verily, is he who suffers from a lingering disease (śucā vā eṣa viddho vasya vyogāyaṇati)." In order to remove langour, the Traiśokā-sāman is to be used. For, by means of this sāman, Indra removed the langour of all the three worlds (TMB VIII.1.9).

Conclusion

From the above given details of the religion, philosophy and medicine in the later Vedic literature we may conclude that the Vedic medicine was a magico-religious phenomenon. In ancient India nothing was completely secular. Even the soidisant secular items also have a magico-religious background which is largely determined by the Weltanschaung of the Vedic people who considered every thing from the point of view of cosmic law and order (ṛta). The diseases were thus considered to be a rupture in that order and the ways of curing were an attempt to bring back the order. The curing and prophylactic substances were considered to be power-substances (Da-sein-maachte). The medicine-men-priests as well as the gods were considered to be power-carriers. The medicine-men-priests used to bring the order back by using the power-substances, themselves (i.e. magically) or through the divine help (religiously). Thus the medicinal phenomenon was a kind of ritual phenomenon of magico-religious sort.

REFERENCES

3. For details see my “Cā turmāṣya-sacrifices researched” in JUPHS, 31, p. 57 ff.
4. For more details see my “Music and Medicine in the Veda” CASS Studies, 3, 1976, p. 73 ff.
5. For the use of prayers as a way of curing see Bruzon, La medicina, pp. 99, 168.
6. Cf. Sigerist, History of Medicine, I. p. 284: “Not the drug in itself was effective but the words spoken over made it so”; cp., p. 205.
7. For details see my “Cā turmāṣya-sacrifices researched”, JUPHS, 31, p. 64 ff; See also Sigerist, History of Medicine, I. p. 138.
9. For the use of amulets in Egyptian medicine see Sigerist, History of Medicine, I. p. 283; in Malayan medicine, see [ERE, IV, p. 729 (a)]; in mediasval medicine see Bruzon, La medicina, p. 171; in general see also Rivers, Medicine, p. 72.
10. Neither a Buddhist monk (cf. Suttanipāta in Khuddakanikāya ed. by Bhikkhu Jagadisa Kassapa, p. 412) nor Jaina monk (See Uttarajīhayāna, 15.8) was allowed to be a physician.
12. For the performance of curative rites on cross-roads in other societies, see Frazer, The Golden Bough, IX, pp. 6 ff; 49.
16. For the use of water in primitive medicine see Bartels, Die Medicin, p. 133 ff.
There is no profounder and more comprehensive concept, proffered by the ancient Vedic culture than that of yajña. It provided the premiss to the gamut of theories ranging from cosmogonic and mythic to religious and metaphysical. If all the semantic nuances and implications of the term yajña, found in the Vedic literature, are worked out, it will appear to contain a complete statement of the problem of the origin of the universe and man, their naturally ordained functions and their destiny. It is indeed a concept, the peer of which is difficult to find in the cultures of other ancient peoples. Unfortunately the inchoate, broad, universal character of this concept, envisioned by the seers of the Vedic age, was later on cramped and reduced to a narrow ritualistic signification and was even made subservient to the empirical interests of a class.

The original idea of yajña is so essential and integral to the worldview of the Vedic sages that if properly understood it may prove to be the master-key to the interpretation of many of their utterances, which otherwise appear as riddles. Agrawal is of the opinion that if the concept of yajña is properly grasped, everything else in the Veda may be comprehended as a matter of course.\(^1\) Panikkar, in this regard, states, “If one had to choose a single word to express the quintessence of the Vedic Revelation, the word yajña, sacrifice, would perhaps be the most adequate”.\(^2\)

There is a clear statement of the cosmic character of the sacrifice in the verse:

\textit{ayāṁ yajñaḥ bhuvaṇasya nāḥḥ}

“This sacrifice is the centre of the universe”.\(^3\)

It would be well to bear in mind that the archetypal yajña was first of all offered by pumān or puruṣa, the unitary self-aware Being, in the beginning, giving rise to the conditions for the manifestation or creation of the world:
Sacrifice: Symbol of Cosmic Evolution

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pumān evaṁ tanute utkṛṣṭati pumān vi tāne adhi nāke asmin

"pumān extends this yajña and dissolves it. It was pumān who first extended it in the heavens".4

It is, therefore, extended by threads that are spread throughout the universe and is sustained by the functions of the deities:

yo yajña viśvatantubhistata ekaśataṁ devakarme bhīrāyataḥ

"This yajña is spread by means of threads stretched everywhere in the universe and is extended by a hundred and one actions of the deities".5

The yajña offered by the pumān or purusa in the beginning is stretched throughout the universe and is based on the various functions of the deities. The stretching of yajña was effected with the help of seven threads, saptatantu. X. 124.1 and has therefore, seven layers, sapta paridhayah. X. 90 15. These seven threads or the seven layers are life, mind and the five basic elements: space, air, fire, water and earth which are involved in the creation.

When the condition for the differentiation and manifestation of the world was brought about by the initial act of sacrifice by the primeval purusa or Being, the deities who consequently came into existence, also had to resort to the same law of sacrifice in order to sustain and further develop the process of manifestation and creation. The knowledge, the rules, the model, the procedure, the chants and the dynamism of yajña were the matters to be investigated, searched and clearly laid down, so as to ensure its continued performance:

Kāṣṭipramā pratimā kīṁ nidānamājyaṁ kimāsiṭpārdhīḥ ka āsīt,
chhandah kimāsiṭprasagāṁ kimuktham yudddeva devamayajanta viśve.

"What was the basic knowledge, the model, the order, the offering and the circumference? What were the hymns, the chants, the recitation, when the deities offered worship to the God?"6

This search for the model-sacrifice indicates that the ancestors of the Vedic seers successfully perceived, comprehended and laid down the main rules of the sacrifice as was offered at the universal scale by the deities. The correlation of gods and śiva, the general cosmic order is often referred to in the Rgveda. Significantly Viṣṇu who is identified in the Brāhmaṇas with the yajña is called the source of śiva, while the other Vedic
deities are either born of rta or are the guardians of the followers of the law of rta. This correlation of gods and rta signifies the ordered dynamism found in the universe and is sought to be captured in the sacrificial paradigm. Aguilar, in this connection states that the sacrifice of gods takes place within the bosom of waters, covered and protected by the supreme rta.7

The actual institution of yajña among men followed the intellectual perception of the cosmic procedure. The reins of the sacrificial performance were taken into their hands. After the wise sages envisaged clearly the way adopted by those who went ahead in the ancient ages:

 Cákṣpre tena ṭṣayo manusyā yajñe jāte pitāro naḥ purāge, 
paityanmanye manasaḥ caṅṣasā tān ya imaṁ yajñamayajanta pūrve

Sahastomāḥ sahaśchandasa āvṛtaḥ Sahapramā ṭṣaya sapta daivyāḥ, 
pūrveśāṁ panthāmanūḍāya dhīrā anvālasbhire rathyo na raśmin.

"It was this same ritual the Seers, our fathers adopted, when in the beginning, the sacrifice was first created. With the eyes of my mind I believe I can envisage those who were first to offer this sacrifice."

"The rituals, metres, and the hymns were according to the rubrics, even those of the seven god-like seers of old. When the sages follow the path traced by the ancestors, they take the reins in their hands like charioteers".8

It is abundantly clear from the contents of this one hymn, X. 130 that the sacrifice is the initial act on the part of the first principle, the primeval purusa that brought about the condition in which the one absolute could manifest itself in the form of the world; the one static principle was subjected to dynamism, giving rise to the general ordered movement responsible for the creation and sustenance of the world. The same principle of sacrifice, as it was the first law governing at every level of cosmic evolution, had to be adopted by the deities, the guiding natural forces, with a view to secure the furtherance of the objectivization, differentiation and manifestation. And the very same law of sacrifice was seen by the ancestors of men, who instituted it among men. It was a faithful reproduction of the cosmic model.

The most authentic account of these three stages through which the sacrifice was received among human beings is recorded in the purusa-sūkta of the Rgveda, X. 90. The seer of this hymn is Nārāyaṇa, who in later times is seen to enjoy the status of the deity eulogised in this hymn and was also identified with Viṣṇu. This cannot be dismissed as a freak of
Vedic mythology, since the identification of Nārāyaṇa with puruṣa, the
deity of the hymn is based on cogent philosophical grounds. In fact the
sage Nārāyaṇa, through a profound insight, discovered the transcendental
principle of subjectivity, spoken of in the Upaniṣads as ātmā, that encom-
passes and comprehends the totality of objective existence. It is this ātmā
that is called as puruṣa in contradistinction with the principle of prakṛti,
the spiritual principle enshrined in and manifesting through the principle
of matter. Not only in Sāṅkhya but in all Indian philosophical systems
this distinction of puruṣa and prakṛti is consistently recognised. The
Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad is very clear about this point:

Katama ātmeti—yo'yaṁ vijnānamayaḥ prāṇesu hṛdayantarjyotiḥ
puruṣaḥ

"Which is the ātmā? This puruṣa the inner light in the heart,
among the senses, who consists of knowledge".9

The reason of his being called puruṣa is that he creates various
bodies with two feet, four feet etc. and then abides in those bodies:

puraścakre dvipadaḥ puraścakre catuspadah
puraḥ sa pakṣi bhūtvā puraḥ puruṣa āvīśad.
Sa vā ayaṁ puruṣaḥ sarvāsaḥ pūrṣu puriśayaḥ

"Puruṣa created bodies with two feet and with four feet and
becoming a bird he entered these bodies. This, verily, is the puruṣa, who
resides in all bodies".10

This Vedic tradition of Nārāyaṇa constantly meditating on the
ātmā, the first principle that gave rise to the non-manifest and then to
the manifest manifold is preserved in the Mahābhārata. Seeing Nārāyaṇa
engaged in austerities at Badarikāśrama, Nārada who knew no higher
divinity than Nārāyaṇa, asked Him:

Vedesu sapurāṇesu sāṅgopāheṣu āyaṣe,
tvamajah śāśvato dhātā mato’ṁśtamanuttamaṁ.
pratiṣṭhitam bhūtabhavyaṁ tvayi sarvamidam jagat,
pitā mātā ca sarvāya jagataḥ śāśvato guruḥ.
kaṁ tvadya yajase devam pīṭaraṁ kaṁ na vidmahe.

"In the Vedas with their subsidiary works, in the Purāṇas, thou art
sung as the unborn, eternal, progenitor and as immortality itself.
The whole world—all that has been and shall be is established in you."11 Thou
art the father, mother and eternal preceptor of the world. We do not understand which deity or man-you worship?"\(^{12}\)

In reply to this query, Nārāyaṇa first of all defines the puruṣa as the most subtle, unknowable, beyond the unmanifest, devoid of senses and sense-objects and then says that this puruṣa is the ātmā of all beings and is also called क्षेत्रज्ञa:

\[
\text{sa hyantarātmā bhūtānāṁ kṣetrajñāsceti kathye}
\text{trigunavyatirikto'śau puruṣaśceti kalpitaḥ}
\]

"He is the inner self of all beings, and (as such) is called क्षेत्रज्ञa. He is called puruṣa and is distinct from the three guṇas"\(^{13}\)

There is no higher divinity than Him and since He is our very self, we worship Him:

\[
nāsti tasmāt para'ṇyo hi pitā devor'ṇava dvijāḥ
ātmā hi nau sa vijnāyastatāstam puja'ṇa'vahe.
\]

"There is no other higher god, manes or twice-born than Him; He is also our self. We, therefore, worship Him."\(^{14}\)

These verses from the Nārāyaṇiya section of the Mahābhārata solve the problem of the relation (that of identity) between the seer Nārāyaṇa of the puruṣasūkta and the deity called puruṣa, eulogised in it, because the knower of brahman or ātmā of necessity, becomes one with it.\(^{15}\) This is why Nārāyaṇa, identical with the puruṣa or ātmā is supreme deity—the spirit that enlivens the cosmos, introduces the principle of dynamism in it. He is the soul in the cosmic organism, the various deities forming his members or his attributes. Coomarswami also understands by puruṣa the ātmā and states that the second half of he first verse (of the puruṣa-sūkta) expresses the outer and inner tracks of the self and this tends to confirm the traditional explanation of dāśāyugulam as "heart". With this term may be compared various measurements of the Self in the heart mentioned in the Upaniṣads.\(^{16}\)

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the theories put forward by different Indologists such as: this puruṣa corresponds to the world-giant Ymir or that the puruṣa represents a primitive conception of the cosmos as a great man or viewing the puruṣa-sūkta as containing a number of lexical and mythological integers, drawn from the spheres of the deities like Agni, Śūrya and Viṣṇu and that the puruṣa is a blend of these derivative elements which are treated with a rudimentary personi-
fication, faintly re-echoing an old folk notion and posited as the substance offered at the primal cosmological sacrifice, are far wide off the mark.\textsuperscript{17}

When it is clearly seen that the puruṣa spoken of in the puruṣa-śūkta is the ātmā, the first principle of the universe, the symbol of sacrifice, employed for the process of cosmic evolution, becomes intelligible. We gather from the Chīndogya Upaniṣad that the puruṣa is also called sat or Being and in the beginning He was only one, without a second.\textsuperscript{18} The same Upaniṣad states that this Being was self-aware.\textsuperscript{19}

The significance of designating this puruṣa as yajña, in which there was nothing apart from him to be sacrificed, can be understood only if it is borne in mind that the one Being, without a second which is self-aware, cannot be conceived to give rise to any second principle. It must sacrifice its status of unitary, self-aware Being, its absoluteness\textsuperscript{20} and on its own give rise to a principle of concealment which may conceal its unitary character as absolute in order to give rise to a condition which may cause differentiation, manifestation and creation.

This is the esoteric but very clear significance of puruṣamedha or the sacrifice of puruṣa and has nothing to do with human sacrifice, as Haug maintains. He says: “According to the position which is assigned to it (i.e. puruṣa-śūkta) in the Yajurveda, the hymn appears to have been used at the human sacrifice”,\textsuperscript{21} Muir refutes this opinion by comparing the puruṣa-śūkta with the two hymns (162 and 163) of the first Maṇḍala of the Rgveda and concluding that the former does not contain the same indications of the literal immolation of a human victim. In it the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but by the gods; no human priests are mentioned; and the puruṣa mentioned in the hymn could not well have been regarded as an ordinary man, as he is identified with the universe and he himself, or his immolation, is represented as the source of the creation and of the Vedas.\textsuperscript{22}

After the primeval Being sacrifices its absoluteness, that is when its self-luminous nature is concealed, it acquires the designation as unmanifest from which arises the golden germ, the manifest causal principle, responsible for the manifold existences at the supra-mundane and the mundane levels. This virāt, the cosmic organism again by sacrificing its own members, generates the myriad beings, including the animals of the mid-region and the earth, vāyavya, āranya and grāmpya.

Thus, sacrifice is the law that requires the voluntary giving up of any prevailing status or condition, in order to attain the next level of
evolution. The ritual has to symbolise this continuing process. In human society sacrifice was instituted with a view to achieve the progressive realisation of higher order, equality and organic growth, resulting in qualitative refinement of collective life.

The allegory of the world as the sacrificial horse, presented in the beginning of the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, signifies that the individual cannot regain his original spiritual freedom and unity unless he first contemplates on the world as an oblation to be offered into the fire of unitary knowledge of the spiritual self and then actually offers that sacrifice within himself, reducing the least vestige of objectivity together with its corresponding subjectivity to ashes and raising himself to the level of transcendental principle of subjectivity from which the total objective existence is perceived as a single unit not brooking of any idea of a second.

REFERENCES

3. Rgveda, I. 164.35.
4. Rgveda, X. 130.2.
5. Ibid. X. 130.1.
6. Ibid, X. 130.3.
8. Rgveda, X. 130. 6, 7.
10. Ibid, II. 5.18.
11. This reminds us of the line.
13. Ibid. XII.321.29.
15. Brahma Veda brahmaiva bhavati, Mundaka Upaniṣad, III.2.9.
19. It is logical necessity that the Being must be admitted as self-aware. The being that lacks self-awareness cannot be distinguished from non-Being.
20. Cf. “The forms and the means of manifestation of the sacred vary from one people to another—but there remains always this incomprehensible fact that it is the sacred
that is manifesting, and thereby limiting itself and ceasing to be the "absolute".
Mircea--Eliaade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries*, Tr. by Philip Mairet, Harper and
22. Muir, J., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, Delhi,
1976, p. 12.
ऋषिओद्वेद में द्रविषोद्व: शब्द का प्रयोग और अभिव्यक्ति
कृपयादेव शाशवी

'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द वेदों में प्राप्त: अभिव्यक्ति के रूप में प्रयुक्त दिखाई देता है। 1 ऋषिओद्वेद (४.१३.६) में प्रयुक्त 'द्रविषोद्व: ' (द्रविषोद्व:) शब्द पूरा तथा वायु के विशेषण के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। 2 यजुर्वेद १५.२ के मन्त्रांश 'देवा अभिनं धारणा द्रविषोद्व:'—में प्रयुक्त 'द्रविषोद्व: ' शब्द को उद्वृत्त तथा महीनों ने, राज्या का बढ़वाना मानते हैं। यजुर्वेद १५.६९.३ में भी वह मंत्र उपलब्ध है। वहाँ 'देवा अभिनं धारणा द्रविषोद्व:' पाठ है। साफ्य के उद्देश्य इस शब्द का वर्ण है—इस शब्द का अभिव्यक्ति गाहिंग्यादः रूप से चर्चा करते हैं।

निषेध (५.२) में अन्तर्हृदयों को 'द्रविषोद्व:' कहा गया है, क्योंकि इसे हुवि देने वाले हैं—द्रविषोद्व:द्रविषोद्व: उधार्य हुवि दातार।

द्रविषोद्व: शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति

'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द की व्युत्पत्ति 'द्रविषो: ' शब्द के साथ 'दव' बात के पाणिनीय सूत्र भारतीय मस्त्रत्वविश्लेषणपत्र (प्राकृतो, ५.२.३४) में प्रयुक्त 'चकार' पद से पुरुष 'बिचु' प्रत्यय के द्वारा मानी जा सकती है। प्रकाश्यायों के सूत्र ब्राह्मणों पुरातत्त्व के साथ 'विचु' प्रत्यय की कारणणा भी की गयी है। ४ इसके प्रतिरूप 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द के उपयोग होने पर 'दव' बात के 'क' प्रत्यय के द्वारा भी इसकी व्युत्पत्ति हो जाती है। प्रमाण 'बिचु' प्रत्यय से निष्क्रिय शब्द का हृदय 'द्रविषोद्व:' होगा। क्योंकि इस प्रत्यय के साथ शब्द के अभाव का लोप नहीं हो गया। जबकि 'क' प्रत्यय की हिसाब में भाषा का लोप होकर राज्या का बढ़वाना 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द निवृत्त होगा। इस दो शब्दव्यवस्था—द्रविषोद्व: तथा द्रविषोद्व:—के साथ निष्क्रिय 'सू' का प्रासाद होकर 'द्रविषोद्व:' तथा 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द द्वारा निवृत्त होगा। ५ राज्यार्थी 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द प्रथम दिव्यार्थ में 'द्रविषोद्व:' तथा साफ्य 'विश्लेषण में 'द्रविषोद्व:' के रूप में ऋषिओद्वेद ४.१३.६ तथा ४.१३.१ में कामयाब: प्रयुक्त है।

ऋषिओद्वेद के एक मन्त्र (२.१५.६) से 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द के व्युत्पत्तिवर्ग अभिव्यक्ति की पुष्टि होती है।—द्रविषोद्व: दाता नो वस्तुनि। शतपथ (६.३.६.१३) में भी इस शब्द का यही अभाव माना गया है—'द्रविषोद्व: इति द्रविषोद्व: दाता त।' इस प्रकार 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द के व्युत्पत्ति परस्परान्त व्याख्याकारों ने अभिन्न, प्राण तथा अवैभव्य बाद माने हैं।

इस शब्द का प्रथम भाग 'द्रविषोद्व' (नपुरस्फलित द्रविषोद्व) बानु, विश्वा, शाक्त हर्याद: का वाक्यायाम गाया गया है। पर यह शब्द बानु के भाग में पृष्ठोत्प्रतिवर्तित है।

वाहु ने 'द्रविषोद्व:' शब्द की व्याख्या में लिखा है—शब्द का द्रविषोद्व कहते हैं, क्योंकि
इसके प्रति योग शास्त्र होते हैं। जबवा बल का नाम द्रविण है, क्योंकि इसके द्वारा लोग शास्त्र होते हैं। इस बल जबवा धनका दाता द्रविण है। 6 मोनियर विलियम्स द्वारा व्युत्क्षेत्र धनका दाता का प्रयोग कहा है। हम निच्छ प्रति की स्तुति में पढ़ते हैं—

लजमेव विधा द्रविण लजमेव। यहाँ इसका धन धन ही धर्मभान्मत है। इसलिए 'द्रविण' शब्द का समान्य ध्वनि 'चल' संपत्ति का दाता होगा। R.T.H. Griffith ने इस शब्द का ध्वनि 'चल दाता' (wealth-giver) किया।

उ.अ.स. (2.50) 'द्रविणमुया इमादु' के द्वारा 'धु' धातु से 'इमादु' प्रयोग की कहनी करके इस शब्द का साधन का फल मिलता है। 7 समस्याएं: "बौद्ध काल में ये वोलो—'द्रविण' और 'द्रविणसु'—स्वतंत्र शब्द हैं। इस प्रकार ध्वनि शब्द को निष्ठुण गर्तन में ध्वनि प्रयोग रहता है। इस में प्रथम शब्द की निष्ठुण पाप्लिन ने ध्वनि एक 'धु' 3 में नियमन से को है। इसी का साधन 'द्रविणसु' शब्द से 'द्रविणोद्व' (स० १.५९.२०), 'द्रविणोद्व', (स० २.६.२०) 'द्रविणोद्व:', (स० १.३७.१६) तथा 'द्रविणोद्व' (त० ३० ४.३४.१३) और 'द्रविणोद्वित' (स० ६.।७.२५) जैसे शब्द भी निष्ठुण दिखाई देते हैं।

इस शब्द में ग्रंथविक 'धु' धातु की कहना व्यक्तिकारियों ने को है। समायन ने 'द्रविण' शब्द को निष्ठुण रूप में देता है सिखा है—"द्रविण संतये गर्तियोति" (जो सत्तर निष्ठुण रहता है उके द्रविण कहते हैं) 9 इसी 'धु' धातु से 'द्रु' (स० २.५०.२ मागने वाला), 'द्रुवकुक' (स० ८.३४.१५ गर्तियोति पत्रियों वाला), 'द्रुरविणि' (स० ५.३५ लेख हाथों प्रभाव पर्यंत वाला), 'द्रुवविणि' (स० ५.३५ लेख गर्तियोति पत्रियों वाला), 'द्रुव' (स० ४.५०.२ मागने वाला), 'द्रुव' (स० ६.३.४ द्रुवित करने वाला) इससे शब्द बदल में प्रयुक्त है। ली-का संकल्प में प्रायत्न प्रभाव 'प्रथ्य' शब्द भी 'धु' धातु से ही निमित्त है।

द्रविणोद्व का स्वरूप

द्रविणोद्व के स्वरूप के विवेक में विचार करते हुए यास्क ने पूर्ववस्थ के रूप में कहते हैं कि द्रविणोद्व हृदर, ऐसा कीतुक मानता है। क्योंकि वह सबसे अपरिमक बल और धनका दाता है और उसी बल-विभाजक कार्यों से सम्बद्ध है। 1० परशुराम यास्क ने इस प्रसंग से बदल से 'द्रविणोद्व' के सम्बद्ध कोई मन्त्र नहीं प्रस्तुत किया, जहाँ उसका इस्तेमाल प्रभावित हो। एक 'धु' धातु के रूप में यास्क ने यह प्रयोग कहा है कि यास्क को बदल में 'द्रविणोद्व' कहा गया है, क्योंकि प्राणि हृदर से उत्पन्न होता है। इस प्रसंग में हृदर से सम्बद्ध की कहनी उत्पन्न होती है क्योंकि प्राणि हृदर से उत्पन्न होता है। इस प्रसंग में हृदर से प्राणि की उत्पन्न होती है सम्बद्ध शब्द से एक मन्त्र (२.६२.३) प्रस्तुत किया है, जिसका अर्थ है कि हृदर ने यथा प्रभाव और प्राणि को उपशोक किया—खुद्र प्राणिनिरानस किया जाता।

समय व शिक्षा के कुछ स्थलों में द्रविणोद्व शब्द का भी प्रयोग मिलता है। निश्चय ११ में इस स्थलों का भी हृदू के रूप में संशोधित किया गया है। खुशब्द के २.३७
केप्रथम चार मन्नों में ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ के वारा समीपान का उल्लेख है। इन चार मन्नों के वेवता सबसे गुप्त अनुपलेक्ष सूक्ष्म है। यहाँ के प्रथम तीन मन्नों के अनुसार मन्नों में ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ को समीपान करने के लिए कहा गया है। यहाँ के प्रथम मन्न को व्यवस्था करते हुए सारण ने ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद का ध्वनि व्यवस्था किया है—सर्व में द्रविणोद्ध अनुसार। इस सूक्ष्म के चूलें मन्न के अनुसार ‘द्रविणोद्ध: पिछु द्रविणोद्ध.’13 इस सब से व्यवस्था में सारण में ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद का ध्वनि हृदि रूप द्रविणोद्ध के बने बाले छूटेच्छिन्न किया है। उन छूटेच्छिन्न के लिए हितार्थी को ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ कहा गया है। अभिप्रयु कहा है कि नृववर्गों के लिए हितार्थी (द्रविणोद्ध अनुसार) पतुस्थ कोष का पान करे—यह सारण का विवाद है। यहाँ के बारे में द्रविणोद्ध से सम्बन्ध है और यह द्रविणोद्ध: अनुसार है। सर्वदा स्वाधीन ने ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद का ध्वनि इस से और ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद का ध्वनि किया है।

इस रूप लेने लुप्तपण्य नीति कर अनुसार के सहाय के यह अनुसार उनमें अभिप्रयु है।13

इस रूप में इस रूप पर यदहाँ कोई विशेष हेतु नहीं दिया गया है। यह कहना कि वह श्री श्रीन्ता मान का अनुक्रम दर्शन इसके लिए वही ‘द्रविणोद्ध है—उल्लेख नहीं है, क्योंकि यहाँ श्रीकद तो किकी भी देवता में मानी जा सकती है। वाहानविकता यह है कि अमरों में इसने लिए ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद का प्रयोग विशेषण रूप में कहीं भी विलासी हानी नहीं देखा। इसीसे निस्तव देवते के चित्रतंत्र रूप में वाक्यपूर्ण के नाम से यह कहा गया है कि पश्चिम अनुसार ही ‘द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद का विशेषण सूक्ष्म है; क्योंकि अनुसार विशेषण सूक्ष्म हैं। ही इस वाद का प्रयोग विशेषण रूप में कहा गया है।

इस नीति में भाष्य (१६६,१६७) के मन्नों के अनुसार ‘देवा धारित, इसका अनुसार है—द्रविणोद्ध—द्रविणोद्ध—द्रविणोद्ध—द्रविणोद्ध—द्रविणोद्ध—द्रविणोद्ध’ वाद के बने बाले अनुसार को अन्ततः गाहैप्रभा अनुसार रूप से धारण करते हैं। यहाँ यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है कि इस पूरे सुक्त का देवता द्रविणोद्ध है, जिसे सारण ने द्रविणोद्धस्वाभाविकस्त्र अनुसार धारण किया। यहाँ के बारे में द्रविणोद्ध: की कई विशेषताओं का उल्लेख किया गया है। इस मन्न में द्रविणोद्ध: देव से अभिप्रयु का गही है कि वह गाहैप्रभा धारण वाद वाद, धारण नात, तथा सूत्रसूत्रों से सूत्र धारण हमें धारण करायें।14 संस्कृत ने भी अपने प्रारम्भ में यहाँ के द्रविणोद्ध को अनुसार माना है, परंतु यह सूत्र अनुसार का नियोजन करता है ‘सर्वत्रु द्रविणोद्धस्वाभाविकस्त्र अनुसार है। उद्देश्य अनुसार है।15 इसका संदर्भ ने ‘द्रविणोद्ध: का ध्वनि हृदि हृदि धारण को बने बाला, हृदि का बहन करने बाला तथा अन्तर देवताओं को अभिप्रयु करने बाला माना है। इस गुण के विशिष्ट अनुसार को सूत्रसूत्र अनुसार कहा गया है जिसके लिए भाष्य (१०४२.३) में ‘भा देवा दिवरे हृदिर्ययाहम्’ तथा भाष्य (१०४२.४) में ‘भा देवा दिवरे हृदिर्ययाहम्’ कहा गया है। इस नीति के संदर्भ में सारण ने कहा है कि यहाँ अनुसार स्वतंत्र धारण की विशेषता में कह रहा है—

'अनुसार स्वतंत्र धारण की विशेषता में कह रहा है— 'एकाधिक वातावरण स्वतंत्रतावाच।' इस सूक्त का देवता तथा छूट वायुविशेषसूत्रों के अनुसार सूत्रसूत्र अनुसार है और पूरे सूक्त में अनुसार की विशेषता विस्तार है।
अध्यायमें द्रविणोद: शब्द का प्रयोग और भ्रमणाय

वेकतमावन ने अच्छे (१.७६, १-७) के मृणेह में इस भ्रमन को विद्वृत्त भ्रमित कहा है।
मुख्यतः ने सायण की तरह इस भ्रमन को द्रविणोदस्वरूपकिंविशिष्ट यथावत् मुद्र
भ्रमि माना है। उसके अनुसार भी यहाँ वैद्युत भ्रमि भ्रमित है। १६

अच्छे (१.७५,७) में ‘द्रविणोद:’ और ‘द्रविणामः’ शब्द प्रयुक्त हैं। वहां
‘द्रविणामः’ सायण के अनुसार क्षरिजों का विशेषण तथा ‘द्रविणामः’ पद के प्रयोग का
प्रयुक्त है। इसका अर्थ है—लघु चाहने बालो (धान्यहिते:) क्षरिजः। क्षरिजों का
इससे विशेषण ‘पात्वहत्तासः’ है। इसका अर्थ है—याचा आर्थिक सोम पीने के पत्थर
को धारण करने बाले क्षरिजः। यहां के ‘द्रविणोद:’ पद का सायण छत्तियार का
एकवन मानता है—‘द्रविणोद: भन्नद्वृत्तः’। विकल्प से इस पद को यह प्रयोग
का एकवन मानता है—ल्यू वा ‘द्रविणोद: भन्नद्वृत्तः’। इसका अर्थ है कितने
बहु ‘सोम विपक्षविशिष्टः’। क्षरिजः द्रविणोदा भ्रमि सोमपाल करते इस रूप में व्यवहार
करता चाहता है। मृणेह भ्रमित भ्रमित द्रविणोदा नामक प्रकृतियां के सबसे अधिक
उक्तहिते व्यक्तियों में क्षरिजः भ्रमि देव का शत्रु करते हैं जो चाहने
बाले हैं तथा सोम पीने बाले पत्थर की हाथ में लिए हुए हैं। वहां ‘द्रविणोद:’
पद का शत्रु करते इस प्रकार भ्रमि भ्रमि किया गया है कि वह भ्रमि सोमपाल करते
है।

विषयक रूप में यह कहा जा सकता है कि ‘द्रविणोदः’ शब्द का जिन-जिन
मृणेह में प्रयुक्त हुआ है, वहां प्रयास सबसे व्यक्तियों ने इस पद का अर्थ भ्रमि
स्वीकार किया है। रूठदेवताकर शौचक ने भी ‘द्रविणोदः’ पद का अर्थ भ्रमि
माना है। १७

अध्याय द्वाराखं के ‘अनुसार ‘द्रविणोदः’ शब्द का अर्थ

अध्याय द्वाराखं वेदाखं के क्षेत्र में पारमाशिक और व्यवहारिक वेदाश्च भ्रमित की
व्यवस्थापिता के साथ ज्ञातीय हुए। उन्होंने वेद के ‘भ्रमि’ बादि द्वाराखं वेदाश्च भ्रमित की
कृति मूल प्राय: प्रयुक्त परमाणु माना है, क्योंकि ‘भ्रमि’ बादि मौखिक शब्दों के
जिन विशिष्टताओं का भाव होता है, वे सब के सब व्यक्तियों रूप में परमाणु में माने
जाते हैं। वैसे—भ्रमि शब्द ने प्रकट होने वाली गतिशीलता, नेतृत्व द्वारा विषयों विषयों
सबसे कुछ रूप में परमाणु में ही है। इस पृथ्वीभूमि में उन्होंने अच्छे एवं अच्छे
के भ्रमित मृणेह की पारमाशिक व्याख्या प्रस्तुत की है। लोकविवर्त भ्रमि संसार
के कहाणे के लिए मंगलकारी भावाभावों व्यवस्थाओं, एवं सिद्धातों का वह वेदान्तों
की व्याख्या में उन्होंने उल्लेख किया है। वेदाखं के इस व्यवहारिक पक्ष की और
स्वामी द्वाराखं ने पूर्व उपलब्ध भाषकारों तथा व्यक्तियों ने व्याख्या नहीं
विरोध रचिया था।

स्वामी जी की पारमाशिक व्याख्या के अनुसार भ्रमि के विशेषणामूलत ‘द्रविणोदः’
शब्द का अर्थ परमाणु माना है। अच्छे (१.७५.७) में ‘द्रविणोदः’ शब्द का अर्थ करते
हुए उन्होंने लिखा है (द्रविणोदः) पुष्पयुक्ताः जगदीश्वर: समयू बोजितो मौनिको
निम्नलिखित जिनकी मुद्रावंद वसा की चार सब से प्रमुख निम्न ‘द्रविडोदा’ शब्द से प्रमुख है। अर्थात् (३.६.२०) में भी द्रविडोदा: ‘शब्द का प्रयोग अर्थात् ब्राह्मण-ज्ञानकारक विषय का दिग्विजय वहन के देने बाले ईंधन करते हैं। यहाँ मन्त्र में ‘द्रविडोदा’ को ‘सुरियम’ कहा गया है जिसका अर्थ स्वामी जो के श्रद्धा, स्थूल, सूक्ष्म, कारण तथा परम कारण श्रद्धा पदार्थों में चौंगी संख्या को पूर्ण करने वाले हैं। इस मन्त्र के मार्गवेष में ‘सुरियम’ पद के प्रसिद्ध को स्वामी जो ने इस रूप में स्पष्ट किया है—“परम्परेवर तीन प्रकार के स्थूल, सूक्ष्म और कारण रूप जगत से ब्रह्म होने के कारण चौंगी गया है।”

आयुर्भिन्नम (१.७०) में अर्थवेष के मन्त्रांश “देवा आयुर्भिन्न धारण। द्रविडोदम” में प्रयुक्त ‘द्रविडोदा’ शब्द का प्रयोग करते हुए स्वामी जो कहते हैं—“जहाँ (परमात्मा) सब जगता को द्रविड अर्थात् निर्विवाह के लिए सब भान, जल श्रद्धा पदार्थों और विषय श्रद्धा पदार्थों के देने वाले है।” यह श्रद्धा प्रतीक के रूप में अर्थवेष के साथ मन्त्रों (१.६.२०) में प्रयुक्त है। इन मन्त्रों में स्वामी जो के नाम प्रताप परमेश्वर की विद्याका विभाजन पृष्ठांक हैं। यहाँ तो इन पुरे सुझू में ईंधन के स्वरूप का वर्णन है। पर दूसरे से सारांश मन्त्र के प्रारम्भ में विषय-निर्देश के रूप में यह स्पष्ट कहा गया है—“पुनः स परमेश्वर: केवल इत्युतिविद्यते” (फिर यह परमेश्वर कैसा है इस विषय का उपदेश किया जाता है)। इन मन्त्रों के मार्गवेष में भी परमेश्वर की विश्वास विषयताओं के उल्लेख किया गया है।

यहाँ के प्रथम मन्त्र के मार्ग में ‘द्रविडोदा:’ शब्द के प्रथम को स्पष्ट करते हुए स्वामी जो लिखते हैं—(देवा:) विभवांस: (आर्यन), परमेश्वर भोमितं वा (ध्यान) धारणान्तिक द्रविडोदम यो द्रविडीय दशाति: तम।’ इस शब्द के विचारों पदार्थों में स्वामी जी लिखते हैं—“जो विद्वान लोग इम के देने हारे परमेश्वर वा सौभाग्यकार को धारण करते-करते हैं—”

इसी प्रस्ताव अर्थवेष (१.६.२) में चार बार प्रयुक्त ‘द्रविडोदा:’ शब्द की व्याख्या में भी स्वामी जी प्रस्ताव ‘द्रविडोदा:’ का प्रयोग “थन नानादि पदार्थों का देने वाला (जगद्विशेष)” करते हैं। इस मन्त्र में ब्रह्म तीन ‘द्रविडोदा:’ शब्दों का आयुर्भिन्न: इस प्रकार है—पदार्थों का विभाजन जताने वाला (विभागपापक:), जूतार श्रद्धा गुणों का देने वाला (श्रीयविप्रद:), अर्थवेष प्रबन्ध श्रद्धा वैवध का देने वाला (वीवधयविप्रद:). ये सभी विश्लेषण ईंधन के हैं। इन प्रसंगों में स्वामी जी ने ‘द्रविड’ शब्द की व्याख्या प्रयोग (सबसे प्रकार की सम्पत्ति) का प्रतिपादन माना है।

व्याख्यात आयुर्भिन्न देवां (२.६.१) में प्रयुक्त सम्बोधनात्मक ‘द्रविडोदा:’ शब्द का प्रयोग स्वामी जी ने विभवांस: तथा भोमितं किया है। अर्थवेष (२.६.९) में प्रयुक्त ‘द्रविडोदम’ (विभवांस: विभागपापक: एवं वीवधयविप्रद:) का प्रयोग उद्देशीय
परमेश्वर के साथ भीतरिक धर्मनि भी माना है। इसी प्रकार आद्वेद (१.१५.७) में प्रयुक्त 'दिविणोदा:' शब्द का यह स्वामी जी ने परमेश्वर के साथ-साथ विशेष रूप से भीतरिक धर्मनि भी माना है—"दिविणांसिद्धि विद्याविद्या—राजय-भन्नािं विद्याविद्या तथा श्रवणमार्कितिकं (धर्मनि) वा।" इस शब्द के 'हिन्दी' पदार्थ में कहा परिदृश्य है कि—विद्या—अध्यात्मिक ध्यान और योगदान द्वारा यह विद्या यथा विद्या वाला परमेश्वर तथा उद्देश्य तत्त्व द्वारा यह शब्द विद्याविद्या तथा राजय भन्नािं धर्मनि भी माना है।

आद्वेद २.६.३,२.७७.१ तथा २.७६.२ में प्रयुक्त 'दिविणोदा:' शब्द का यह स्वामी जी ने विद्याविद्या विद्याविद्या किया है। २.७६.३ में प्रयुक्त 'दिविणोदा:' विद्या तथा २.४६.५, २.७६.४ और ३.१६.११ में प्रयुक्त 'दिविणोदा:' शब्द का यह स्वामी जी ने विद्याविद्या विद्याविद्या किया है। आद्वेद (२.१६.३७) में प्रयुक्त 'दिविणोदा:' तथा २.६.३ में प्रयुक्त 'दिविणांसिद्धि' शब्द का यह स्वामी जी के प्रारूपान्तरण 'विद्याविद्या' है। यजुर्वेद (१७.३३) के मन्त्र की व्याख्या करते हुए स्वामी जी ने लिखा है कि "हेतु (पश्चिम) उद्देश्य को प्राप्त हुए विद्या! जैसे (दिविणोदा) विद्याविद्या (धर्मनि) एव (पूर्वजीं) दृष्टि के (अभावम्) इस (धारावानां) निवास के स्थान से (वषयस्य) समर्थत रूप (धर्मनि) धारण विधि की (स्मृति) को जोज जीत न द्वारा (स्वयं) हम लोग (सहरसे) अनुदान द्वारा यह (सम्पूर्णता) जोज नहीं द्वारा हम लोग (सम्पूर्णता) जोज नहीं होता (स्वामी) होते, जैसे भाषा (उद्देश्य) उन्नति को प्राप्त हुए (जैसे) ।" २१

इसी प्रकार इससे यथा लक्ष्य (७.१५.२२) जो हिन्दी भाषा में यह लिखते हैं—हेतु सूचना विधि के जरिए हारे विद्या! (दिविणोदा:) विद्याविद्या भाषा जोधे (बाली) वल (बाली) वाला (पूर्व) घोड़ा उद्ध र को उद्धरूला है, जैसे (पूर्वजीं) पूर्वजीं के बीच (स्वयं उद्देश्य) समस्याओं विधि प्राप्त हुए जीते, (शुल्क) आकार देखने यथा (भूकं) श्रवण्यार्थ से प्राप्त होने यथा (उद्देश्य) भाषा अर्थ (लाभ) समस्त (शुल्क) द्वारा से रहित सुख की (अर्थ) सिद्ध कींजिए, (तत्व:) इसके प्रकार (व्य) रुची (श्रवण:) प्रकट होते हुए हम लोग भी इस उद्देश्य पर (सम्पूर्णता) जोज नहीं प्रवाहित शान त के निबध (धर्मनि) उद्देश्य विधि की (श्रेष्ठता) को जोज करें। २२

"दिविणोदा:' शब्द के उपयोग का विश्लेषण से इस निदर्शन पर अनुभव का संकल्प है। क्या यह शब्द निराकरण योगमे है और वेदों में प्रायः भ्रानि के विश्वास के युग में ही प्रयुक्त हुआ है। इसके विश्वासभूत भ्रानि का धार्मिक परम्यत्व प्रकाशित व्याख्यात आद्वेदकारों के प्रयुक्त भीतरिक धर्मनि (पाणिनि, जैसे, तौक्य एवं यज्ञ) है। स्वामी बन्धुसन्ध के 'दिविणोदा:' के विश्वासभूत भ्रानि का सामान्य ध्रुविक पारस्परिक दृष्टि से परम्यत्व तथा यथेष्ठताको दृष्टि से विद्याविद्या है।
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THE VEDIC SARASVATI

By

O. P. BHARADWAJ

Sarasvatī can be called the holiest of the holy rivers of India in as much as it has retained its sacred character right from the Rgvedic age to the present day. Many other streams were christened after it by the people moving to other parts of the country from the region of Kurukṣetra which was the cradle of Indian civilization. Even the Gaṅgā was invested with more and more of her qualities with the passage of time. Gradually it came to signify all the holy rivers as a verse of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa suggests. According to the Mahābhārata the seven Sarasvatīs cover the universe and the Sarasvatī made her appearance whithersoever she was summoned. At Puṣkara she appeared under the name of Suprabhā, at Naimiṣa as Kāñcanakṣī, at Gayā as Viśālā, in northern Kosala as Manoramā, at Kurukṣetra as Oghavatī, at Gaṅgādāvāra as Śurenu and on the Himavat as Vimalodā. All these seven forms then came and mingled together in the Saptasārāsvata tīrtha in Kurukṣetra. However the important rivers which bear the name Sarasvatī are the Harkhaiti or Harahvaiti also called the Arghandab or Helmand in Kandahar (Arachocia), the Arbuda-Sarasvatī in Gujarāt and the Thanesar-Sarasvatī near the city of Thanesar now also known as Kurukṣetra.

Scholars who believe in the extra-Indian origin of the Aryans think that the name Harkhaiti or Harahvaiti travelled with them to India with the linguistic change of "Ha" to "Sa" while those believing in their autochthonous origin contend that the name Sarasvatī was carried westward by the outgoing Indo-Aryans and the linguistic process involved was of the change of "Sa" to "Ha". If we are not pre-disposed in favour of the foreign origin of the Indian Aryans the second alternative would appear more logical. Whereas it may not be possible to establish the philological process of the change of "Ha" to "Sa" and to explain particularly its change to all the sibilants "Śa", "Ṣa" and "Sa". It is quite easy to prove the reverse of it. From the earliest times through the ages we come across instances of this change of "Śa", "Ṣa" and "Sa" to "Ha" specially as we proceed from the traditional region of Madhya-deśa towards the west. To take only a couple of instances even now Sādhū is pronounced as Hau, Śivaji as Hibji, Sukhdeva as Hukhdeva, Daśa as
Daha and Sāhukāra as Haukāra in dialects of Marwar. Going back about 25 hundred years we find the place-name spelt as Tauṣāyaṇa by Pāṇini changing to Tohana at some later stage. The earlier change of Vedic Asura to Avestan Ahura and Sanskrit Sindhu to old Persian Hindū is well-known. The same process operated in the evolution of the name Śaryaṇā in the Rgveda and Śaryāṇa or Saryāṇa later to Haryāṇā which, like its original, earlier applied to the western parts of the present state. The consistent operation of this linguistic process of the replacement of sibilants by "Ha" thus justifies the conclusion that the name Sarasvati also logically underwent the same process in its westward journey and became Harahvaiti or Harkhaiti in Arachocia.

Even in India however, there are, as already noted, more than one river bearing this name. It is proposed to undertake an exercise here to identify the original Vedic Sarasvati.

The very name Arbuda Sarasvati shows that it is of late origin otherwise the association of Arbuda with it would be redundant. We are then left with only the Thanesar-Sarasvati which according to the Imperial Gazetteer of India (IGI), rises in Sirmur State, debouches on the plains at Adbadri, disappears in the sand a few miles farther on and comes up again about three miles to the south of Bhawanipur. It vanishes again at Balchhapar for a short distance to emerge once more and flows on in south-westerly direction across Karnal until it joins the Ghaggar in Patiala territory after a course of about 110 miles. On the way a district canal takes off from it near Pehowa about 24 km. below Thanesar. Running along the towns of Tohana and Sirsa it turns southward to enter Rajasthan in the district of Ganganagar where it vanishes in the sands of the desert.

There is no denying the fact that the name Sarasvatī at present applies to this river described in the IGI. It has indeed the partial support of literary evidence going back at least to the Epics. In the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa the Bhairavācārya who initiated Prabhākaravardhana in Tāṇtric rites is mentioned as staying in a deserted temple on the bank of the Sarasvati. On the death of Prabhākaravardhana his cremation takes place on the bank of the Sarasvati. His queen Yaśovatī preceeds him and plunges into fire at the same river. Finally when Harṣavardhana ascends the throne, his forces start on their victory march from the bank of the same river. Bāṇa, presenting a graphic description of this scene describes how the seal of the king drops face downwards on the dry mud of the bank of the holy river and his name is imprinted on the soft earth signifying, as it were, the stamping of the earth with the single seal of his sole command. Evidently the river flowing very close to Thanesar was at that time known by the name Sarasvatī.
The Mahābhārata also describes a large number of tīrthas which are located on the Adbadri-Thanesar-Sarasvati including the Kapālamocana, the Sthānviśvara and the Prthūdaka. It specifically mentions the location of the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha at the Sthānū Tīrtha and that of Viśvāmitra further on along the Sarasvati. The celebrated Sthānū Tīrtha is located on the northern side of the town. Only about 40 years back the flood waters of the Thanesar-Sarasvati used to flow into the holy tank at this tīrtha. Its antiquity undoubtedly goes back to the age of the Puṣpabhoṣis and it was from this tīrtha that the town and the Janapada acquired the name Sthānviśvara which first changed to Sthānesvara and then to Thanesar. Prthūdaka or Pehowa is named after King Prithi or Prthu son of Vena who figures as a Rṣī in the Rgveda.

In the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa while describing the return journey of prince Bharata from Girivraja in Kekaya to Ayodhyā the poet refers to his crossing the joint stream of the Sarasvati and the Gaṅgā before entering the Bhūrunda forest in the north of the Kīra-matsyas. As we have shown elsewhere this Sarasvati was also the Adbadri-Thanesar-Sarasvati while its tributary Gaṅgā represented a small stream in Kurukṣetra named after the holy Gaṅgā.

However there are indications that the river represented in all these references and flowing by the tīrthas like Adbadri, Kapālamocana, Thanesar and Pehowa actually acquired the name Sarasvati only at a later stage.

The Pehowa inscription of Bhoja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty locates Prthūdaka in the vicinity of the Prācī-Sarasvati. The Vāmana Purāṇa also gives to this river the name Prācī-Sarasvati at one place. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa again we specifically get the name Prācī-Sarasvati of the river in Brahmāvarta, the country of Manu which too obviously refers to the Thanesar-Sarasvati. It cannot be argued that the adjective Prācī meaning eastern applies to the Thanesar-Sarasvati at any one particular point because it is called Prācī-Sarasvati not only at Pehowa but also at Patan (Anhilpatak) in Gujarāt and at the holy tīrtha of Puṣkara at Ajmer. Therefore rightly remarks that the very application of the adjective Prācī to the Thanesar-Sarasvati presupposes the existence of an old river Sarasvati to its west. As we proceed, the truth of this observation will become evident.

The Epics associate at least four more rivers with the name Sarasvati. We may first refer here to the Rāmāyaṇa where it describes the westward journey of the messengers from Ayodhyā to Kekaya to fetch Bharata from his maternal uncle’s capital Girivraja on the sad and sudden
demise of King Daśaratha. Only the part of their journey in the region of Kurukṣetra is relevant for our purpose.

After crossing the Prāci-Sarasvatī and passing by the town of Puṣkarāvati, probably the same as Bilaspur, known for the two very old lotus-lakes Kapālamocana and Rṣamocana and as the capital of Śṛkṣaṇa Janapada, the messengers approach and ford the celestial river Śradaṇḍa which has been identified with the present Sadadeni, a tributary of the Markanda river which as already mentioned, joins the Prāci-Sarasvatī near Pehowa. Another tributary of the Markanda was the Aruṇā, now called Run Cho and mentioned by Vālmitki as Āgneyī.

The Markanda rises at Baraban in the hills of Katasan and after flowing from south-east to south-west for a distance of about 24 kms. passes into the Ambala district at Kala Amb. The main stream, which acquired the name Markanda because of the great Rṣi's association with it, was probably better known by the names of its two branches Aruṇā and Śradaṇḍa in the past. Śradaṇḍa is apparently the same as Śrāvati, both signifying 'a river abounding in reeds'. The people occupying the region below the Nahan Shiwaliks along the river and extending westward probably up to the Tangri inherited its name and are known as one of the constituents of the Śalva confederacy of tribes.

A traditional verse describes the Śrāvati as the boundary between the Prācyay and Uducya divisions of India. Amarakośa fully concurs with this in describing the country to the north of the Śrāvati as north-west and that to its south as east. Rājaśekhara says practically the same thing in different words when he places Uṭtarāpatha, another name for the Uducyas, on the other side of Prthūdaka. It is the 'Sadadeni-Aruṇā-Markanda that flows by the side of Pehowa after meeting the Thanesar-Prāci-Sarasvatī. There is, thus, adequate evidence to support the Śrāvati-Śradaṇḍa-Sadadden equation.

Hemādri quotes the same traditional verse with the reading Sarasvatī for Śrāvati which suggests that the Śrāvati-Śradaṇḍa-Sadadden was once known as Sarasvatī also. Same is the case with the main river Markanda. When propitiated by the Eternal Sage Mārkaṇḍeya the Sarasvatī, rising at Plakṣa is stated in the Vāmana Purāṇa to have followed him wherever he led her. It is thus the Sarasvatī itself which is named after sage Mārkaṇḍeya. The Aruṇā, too enjoys a similar situation as it is described in the Mahābhārata as Sarasvatī's own form and brought into being by Sarasvatī herself. All the three sister streams Śradaṇḍa, Markanda and Aruṇā thus shared the name Sarasvatī.
The next river forded by the messengers after crossing the Śradaññā is named in the Rāmāyaṇa as Ikṣumātī which has been identified with the Ghaggar flowing by the present town of Panchkula near Chandigarh. The Mahābhārata describes Ikṣumātī as a river of Kurukṣetra. Literally, the name signifies a river that is rich in sugarcane or whose belt is particularly noteworthy for its fabulous cane crops. This is applicable to the present river Ghaggar which is called Hakar in Rajasthan.

In several villages in the Parganas of Jodhpur and Malani in Rajasthan stone cane-crushers were found which are said to have been used for making gur when the Hakra flowed and supported rich cane crops in the area. Sultan Masaud, son of Mahmud of Ghazni, found the tract around the town of Sirsa, the ancient Sairīṣaka, remarkable for the extensive growth of cane which his forces used to fill up the moat for storming the fortress. The records of Timur's invasion also mention the sugarcane jungles of Tohana. Both the towns of Sirsa and Tohana are situated near Ghaggar. Ikṣumātī is a derivative name used for the river whose real identity is given away by the adjectives qualifying it. It has been called Pitpaitāmaḥt. Attempts have been made by commentators to explain this adjective to mean ‘connected with the ancestors of the Ikṣvākus’ or ‘frequented by the ancestors of Daśaratha’ or ‘the country and towns on whose banks were possessed by the Ikṣvākus.’

Such a construction would, however, be not only far fetched but also unreasonable in as much as the party comprised the messengers who were, at best, only royal servants and not members of the royal family with reference to whom the river could be called Pitpaitāmaḥt.

As it is, the adjective simply means ‘created by God Brahmā, who is known also as Prapitāmaḥa.’ Now, the river most closely associated with Brahmā is the Sarasvatī. She has been variously described as his daughter, his consort and his first creation among rivers. The alternate reading Devarṣicaritā too fits perfectly in the case of Sarasvatī. Illustrious names among gods and men are connected with her. Vālmiki therefore uses Ikṣumātī only as another name for Sarasvatī and leaves us in no doubt about it. Indumati, the variant reading for Ikṣumātī, is also a name for Sarasvatī which is supposed to have conveyed the Indumatī or Agni-Vaḍavānala to the ocean. The readings Devarṣicaritā and Indumati are, indeed, so obviously applicable to Sarasvatī that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that whosoever introduced them in the text must have been fully conscious of the poet's intention to refer to this river here. The names Śradaññā and Ikṣumātī or Indumati, again, conform to Vālmiki's preference for derivative names, as does the use of Vāruṇī for the Yamunā and Āgneyt for the Arunā.
This presents an interesting situation where we have three Sarasvatis, viz., the Ikṣumati-Ghaggar-Sarasvatī, the Aruṇā-Saradaṇḍā-Śarāvatī-Markanda-Sarasvatī and the Kurukṣetra-Thanesar-Sarasvatī, also known as Prācī or Eastern Sarasvati. While it does call for explanation, it does not defy a satisfactory solution.

The identification of the Rgvedic Sarasvati with the old bed of the Ghaggar in Rajasthan, called Hakra or Wahinda, is not seriously questioned. The difference of view is mainly over the course of the river above Vinaśana or the region about Kalibangan. It is somewhere above this point that the confluence of the Sarasvati and the Drśadvatī took place. A long distance before this, the Markanda-Sarasvatī joins the Ghaggar three miles above Akalgarh after the Prācī-Sarasvati of Thanesar has already merged with it at Urnai near Pehowa.

Now, the Rgveda describes the Sarasvati as the river par excellence, rushing down right from the mountains up to the ocean with a tempestuous roar, breaking and carrying down ridges of hills like lotus-stems and filling the realms of earth and the wide tract of the firmament. It is superior to her companions, and surpasses all other rivers by her majesty and glory. It is fierce, swiftest of the swift, mightiest of her class and best of rivers, best of mothers and even best of goddesses. Neither the Markanda-Sarasvatī nor the Thanesar-Prācī-Sarasvatī could ever lay claim to this description. The latter, although monopolising the name, is indeed but an insignificant rainy-season nullah, hardly fit to be called a river and now almost extinct. It might be somewhat better around the time of Harṣavardhana but could never have been so big as to inspire the Rgvedic poets to the extent of eliciting the lofty epithets quoted above. The terrain simply rules out such a possibility.

On the other hand, this picture of the Rgvedic Sarasvati immediately recalls to mind the 2-6 miles wide bed of the Hakra in Rajasthan and the furious flooded Ghaggar inundating vast areas. If ever the Ghaggar was a perennial river—as it undoubtedly was before the Brāhmaṇa period where we find Vinaśana mentioned for the first time—it must have deserved every word of the praise showered on the Rgvedic Sarasvati. Even now, although shorn of its prehistoric grandeur, it presents a formidable spectacle when at the peak of flood. The richness it bestowed on the soil in its belt has earned for it the epithet of Ikṣumati from Vālmīki, and won the adjectives like ‘possessed of wealth’ ‘having a golden path’ ‘possessed of vigour on account of flood’ and
'distributing riches to the whole world' from the Rgvedic seers. The Ghaggar-Iksumati was therefore the original and Rgvedic Sarasvatī which fact has been acknowledged by the Ādikavi in the use of the adjective Pitrpaitāmahī.

The validity of this identification can be easily verified. In the later Vedic literature, the Brāhmaṇas and the, Sūtras, we find Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa93 mentioned as the name of the source of the Sarasvatī and Vinaśana91 as the place of its disappearance in the sands of Bikaner. Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa has been identified with Lavasa reserved forest named after a village lying 30°.42' N by 77°.9'E in lower mountains in Pacchad sub-division of district Nahan in Himachal Pradesh92 and Vinaśana with the well-known Pre-Harappan/Harappan site of Kalibangan situated 29°.25'N by 74°.5'E, some 310 km, north-west of Delhi, in Hanumangarh district of Rajasthan.93 These two points are respectively the source and tail end of the Ghaggar too.

In Rgveda VIII.54.494 Sarasvatī is invoked separately with seven rivers while in VI. 61.10;1295 she is referred to as seven-sistered. This would suggest that she had seven tributaries. That these included the Indus would be clear from her adjective Sindhumātā96 where Sindhu cannot denote the ocean. The other six rivers were in all probability the five Punjab rivers—Jhelam, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej and the holy Dīśadvatī97 which forms with the Sarasvatī the venue of sacrifices by Bharata Princes in the Rgveda,98 of Dārśadvata sacrificial sessions in later Vedic literature,99 and the southern boundary of the holy heartland of Kurukṣetra in the Mahābhārata100 and the Purāṇas.101 Obviously the Kubhā cannot claim the seventh position in her place102 where the Sarasvatī is called the seventh103, the other six have to be the Indus and the five Punjab rivers which find mention as her tributaries, in the Vājasaneyi;Saṁhitā.104 That this was so at the time of the advent of the Arabs in Sind and till some time later has been conclusively shown by Raverty105 in his exhaustively documented study of the "Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries". It is, therefore, quite safe to accept the equation of the Vedic Sarasvatī with the Ghaggar as final.

It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves that in the age of the Rgveda this mighty river flowed from the mountains right up to the ocean which tradition is preserved even in later literature.106 It was at some point of time between the composition of the nucleus of the Rgveda and the age of the Atharva Veda and the Brāhmaṇas that something happened which led to the reduction in the flow and partial diversion of the waters of the Sarasvatī. We come across in literature several stories,
anecdotes or episodes containing veiled reference to the drying up of the Sarasvati and the nature of the event that led to this phenomenon.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa\textsuperscript{107} records an incident when the Rṣis expelled Kavaśa Ailūṣa from a Soma sacrifice being performed on the Sarasvati with the intention that he should die of thirst in the desert. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa\textsuperscript{108} also contains a similar reference in the episode of another sacrifice performed by the gods in Kurukṣetra. There the gods are said to have declared that the ant who would gnaw the bow-string of Viṣṇu would be granted constant enjoyment of food and he would find water even in the desert. A similar story occurs in the Śalya Parva\textsuperscript{109} of the Mahābhārata. While travelling, the three brothers Ėkata, Dvīta and Trīta encounter a wolf. Trīta runs along the Sarasvati, and falls into a well. Abandoned by his brothers, he performs a mental sacrifice which attracts the attention of Brhaspati who brings the gods to the well. The river goddess Sarasvati shoots forth from the well and Trīta is rescued. Evidently in the time to which these stories relate the Sarasvati had ceased to be a perennial river and people had started digging wells in its bed\textsuperscript{110} to tap the underground reserves of water which were replenished by the rainy season floods.

The death or drying up of the Sarasvati, named in the Purāṇas as the spouse of Nārāyaṇa,\textsuperscript{111} is implied in the story of her quarrel with her co-wife Gaṅgā in which both exchange curses leading to a pledge by the former to end her existence.\textsuperscript{112} Ultimately, as decreed by Nārāyaṇa, Sarasvati is persuaded to stay on and only a small part of her self descends into the holy land of Bhārata as Prāci-Sarasvati.\textsuperscript{113} This story would be easily seen to conceal a reference to the reduction in the flow of the holy river and the transfer of its name to another small stream on its east.

The Purāṇas\textsuperscript{114} describe the conveying of Agni-Vaḍavānala to the western ocean at the instance of God Brahmā by his daughter Sarasvati who flowed underground and surfaced only when she felt exhausted on account of the unbearable heat.\textsuperscript{115} In one case this fire was created by Rṣi Pippalāda for destruction of gods who had utilised the bones of his father Dādhicī for manufacturing weapons for killing the demons.\textsuperscript{116} Emerging from Plakṣa on the Himālaya, Sarasvati is obstructed on its way by a mountain wanting to marry her forcibly. Under the pretext of taking bath before the ceremony Sarasvati entrusts the fire to the mountain which is immediately burnt down by it.\textsuperscript{117} This is said to have happened in the Cākṣuṣa Manvāntara.\textsuperscript{118} Again in the Vaivasvata Manvāntara the same fire is born as Aurvānala to a woman belonging to
the tribe of the Bhṛgus who were attacked and plundered by Kṣatriyas. The woman was pregnant and escaped concealing the foetus in her thigh (Ūru) which gave the name Aurvānala to the fire that started consuming the earth immediately on its emergence. According to another version the woman gave birth to Rṣi Aurva who created the fire which was named after him. The fire created for destruction of the Haihaya Kṣatriyas who had indulged in large-scale slaughter of the Bhṛgus was however confined to the ocean by Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī is said to have conveyed Aurvānala in a golden pitcher and taking its rise at Pippalādā-śrama in the Himalayas it flowed westward reaching Kedāra where it pierced the earth’s crust to go underground burning with the fire in her hands. It broke forth again at Bhūtīvara after passing the evil region and then flowed towards Prabhāsa passing through Śrīkanṭhadeśa, Kurukṣetra, Virāṭanagara, Gopāyanagiri, Kharjūrtvana, Märkanḍā-śrama and Arbudāranya etc. The Skanda Purāṇa predicts the birth of another Vadāvānala at the end of the current Manvantara and thus implies a connection between Vadāvānala and the Deluge that is traditionally associated with the end of a Manvantara.

Although the Vadāvānala episode is related in several versions in different sources, its essential features do not suffer any serious change. Some interesting points deserve special notice here. Firstly the river Sarasvatī which conveyed the fire to the western ocean flowed through the country of Kurukṣetra which is specially mentioned along with Śrīkanṭhadeśa which comprised its northern part and Virāṭanagara which lay to its southwest near Jaipur. Secondly the Bhṛgus, with whom Aurvānala is associated, occupied the lower or western part of Kurukṣetra in ancient times as the tradition of construction by Paraśu-rāma Bhārgava of five pools with the blood of the cruel Kṣatriyas at Rāmahrauda, present Rām Rai near Jind, suggests. Thirdly the text mentions the emergence of the burning Aurva after a violent eruption in Kurudeśa which is most befitting because while the concealment of the foetus in or its birth from the thigh (Ūru) is obviously mythical the emergence of one of the Bhṛgus, after lying low for some time in Kurudeśa, to avenge the slaughter of his people is most natural. The hoary antiquity and commonness of the venue of the two events is undoubtedly the only explanation of the introduction of the Bhṛgus in the Vadāvānala episode. And lastly the upheaval was volcanic in nature that engulfed Kurudeśa and the mountain range to its north and drastically tampered with the source and course of the Sarasvatī which flowed red with the rubble thrown up and carried down in the process.

All this finds expression in another form in the story of the Sarasvatī carrying bloody water for a complete year as a result of the
curse of Viśvāmitra who felt annoyed on her failure to deliver Rṣi Vaśiṣṭha to him. Now significantly it was not the real Sarasvatī that flowed red with blood but her own other self named Aruṇā in the Mahābhārata\textsuperscript{131} and Āgneyī earlier in the Rāmāyaṇa.\textsuperscript{132} This Aruṇā has been identified with the present Run river\textsuperscript{133} which was at one time a major tributary of the river Markanda which crosses G.T. Road near the town of Shahbad in district Kurukṣetra about 19 km. from Ambala.\textsuperscript{134} Markanda or Aruṇā was one of the rivers that gained from the diversion of Sarasvatī’s waters and most probably it emerged in the process as an entirely new river. This is undoubtedly the meaning of another episode according to which Sarasvatī on being propitiated agreed to follow the Eternal Sage Mārkaṇḍeya\textsuperscript{135} who had, with his own eyes, witnessed the Great Deluge in the age of Manu Vaivasvata.\textsuperscript{136} This reference too clearly connects the diversion of Sarasvatī’s waters with the Great Deluge.

The sequel to the Vaśiṣṭhāpavāha episode is also relevant here. Sarasvatī, flowing red with blood, in her misery, complains to Vaśiṣṭha about Viśvāmitra’s curse.\textsuperscript{137} The sage travels from Arbuda to her source Plakṣa and, much agitated against Viśvāmitra, goes into meditation repeating the Vārūṇa mantra while fixing his gaze on the ground.\textsuperscript{138} As a result the earth is pierced at two points: from one gushes forth the Sarasvatī with water purified of the blood and from the other is born the Sāmbhramatī named after the Rṣi’s Sāmbhrama or agitation against Viśvāmitra.\textsuperscript{139} The Sarasvatī and the Sāmbhramatī in this episode undoubtedly refer to the Thanesar or Prāci-Sarasvatī and the Somb torrent with the old bed of which has been identified theṚgvedic Aśmanvatī-Dṛṣadvatī,\textsuperscript{140} re-Sanskritised into Sāmbhramatī in the medieval age.\textsuperscript{141} The two have their sources close to each other in the lower Shiwaliks above Ad Badri. The Thanesar-Sarasvatī and the Sāmbhramatī or the present Somb torrent meeting the Western Jumna Canal at Dadupur Canal works were thus the other rivers that shared Sarasvatī’s diverted waters, a large portion of which probably started flowing eastward into the Yamunā also through rivers like the Giri. That is why the Aruṇā-Markanda remained only a rainy season torrent and with the increase in the importance of the town of Śṭhāḍīśvara, now also called Kurukṣetra, the name Sarasvatī was appropriated by the insignificant stream flowing by its side as the name Prāci-Sarasvatī shows.

The event, probably a large-scale tectonic-seismic-volcanic upheaval, rightly described as the Deluge, was indeed so gigantic in proportions that it wrought serious changes in the topography of the Shiwaliks between the Yamunā and the Ravi and affected the whole of the region along the Sarasvatī lying between the Himalayas beyond Nahán on one side and the Rajasthan desert on the other. That this event led to the disappearance of
the Sarasvatī is specifically implied in the statement that the river vanished underground on account of the Vaḍavānala\textsuperscript{142} which it was made to carry to the ocean.

The episode of destruction of the Krauṇica mountain by god Kārṭtikeya reflects the volcanic aspect of the upheaval. According to the Mahābhārata\textsuperscript{143} the gods led by Brahmā brought Kārṭtikeya to the holy Sarasvatī and appointed him as the Commander of their army. There in the fight against the Daityas Kārṭtikeya rent assunder, with the sakti given by Agni, the Krauṇica mountain sheltered on which the demon Bāṇa, son of Bali, tormented the gods. The involvement of fire in the destruction of the Krauṇica mountain near the Sarasvatī river clearly points to volcanic eruption in the hilly tract about the upper reaches of the river.

The story of Tripuradāha by god Śiva\textsuperscript{144} also appears to rise from the same background. Here the fiery missile shot by the great god burns down Tripura with all its Asura population and dumps it into the Western Ocean.\textsuperscript{145} It was the Sarasvatī that provided the track for his chariot.\textsuperscript{146} The great magnitude of destruction is implied in the suggestion that Tripura actually represented not one but a complex of three prosperous Asura cities.\textsuperscript{147}

Yet another episode in the Mahābhārata,\textsuperscript{148} in which the Great Deluge appears to find an echo, is that of sage Utathya who drinks off the entire water of the ocean on Varuṇa’s refusal to return his bride Bhadrā whom the god had forcibly abducted. The country is reduced to a desert and Utathya asks the Sarasvatī to go invisible into it so that, forsaken by her, it becomes inauspicious.

There is therefore, sufficient evidence to justify the conclusion that according to traditional belief it was the Great Deluge that led to the disappearance about Kalibangan in the sands of Rajasthan, of the Rāgvedic Sarasvatī represented by the present Ghaggar river, as a result of diversion of its waters and loss of its catchment area.

We are now in a position to draw upon the testimony of archaeology to substantiate this traditional belief in the occurrence of the Great Deluge. Let us refer to the excavations at the Pre-Harappan/Harappan site of Kalibangan or Vīnaśana carried out by a very competent team consisting of senior officers of the Archaeological Survey of
India including J.P. Joshi and led by B.K. Thapar and B.B. Lal. In his remarks on the end of the Pre-Harappan or Period I Kalibangan settlement Prof. Lal says that at several places in the trenches were observed cleavage-cum-displacement of the strata and walls, which evidently was the result of some earth movement. He considers it most likely that the site was deserted because of an earthquake. Also in his view the occupation of Period II did not come into being immediately after the end of Period I but about 200 years later. Thapar also subscribes to this view and adds that during the time the site remained abandoned a thin layer of sand, largely infertile and wind-blown accumulated over the ruins.

No more observations upon the extent or intensity of the seismic activity that destroyed the Pre-Harappan phase of Kalibangan are available but whatever has been said is enough to justify the conclusion that it came in the form of a catastrophic earthquake probably accompanied by strong volcanic eruptions, that rendered the country uninhabitable for several centuries and must inevitably have involved terrible damage to life and property. Nor is there any reason to believe that its impact was confined to the region of Kalibangan. Prof. Lal himself admits elsewhere the possibility of a tectonic movement involving the divide between the Indus and Ganges systems and accounting for the drying up of the Ghaggar as a result of the diversion of some of its tributaries to the Yamuna as well as for the discovery of the water-laid deposits of Ochre Ware preceding the painted Grey Ware at the archaeological sites like Hastinapura, Ahichhatra, Bahadarabad, Nasirpur, Jhinjhina and Atranjikhera in the Ganges basin. However instead of identifying this tectonic movement with the seismic activity that hit the Pre-Harappan Kalibangan around B.C. 3000 as indicated by available evidence he confines it to the region of the source of these rivers where the Ghaggar and Yamuna basins come close to each other and places it about the first half of the second millennium B.C. so as to synchronise with the desertion of the site of Harappan Kalibangan as a result of the drying up of the Ghaggar and with the supposed later date of the Ganges basin O.C.W. sites. It looks rather improbable that a tectonic movement involving the expansive divide between the Indus and the Ganges systems should have been confined only to the region of their sources. It is also to be remembered that literary evidence supports fierce seismic-tectonic-volcanic activity extensively involving the long course of the river Sarasvati and its valley and not the Ganges system which hasn't thrown up any positive proof of widespread seismic upheaval like the one that destroyed Pre-Harappan Kalibangan. Neither are the courses of the Ganges and the Yamuna reported to have suffered any major changes at any stage in their known history.
Wheeler’s sensational theory of destruction of Harappa and Mohenjodaro by the savage Aryan hordes of India is no more taken seriously.\textsuperscript{153} It was indeed as far back as in 1940 that M.R. Sahni noticed silt deposits perched many feet above the level of the Indus plain near the city of Hyderabad and suggested the destruction of these cities as a result of serious floods caused by major tectonic upheavals.\textsuperscript{154} His view gathered support in only 1960 when a field party of the Pennsylvania University Museum undertook an archaeological survey of the Arabian coast of West Pakistan and discovered settlements of the Harappan era that had clearly been seaports but were now located as far as thirty miles inland showing clearly that the coast-line has risen considerably during the past 4000 years, with the initial rise apparently having occurred during the Harappan period.\textsuperscript{155} It is interesting to note that in his extensive surveys conducted in the same year in southern Baluchistan and the lower Indus Raikes\textsuperscript{156} also reports a marked coastal uplift along the northern flank of the Arabian sea about the Harappan times which according to him, might have been more extensive so as to cover even the Indus Valley. Raikes\textsuperscript{157} asserts that the uplift, accompanied by more or less violent earthquake shocks, would not only have caused destruction of cities and settlements but would have disrupted the system of river and coast-wise communication on which the commercial life of the culture must have largely depended. And this event, as he pertinently observes,\textsuperscript{158} may have occurred hundreds of thousands of years ago or merely a few thousand years, and it must be admitted that some of the geologists consulted on the subject tend to think in terms of hundreds of thousands of years which he ascribes to a certain reluctance on their part to consider anything more recent than 20,000 years old as geology. The view of Raikes is supported by a number of scholars\textsuperscript{159} and this makes it quite safe to accept the possibility of the occurrence of this event around 3000 B.C.\textsuperscript{160}

Although Raikes suspects Sehwan, some 90 miles downstream from Mohenjodaro, to be the most probable area of tectonic disturbance Lambriok believes\textsuperscript{161} that an avulsion and major change of course by the Indus took place considerably upstream of Mohenjodaro. On the other hand geological evidence of large-scale rock-faulting in the region\textsuperscript{162} justifies the suggestion that these earth-movements also embraced the region further north-east to the Shimla foothills across the Thar and the Indo-Gangetic divide\textsuperscript{163} and upraised the entire bed of the Sarasvati and the floor of the sea of its confluence.\textsuperscript{164} They might indeed be even more widespread because Sir Leonard Woolley\textsuperscript{165} also found at Ur in Mesopotamia indubitable proof of a flood which must have engulfed all the cities in the delta sometime before B.C. 3000. The significance of the synchronism and of the identical nature of the event can hardly be over-
emphasised and it is no more possible to dismiss the story of the Great Deluge as a myth now that its literary evidence finds full support in the concrete testimony of independent archaeological discoveries at different places.

The dating of the event agrees well with literary evidence as well as the testimony of Kalibangan. It is in the Atharva Veda that we meet with the first inklings of the occurrence of the Great Deluge in the mention of the term Nāvaprabhramśana which signifies the place of Manu’s landing (abandoning the ship) called Manoravasarpāṇa in the sātapatha Brāhmaṇa¹⁶⁷ and Naubandhana in later¹⁶⁸ literature. As already observed the Great Deluge apparently took place at some time between the composition of the nucleus of the Rgveda and the composition of the Atharva Veda and the Brāhmaṇas. The generally accepted dating of the Rgveda to 2500 B.C. by Winternitz,¹⁶⁹ is not far removed from 3000 B.C. and one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If a landmark is available the difference of 500 years becomes meaningless in case of probable dating of the events of hoary antiquity and for works the composition of which undoubtedly stretched over long periods of time.

At Kalibangan the following dates have been assigned to the two excavated levels of settlements by Lal and Thapar on the basis of C¹⁴ readings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Uncorrected</th>
<th>Corrected after Dales¹⁷⁰</th>
<th>Corrected after Ralph Michael &amp; Han¹⁷¹</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Period I—Pre-Harappan</td>
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<td>Period II—Harappan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lal</td>
<td>2400-2250</td>
<td>2950-2800</td>
<td>2930/2960-2700/2820</td>
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<td>Thapar</td>
<td>2450-2300</td>
<td>3000-2850</td>
<td>2970/2990-2850/2870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lal</td>
<td>2200-1700</td>
<td>2700-1900</td>
<td>2630/2670-2060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thapar</td>
<td>2300-1750</td>
<td>2850-1950</td>
<td>2850/2870-2110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Keeping in view the fact that the C¹⁴ dating method is not yet considered entirely fool-proof¹⁷² one cannot afford to be too rigid about these date-brackets. However even if they are taken at their face value one can safely place the end of the Pre-Harappan phase at Kalibangan around 3000 B.C. at the latest¹⁷³ as a result of the Great Deluge that took place in the time of Manu Vaivasvata.¹⁷⁴

The combined effect of all this evidence makes it appear most probable that the earth movements postulated by Lal and Raikes were
caused during the same fierce seismic-tectonic-volcanic upheaval which is known in literature as the Great Deluge that wrought extensive changes in the topography of the Shiwalik belt between the Yamunā and Ravi resulting in the diversion of the waters of the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī or Ghagear about 3000 B.C. and leading to its ultimate drying up around Vinaśana in the sands of Bikaner.

REFERENCES

2. 57.30 (ii) स्वर्ग: पुरा: सरस्वत्य: स्वर्ग: गङ्गा: समुद्रगङ्गा:।
5. It takes its rise on Mount Abu, traverses the contiguous forest (ब्रह्मदरभ) and flows past Patan into the Rann of Cutch. It finds mention in *Skanda Purāṇa*, Prabhāsa Khanda, XXXV. 38. and a grant of Mularūpa Chaulukya in the tenth century A.D. Vide *Indian Antiquary* VI, p. 192.
18. Ibid. p. 170.
20. Ibid. p. 203.
22. Śālya, 42.4.
23. *Harsucarita* Ch. III. p. 97.
25. See Bharadwaj, op. cit. p. 182.
26. T. 112. 15.
30. Sm. 21.19:
स्नालयै मुख्यम्।
देवमाये निःशृवृतया ।
31. Gita Press ed. 4.19.1:
धर्मार्दीस्त राजा तु हृदयमेधपतेन सः ।
वहारलम ममोऽषेच राजे माही सरस्वती ।
32. Indian Antiquary VI, p. 192.
33. Padma Purāṇa, ŚrīŚī Khaṇḍa, 18.220-221:
मुखार्यामुखामाये नामार्थामुखात्मकां यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो यज्ञो
54. Śalya, 42.24 (ii)
शरणामानन्यामाय स्वातः तनु भरतव्रतः


58. It is called Brahanandad; See Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 1.7.2 and 9.16.23.

59. Vāmana Purāṇa, 23.13:

लत देवी देवी चुराणां चुराणां पापविना मोचनीम ।

पशुलां ब्रह्मण पुष्यं हरिविज्ञां सरस्वतीम ।

and Mbh. Śānti, 121.24:

तवोक्ता ब्रह्मक्षेत्रं तवोक्ता सरस्वती ।

60. Devībhāgavata Purāṇa, 2.9.6.17:

स्वर्गी: सरस्वती गंगा तिशो भायिः हरिरेवि ।

फूण्यम् स्वर्गरातिः स्वर्गराति स्वर्गरातिः ।

61. Vāmana Purāṇa, 23.44: (i) पूव्य नदीय पिन्तिताममहे सृष्टा समं भूतमा: समस्तः: ॥

Note the use of पिन्तितामहेः an exact equivalent of पिन्तितामहः Mbh. Anuśasana, 134.15 calls it the first among rivers:

एषः सरस्वती पुष्यम् नदीनाम भूतमा: नरी ॥

62. Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, Venkateshwar Press ed. 17.53:

समस्त्वेन ततो देवी स्वातः चुराणां पवसंसारः ।

डवास चुराण गंगा तसं गंगोत्रायमिनि मोहद्विष्टः ॥

64. Bharadwaj, op. cit. p. 91.

68. Bhargava (op. cit. p. 57) places it below Manaktheri near Badopal & rightly identifies the Dīśavatī with the old bed now occupied by the Hansi-Hissar branch of the Western Jumna Canal. Also n. 102 infra.
69. Ibid. p. 79.
71. VII. 95.2 : सतीं निरुर्म न्या समुद्रात्
72. VI. 61.8 : समारकोट रोहत्
73. VI. 61.2 : दीनु तिररूणाँ तापालिभिरस्मिष्टमिथिः
74. VI. 61.11 : स्वपुर्णी पालिवायुध रजो श्रंतिरिक्षम्
75. VII. 95.4 : उत्तरा (स्वप्नी)
76. VII. 95.1 : महान्ना सिन्धुर्रथः
77. VI. 61.13 : श्रंभेमतर्यः
78. VI. 61.7 : भोराः
79. VI. 61.13 : संपात्यस्तमाः
80. VII. 96.1 : श्रवयुध नन्दीनाम्
81. ii. 41.16 : नन्दीनाम्
82. Ibid. श्रमितनम्
83. Ibid. देवीनाम्
84. Oldham, op. cit. p. 63.
86. RV, vii. 95.4 : राम्य पुष्या
87. RV, vi. 61.7 : श्रंभेर्म्नमिति
88. RV, vi. 61.3 : बाजेभार्म्नानीनयति
89. RV, vii. 95.2 : रामस्येवती श्रवयुधे भूतः
93. Ibid. pp. 20-43.
94. पृथ्वी विषुन्तृणम् मे सरवस्यवर्तु सत्तिस्मयं
95. उत्तरा न: स्वप्निं सरवशास्योऽभुवत्सा सुषुभ्यता सरवस्य स्तोमया भूतः
96. RV, vii. 36.6 : (i)
97. Also called Aśmanvati; both names denote literally: a river 'full of stones' or 'bringing down stones'.
98. iii. 23.4.
99. Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, xxv. 10., Āśvalāyana Śravata Sūtra, vi. 6., Kātyāyana Śravata Sūtra, xxiv-5, Sāṅkhāyana Śravata Sūtra, xiii. 29, Lāṭiyāyana Śravata Sūtra, x. 15. & Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, I. 1.2. etc.
100. Vana, 81.175.
101. Vāmana Purāṇa, 1.1., Manusmṛti, II.17. Gives it the name of Brahmāvarta.
103. RV, vii. 36.6. See supra n. 96.
104. XXXIV. 11.
107. ii. 19, Also Sānkhyāyana Brahmaṇa, xii. 3.
108. XIV. 1.18.
109. 35. 7-51.
110. The story specifically places the well in the river bed : Mbh. Śalya, 35.53:
    जपयान् च तं कुट्स्व प्रवस्य च शुनः पुनः: ।
    नन्दीसमिदीनत्रणा प्राप्तो विनवश्च तदा: ॥

111- See for instance Brahmavaitvāra Purāṇa, ii. Ch. 6.17 (i) :
    लक्ष्मीं सरस्वतीं गङ्गा तिलो भायो हरेरूप्य ।
    It is identical with Devibhāgavata, 2.9.6.17 which has been quoted above under n. 60.
112. Ibid. 70-71.
113. Ibid. ii.7.1 :
    गुणः क्रेः हानिज्ञाम भारते सा सरस्वती ।
    समागमेन कल्याण स्वयं तस्मै हुरे: पूर्वः ॥

114. Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, 17.53, see supra n. 63. Also Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa, 18.198.
116. Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, Ch. 32.
117. Ibid. 33.89.
118. Ibid. 35.34.
119. Ibid. 35.6.
120. Ibid. 34.56.
121. Ibid. 35.21-26.
122. Ibid. 35.30-41.
123. Ibid. 35.14.
125. Its capital was Bilaspur 33 miles north-west of Saharanpur on the road to Ambala, see Dey, op. cit. p. 191.
126 Ibid. p. 38.
128. Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa, 35.5 :
    कल्याणं ततो भिवद उष्णेऽस्मिनान्म: ।
    प्राणेन्द्रो भिवान्तिश्च ज्ञेत्यत्मोंस्यितमिष्य: ॥

129. Ibid. Nāgara Khaṇḍa, 175.13.
130. Vāmana Purāṇa, Sm. 19.22.
131. Śalya, 42.24 (ii), See supra n. 48.
132. See supra.
133. Bharadwaj, op. cit. p. 76f.
135. Vamana Purana, Sm. 11.23, see n. 47 supra.
137. Skanda Purana, Nagara Khand, 173.
138. Ibid. 9-10:
एवमुक्तवास स विभृंधिवतीयं धरणले । गतः ज्वलतं वस्मादशुरीणि सरस्वती ॥
समापि तथ संयाय निबिष्टों धरणितले । संस्करम परम गत्वा विश्वामिश्रसय चोपर ॥
139. Ibid.-12 & 14:
रघुवेवन विषयं लोचनामां विरोक्षणरूपः ॥
एकस्य सतल तिप्रं यत जाता सरस्वती ॥
द्वितीयस्तु प्रवाही यः संस्कर्मात्सत्य निर्गतः ॥
तस्य च संस्कर्मोत्तनाम नां जाता धरणले ॥
142. Padma Purana, Srṣīl Khand, 18.198.
143. Mbh. Salya, 43.50, 51:
ततः कुमारानासद देवा ब्रह्मपुरोगमः ॥
भृगुष्मारसर्वमाजुः। शेषवेदं सत्तास्तं ॥
पुरवा हृदयतरी देवैं सरित्रष्ट्रं सरस्वतीम् ॥
सम्बलक्ष्यव्यक्ते या व विष्णु लोकेषु विष्णुवत् ॥
and 45.71-73:
बाणो नामाय इति तथे बले। व्या महामल ॥
कौष्ठि परमार्थासाद देवसंधानाबाध ॥
संस्कर्ममहारसि शुचामुदयार्थी ॥
स कालिकेश्वर्य भवात्कौष्ठि चरणमेवज्ञातः ॥
ततः कौष्ठि महामल्यः। कौष्ठिमुद्यानविपिनिनियतः ॥
शत्रु विष्णु भगवानकार्तिकेयोऽतिनिमत्तः ॥
144. Mbh. Karna, Ch. 24.
145. Ibid. v. 120:
वैलक्षमार तमसः मुनीचेष्व विपुरूपः प्रति ॥
तस्सामुपग्राह दश्या प्रक्षप्ततिरिमयान्ये ॥
146. Ibid. v. 75:
कर्म संय तपोन्वयक्ष्य विभ्रितिः स्त्रयः ॥
ब्रह्मचारान मनमस्वातीत्तिरिस्य सरस्वती ॥
147. Ibid. v. 14:
ततो मेयः स्ववत्स्ता च त्रिमुनयुपराणि ह ॥
भीष्म कायस्तमनेते तु रौप्यं कारणोपि तथा ॥
149. For excavation notes see Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, p. 39; 1962-63, p. 20 ff; and 1963-64, p. 30 ff.

152. ‘A Deluge? Which Deluge? Yet another Facet of Problem of the Copper Hoard Culture’, American Anthropologist, Vol. 70, 1968, pp. 857-863; Abstracts produced in *Prātattva* No. 5, 1971-72, pp. 101-104. For opposition to the possibility of a Deluge in the Gaṅgā O.C.W. times see Sharma, R.P., in Ecology and Archaeology of Western India, Delhi 1977, pp. 75-77. Aggarwal, R.C. Director, Archaeology & Museums, Rajasthan (Rtd.) informs us that O.C.W. sites in Rajasthan have been dated to 3000 B.C.


155. Ibid.

156. op. cit. p. 302.

157. Ibid. p. 304.

158. Ibid. p. 302.

159. Ibid.

160. Dales, op. cit. p. 309.


162. Dales, op. cit. p. 309.


166. XIX. 39.8.

167. i.8.1.

168. Mbh. Vana, 185.47.


172. Ibid. p. 339. One of the basic assumptions of C14 method, namely the constancy of the atmosphere inventory of C14, O2, is not strictly valid. For various reasons it has fluctuated during past times. Also cf. Ward Anne, Adventures in Archaeology, London 1977, p. 15.

173. The contention of Indras (op. cit. p. 52) that the decay of the Sarasvati had already set in before the advent of the Vedic people is unwarranted.

174. Manu Vaivasvata has been assigned to 4000 B.C. by Law, N.N. (*Age of theṚgveda*, Calcutta 1965, p 143) and to 3000 B.C. by Bhargava, P.L. (*India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow 1956, p. 133) and Pusalkar, A.D. (*The Vedic Age*, London 1951, p. 269) who calculated it to 3110 B.C. The date 3000 B.C. which closely approaches the traditional beginning of the Kali age in 3102 B.C. would appear to be more reasonable.
MORAL VALUE AND THE PŪRVA-MĪMĀ︁ŚĀ

By

SADASHIV A. DANGE

The concept of Morality, or value, cannot be thought of in isolation; it presupposes a definite context. That context may be a social one, or a ritual one. Though it may look like duplicity to talk of a social context as different from the ritual one, in terms of morality, or value, it has to be remembered that, in practically all societies, a difference is maintained between these two strata. That is the reason, why the values reflected in rituals are not on the same level as those of a particular society in its modern phase.¹ The same is the case with myths. Restricting ourselves to the Vedic, and there too the Mīmāṁsaka tradition, it is necessary to examine the concepts of Dharma and Ṛta. It is a known fact that the Mīmāṁsaka school is embedded in ritualism; and it does not accept any other authority than the Veda and the Vedic tradition. Its concept of Dharma is plain. Jaimini established a system, after a thorough churning of ritualistic material; and it clearly says, "Sacrifice is itself Dharma".² This shows that the tradition accepts the wide connotation of the term Dharma, and yet restricts it to sacrifice and the various rituals in the sacrificial system. For that matter, the term dharma is very difficult to be explained in a fixed unit of words, or a short measured expression, that would contain all it implies. But, the Ṛgveda, at most places, shows that Dharma was, for the seers, a commonly accepted rule of conduct. This rule of conduct was two-fold: (i) The ritual-conduct; and (ii) social conduct. The latter was, more or less, seen as in the society of gods. Thus, when a particular god is said to have "his" dharma, it shows his distinguishing characteristic as seen in his action, or conduct. There are also instances where a dharma is common with various gods. That the concept of value is fully realized by the Vedic seers is clear in such expressions as "those were the first dharman-s" (Ṛgveda =RV I.164.43 and 50, where the reference is to ritual-value), and "If we transgress your dharman-s unmindfully" (RV VII. 89.5; cf. Atharva Veda VI. 51.3). The AV shows a difference between Dharma and karma (XI.7.17), indicating that dharma was an established code of conduct, while karma was an act of an individual; here, dharma has the implication of value; and, this value is in the social context. The Brhad. Up. (I.4.14) shows that the word dharma was seen in the context of social value,
when it says, that there is nothing beyond Dharma; that it is on the
basis of Dharma that even a weak person can subdue a strong one.³ It
identifies Satya and Dharma (Truth, the ever-lasting principle, and the
fixed code of conduct). And when the Aitareya Br. (VIII. 12) says for
the consecrated king, "Born is the protector of Dharma", the Dharma
refers to the code of conduct of the society. Value and social conduct
are clearly reflected in the expression of the RV, where it is said that
a person (normally) does not commit sin by himself; nay, it is not in his
power (VII.86.6 na sa svo daksah); he does it when he is beside himself
in the power of wine, wrath, or dice; or, when his mind goes astray;
moreover, in the sin of a younger one the elder one is associated; again,
stupour (sleep) mixes sin (an-rta) (with the normal conduct of a person).

The passage is as interesting as it is important. It suggests, that
for the Vedic people, normal social behaviour was a fact of life.⁴ It was
Ṛta. A behaviour against it was an-rta. But, an-rta (or sin) was an outside
contamination; it was like a virus. Normal behaviour was moral; beha-
viour against it was immoral. It has to be particularly noticed, that here
the conviction is that man is by nature not immoral. Another very impor-
tant point is, that for the contamination of sin, or immorality, the elders
in the society are as responsible as the person who gets contaminated
through being off-guard, himself. The thought holds good at all times;
and it holds good even today. Poverty may lead to sin; but, it is the
responsibility of the "Elders" (the kings, or politicians) who rule to see to
it that equal amenities are made available, so that the deprived person
should not get any chance to get contaminated by desire to transgress the
established moral code. As one of the most striking examples, in our
own days, having the same motif, may be taken of a conscientious leader
undertaking fast for the atonement for the bad behaviour of his follow-
ers. This concept of Dharma lies at the base of the multitudes of
expiations (prāyaścittas). The prāyaścittas cannot be taken to be restricted
to the religious context alone; they have an equally sound social context.
As a flaw in ritual required a prāyaścitta for the wholesomeness and hol-
iness of the ritual, a prāyaścitta in the social context absolved the person
of calumny in the eyes of the society. Even the prāyaścittas undergone
secretly, for lesser flaws which others might not have even known, had
an immense moral value; for they gave the performer the tranquility of
mind, which is a coveted desire of an individual. In the case of prāyaścittas
prescribed and performed openly, the readiness of the defaulter to under-
go them indicated repentance, which was a welcome step towards the gain
of social sympathy, and even status. The texts on rituals, right from the
Śāṅhītā and the Brāhmaṇa texts, are replete with prāyaścittas of various
types.⁵ These relate to ritual behaviour and have association with a code
of conduct, though it is restricted to sacrifice. Prāyaścittas that have
association with social conduct are mentioned in the Smṛti texts. However, the principle underlying both the sets is the same, which is, behavioural value.

The point of an-ṛta, as something astray from the moral, or the established order, brings us to the concept of Ṛta. This is no place to examine the various stages of the concept of Ṛta. It is, however, necessary to know, that, primarily, Ṛta was the Order—both cosmic and socio-ritual, against which it was not advisable to go. The gods abide by Ṛta; hence, some of them are specially called ṛtavān; so is the case with the ancient seers. The term, in this case, included the moral values of the society, together with the cosmic order. The sun, moon and the rivers went on their course regularly, because they followed Ṛta. Every behaviour was controlled by Ṛta, which, on the ethical plane, indicated certain fixed code of conduct. To transgress it was following an-ṛta. Though the word Ṛta went out of vogue in later times, it is constantly indicated in the word an-ṛta, which is current even this day. The highest god of the Vedic people, Agni, is described as “The First-born of Ṛta” (RV X.5.7), and the seer calls himself by the same epithet (X.61.19), as he is confident that he knows the working of the cosmos. On the practical side, Brahma, which is nothing but sacrifice for the earliest Vedic thinkers, is closely associated with Ṛta; because, Brahma is said to come from the abode of Ṛta (VII.36.1). On the other hand, Ṛta and Satya (Truth) are said to be cognates being born from cosmic brilliance (X.190.1). In the later Vedic stage of the ritual-texts, and further, Ṛta completely gave place to Satya as a social value. And, now, an-ṛta came to be juxtaposed with Satya, rather than Ṛta. But, the process had already started in the times of the Rgveda itself; it has the expression satyāṁte (VII.49.3). But, surprisingly, it does not have the most naturally expected expression ṛtāṁte. This will show that Truth as the principle of everlasting value was fully understood by the Vedic Hindus; and the fact was also expressed proverbially, when it is said, that the “Earth is propelled by Truth” (X.85.1). The expression is important, if we consider the whole verse. It says, “The earth is propelled by Truth; sky is propelled by the sun; the sons of Aditi (the gods) stand firm due to Ṛta; Soma is stationed in heaven”. It will be seen that the world of the mortals is said to rest on Truth, which is its utmost moral value. Thus, in the Vedic tradition Dharma, Ṛta, Satya and Brahma were more important than the gods; for, the gods had to abide by the values indicated by these concepts. Brahma was something to be performed, and the word had a different connotation from what was attached to it in the pure philosophical context. Brahma, as something to be performed, came to be the sacrifice which was the holiest act on the earth; and it is not to be wondered that the sacrificer was ordained to speak truth during (at
least!) the period of the sacrificial session. The Mīmāṁsakas, having heavy leaning onto the sacrificial tradition, understood Dharma as sacrifice itself. Hence it is stressed, “yāgādir eva dharmah”; and that Dharma is the one that is propounded by (in) the Veda alone!

The march from the Vedic texts, through the ritual texts, to the period of Jaimini, who was the founder of the Mīmāṁsā doctrine (between 400 B.C. and 200 B.C.) was a very long one. Ritual texts showed variations at various rituals; and many are the authorities mentioned by these texts. Ritual also got gradually evolved. It was, hence, necessary to give a general code for the performance of sacrifices. Jaimini did it and others expounded the subject. But, the suggestions and instructions given while doing it have been of immense use in getting at the moral values the Mīmāṁsā system stood for. That the Mīmāṁsā school started from ritual and entered social behaviour and law is attested by Colebrooke who says that the logic of the Mīmāṁsā is the logic of the law, and that a keen study of the application of the maxims of the Mīmāṁsā would constitute the philosophy of law. However, the law reflected in the Vedic texts and the later Smṛti texts is not the same in all cases. As we shall see later on in our discussion, the Smṛtis discard some of the practices found in the Veda; and, yet, the general gloss is that the Smṛtis are based on the Vedas! At the moment, we may just point out that the change of moral values reflected in certain cases in the Veda and the later Smṛti texts is obvious; and here is the real problem. One of the most glaring examples of this change is what is called “Kali-varjya” (practices to be discarded in the Kali age), such as Niyoga. But, before coming to that, it is better to note some unique dicta which indicate the concept of value and morality according to the Mīmāṁsakas.

The most important principle is that of a-pūrva. Apūrva is said to be the capacity that accrues to a person who performs a sacrifice. The Mīmāṁsakas believe that the Veda, which is the supreme authority, brings sacrifice and heaven, which is the fruit of sacrifice, together. Now, a sacrifice is a collection of many rites, and one rite does not remain when the new rite is performed. Also, the fruit of heaven does not accrue to the performer immediately after the sacrifice is over. Yet, in the injunction, “a person desirous of heaven should sacrifice” heaven is aimed at; and as it is so aimed at by the Veda, it is sure to accrue to the performer. To this end we have to presume the rise of a power that brings about the gain of heaven; the power, once created, gets stored in the performer (some say in the sacrifice itself, though ended); and this power results in the reward of heaven after the death of the sacrificer. There are two points in this assumption: (i) The power that is created was not there prior to the performance of the sacrifice; i.e. it is a-pūrva; and (ii)
when it is said that it abides in the performer, even after his death, it is clear that it gets attached to the soul, which would enjoy it in heaven. Jaimini says that even the very injunction, which causes the intense desire to perform a sacrifice (cõdana) is the source of Apûrva; and Śabara (about 200 A.D.) says that cõdana itself should be termed Apûrva. This is so, because the cõdana presupposes a link between the fruit and the act of sacrifice. It is here, that the statement, or a definition we may say, of Dharma—cõdanaṅkṣaṇo 'rtho dharmāḥ has its base. Having taken the base on the Veda and its injunctions (such as stated just above), the Mīmāṁsakas do not see any necessity of God. It is the Apûrva itself that is the dispenser of fruits. In the body of a whole sacrifice, Apûrva accrues at various levels right from the sprinkling of the grain for preparing the offering to the last offering. It has to be remembered, however, that Jaimini never mentions soul in any of his sūtras. But, non-mention of soul by Jaimini should not be taken as his belief in there being no soul, and that he was an atheist an allegation levelled against him in the tradition. Actually Śabara propounds the existence of the soul and for that best testimony is of Śaṅkara himself (Vedāntasūtra III. 3.53). Later Mīmāṁsakas believed not only in the individual soul, but also in the plurality of souls. On the lines of the Apûrva, they also believed that the individual soul is the performer as well as the enjoyer (कर्त्त and bhoktṛ). Beyond the individual soul, and those in all beings separately, they have no need to believe in the Supreme Soul, where the individual soul should merge. From this point of view, the Mīmāṁsā is the most practical and earthly system. In the social context, the principle of Apûrva does not separate the soul from what a person does, though it separates it (i.e., soul) from the body. The difference in the conditions of human beings (vaiśamya) gets exclaimed this way, as there is no kartṛ beyond the mortal performer; and moral values are only to be expected; because, the Veda never enjoins something that would be immoral. Even if somebody may point out to the various accounts about the gods in the Veda, referred to in the ritual-texts, the answer is that they are artha-vādas which extol the rites prescribed, or deprecate rites that are to be avoided. At any rate, God not being believed in as the Creator, there is no plight in explaining the diversity and disparity in the world, as is seen in Śaṅkara, who, though on the authority of the Kauśṭakakīrāhmanā Up. (III. 8), had to admit the covert will of God to this result, even averring that He is like rain showering equally!

It may be of interest to know, in this connection, that Jaimini's concept of human values (puruṣārtha-s) included only the Dharma, Artha and Kāma; the first was the supreme, and the next two were subservient to it. Dharma comprised the following of the injunctions of the śāstra-s, which, in the case of the Mīmāṁsakas, was the conduct according to the
injunctions of the Veda; these were mainly the daily rites. Artha included the conduct according to legal authorities; and Kāma comprised enjoyments of life. But these latter two were to be not in contravention to Dharma. It is only later, the Mokṣa (release) was added, on the analogy of the Vedānta; and this was done by Kumārila and Prabhākara (7th century A.D. and the 12th century A.D. respectively, leaving the divergence of opinion about the date of the latter). Kumārila stresses that what relates to Dharma and Mokṣa is known from the Veda, and that what relates to Artha and Kāma is known from worldly discourse (Tantravārttika I. 111.2). This would apparently indicate that Dharma has nothing to do with the norms of worldly life, which embraces only Artha and Kāma. But this is not the case. Purity in acts in the worldly life is closely associated with the Veda; for it is specifically said that the Vedas do not purify the unrighteous. Thus, purity, which presupposes behaviour according to the fixed norms of the society, is held to be absolutely necessary for the study of the Veda and the following of the Dharma. However, the question may arise when the sacrificial rituals expect acts that are not attested by the current practices. In such a situation, the traditional ritual has to be followed; for the ritual stratum has always to be separate from the normal social one. From Jaimini to the period of Kumārila, there is a shift in the aim of life, from svarga to apaśvarga (release, which is only another term for mokṣa). We have already noted, that svarga was not the immediate gain; and, hence the principle of Apūrva was a necessity. Conceptually, though svarga was a thing to be desired, it was only an inducement for the performance of sacrifice which is supreme. In mokṣa, for the Mīmāṃsakas, there is no sublation of the world unlike the Vedāntins. For them jñāna is only an indirect means to mokṣa. According to them, this jñāna is the means to know the difference of the soul from the body. Mokṣa, for the Mīmāṃsakas, is the state where the soul is free from pain, yet being conscious of the world. This is done by the adherence to the acts that are obligatory (nitiya-karman) which are the injunctions of the Veda, and such acts as Agnihotra where there is no desire for any fruit. This is not to be confused with the principle of niṣkāma karma, where a person is advised to do his duty without expecting the fruit. The concept of niṣkāma karman is a further step from the Mīmāṃsā principle of adherence to the nitiya-karman. It is the extension of nitiya-karman from the context of the Vedic injunctions to the social stratum of the world. As such, it has to be accepted that the Mīmāṃsā concept of adherence to nitiya-karman gave rise to that of niṣkāma karma. The discussion on the concept of value according to the Mīmāṃsakas, for whom the authority of the Veda is supreme, would show that those who did not have the access to the Veda, or its injunctions, would not get freedom from pain, which is mokṣa for them. Under this category
would come the Śūdras and women. Jaimini has plainly said so, and has quoted the authority of Ātreya.\textsuperscript{19} But, the basis for this explanation is psychological, rather than caste itself; and this has also been made clear by Jaimini. The four varṇas are classified on the basis of: Intelligence (Brāhmaṇa), ānânâkāra and mind (Kṣatriya), senses (Vaiśya) and the objects of senses (Śūdra). The last varṇa being mere object of senses, has no capacity for intelligence or sense or thinking, which fact is arrived at by the keen observation of the Vedic texts. Hence the Śūdras have no access to the Veda; and as they are the objects, they can be acquired; they cannot acquire anything. This, however, has to be seen in the context of the then society and its structure. But, if somehow the Śūdra can be proved to have intelligence, it will mean that he could have access to the Veda, as is the case in these days. The circular argument of no Veda no intelligence, and no intelligence no Veda was true in the ancient times. Already there has been a change in the position of the Mīmāṁsakas as to various values, as history shows; and with the example of mokṣa being already given above, there is no room to doubt why this could not be expected from the Mīmāṁsakas of modern times.

Another important contribution of the Mīmāṁsakas is the principles of kratvartha and puruṣārtha. As in the case of Āpūrva, the twin-concept of kratvartha and puruṣārtha was primarily set in the context of ritual; but, it got extended to the social context. Jaimini defines puruṣārtha as “that in which there is the desired happiness of man etc.”\textsuperscript{20} Thus, all main sacrifices are included in puruṣārtha. In kratvartha (“conducive to the sacrifice”) are included all details and auxiliary acts that have the purpose of accomplishing the main sacrifice. They include such rites as fore-offerings etc. What is kratvartha renders the whole sacrifice defective if it is, itself, defective. If what is puruṣārtha is not followed, the performer gets the blemish, while there is no defect in the sacrifice. Śabarā applies these principles, on the social stratum, to the acquisition of wealth. Now, if one acquires wealth by means not sanctioned by the śāstras and performs a holy act, such as sacrifice, the placement of defect will depend on whether the rules for the gain of wealth are kratvartha or puruṣārtha. If the acquisition of wealth is kratvartha, wealth obtained by means not prescribed by the śāstras will be defective, with the result that the sacrifice will be defective. But, if the acquisition of wealth is puruṣārtha such wealth could be used for any holy act, and the act will be meritorious. The performer may undergo an expiation. This twin principle has been used in the Dharmāśāstra; and it is decided, that the gain of wealth is puruṣārtha and not kratvartha, as the tendency to acquire wealth is natural to man, and no śāstra is required for it. An extension of this concept further has been helpful.
As the gain of money is purusārtha one may gain money by any means and do a pious act. The act has existing value. Thus, if a dacoit builds a temple, the temple remains intact as a place of respect; the dacoit may be punished for his act of dacoity. The same will be (and is) true in the case of many businessmen (who are termed prakāśa vaṇeṣaka by Manu) who build temples or construct places of public utility. It will be noticed that this plea of the Mīmāṃsākas has a great social value. Likewise, marriage is said to be purusārtha, which is a way to explain the change in the laws of marriage, based on a variety of customs. Hence, though the consideration of gṛitra is kratvartha marrying a diseased girl, against the caution of the śāstra is purusārtha. Though it is not stated clearly, marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter prevalent in some parts of the country could be explained on this plea, though some texts censure it as void. Actually, though writers on Dharmaśāstra did not specifically state it, the scope of kratvartha-purusārtha is very wide. As mentioned above, it explains almost all changes. what is kratvartha and what is purusārtha being decided by the thinkers of a specific period. This brings us to a very ticklish problem. Which is, of the practices reflected as prescribed in the Veda but not accepted by later law-givers. It is not necessary to go into details, which are termed kalivarjya (abandoned in the Kali age). We may refer to just one detail, the nityoga. Long discussions are found in this regard, Manu enjoining it and forbidding it; and, in that case, whether it is optional! The proper answer would be to say, that the purpose of nityoga (which is the appointment of a person, preferably younger brother of a deceased person, or of an impotent person, to beget a son on the latter's wife) is to procreate a son for another person; the gain of a son is a necessity for the gain of heaven; hence, this depends on the natural desire of a man. Hence, the gain of a son, by whatever means, is purusārtha. Hence, there is no defect in such a son and in such a method. In the event of change in values and concepts, say in the Kaliyuga and modern times, the same is not purusārtha. Then it is viewed as kratvartha; and the resulting birth of such a son and the son himself becomes defective. What is the kratu in this case of a sexual act? Well, a sexual act is not itself censurable, if it is within the accepted norms of a society. According to the Hindu tradition all saṁskāras, including the garbhādhāna are ritual acts. Even in nityoga the act was supposed to be holy; and the person 'appointed' had to do it in a particular discipline, and the period for the act was called Brāhma. Hence, it was a veritable kratu. Actually, in changed times, this act will even cease to be viewed as a kratu.

What has been said above as regards kratvartha and purusārtha would explain the Mīmāṃsā position as regards Vedic rituals (and not mere mythical accounts referred to as arthavādas), which are unpalatable
to-day. The *kratvartha-puruṣārtha* concept is fluid and suits the change in value.

REFERENCES

1. For such rituals and their study see S.A. Dange, *Sexual Symbolism from the Vedic Ritual*, Delhi, 1979, esp. pp. 1-82.
3. Cf. *atho abalīyān baliyānsām ēśamsate dharmaṇa*.
4. The *Ṛgveda* says that a person who eats without caring for others eats food that is of no use to him, RV X. 117.6.
6. See Dange, op. cit., pp. 8-14, where other views are noted.
7. RV II. 28.28.6; V.65.2; II.24.7 etc.
8. Ai Br I.6; Taittirīya Saṃhitā II.5.5.6.
12. Padma Purāṇa, VI.263.74-76.
15. Cf. *eṣa hy evainam sādhu karma kārayati* . . . . and *eṣa hy evainam asādhu karma kārayati*.
17. The injunction *svarga-kāmo yajeta* is explained by the Mīmāṃsakas as: *yūgena svargam bhūrayet*, where *yūga* has higher status.
18. Pūrva M.S. (Jaiminī) IV.3.15 and Śabara.
20. Ibid, IV.1.2 *yasmin prīthiḥ puruṣasya* . . .
21. Manusmṛti IX.237 *prakāśaivahakās teṣāṁ nānāpanyopajīvinaḥ*.
22. Thus at various places in the Brahmaṇa texts we have mention of a practice, which is advised to be discarded with the words *taṁ na ādṛtiyaṁ, or taṅu taṅkā na kuryāt*. The present writer has taken up a project on such variations.
23. For which see Kane, P.V., op. cit., pp. 1267-72.
FEMALE DIVINITIES VIS-A-VIS ŚRAUTA RITES

By

S. K. LAL

The employment of a divinity, whether male or female, in a Śrauta rite is primarily intended for the smooth functioning and successful completion of the rite, so that the desired goal accrues unfailingly to the sacrificer. Gods and goddesses constitute the body of the sacrifice, not its soul. They are means, not ends.

Although male divinities hold prominent positions in the Vedic thought pattern, the place of female divinities in the Śrauta and Gṛhya rites is not insignificant.¹ The aim of this paper is to scan through some of the Śrauta rites with a view to presenting an account of the different roles played by female divinities in the Vedic sacrifices. For this purpose, the paper has been divided under two broad headings, viz.:

1. female divinities and Vedic sacrifices in general: a survey,
2. female divinities and Śrauta rites in particular.

Female Divinities and Vedic Sacrifices in General: A Survey

There are certain references in Vedic texts which point out that female divinities are worthy of a sacrifice and that they receive a share therein. For instance, RV 3 54.18 says that Aditi² deserves a sacrifice. Agni is prayed to bring Aditi to the place of the sacrifice (RV 7.39.5). She is invoked in a rite for the protection of the sacrifice from disturbance.³ Ākūti, intention personified, is described as the mother of the sacrifice (TB 2.5.32). Iḍā, personification of food and libation, is mentioned as an exponent of the sacrificial lore (TB 1.1.4.4). Vāgdevī has a close connection with sacrifice (MS 3.7.5). She is the first to have comprehended and expounded the science of sacrifice. Iḍā, Sarasvatī, and Bhāratī are implored for placing the sacrifice amidst the gods,⁴ they themselves obtain strength from the offerings made at the sacrifices. They have been solicited for the continuation of the sacrificial activities (VS 20.43; TB 2.6.8.4). Gāyatrī, a solar divinity, is beseeched to protect the sacrificer from any harm that may come during the course of the sacrifice (KS 15.7). Agni is invoked to bring Dhiṣaṇā, goddess of intellect, to the place of the sacrifice for pro-
tection and wealth (RV 1.22.10). Nādī-devatās bring out Soma stalks with their delicate hands, cleanse them, pound them and offer the juice to their lord, Indra (RV 3.36.7). They increase Soma (RV 9.9.4). In appreciation of their good deed, lord Soma (=Soma god) offers them an honourable place to sit beside him (RV 9.86.21). It is also enjoined that oblations should be offered and offerings should be made to the Nādī-devatās. Particularly river-goddess Sarasvatī is earnestly urged upon to accept the sacrifice (RV 1.3.10; 11). In RV 3.4.8 she, along with other kindred rivers, is invoked to come to the sacrifice and sit on the sacrificial grass (RV 3.4.8; 7.2.8). Anumati, permission or favour personified, favours the sacrifice among the gods who are present at the sacrifice. She brings happiness to the sacrificer (VS 34.9). She acts as a mediator between the sacrificer and the gods (AB 7.10). The wife of the sacrificer has also some work to do in a Vedic sacrifice. When a sacrifice has been commenced, and if the wife of the sacrificer dies or disappears during the course of that sacrifice, a female divinity, namely, Śraddhā, faith personified, is the substitute for his wife. Śraddhā purifies the heart of the sacrificer. The Yajamāna forms a pair with Śraddhā, and by means of such a union, he attains svarga (AB 7.10).

Some of the female divinities are closely linked with Soma-pressing and even Soma-drinking. It is mentioned that Aditi takes delight in drinking the Soma (RV 9.81.5), and so Soma juice is offered to her (TS 3.2.5.1). From among the different Soma-grahus, Aditi receives a share of Soma in the Ādityagraha (SB 4.9.2.6; 7). TS 3.2.5.; 2 says that goddess Vāk relishes the Soma-drink. She is also asked to sit down beside lord Soma and enjoy Soma-drink in his company (VS 8.37). Iḍā, Sarasvatī and Bhāratī, are asked to press Soma for Indra. Goddess Gāyatrī is associated with the morning pressing. On the celestial level, it is she who brings Soma from his heavenly abode. Dhiṣaṇā prepares a drink of Soma (RV 4.34.1) and offers it longingly for the pleasure of the gods (RV 1.109.4). It is said that the grāvans (press-stones) are placed in the womb of Dhiṣaṇā. Soma is pressed there and Indra and Agni enjoy that drink (RV 1.109.3). Vasatīvart water is regarded as the seven rivers, and it is supposed that the seven rivers adorn Soma in the form of Vasatīvart waters (RV 9.92.4). It is said that the Adābhya cup of Soma is Vāk herself (SB 11.5.9.1-2). Goddess Vāk serves as a means for the performance of a sacrifice (KB 13.9; 17.7). She is the host of the sacrifice. Her name itself is Hotrā. Sarasvatī carries the sacrifice (RV 1.3.11) to the gods.
Female Divinities and Śrānta Rites in Particular

Vedi

Vedi is often compared to a woman or the womb of woman. Iḍā has been identified with Vedi (TS 7.4.18.2) which is said to represent the entire earth (RV 2.10.1). Agni sits in the lap of Iḍā, i.e. Vedi (RV 1.128.1). It is said that Prajāpati was above before he created the universe. He had only two companions, namely, Vāk and words. He contemplated that by performing a sacrifice, he would become manifold. He performed a sacrifice. In that sacrifice, Vāk served as a Vedi.¹⁰

Dīkṣā

Dīkṣā is the preparatory rite in a Soma sacrifice. It prepares the sacrificer to undergo the full curse of a sacrifice. In the Dīkṣā rite, four oblations are offered respectively to: (1) Ākūṭi, (2) Medhā, (3) Dīkṣā, (4) Sarasvati.¹¹ It is noteworthy that Dīkṣā itself is regarded as a female divinity. In the same ceremony, Soma is asked to initiate the sacrificer for Śraddhā (JB 2.65).

Agnicayana

The piling of the fire-altar constitutes an important rite in a Soma sacrifice. The fire-altar symbolizes the great cosmic womb. Female divinities play significant roles in the Agnicayana. For instance, the Adhvaryu, after placing the fire on the āsandi, loosens the knot of the sling that holds the ukhā (fire pan) and recites RV 1.24.15. In this Rk, Varuṇa is beseeched to loosen the three bonds, i.e. upper, lower, and middle, of the sacrificer, and bestow on him the loving care of the goddess Aditi.¹² It should be noted that Aditi is closely connected with Varuṇa’s Rta and pāśa. Śrīvālī, a goddess of fertility and child birth, is asked to soften the clay used for preparing the ukhā, (ukhā is a symbol of womb), and hand it over to the goddess Aditi who will receive Agni pleasantly like a mother.¹³ In another place, Aditi herself is implored to fashion the ukhā with her mighty arms and skill and then bear Agni. In the rite of baking the ukhā, Aditi is invoked, along with the wives of gods, Dhiṣanā, Gnāh and Varurī.¹⁴ They are assigned different functions connected with the baking ceremony. When the uttaravedi has been piled up, it is supposed that it becomes very hot, and, therefore, after the recitation of the Śatarudriya, water is sprinkled on it to lessen the heat. Agni is then invoked to descend on the altar which is regarded as the comfortable lap of the mother-goddess river.¹⁵ The river goddesses are invoked also while laying down the bricks known as the Kumbheṣṭakās.¹⁶ When the Chāndogy bricks are laid down on the fifth layer of the fire altar, the goddess Rātri is addressed as the uniting metre (ŚB 8.5.2.5). While the Svayamātrīṇā
bricks are being put down on the fire-altar in different quarters, the quarters are addressed to bring the favour of Sarasvatī and strengthen the speech of the sacrificer (TS 4.3.6.2). In the Vasordhāra rite, after the fire-altar is built up, the Adhvaryu wishes to obtain the grace of Vāk. Sarasvatī and her consort Sarasvatī are invoked in this rite. While piling up the Prāṇabhiṅ brinks, the Adhvaryu says that he takes Vāk for offering (TS 4.3.2.3). Carus are also offered to the four lunar divinities in the Agnicayana, when four logeṣṭakās are placed near the spine of the altar (KāṭŚŚ 18.106-107).

Darśapūrṇamāsa

In the Patnāśatmyāya rite of the Darśapūrṇamāsa, ĀśŚŚ 1.0 employs RV 3.4.11 where Aditi is invoked to come to the sacrifice and take her seat on the barhīs. In the same rite, four spoonfuls of clarified butter are taken into the jhu and chaff of rice is added to it. The oblation of this mixture is offered to Sarasvatī (MS 1.4.2-3). When the Adhvaryu takes up the two spoons, namely, sruc (or jhu) and srva, he invokes goddess Sarasvatī. It may be pointed out that junu is regarded as a tongue, the place of Sarasvatī (VS 2.20). Offerings are also made to Sīṁhāli, Kuhu, and Rākā.

Pravargya

In the Pravargya rite of the Soma sacrifice, while offering two Rauhina cakes, goddess Rātri is invoked to be pleased with her brightness (VS 3.7; 21). In the same ceremony, the Adhvaryu prays to Bṛhaspati to grant him the favour of Sarasvatī (MS 4.9.3). The Agnihotra cow is addressed as Sarasvatī. The udders of the Agnihotra cow are compared to the breasts of Sarasvatī (RV 10.164.49; VS 38.5). In the rite connected with the disposal of the Pravargya, Anumati is invoked and AV 7.21.2 and VS 34.9 recited on the occasion.

Aśvinaśatra

In the Prātaranuvāka of the Aśvinaśatra, Agni is prayed to bring Aditi along with the Ādityas. After the conclusion of this anuvāka, the Adhvaryu offers clarified butter in the fire in the honour of Dhiṣapā, Agni, and the divinities of the waters.

Vājapeya

In the Vājapeya sacrifice, in a rite connected with removing the chariot from the South of the Mahāvedi to the Uttaravedi, the RV hymn 1.89 is recited which is an invocation to Aditi. VS 9 27 (=RV 10.141 5) is employed in the Vājaprīṣavāṇīya rite of the Vājapeya sacrifice where Sarasvatī is invoked with Vāk and other gods for obtaining gifts and
boons. After the rite is over, the Adhvaryu sprinkles the Yajñāna on
the head with the remaining homa-dravya and, it is believed, this puts
him under the good care of goddess Sarasvatī (VS 9.30).

Sautrāmaṇī

This sacrifice consists mainly of the offering of surā and flesh of
goat and ewe to the three major divinities, viz., Aśvins, Sarasvatī and
Indra, Aśvins and Sarasvatī are regarded as the physicians and Indra as the
patient (VS 19.12). Goddess Sarasvatī, along with some other divinities,
is implored to cure Indra of his sickness caused by excessive drinking of
Soma (VS 19.80). Gāyatrī is also invoked to grant Indra power and life
(VS 21.22). In the same sacrifice, while sitting down on the āsandi, the
sacrificer touches the limbs of his body, recites the benedictory verses, and
invokes Sarasvatī for powerful speech (VS 20.6). In this sacrifice,
Śraddhā functions as dīkṣā (ŚB 12.8.3; 4).23 When the Yajamāna puts
three sticks on the Āhavaniya fire, he says that he is performing this
act having first obtained the grace of Śraddhā (VS 20.40).

Rājasūya

In the Ratnāmahaviruṇi rite of the Rājasūya, the king offers a
pap to Aditi in the house of his chief queen, for Aditi is regarded as the
wife of the gods (ŚB 5.3.1.4) as the queen is the wife of the king.24 In the
Prayuj rite of this sacrifice, caru is offered to the goddess Sarasvatī.25
While the Adhvaryu prepares water for the abhiśeka ceremony, and
spreads a tiger's skin in front of the Maitrāvaruna's dhīsyaś, VS 10.5 is
recited where Sarasvatī is invoked. Caru is offered to Sarasvatī in the Vaiś-
vadeva offerings.26 She receives caru in the Sākamedha offerings also.27
The four lunar divinities, Sinivālī, Kuhū, Anumati and Rākā, along
with Prajāpati (Kaḥ), are the deities of the Devikā oblations in the
Rājasūya sacrifice (ĀŚŚS 6.14.15). They are compared with the five
directions. There, the four female deities represent four regions and Prajā-
pati represents the one above. When the sacrificer figuratively ascends all
the directions, devī Gāyatrī is invoked to protect him in the east.28

Āśvamedha

TS 4.6.6.4 employs RV 6.75.12; 17 in the Āśvamedha when the
king rides on his chariot. In these two Rks, Aditi is beseeched to grant
him protection from arrows in the battle-field. Gāyatrī is also invoked in
this sacrifice (KS 43.2; 51.1). In the same sacrifice, a black buck is offered
to goddess Rātri (VS 24.30).

Gargatīrātra

In this sacrifice (also known as Sahasradakṣṇatīrātra—a sacrifice
of three pressing-days in which one thousand cows are given as daksinā to the priests), the Adhvaryu leads the sāhasri (one thousandth) cow to the sacrificial ground and makes her smell dronakalaśa which is already kept in the north of the havirdhana shed. He mutters in her right ear addressing her as goddess Iđā. The sāhasri cow is regarded also as Vāk and the remaining 999 cows are regarded as her progeny (ŚB 4.5.8.3-4).

There are certain female divinities who, though not directly involved in a sacrifice, are invoked, and offerings are made to them to keep them away from the sacrifice. Such divinities are inimical in nature and their presence hampers the smooth functioning of a sacrifice. They are prayed to remove any impediments or obstacles in the performance of a sacrifice. One such divinity is Nirṛti. When the Gārhapatiya fire has been piled up, three bricks for Nirṛti are taken out from it and with these bricks the priest and the sacrificer proceed to the south-western quarter and lay down the bricks in a cleft or a hollow reciting VS 12.62-64. Between the sacrificer and the bricks, water is poured out. This rite aims at warding off Nirṛti who is a goddess of perdition and misfortune. If a cake for offering to a divinity is burnt, it shows that sacrifice is possessed by Nirṛti. Therefore, the offering is suspended and another cake is baked for the deity concerned (ĀpŚŚ 9.15. 6-9). The presiding divinities of the quarters are begged to release the sacrificer from the fetters of Nirṛti. The press-stones are solicited to keep Nirṛti away so that there may not be any obstacles in the sacrifice (RV 10.36.4). Varuṇa, the guardian of Ṛta, has been besought to keep Nirṛti away from the sacrifice (RV 1.24.9). It is believed that, at the time of the recitation of the Aśvinaśastra, Nirṛti stands near the Hotṛ with her nose ready to cast on him as soon as he concludes the recitation of the Śastra. Bṛhaspati secures through her evil-design and, in order to prevent her from her evil desire, he foresees the Dvipadā verse which the Hotṛ recites in order to avert any calamity, that might befall due to Nirṛti’s presence (AB 4.10) In the Rājaśūya sacrifice, five offerings are made to Anumati, Nirṛti, and some other deities. The offering is made first to Nirṛti to placate her for removing any trouble ahead. In a Soma sacrifice, four uparavases (sounding-holes) are dug in the cart-shed of King Soma. It is suspected that the demons have dug in the Kṛtyā-valaga (an abhicāra) in the world. By means of these sounding holes, the gods dig out the Kṛtyā charm and save the world from her evil influence. This rite ensures also the smooth functioning of the sacrifice, without any evil influence of Kṛtyā.

Conclusion of the survey

On the basis of the above brief conspectus of the Śrauta rituals, the parts played by the female divinities may be deduced as shown in the following table:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female deities</th>
<th>Śrauta rituals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aditi</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Aśvina-śastra, Vājapeya, Rājaśūya, Aśvamedha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākūṭi</td>
<td>Dīkṣā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medhā</td>
<td>Dīkṣā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarasvatī (Vāgdevī)</td>
<td>Dīkṣā. Vedi, Agnicayana, Vasōrdhārā rite, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Pravargya, Vājapeya (Vājaprasavaniyakarman), Saurāmaṇī, Rājaśūya, Gargatirātra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śraddhā</td>
<td>Dīkṣā, Saurāmaṇī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iḍā</td>
<td>Vedi, Gargatirātra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anumati</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Pravargya, Rājaśūya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinīvāli</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Darśapūrṇamāsā, Rājaśūya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhiṣaṇā</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Darśapūrṇamāsa (Barhirāharaṇa), Aśvina-śastra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnāḥ</td>
<td>Agnicayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gāyatrī</td>
<td>Saurāmaṇī, Rājaśūya, Aśvamedha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varutri</td>
<td>Agnicayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nadidevatās</td>
<td>Agnicayana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirṛti</td>
<td>Agnicayana (Gārhapatyā fire), Soma-pressing, Aśvina-śastra, Rājaśūya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kṛtyā</td>
<td>Soma sacrifice (uparavāses).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rātri</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Pravargya, Aśvamedha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuhū</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Rājaśūya.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rākā</td>
<td>Agnicayana, Darśapūrṇamāsa, Rājaśūya.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusion**

A cursory glance over the above survey of the female deities in Vedic sacrifices will bring out one patent point. All the female divinities mentioned above are purely Vedic in their provenance. They must have been formulated and shaped before Aryan incursions into the Saptasindhuv region. That is the reason that there is no trace of any visible influence of indigenous and more prominent female divinities of the Śiva-group on these Vedic female divinities. The female divinities of the Śiva-group got boost only in the post-Vedic Brāhmaṇic, more particularly Purānic religious thoughts and practices because of an historical revival of the indigenous mother-cult which was pushed to the background momentarily by the onslaught of the domineering Vedic sacrificial cult. The Aryan-Aryan dichotomy has been maintained in the Vedic Śrauta and Gṛhya rites.

However, the original concept of female divinities of Vedic thinkers must have received an added support from the indigenous popular mother-
goddesses so as to impel the Vedic myth-makers to elevate their female divinities on a par with, if not more than, their male divinities.\textsuperscript{35}

REFERENCES

2. For the growth, nature, and function of some of the female deities mentioned in this paper, refer to S.K. Lal, \textit{Female Divinities}, CASS publication, University of Poona, 1980
3. Kauś 46.4.5; AV 6.7.1.
4. VS 28.18; 29.8; TS 5.1.11.3; MS 3.16.2.
5. VS 20.65; MS 3.11.3; KS 38.8.
6. TS 3.2.9.1; SB 4.1.1.8.
7. SB 3.6.2.2; AB 3.25.26.
8. KB 13.9; 17.7; GB 2.3.8; 5.4.
9. RV 1.120.1, 129.7; 10.64.15.
10. MS 1.9.1; TĀ 3.1.1.
11. TS 1.2.2.9; VS 4.7; MS 1.2.2; KS 2.2.
12. TS 4.2.1.3; 4; MS 1.2.18; 4.4.17; AV 7.88.3; SB 6.7.3.8.
13. TS 4.1.5.3; MS 2.7.5.
14. TS 4.1.6.1; SB 6.5.1.10; 11.
15. VS 17.6; SB 9.1.2.27; TS 4.6.1.2; MS 2.10.1.
16. TS 5.6.1.2-4; MS 2.13.1.
17. TS 4.7.1.2; VS 18.2; MS 2.11.2; KS 3.10.
18. VS 18.20; TS 4.7.6.1.
19. ĀpŚŚ 3.9.4. VarahŚŚ 1.1.4.9.
20. VS 38.1; SB 14.2 17.15.
21. RV 7.10.4; TS 5.1.11.2.
22. TS 1.3.13.1; VS 6.26; SB 3.9.3.14; MS 1.3.1.
23. There is no Dīkṣā rite in the Sautrāmaṇī.
24. MS 4.3.8; TS 1.8.9.1; SB 5.3.1.4.
25. TS 1.8.20.1; TB 1.8.4.
26. TS 1.8.2.1; TB 1.6.2.3; SB 5.3.2.10.
27. TS 1.8.4.2; TB 1.6.6.7; VS 3.49.50; SB 2.5.3.1.
28. TS 1.8.13.1; SB 5.4.1.3.
29. TS 7.1.5; KatŚŚ 13.4.15.
30. TS 7.1.6.8; VS 8.43; SB 4.5.8.1.
31. One may appreciate the clever imagery here. The 1000th cow is Vāk, goddess of speech; and the 999 cows, following her, may be understood as syllables.
32. TS 1.4.45.1 employs this Ṛk in the \textit{avahṛtha} ceremony.
33. The broad features of the Vedic sacrifice including the Soma sacrifice had already taken shape in the proto-Aryan period in the Balkh region before Indo-Aryans and Irano-Aryans separated and proceeded to two different directions, viz., the east and the south of Balkh respectively. (R.N. Dandekar, “The Antecedents and the early Beginnings of the Vedic Period”, Presidential Address, 10th Indian History Congress, p. 52f.
34. S.K. Lal, “Female Divinities vis-a-vis Matrimonial Rites”, op. cit., p. 80.
THE DHYĀṆĪ-BUDDHAS IN EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE

By

B.N. MISRA

The Ādi-Buddha is said to be the originator of the Pañca Dhyāṇī Buddhas. Each Dhyāṇī Buddha is the Progenitor of a family of Buddhist deities. These Buddhas are the corner-stones on which the entire edifice of the Buddhist iconography is based. These Buddhas are the embodiments of the five skandhas or primordial cosmic elements. (Yatkāyakā sarvakāthānām Pañcacandhapūrītam and padaśaniih samāsena padañcuddha prākritītāḥ.) The deities that emanate from these Dhyāṇī Buddhas carry the miniature figure or effigy of their parental Dhyāṇī Buddha on their crests. The five skandhas constitute: rūpa or the threefold form (i.e. Vairocana); threefold sound (śabda i.e. Ratnasambhava); threefold smell (gandha i.e. Amitābha); threefold taste (rasa, i.e. Amoghavajra or Amoghasiddhi); threefold touch (sparśa, i.e. Akṣobhya). The colour of the emanated deities and their parental Dhyāṇī Buddha is the same. The Dhyāṇī Buddhas always remain in meditation, that is why they are called “Dhyāṇ” that is, wrapt in deep ecstasy. May be, the Dhyāṇī Buddhas owe their origin to the theory of the eternity of the five senses (skandhas). Bhattacharya thinks it probable that the five mudrās used by Śākyamuni gave rise to the five Dhyāṇī Buddhas. These mudrās are probably Dhyāṇa (Siddhārtha’s first meditation under the Jaṁbū tree near Kapilavastu), Bhūsparśa (touching the Mother Earth at the time of obtaining Enlightenment as his witness of the great Event), Dharmaśakra (first sermon at Rṣipatana Mṛ加班a), Abhaya (granting refuge or shelter to all miserable and confused) and Varada (teaching of the four noble truths and the Ārya Aṣṭāṅgikamārga).

The iconographic features of the five Tathāgatas are:— 1) Amitābha: red colour, Samādhimudrā symbol lotus, vehicle peacock, 2) Akṣobhya: blue colour, Bhūsparśa mudrā, symbol vajra, vehicle elephant, 3) Vairocana: white colour, Dharmaśakra mudrā, symbol cakra, vehicle dragon, (4) Amoghasiddhi: green colour, Abhaya mudrā, symbol vişvavajra, vehicle garuḍa, (5) Ratnasambhava: yellow colour, Varada mudrā, symbol ratna, vehicle lion.

Vajrasattva is treated as the sixth Dhyāṇī Buddha although in the Guhyasamāja he does not appear as such. He is an embodiment of all
the five senses (skandhas). He is the Lord of all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and the Tathāgatas (śāstā sarvabuddha-bodhisattvānāṁ sarvatathāgata-tānāṁ ca). He is the same as Vajradhara who is the highest god in the pantheon (Atha Vajradhara rājā sarvākāśa mahākṣaraḥ. Sarvābhishēka-cāryāgraḥ sarvavit paramēvāraḥ).

It is recorded in the Guhyasamājatantra that the four elements, five constituents, the objects of the organs of sense are all the emanations of the Buddhas. The Buddhas themselves are emanations of Vairocana who is the Ādi-Buddha. The universe represents the variety of the unity, the Ādi-Buddha, who is Vairocana himself.

The Guhyasamājatantra records that the first or highest principle is the śūnya. Three elements, the kāya, vāk and citta were evolved from the śūnya. From these three elements were evolved the five Dhyānī Buddhas or the five cosmic elements. Bhattacharya observes that this order of creation “is a curious mixture of philosophy, mysticism and materialism”.

The families and the mantras of the five Dhyānī Buddhas are: (1) Akṣobhya: Dveṣakula, Vajradhāra; (2) Vairocana: Mohakula, Jinajik; (3) Ratnasambhava: Cintāmaṇi-kula, Ratnadhāra; (4) Amitābha: Vajrarāgakula, Ārolik and (5) Amoghasiddhi: Samayakula, Prajñādhāra. The Śaktis of the Dhyānī Buddhas were evolved out by the Lord thus: (1) Akṣobhya: Dveṣarāti, (2) Vairocana: Moharati, (3) Ratnasambhava: Irṣyārāti, (4) Amitābha: Rāgarāti, (5) Amoghasiddhi: Vajrarāti. Thereafter, four Protectors were evolved by himself: Yamāntaka for east, Prajñāntaka for south, Padmāntaka for west and Vighnāntaka for north. Thus the Dhyāṇī Buddhas, their Śaktis, and the Protectors form a mandala. This mandala is the creation of the Bodhicitta and it would bring Buddhahood to the aspirant.

After ascertaining the origin of the Dhyānī Buddhas, it is worthwhile to describe here the way in which the Guhyasamājatantra has prescribed the use of the effigies of the Dhyānī Buddhas in the crest of their emanations:—Vairocana on the crown of Yamāntaka; Akṣobhya on the crown of Aparājitā; Amitābha on the crown of Hayagriva; Akṣobhya on the crown of Vajrāṃita and Tatkisattva; Mahābala and Nilavajra carrying Akṣobhya on their crown; Acalāgra, Vidyācakra and Vajrasunābha having Akṣobhya on their crowns.

The dating of the Guhyasamājatantra is a matter of controversy. Bhattacharya is of the definite opinion that Guhyasamājatantra "has exploited the materials supplied by the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa and thus it is dependent on the doctrines of the latter which it subsequently developed and modified". The Guhyasamājatantra is "clearly of the third century
A.D.13 Winternitz observes that the Guhyasamājatantra should be assigned to 7th cent. A.D. It appears to have been culled from a Mahāyānasūtra and not from a Tantra.14 It is known as the Tathāgata- gunaṇīhāna.15 Winternitz remarks that “None of the passages quoted from a Tathāgataguhyaśāstra in the Śīksāsamuccaya occur in the Guhyasamāja or Tathāgataguhyaṇaka edited by B. Bhattacharya.”16 R.S. Gupte says that “The conception of the five Dhyāṇi Buddhas in meditation was already known as early as A.D. 300”.17 B. Rowland also maintains that Amitābha was probably the earliest of the Dhyāṇi Buddhas as described in the sūtras of 2nd cent. A.D.18 V.S. Agrawala19 and N.P. Joshi20 maintain that the Dhyāṇī Buddhas were depicted in the Bodhisattva sculptures of Mathura of the Kuśāna period.

The Guhyasamājatantra was first taught by Sarahapāda (c. 6th-7th cent. A.D.) to Nāgarjuna,21 who is apparently Nāgarjuna II, the Alchemist, generally assigned to c. 7th cent. A.D. N. Dutt thinks that “The composition of the Mahāyānamulakaṇḍa belongs to c. 3rd cent. A.D. and that of the Guhyasamājatantra took place sometime after the Kāraṇḍavyuha and before the Mahāpratyagārādhāraṇī about the 5th or 6th cent. A.D.22

The scholars generally accept c. 7th cent. A.D. as the date of Guhyasamājatantra as suggested by Winternitz.23 D.C. Bhattacharya observes that “This work, which is considered to be a source-book of Buddhist pantheon, is claimed to have been composed as early as A.D. 300. But judged from the point of view of the history of art, it is difficult to maintain that the iconography of the Buddhist pantheon could have been formulated that early.”24 But elsewhere he admits that “It was also round about A.D. 300 that the Buddhist concept about deities, mudrās, maṇḍalas and other tāntric practices became systematised in the Guhyasamājatantra.” Quoting Bhattacharya’s Indian Buddhist Iconography,25 he further writes that “Thus it seems that Prajñāpāramita is associated with the Dhyāṇi Buddhas as early as circa A.D. 300 which is also the date assigned to the Guhyasamājatantra in which for the first time the idea of the five Dhyāṇi Buddhas was introduced to form a well-defined pantheon.”26 Mallar Ghosh calls this work as “pre-eighth century”, stating “that it is somewhat earlier than the eighth century A.D. is proved by the fact that its passages are quoted extensively in the śānasiddhi of Indrabhūti (first half of the eighth century A.D.) suggesting thereby that it had already come to be regarded as an authoritative text by this time.”27

In these circumstances, it is rather difficult to be precise regarding the date of the Guhyasamājatantra. But figures of Bodhisattvas
bearing the effigy of Amoghasiddhi and Amitābha, belonging to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. have been reported from Mathura. A figure of Maitreya bearing a Dhyāni Buddha from Gāndhāra and assigned to early 2nd cent. A.D. has also been reported. It is equally difficult to ignore this scanty but very significant archaeological evidence which obliges us to conclude that the cult of Dhyāni Buddhhas must have originated during the Kuśāna period. The following investigation would show that the number of the figures bearing the effigies of the Dhyāni Buddhhas increased during the Gupta period and reached its climax during the Medieval period.

The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, in its original short form, has been dated in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. by Bhattacharya. He informs that this work "had 28 chapters when it was translated into Chinese in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. All the subsequent chapters were added after that date but before the time when the Trivandrum manuscript was written. Amongst these additions, there is a portion which gives the history of India with the names of kings and other famous personages in enigmatical language In its earliest form the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is a Mantrayāna work and may be dated in the second or the first century A.D. and Guhyasamāja appears to be clearly a product of the third century." Winternitz dates Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa in the 6th or 7th cent. A.D. Dutt assigns it to the 5th or 6th cent. A.D. Majumdar styles it as a Medieval Buddhist Chronicle. Others feel that it belongs to a date prior to the 10th cent. A.D. when it was translated into Tibetan. 

The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa records that Ārya Avalokiteśvara has the effigy of Ārya Amitābha (Āryāvalokiteśvarah śaratkāṇḍagaurah sarvālank-ārabhūṣitaḥ, jatāmukutadhārti śvetayajnopavitaḥ sarvajñāsirāṣṭkṛta Āryāmitābha...).

The Prajñāpāramitāsūtra of early 3rd cent. A.D. mentions Akṣobhya for the first time.

The Dasaḥāmīśvarasūtra of early 3rd cent. A.D. translated into Chinese in 297 A.D. by Dharmarakṣa refers to Akṣobhya.

The Larger or Longer Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra, dated in the 1st cent. B.C. probably existed in cruder form and was introduced in China in the 2nd cent. A.D. Yuan-chwang translated it into Chinese. According to Winternitz there are five Chinese translations of this sūtra, the earliest made between 147 and 186 A.D. The Sukhāvatīvyūha refers to Amitābha Buddha presiding over the Sukhāvatī land where life is long, and hell, suffering, disease, ignorance or evil are unknown.

“Namo’ mitābhāya”—“Bodhisattva Maitreya” —“Lokeśvararāja Tathāgata”—“Sukhāvatīyām lokadhātāvamitābhho nāma tathāgato” and “Bhagavāṇstamamitābhamamitaprabhamamitāyūṣāṁ tathāgatamarḥatām samyaksaṁbhuddham”.

The Aksobhayavyūhasūtra, translated into Chinese, by Lokakṣema (178-88 A.D.) and Bodhiruci (693-713 A.D.), describes the land of Aksobhya.46

The Amitāyurduḥhyānasūtra refers to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, Buddha Amitāyus, Bodhisattvas Mahāsthāma and Avalokiteśvara flanking Amitāyus on right and left respectively, and Avalokiteśvara bearing a transformed Buddha on his crown.47 This sūtra is known from its Chinese translation, the English translation of which appears in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 49, part 2, p. 159ff.48

The Saddharmapundarikasūtra refers to Sāmantabhadra, Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta, Avalokiteśvara, Ratnapāśi. Maitreya and Amitābhānāyaka with his abode Sukhāvatt in the western region.49 The Chapters XXI-XXVI of this sūtra are said to be later additions glorifying the Bodhisattvas Bhaiṣajyarājā (Chapters XXI-XXII) and Avalokiteśvara (Chapter XXIV).50 The nucleus of this sūtra probably dates back to 1st cent. A.D. It was translated into Chinese in 223 A.D and later by Dharmacakṣa (286 A.D.) Kumārajīva (C. 400 A.D.), Jina-prabha and Dharmagupta (601 A.D.).51

Coomaraswamy points out to a Lucknow Museum figure of Maitreya of C. 100 A.D. originally from Mathura and bearing a Dhyānī Buddha.52

Agrawala, likewise, draws our attention to some Bodhisattva figures of Mathura (Kuṣāṇa period) each bearing a Dhyānī Buddha.53

1. Maitreya (B82), 2nd cent. A.D. bearing Amoghasiddhi (Now in State Museum, Lucknow).

2. Maitreya (2367) in Mathura Museum, 2nd cent A.D. bearing Amoghasiddhi. Joshi identifies this figure as that of Viśvapāṇi.54

3. Avalokiteśvara-head (2336) in Mathura Museum, 3rd cent A.D. bearing Amitābha.
Coomaraswamy has produced a photograph of Bodhisattva Maitreya’s head bearing a Dhyānī Buddha and belonging to early 2nd cent. A.D. (Gāndhāra School), preserved at present in the Field Museum, Chicago.55

These and similar other literary references stand confirmed when the Dhyānī Buddhas are found represented in the sculptures of the Kuśāna period. That the cult of the Dhyānī Buddhas was developed during the Gupta period will be borne out by the following literary and archaeological data:

The Smaller Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra records the names of Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta and Tathāgata Amitāyus.66 It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (402 A.D.), Gunabhadra (420-479 A.D.) and Yuan-chwang (C. 650 A.D.). 57 Suzuki puts the date of Kumārajīva’s translation at 415 A.D. 68

The Samādhīrājasūtra refers to Maitreya and Buddha Amitābha of Sukhāvati Lokadhātu in the west and Buddha Akṣobhya of the Abhiratī Lokadhātu. 59 This sūtra was in existence before the 2nd cent A.D. Originally it was much shorter than the one translated by Narendrāyāsa in the 6th cent. A.D. 60 The text was further enlarged and translated into Tibetan in the 9th cent. A.D. 61

The Aparimitāyus-sūtrapadeśa of Vasubandhu (I or II) records that he desired for his birth in the blessed land of Sukhāvatt. 62

The Bhaisajyagurutantra of the 4th to 6th cent. A.D. records the names of Dhyānī Buddhas Vairocana and Ratnasambhava. 63

The Kāraṇḍavyūha, an improved form of the Guna-kāranda-vyūha-sūtra, refers to the miracles of Avalokiteśvara and the glory of Śaḍākṣarī Vidyā, 64 recording that Avalokiteśvara bears Amitābha. 65 Coomaraswamy informs that this sūtra was translated into Chinese in the 3rd cent. A.D. 66 Its prose version was probably translated between 600 and 1200 A.D. and its metrical version finalised after the 13th cent. A.D. 67

The Karunāpaṇḍarikasūtra, recording Sukhāvati Lokadhātu and names Akṣobhya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Sāmantabhadra, Amitāyus, Ratnapāṇi and Maitreya, 68 was translated into Chinese by Dharmarākṣa in c. 502-555 A.D. 69

The Gaṇḍavyūha, mentioning Amitābha of Sukhāvati land, Akṣobhya and Vairocana 70, Sudhana, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, 71 was translated into Chinese several times during the 4th and 8th centuries A.D. and into Tibetan in the 9th cent. A.D. This sūtra was taken to China in the 7th cent. A.D. and translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra during the reign of the Tang dynasty. 72
A rare reference from Yuan-chwang records that an image of Avalokiteśvara, installed in the central temple on a hill near the Pigeon Monastery in Magadha bears "an image of Buddha above his forehead".74

The following are some of the sculptural examples of the Gupta period:

At the Nàlandà Site 3 (fifth level stuccos of early 6th cent. A.D.) an Avalokiteśvara figure (cast 1, niche, lower 3) bears Amitābha.

Agrawala enumerates following sculptures from Mathura.75

(a) Avalokiteśvara-head (B-30) from Mathura (in Sānchi Museum), 2nd-3rd cent. A.D. bearing Amitābha.76 Recently, this sculpture has been dated in the 6th cent. A.D.
(b) Maitreya (2573) in Mathura Museum bearing five Dhyānī Buddhas.
(c) Ratnapāni (1944) in Mathura Museum bearing Dhyānī Buddha identified by Joshi as Ratnasambhava.77
(d) Bodhisattva in Mathura Museum bearing Amoghasiddhi.

Sahni describes following Gupta late-Gupta specimens from Sarnath.78

(a) Avalokiteśvara (Bd 1), inscribed, 5th cent. A.D. bearing Amitābha (now in National Museum, New Delhi).
(b) Maitreya (Bd 2), possibly belonging to Kusāna or early Gupta period bearing Amoghasiddhi.
(c) Avalokiteśvara (Bd 3) bearing Amitābha.
(d) Avalokiteśvara (Bd 4) bearing Amitābha.
(e) Avalokiteśvara (Bd 5) bearing Amitābha.
(f) Mañjuśrī (Bd 6), 7th cent. A.D. bearing Akṣobhya.
(g) Ghaṇṭāpāṇi (F. 43), 7th cent. A.D. bearing all the five Dhyānī Buddhas.
(h) Maitreya (Bd 52), 7th cent. A.D. bearing Amoghasiddhi.

At Ajanta also the Avalokiteśvara figures of the 5th-6th cent. A.D. (Caves 2, 4 and 17) carry Amitābha on their crest.79 Discussing one of the Avalokiteśvara figures at the cave 4 Dr. Mitra observes that Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, "holds in his jatā-mukuta a Dhyānī Buddha in dharmacakrapravarttana and not in dhyāna. It is clear, therefore, that iconographical canons had not yet crystallized into rigid forms.80
A gold-plated bronze figure of Mañjuśrī (Gupta) in the Rajshahi Museum bears Akṣobhya. According to Suzuki, Akṣobhya was one of the first Buddhas to become an object of worship. His abode was cast in the Buddha-land of Abhirati. The cult of Amitābha shows strong Iranian influence. He emerged at the same time in the west. The sūtras in honour of Mañjuśrī were composed some time before 250 A.D. The cult of Amitābha originated in the north-western India in the border-area between India and Iran and Iranian missionaries carried it to China by about 150 A.D.

The cult of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was firmly established in Nepal by the mid-6th cent. A.D. A caitya (stūpa) bearing an inscription of the first half of the 7th cent. A.D. at Tyagaltol in Patan consists of four ślokas, carved on one of the cardinal faces of the caitya, each śloka eulogising either a Tathāgata or a Bodhisattva :

North : Akṣobhya and Sāmantabhadra.
South : Mañjuśrī.
West : Śākyamuni and Vajrapāni.
East : Amitābha with Lokeśa and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.

This would show that the cult of the five Tathāgatas was yet to find popularity in Nepal in the 7th cent. A.D. Thus in view of the above literary references and sculptural representations of the five Dhyānī Buddhas it does not seem to be reasonable to hold the view that the Dhyānī Buddhas were depicted during the 7th-8th cent. A.D. for the first time. As has been shown above, the Dhyānī Buddhas were conceived very early and represented scarcely in the Kuśāna sculptures. Except for Mathura and Gāndhāra no other centre of early Indian art appears to have depicted the Dhyānī Buddhas plastically during the Kuśāna period. Their emanations—Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Ratnapāṇi etc. also appeared side by side. But their sāktis, kulas etc. came to be formulated during the Gupta period. They were elaborated in the Medieval period in the Sādhanamālā, Niśpannayogāvalī, Advayavajrasaṅghraha, Sekoḍdeśāṭikā and other congnate Buddhist texts.

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BHAKTI IN EARLY BUDDHIST TRADITIONS

By

MASESH TIWARY

1. Dharma and Bhakti are the two expressions of one psycho-ethical complex. They are co-existant, inseparable and interdependent states like the two stones of one palm fruit. The arising, functioning and ceasing of the two go together. They function internally like underlying stream and also externally as soothing manifestations and rhythmic physio-vocal expressions. One is the body (kāya) and the other is the life-force (Jīvittindriya). One is the righteous wheel (dhamma-cakkha) and the other is the motion (pavattana). One is that which holds and the other is the 'state of soothing holding'. It is in this scriptural background, that here there is an humble attempt of presenting an analysis of Bhakti in early Buddhist tradition.

2. Bhakti is a concept of multi-dimensional manifestations. In each stream of thought in India, it has a new face, charming, pleasing and generating spiritual harmony with novel expressions. Nirguna-Bhakti, Saguṇa-Bhakti, Putra-rūpa-Bhakti, Piṭā-rūpa-Bhakti, Dāsa-rūpa-Bhakti, Sakhā-rūpa-Bhakti, Pati-rūpa-Bhakti, Guru-rūpa-Bhakti, and even Sātrurūpa-Bhakti are its various manifestational forms. The Paurāṇika—literature is full of such descriptions replete with expositional stories and illustrations.

3. The term Bhakti is not at all popular in early Buddhist texts. It appears only once in whole of the Pāli canon conveying the sense of sincerity. It is in the Puggala-Paññatti in the context of presenting description of the Loka-Puggala. It may be seen in that context that the use is not in the stream of tradition expressing in any way the sense of devotion. But at the same time it may not be understood that the devotion and its practice were unknown to the earlier Buddhist texts. It is very much present in its variegated forms and has been flowing from the Buddha’s time together with the tri-stepped path.

4. How does it express then? It expresses itself here with the term Saddhā. Saddhindriya, Saddhābala, Cittappasāda, Udagga-cittatā, etc., are the other expressions. The present paper is intended to make an humble attempt to exhibit Saddhā in the sense of Bhakti and as such the title should be more appropriate as Saddhā in Early Buddhist Tradition.
5. The term Saddhā first resounds in the sublime—roar of the Buddha, immediately after getting Perfect Enlightenment and directing his righteous way-faring (cārikā) to Isipatana-migadda. It proceeds as—“Open is the door of ambrosia for all. Let all have access to it for freedom by developing Saddhā”—“Apārutā tesam amrassa dvārā, ye sotavantu pamuccantu Saddhām.”

This clearly speaks of its being the first and the primary condition for entering into the path of righteousness for Freedom. It is attested again in the Samaṇa-phala-sutta with the same emphasis that only after arising of Saddhā one has the realization of the peril of household life, at one hand, and the benefits of the life of the way-farer, on the other. It speaks—“And there appears in the word the Tathāgata and preaches the Dhamma lovely in its organ, lovely in its progress and lovely in its consummation; complete in itself and immensely pure. A householder or a man of any class listens to the Truth and hearing thus gets Saddhā (faith) in him. He, when. is possessed of the Faith, thus considers within himself—‘Full of hindrances is household life, a path for the dust of passion. Free as the air is the life of him who has renounced all worldly things’—and thinking so he on the solid base of Saddhā makes a determination—‘Let me go forth from the household life into the homeless state’. In other place too—“Developing Saddhā in the path leading to Nibbāna, one can have right understanding”. It is the only means with diligence as its associate to curb the fury of fourfold deadly floods and go across the ocean of repeated existence—“Saddhāya tarati Oghaṁ, appamādena anāvam” etc. The Buddha in this way regards it as “the most precious wealth for every one”—“Saddhā hi vittanā purisassa seṭṭhanā” and prescribes it as the first step in spiritual life. Here not going into details of its other aspects, there shall be the descriptive analysis of the following three questions:

1. What is Saddhā?
2. How does it function?
3. Where does it consummate?

6. What is the Saddhā is the first question. It may be understood from several standpoints. Literally, it has two component parts—Sam + daha. Sam means well, proper and right. The root daha indicates the senses of placing, establishing, putting etc. Saddhā, in this way means establishing one properly. In generic sense, it means faith, confidence, belief, reverence etc. In religio traditional sense, it is unavering confidence in God, or Teacher, or Symbol or the path. The psycho-ethical background identifies it as a moral volition. In highly technical sense it is a purificational moral volition (Citta-pasādaka – kusala – cetanā). As a discipline, it is a psycho-ethical purificational culture. In the present context, it has been used as purificational moral volition.
7. In the background, it is a moral psychic factor (Kusala-cetasika), having three senses in it as faith, purification, and inspiring for right efforts. As the faith, the Dhammasangaṇi explains it as Saddhindriya (Faculty of faith) as well as Saddhā-bala (power of faith). Presenting a number of synonyms unfolding its inner core and the niceties of senses. It runs as “a trusting in, the professing confidence in, the sense of assurance, faith, a faculty and power of faith”. Faith in this context is not a blind faith. It is the balanced saturation of faith and right understanding. It is rather properly established confidence in the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Aveccappasada is its other name. It has four forms like—āgamanīya-saddhā, adhigama-saddhā, paśāda-saddhā and akappana-saddhā. The first one refers to the faith in the Bodhi-satta who is to become a Perfectly awakened Buddha. The second is the name of the faith in the Ariya-puggalas in general and the eight Mahā-sāvakas in particular. The third is the faith in the Buddha; whereas the fourth one is the name of faith in general for all the elderly and respectable people in the greatness of society.

Further it has two more characteristics, namely, purification and exerting. As former, it is called Sampasādana-Lakkhaṇā and as latter Sampakkhandana-Lakkhaṇa. As former it removes the lustful dust and pollutions of mind and makes it pure and pliable. As latter, it inspires one to make right efforts and exerts for higher spiritual gain. As purificational factor, it acts as water-purifying gem (Udaka-pāsāduka-maññi). As when water becomes muddy, dirty and undrinkable, a wise man puts the water purifying gem in it and in no time, the entire dust particles settle down below and the water becomes immensely pure and drinkable; similarly with the arising of the Faith, all the polluting factors disappear and mind becomes pure and free from difiling forces, thereupon there is the emergence of a congenial mental atmosphere for visualizing the various forces of mind—dormant as well as at work—moral and immoral.

As regards its inspiring characteristic it proceeds in two ways, making one aware of his being a rare creation (Kiccho manusappatilābhō), his immensely valuable possessions as human values—Kusala-dhammas in general and the Bodhipakkhiya-dhammas in particular, with special emphasis on the four stages of Sainthood—Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmi, Anāgami and Arahata. It therefore, generates the right efforts for their gradual aquisition just like the successfully crossing of a flooded river by a brave man and inspiring others standing awe-striken on the bank to do so. Thus, harbouring rhythmically in this way in the mind, Saddhā generates, nourishes and helps the foster growth of Faith, Purity, and Right Efforts. It may then be summerised in the traditional fourfold ways as—“it has purifying and inspiring as its characteristics as (Lakkhaṇa) like water-purifying gem and brave man; or it has confiding
as characteristic; purifying and inspiring are its functions (rasa) like the water purifying gem and crossing of the flooded river by a brave man; Freedom from pollution or decision is its manifestation (paccupaṭṭhāna) and an object worthy of faith or the factors of cause (padaṭṭhāna). stream winning (sotāpanna-bhāva) as its proximate cause (padaṭṭhāna).

8. As pointed out earlier, Saddhā is a psychic complex. It does not appear alone. It always remains in a psychic unit of five, technically known as Paṭicindriya, with two natural friends and five associates. The Paṭicindriya unit manifests as Saddhā, Sati, Viriya, Samādhi and Pañña. Saddhā as seen above is the faith. Sati is the name of awareness at mind or just like psychic door-keeper, Viriya expresses the sense of mental moral support on the moment of onslaught of immoral forces. Samādhi is the generation of one-pointedness towards the desert. Pañña removes the darkness of ignorance, generates light of wisdom and provides a congenial atmosphere for their functioning. The equilibrium state of all the five is a primary condition.

The two natural friends of Saddhā are the Hiri and Otappa. Hiri means feeling individual shame at the moment of doing something immoral on the consideration of being as a man, a rational being (attagāravena pāpam jahāti). Otappa means generation of honour for the society as well as feeling social shame on the moment of doing something socially wrong.

The five associates of Saddhā are the (1) Kāya-pasaddhi, Citta-pasaddhi, (2) Kāya-mudutā, Citta-mudutā, (3) Kāya-ujukatā, Citta-ujukatā, (4) Kāya-pāguṇñatā, Citta-pāguṇñatā, (5) Kāya-kammaññatā, Citta-kammaññatā. Here the word Kāya means psychic body, Citta means consciousness. The two are the one inseparable psychic unit, which only are separated for the sake of understand-ing at intellectual level. Pasaddhi means serenity; Mudutā is mildness; Ujukatā refers to rectitude Pāguṇñatā is healthiness and Kammaññatā stands for workability. Thus the five faculties, two natural friends and five associates form a psychic complex which we may name for practical purpose Bhakti (devotion) or Saddhā (faith).

9. It is a general notion that Buddhism does not believe in God and hence there is no scope of Bhakti in it. As answer to this notion, it may firstly be said that the concept of God here is quite different as it is conceived in other traditions. It does not name God or anything else but an Ultimate Truth beyond any verbal expression. Such truth is very much present in Buddhist texts and for this the following points deserve minute analysis and subtle evaluation.
1. What is Bhakti (devotion)? It is the Saddhā, a psycho-ethical volition.

2. Who is a Bhakta (devotee)?
   A man with moral consciousness saturated with purificational leaning.

3. Who is the Guru (Teacher)?
   The Buddha is the Guru (Teacher).

4. What is the goal (parama-pada)?
   Anupādisese-Nibbāna is the Paramapada.

5. How it can be achieved?
   By creating a state of complete harmony—both individual and social.

6. What is achieved thereby?
   A state of happiness here, hereafter and ultimately after the final breaking down of the five aggregates, a state of Eternal Bliss.

10. In this context the role of Guru should be understood. In Indian Philosophical traditions, we have the rich scriptural materials about the concept of ultimate reality as Brahman or Iśvara. Iśvara in Saguna-rūpa has been treated in those texts in several forms as Lord, (Svāmī), Friend (Sakhā), Father (Pitā), Mother (Mātā), Teacher (Guru) etc. In presenting the description of the Ultimate Truth in these forms, there is complete harmony in all the religious and philosophical traditions. Here putting ourselves, in such stream of thought, it may not be untraditional to say that the Buddha is a Teacher-God (Satthā). It is attested by his statement that:

   “Na me acariyo athi, Sadiso me na vijji,
   Sadevakasmiṁ lokasmiṁ natthī me patipuggalo,
   Ahaṁ hi arhā loke, ahaṁ Satthā anuttaṁ,
   Ekomhi sammāsambuddho, Sttitbutosmi nibbuto,
   Dhammadukkhaṁ pavattetum, gacchāmi kasiṁ añnaṁ puraṁ,
   Andhabhatasmiṁ lokasmim, Ahancho amatadundubhiṁ.”

   M.V. 11.

The special qualities of the Buddha as a teacher are many. He does not like that the people should come to him for hearing but he himself goes to the people to help them in all the possible noble ways. His virtuous way-faring (cārikā) for forty-five years in the villages, towns and the states showering forth the rain of ambrosial Dhamma is the proof of this. Secondly he does not deliver the sermons as a ceremony but he likes to make the Truth understandable to them by knowing first the
temperament (ajjhāsaya), latent factors (anusaya) and beliefs (adhimutti) and applying thereafter the similes, stories, parables and illustrations connected with their day-to-day life. Thirdly, he does not claim to take away their sins and suffering by his power, but he inspires them to do moral deeds for that as a perfect Guide (Tumhehi Kiccaṁ atāppam, akkhātāro Tathāgatā).

The other thing which deserves consideration is the Mantra or Bija-mantra, a pivotal point of the Bhakti. Here in early Buddhist tradition, though the nomenclature lacks, still there is the Bija-Mantra, first of all uttered by Sakka the god of gods. That is the “Nama Tassa Bhagavato arahato Sammāsambuddhassa”. The three refuges and the five moral precepts are also taken as following the sublime resounding just after the first one.

11. How does the Bhakti proceed, is the second question. In this regard it may be said that it functions in two ways, namely; (1) in generating social harmony by arousing the moral states among the individuals and the society (2) and developing gradual purification in the individuals by minimizing and reducing the polluting factors. In the case of former, it prescribes the practice of four sublime states, namely; Universal Friendliness (Mettā), Universal Compassion (Karūṇā), Universal Un-mixed Joy (Muditā) and Universal Equanimity (Upekkhā). The proper and balanced development of the four inspires the emergence of a social Order, having complete saturation of all embracing harmony. The Buddha named it—Brahma-vihāra.

Its functioning as a process of purification may be understood in two ways; (1) by way of inspiring for making Dhammic way-faring through Sīla, Samādhi and Paññā, (2) and by way of inspiring for Anusati towards triple gems, technically named as Buddhānusati, Dhammānusati and Saṅghānusati. Anusati here means reflecting again and again on the qualities of the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha and thereby purifying the consciousness and making it more subtle. It may be understood here that through the reflection on the qualities of triple gems, the three steps of Sīla, Samādhi and Paññā are complete. The mind thereby becomes immensely pure, free from defilements, mild, concentrated, and pliable. With such a consciousness, he transcends the mundane sphere and enters into the supra-mundane one.

12. Then where it consummates? When the mind becomes pure, it finds itself in naturally luminous form (pakati-pabhassara-rūpa), with this, it gradually uproots the residuals of pollutions existing in the name of fetters in four gradual stages and thereby achieves the states of Sotāpanna, Sakadāgāmi, Anāgāmi and Arahata. The attainment of Arahatahood is
the highest achievement in the life of a man. It is the state of *Nibbāna* or the flavour of Eternal *Sa-upādisesa-Nibbāna*. He remains here and relishes the flavour of Eternal Bliss (Susukhaṁ iva Jivāmi or Stibhūtomhi nibbuto). His Survival depends here on the basis of the force of kamma. When it exhausts, he enters into *Pari-nibbāna*, or *Anupādisesa-Nibbāna*. The scriptural texts are mostly silent about presenting the description of this state, simply expressing it as inexpressible—"paññāpetum gati natthi pattānam acalam sukhām". Still there is some symbolical indication wherein the consummation of *Saddhā* may wisely be understood:

"Vijñānam anidassanaṁ,  
Anantaṁ sabbato pabhāṁ;  
Ettha apo ca pathavi,  
Tejo väyo na gādhati.  
Ettha dīghaṁ ca rassaṁ ca,  
anuṁ ṭhulaṁ subhāsubhaṁ;  
Ettha nāmaṁ ca rūpaṁ ca,  
asesaṁ uparujjhati ti".
PERSONAL IDENTITY IN THE BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

By

KEWAL KRISHAN MITTAL

Buddhism shares with the other systems of Indian Philosophy a belief in the beginningless phenomenal—world (Anådi saṁsāra). The same implies, in the case of an individual a continuity of a changing ‘personality’ through birth, infancy, childhood, adolescence, youth, middle-age, old-age, death, and beyond to rebirth and the repetitions of the cycles through indefinite number of lives till final release (Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa). It is under such a belief itself that we can understand the recounting by the Buddha—in Jātaka tales of as many as 550 and odd lives of his as a BODHISATTVA (the Buddha to be), of varied characters of men as well as lower creatures, such as those of animals, birds and the like that he passed through before attaining Nirvāṇa—by dint of the rightful enlightenment (Saṁyak-sambodhi)—during his life of the prince of the Sākya clan (That is why he came to be known as the sākya-muni). Had the Buddha not identified himself with the hero of each of the Jātaka tales, they could have been easily dismissed as many items of fiction (mere stories) cleverly invented or resorted to teach to the faithfuls some moral or spiritual lessons. If their veracity is not to be taken for granted on a religious trust only and a rational, i.e. philosophical, understanding of the same is to be had we cannot overlook the problem of ‘personal identity’ in their context. How can the being who transmigrates or passes through the varied sorts of lives like that of a vulture, a prince, a monkey, a king or a king’s courtier, a pigeon, a merchant, a deer, a mendicant and the like be treated as the self-same person unless we regard all change as spurious i.e. merely apparent (Ābhāsa-mātra) or a mysterious projection (Adhyāsa due to Māyā) on the permanent (Nitya), nondecaying (Ajara), immortal (Amara) and indestructible (Avināśī) Self (Ātman) that persists unaffected through all changes? Yet such a solution—rather, resolution—can not be acceptable to Buddhist Philosophy as it goes counter to the acceptance of change to be real and upholding of the doctrine of change (Anityatā or Aniccatā) is one of the fundamental tenets of that philosophy. Not shirking from the logical implication of the acceptance of the doctrine of change, the Buddhists go a step further in declaring their non-acceptance of the self as a substantial being (Anātman or Anattā). In accordance with their understanding there is nothing that maintains the self-same character even for a moment (Kṣanabhāṅgavāda). The Jātaka tales, therefore, do not present a case of reincarnation which
can be described as transmigration but only transformation. This transformation is also quite baffling as the order in which the Bodhisattva assumed the bodies and lives of the birds, animals and men does not make any pattern of development or decay, evolution or devolution or in any manner otherwise. It upsets the very notion of an order in being so much life-like. It stands in contrast to the order that is depicted in the Vaisnava conception of the incarnations (AVATARAS) of Lord Visnu as a Fish, (Matsya), a Tortoise (kacchapa), a Boar (Varaha), a Man-Lion (Narasimha), a Dwarf (Vamana) and then alone in full human forms, in which a noted Biologist, late Prof. J.B.S. Haldane saw an allusion to the process of Biological Evolution. Yet the Buddhists see a connectedness, of a sort, within those lives, in terms of their doctrine of Dependent—Origination (Pratitya-Samutpadà), a principle of determinacy that, on a deeper analysis, leads us to such subtleties as make us wonder whether indeterminacy is not the hallmark of such a connectedness.

II

It may be pointed out, not without justification, that the question of Personal-Identity be discussed in the present-day context of our own personal experiences rather than in that of events, howsoever deemed to be true, that happened more than 2500 years ago. Now, it is a common experience that at any given time, we ‘know’ a person, though changing, to be so and so and recognise him or her to be the same, though changed, at a later time. A person with whom we are acquainted as a child is recognised as the same even when he or she turns up as a young man with budding moustaches or a young lady with bashful looks. A fine young man known to us in the prime of youth is recognised to be the same as an infirm gray-haired, old-man with wrinkled skin. Teachers and students, normally not only do not fail to recognise each other from day-to-day in the classes but they also recognise each other as such, though much changed, when they meet each other after a long lapse of years. I remember to have told the participants of an international seminar on ‘Self-Identity’, held at Lucknow (from January 5 to 7, 1976 that) ‘I had no difficulty in recognising them all even though some of them had been meeting me after 5 to 6 years whereas the others were with me only two days back at the World Philosophic Conference’ (this Conference was organised along with the Golden Jubilee Session of the Indian Philosophic Congress at Delhi University from December 28, 1975 to January 3, 1976). I had been quite sure that most of them did recognise me, similarly, though I had been equally sure that I was not the same—one obvious difference being that I was a co-participant with the others at Lucknow whereas at Delhi I had been among the organisers of the Conference. A reflection on a situation like this does give rise to the problem of personal identity. The same is accentuated and complicated
by the fact that our clues for recognition not only may be but are actually different. For, many of the persons that know someone, know him or her, somewhat if not entirely, differently. Our assessments of the traits of character of the person claimed to be known are seldom similar. For example if to someone he or she is 'a lucky go happy, sort of carefree creature then to the other he or she may be a careful sort of serious-minded person. If to someone he or she appears to be a loving and kind-hearted soul then to someone else it might look to be the case that he or she is a heartless being who knows not what love and kindness are. A teacher is a teacher for his students and not for his or her mother, father and other relatives. Someone regards him or her a friend whereas another deems the person a foe. The time too is a factor for complicating the problem in so far as not only different persons may be attracted or repulsed by 'one and the same person' at the same time but also the same person may arouse love or hatred in one and the same person at different times.

The truth that is stranger than fiction is that a person is a strange amalgam (puññagala) of multiple characteristics—similar, different, opposed and even contradictory—and there is nothing, something particular and definite that unites them all and corresponds to a being as the self-identical real. Buddhist philosophy points to this truth in propounding 'the non-substantiality of a composite being (Pudgala Nairatmya)' and dismisses a 'self-identical soul', ridiculingly by declaring it to be 'a myth like a queen most beautiful one may fall in love with, who lives in a castle in the air and is the daughter of a barren-woman, or like a skyflower (Kha-puspa) or the hare's horn (Saśa-Stūga). Yet that philosophy has to contend with an undeniable experience that 'many are the roles a person plays on the stage of life, successively as well as simultaneously or that a person is just not a unit but a conglomerate of personalities seemingly rolled into one' and has to account for it or explain it in line with its own position. The explanation consists in the analysis of that experience.

III

We know and recognise a person on the basis of his or her 'looks', 'feelings', 'outlook', 'impressions or influences' and 'ideas'. These five 'Supports or Factors' of personality are called 'Pañca-Skandhas' (the five carriers of personality), and each one of them, respectively, is called 'rūpa', 'Vedana', 'saimjña', 'sanskāra' and 'vijñāna' in the technical terminology of Buddhist philosophy.

In 'looks (Rūpa)' a person may be handsome (beautiful) or ugly—varying in all sorts of shades under the scale—; thin and lean or short
and stocky; with well-formed or a deformed body; with fair, white, wheatish, yellow, brown or black complexion; with deer-like or owl-like eyes; with long or short, black or grey-haired head or a bald head; and so on. ‘Feeling-wise’ one may be voluptuous or frigid; angry or calm; infatuated, scornful or indifferent; greedy, renouncing, proud or humble; and the like. On the basis of ‘outlook’ one may be an optimist (seeing the brighter side of things) or a pessimist (set on observing the darker side); wide of vision or narrow-minded; having an eye for the details— missing the wood for a tree—or getting satisfied with an over-all view; etc. as far as the amenability to various ‘impressions’ is concerned one may be gentle or rigid; warm-hearted or cold; irritable or tolerant; sensitive or thick-skinned; egotist or an altruist; and the like. In terms of ‘ideas’ one may be a materialist or an idealist or a spiritualist; a liberal or a conservative, a progressive or a reactionary; a theist or an atheist; a realist or an idealist; and so on.

IV

It is obvious that none of the five bases (Pañca Skandhāḥ) the factors of personality, are unchanging, self-identical or substantial. Each, in fact, stands for a conglomerate or an aggregate of an innumerable multitude of characteristics, rather functions (Dharmas) like the forces or vectors or electric current, none of which—though seemingly an ultimate item in analysis—can be regarded or is self-existent and self-explanatory ‘being’ but only is a tentative appearance in the process of ‘becoming’. It is by way of a reference to a circumstance like this that the Buddhist philosophy propounds the ‘Non-substantiality of the functions’ as well. ‘Pudgala-Nairātmya’ and ‘Dharma-Nairātmya’ are just two phased expressions of the Doctrine of Non-substantiality (Anātman) itself. The Dharmas, each one of them, depend for their arising—as well as passing out—on each other, in accordance with the law of ‘Dependent-Origination (Pratītya-Samutpāda), yet what dharma (characteristic) generates or gives rise to what dharma is not easy to ascertain. It may be taken as quite normal to expect a person with a well-formed beautiful body to be having a feeling of pride rather than humility as the expectation in the case of a person with a deformed body is the opposite but in actual life’s experience we meet with cases quite contrary to such expectations as well. Aśāväkra, for example, having compensated for his physical defect with mental excellence could proudly condemn those who laughed over his deformed body with eight defects as ‘cobbler rather than scholars’ in the royal assembly of king Janaka. Many are the incidents belying expectations in actual life. Beautiful women eloping with ugly men and thieves and dacoits showing acts of kindness putting the professed social workers to shame, are cases in point. The
general rules, including the one about causation, are helpful in life only in a general way, at the macro level, and not in particular cases where one may enter into a detailed analysis at the micro level. The Buddhist principle of 'Dependent-Origination (Pratītya-Samutpāda)' is no exception though it seems to work a little better in being a closely representing rule of the life's situation. The generalised Formula of this principle is: 'This being that becomes (Asmin sati idam bhavati). A correct understanding of 'this (asmin)' and 'that (idam)' is crucial here. Now 'this' and 'that', along the lines of the overall spirit of 'Buddhist philosophy' cannot be and should not be regarded as instances of 'being'—not even as instantaneous being, as 'point—instants,' as is understood by some accredited interpreters of Buddhist Thought, e.g. Th. Stcherbatsky in his THE CENTRAL CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM AND THE MEANING OF THE WORD DHAMMA (Royal Asiatic Society Prize Publication Fund, No. 7, Calcutta 1923). For, they ('this' and 'that')—considered by some logicians as 'the only proper names e.g. by Miss. L S. Stebbing (in her A MODERN INTRODUCTION TO LOGIC, Methuen and Co. Ltd. London, 7th Edition, pp 25-32) whose holding such a view is based on the consideration that a proper name 'is primarily intended to stand for the individual called by the name' (Ibid. p. 27) but an ordinary proper name fails to perform that function strictly because it is 'used descriptively' whereas a 'logically proper name' or a 'demonstrative symbol' is the one 'the sole function of which is to indicate the individual for which it stands ibid.)—are not really nouns but pronouns and are, at best, like 'cinematographic stills of a moving figure', representations, rather than presentations. of not entities but vectors in the analysis of a dynamic process. They stand for all sorts of things and experiences (the 'experienced beings and situations')—in line with SARVĀSTIVĀDA—; series of thoughts, ideas and feelings etc. emerging from and merging into the stream of consciousness (as per Vijnānavāda or Yogācāra, or such items in experience of reality that cannot be identified through any of the four categories of description (catuskoti) of 'being', 'non-being', 'both' and 'neither' and are thus 'Śūnya' (in accordance with Śānyavāda or the Mādhyamika understanding).

V

Buddhist Epistemological thought distinguishes and classifies the 'knowables' into 'Unique (Svalakṣaṇa)' and the 'general (Sāmānyalakṣaṇa)' and regards the former to be 'objects' of an imagination free (kalpanāpodha) perceptual experience and the latter as that of inference which essentially involves imagination at its base. The Svalakṣaṇa (Unique) Prameyas (knowables) being known through kalpanāpodha (Imagination free) Pratyakṣa Pramāṇa (perception as the source and proof of knowledge)
are because of being beyond imagination also beyond any linguistic
description as well as ratiocination because the latter, i.e. reasoning,
proceeds through imagination and imagination is defined as ‘the capacity
to have connected talk (Abhilāpa sansarga yogyatā). Imagination and
language are so intimately connected that it is maintained by the Buddhist
logicians that the ‘Words are rooted in the images (sabdāḥ vikalpayoniāh)’
and ‘Images are rooted in the words (vikalpāḥ sabda yoniāḥ). One of the
meanings of the word ‘vikalpa’ is ‘alternative’ and that is so because to
each and every image as also to a word there is always an alternative.
As ‘personality’ is a prameya that belongs to the sphere of the Sāmān-
yalakṣana, in seeking to establish personal-identity of any person we
have to do so in terms of images and words, and they having alternatives
there is no possibility of a unique identity being ever established. We
have to be content with rough and ready knowledge and recognition of
a person concerned in a given situation and context—being as precise as
possible within the circumstances and the purpose in hand, in line with
the Buddhist Theory of language and meaning known as ‘Apotha’, adopt-
ing the procedure of ‘weeding out the extraneous (Anyāh-apoha)’ keeping
in mind the determining of the meanings of terms of analysis through
their functional definition by the formula : ‘a thing is what it does (artha
kriyā kārītva).

VI

Under the Buddhist perspective on personal-identity, we are
rightly informed that we are entitled to seek personal-identity only in
terms of behaviour patterns and not in terms of structural patterns. In
the actual give and take of life we go on assuming different roles requiring
different, tentative understandings of the personalities of those with whom
we have to deal in their appropriate roles in the situations and circum-
stances of the specific games that we play together successively as well as
simultaneously without going deep-enough in the understanding of either
our own or others’ personalities. Most of the time, if not all the time, our
interest is in the make-believe sort of life that covers (samvṛti sat) the
ultimately real (paramārtha sat) life of suchness (tathātā) that only a
rare being, like the Buddha, comes to know and realize by way of
abandoning the assumed guises. It is interesting to note that the word
personality is derived from the Greek word ‘Persona’ meaning ‘a mask
or a guise that conceals and ‘samvṛti’ also means ‘a cover or a projection
that conceals the real truthful reality’. So long as we go on having one
mask after another and do not remove them all the reality is not revealed.
We suffer because of our bondage to the false covering or the guise, so
long as we sleep under the stupour of ignorance (avidyā) and are not
awakened to that wisdom (prajñā) that enlightens one to the truth that
‘the personality has to be transcended’.
CAKRAS—HINDU AND BUDDHIST

By

STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT

A cakra, "circle" or "circular conformation of mystical significance", is generally described in Western literature as a "psychic plexus", or perhaps more accurately as a "seat of psychic energy".

Standardly, the cakras today are understood to refer to a subtle body. They are not mentioned in this way in the literature, though, in Hindu literature they usually are considered to be as much a reality as the nādis, a word used originally to refer to all the channels in the human body such as the windpipe, arteries, and veins and perhaps later to the nerves as well.

The cakras are not referred to in the earlier literature on the body, and can be viewed to be a development of both Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrism. It is primarily among adherents of Tāntric developments in Hinduism and Buddhism that meditation on cakras plays an important role, and it is in their literatures that we find the primary references to cakras.

The cakras, therefore, cannot date from before the 5th c. A.D.

In that they are based on a conception that each individual human body can be identified with the universe, and in that they are a statement of the evolution of the universe within the human body, they are a restatement of earlier Indian ideas. These go back as far as the Puruṣasūkta of the Rgveda (RV 10.93) in which the soul of the universe is conceptualized as an original cosmic man, the Upaniṣads in which the individual soul as the microcosm is equated with the universal soul (brahman) as the macrocosm, and early ideas regarding the evolution of the basic elements of the universe as first expressed in full systematization in Sāṇkhya philosophy but reflecting earlier conceptions in the Upaniṣads and Rgveda itself. In the philosophy surrounding the cakras not only the individual soul is equated with the soul of the universe, but the body is equated with the entire universe as it is. The dictum of Chāndogyopanishad, "tat tvam asi svetaketu", "That art thou, Śvetaketu", referring to the identity of the universal soul with the individual soul, is given a different emphasis.

The importance of the cakras is confined to meditation. In the Hindu scheme, if one leads the female psychic energy known as kundalini,
with guidance, up the nādi called susumna which is in almost all this literature in the center of the backbone or running along the backbone to the thousand-petalled lotus, the region of the first cause of all things at the top of the head, one obtains liberation from rebirth (mokṣa).

Each ascending cakra represents a progressively less devolved, subtler state of existence. By a devotee meditating on the different cakras he can conquer the impediments to his liberation from rebirth. It is, so to speak, a devotee’s avenue to the conquest of his past of many lives through an involution of the universe as represented in his body. Just as it is said in the Upaniṣads that by knowing a scissors one knows all things of iron, so by meditating on the elements of the universe in one’s body a person can come to know them and thereby can overcome them. As elsewhere in Indian thought, knowledge is power.

As a devotee meditates in each cakra, he in fact gains certain powers with regard to which the texts are often at variance. Some of these powers are certainly impediments to spiritual progress, such as becoming alluring to women. Some, such as being able to walk through massive walls or walk on water, are quite fantastic and are no doubt metaphorical. Some, such as obtaining mellifluous speech and becoming wise, are more in accord with reason. All are statements of gaining power over individual elements of the universe through knowledge of them.

The devotee is not supposed to use meditation on the cakras for purpose of gaining such powers. They are incidental to his spiritual advancement. But there can be little doubt that this was one of the attractions for some devotees. For many recent years, it was in part talk of such powers and their use that gave Tāntrism and Tāntric meditation a bad name both in India and the West. It is in part reference to such powers which demonstrates continuity on the part of Tāntrism with the tradition of the ancient Atharvaveda, the folk magic of Vedic India. Like the Atharvaveda, Tāntrism is directed toward controlling demonic forces, toward control of the asat (the Untrue in the universe), while the Rgveda, Sāṁveda, and Yajurveda are directed toward control of the sat (the True) and Itihāsa and Purāṇa treat the locus of the juncture of sat and asat.

A good description of the modern Hindu scheme of cakras as given in one late Hindu text, the Śāṣṭcakranirūpāna, notes that they are strung on the subllest canal within the susumna, which is here said to be within the backbone. Each is visualized as a differently coloured lotus with a different number of petals. On each petal of each lotus, there is a different letter of the Sanskrit alphabet. As a devotee ascends the cakras,
he proceeds from the penultimate letter to the beginning of the alphabet, until in the last lotus he reaches the end of the alphabet, the fiftieth letter, and "kṣa", sometimes considered a letter but more standardly the most common combination of letters to have its own symbol in most Indian writing systems. The pericarp of each lotus is conceived to be one of the grosser six elements of the universe. The most gross element, earth, is associated with the lowest of the six cakras. The subtle element, "mind", is associated with the highest. Also associated with each cakra in the pericarp of each lotus is a mystical syllable, a specific mystical shape, a goddess—described as being on the lap of the syllable, and the animal associated with each of the syllables and each of the goddesses. Certain of the cakras are associated with additional symbols as well. The lowest cakra is at the mouth of the suṣumna, and is located in the area below the genitals and above the anus. The second cakra is described as being in the area of what is referred to as "the root of the genitals". The uppermost of the six cakras is in the area between the eyebrows.

Some texts refer to a prohibition on meditation in the two lowermost cakras. One text states that if one is a devotee of a certain type of meditation, one will have thereby accomplished the goals of meditation on the other cakras and should begin with the highest cakra. Still other texts emphasize meditation on all the cakras as necessary.

The modern system of Hindu cakras is at the end of an evolutionary process which is yet to be worked out. Different texts give very different descriptions of the cakras, including different numbers of cakras.

The earliest full description of the cakras is in the Sāundaryalahari, attributed to Śaṅkarācārya. If the attribution of authorship is correct, this would date the text to the 9th c. A.D. But the attribution may refer to one of the successors of Śaṅkarācārya in the order founded by him, which successors are also known as Śaṅkarācārya. Here, the descriptions of the cakras are radically different and entirely poetic. They are also quite simple. There is no mention of petals, letters on petals, seed syllables in the pericarps, and so forth. The simplicity of the descriptions has led to very different interpretations by commentators as to what is the focus of the meditation discussed. Also, here the Maṇḍara-cakra which usually is associated with the region of the navel is placed below the Svādhiṣṭhāna-cakra which usually is associated with the genital region, though the ordering of the different elements associated with the cakras remains standard. The most probable reason behind the transposition is that at the time of the authorship of this text, the base of the suṣumna was in its older position at the navel, and that with the shifting of the
base of the *susumna* to the bottom of the spinal column, the older navel
*Svādhīṣṭhāna-cakra* was also moved downwards, its position and that of the *Maniṭīra-cakra*, being transposed to their present standard positions. The name *Svādhīṣṭhāna-cakra*, or "cakra at the standing place of one's self", is probably a reference to this older position of the *susumna* with the various other *nādis* placed around it, this knot of the navel being the home of the *prājñājīva* (soul of individuated intelligence), the soul as ruled by the vital airs, according to the *Brahmavidyopaniṣad*. In an historical sense, it can also be seen as an indirect reference to the *susumna*'s even older identification as the windpipe leading to the lungs and heart in which the *jīva* (soul) is generally understood to reside. The name *Maniṭīra-cakra*, or "cakra at the jewel as a city [e.g., jewel-like city]", would be a reference to the genitals, comparison of the male genitals to a level being common world-wide. The transition can also be seen in the *Yogacādāmānyupaniṣad* in which both the base of the *susumna* and the seat of the *kundalini* are at the knot of the navel, and in which the *Svādhīṣṭhāna-cakra* is clearly associated with this knot of the navel. However, while the import of the name *Svādhīṣṭhāna* is related, it is rationalized to refer to the genitals, and the *Maniṭīra-cakra* is mentioned as the *cakra* in the region of the navel. To be additionally emphasized with regard to the *Saundaryalahari* is that in general meditation on *cakras* is directed toward controlling and overcoming the impediments to *vidyā*, or "knowledge". In this sense, we can understand how the *Saundaryalahari* is in accord with the precepts of *Vedānta*.

Other texts list different number of *cakras* than the standard six of today and of the *Saundaryalahari*. One, the *Kauḷajñānaniṛṇaya*, lists in one place five, and in another place 8. In the 8-fold scheme the lowest *cakra* is called the *Mahācakra* and is described as being at the root of the lotus stalk. The *cakra* immediately above it is the navel *cakra*. One *cakra*, thus is subtracted from the beginning of the continuum of *cakras*. One, however, called the *Śāntika-cakra*, is placed at the mouth, and two are placed above the area between the eyebrows. Two other texts, the *Bhāvanopaniṣad* and the *Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣad*, list 9 *cakras*. In one, the *Bhāvanopaniṣad*, three *cakras* are located above what is otherwise the highest *cakra* between the eyebrows. In the other, the *Saubhāgyalakṣmyupaniṣad*, two are located between the *cakra* in the throat and this *cakra*, and only one is located above it. And still another text, the commentary to the Poona edition of the *Gorakṣaṭaataka*, lists 16, locating these at the great toe, the anus, the rectum, the genital region, the region above the navel, the heart, the throat, the soft palate, in the soft palate, and at the root of the tongue, the root of the upper front teeth, the tip of the nose, the point between the eyebrows, the forehead, and the top of the head. These additional *cakras* are not to be confused with "footstools" (*piṭhas*) which
in some texts are placed between some of the cakras or with the ‘knots’ (granthis) that block the entrance to some of the cakras in some texts. They are full-fledged cakras.

There is also a great amount of variety regarding the deities associated with each cakra. And there is variety regarding the number of petals on the different cakras when conceived of as lotuses, and regarding the shapes and colours associated with the different cakras, for instance. To give just a few examples, the Śaṭcakraniṅgaṇa refers to the presiding deity of the cakra at the genitals as Hari, while the Saundaryalahari refers to him as Paśupati and the Śivasaiṅgita refers to him as Bāla. The Saundaryalahari refers to the deity of the cakra at the throat as Śiva, Śaṭtri and Ayyangār’s commentary to the Saundaryalahari refer to him as Vyomeśvara, the Śaṭcakraniṅgaṇa refers to him as Sadāśiva, and the Śivasaiṅgita refers to him as Chagalāṅa. The syllable associated with the lowest cakra according to the Śaṭcakraniṅgaṇa is “lam” and according to the Śivasaiṅgita it is “klin”. The syllables on the petals of the heart cakra according to the Śaṭcakraniṅgaṇa are ka to ṭha, and according to the Kaulajñānanirṇaya they are a mantra beginning with the syllable “sa”, probably 8 syllables in length. The Saundaryalahari does not associate syllables with its cakras. Lastly, according to the Yogaśikhopaniṣad the shape associated with the lowest cakra is a triangle and that associated with the genital cakra is six-cornered. According to the Śaṭcakraniṅgaṇa the shapes associated with these cakras are a square and a half-moon, and these are the shapes associated instead with the succeeding navel and heart cakras respectively.

All the different conceptions, however, while they may differ from text to text, reflect Hindu imagery and Hindu statements about the structure of the universe which are generally consistent within themselves. On the whole they are no more consistent with one another, though, than the various references to the avatars of Viṣṇu before the 11th c. A.D., when the tradition of such avatars appears to have become stabilized.

The Buddhist cakras, in the same way, also differ from text to text. As a group, though, they are in sharp contrast to the Hindu cakras.

Most significant is that the top of the head, in the Hindu scheme the “thousand-petalled lotus” which is not considered to be a cakra, is replaced in the Buddhist schemes by a cakra. This cakra is located similarly at the top of the head when a cakra is located in the forehead as well. At other times, it is placed between the forehead and the top of the head. The goal of Buddhism is to go beyond this universe and its first cause to “nothingness”. It is this which can account for the difference. We have in the charting of Buddhist cakras graphic description that
in Buddhism, salvation is one step further removed in the scheme of the universe than in Hindu thought.

Also, different schemes list alternately only four, five, or six cakras. These are not given specific names. No cakra is located below the genital region, in some instances below the navel region. Schemes of six cakras include both the forehead and the top of the head as cakras. Schemes of five cakras sometimes do this, and sometimes place the uppermost cakra between the forehead and the top of the head. There is little consistency.

And the imagery associated with the cakras is Buddhist imagery expressive of Buddhist conceptions regarding the evolution of the universe and the impediments to enlightenment. For instance, different “perfections” (vajras) are sometimes associated with each cakra. And in one listing of five, the five “elements of being” (skandhas) are associated with each cakra. A concept of the kundalini is not used.

When elements such as earth, water, fire and air are associated with the cakras, in most instances only these four are noted. This means that sometimes certain cakras listed are left without associated elements. Earth is placed in navel cakra instead of in the region above the anus as in the Hindu scheme. Water usually is placed in the heart instead of fire, and fire is placed in the throat.

Meditation Buddhas standardly are associated with each cakra. But there is little consistency from text to text. Those associated with the different cakras in the Nispannayogavali, for instance, from the lowest to the highest, are Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Vairocana and Akshobhya, while according to the Hevajrapindârthaśakâ they are Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Akshobhya, Amitabha and Vairocana, and according to the Sâdhanaamâlâ they are Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi and Akshobhya.

Sometimes vehicles very different from the Hindu vehicles, syllables very different from the Hindu syllables, different colours, and different shapes are also associated with each cakra. Again, there is little consistency regarding these listings when they occur.

In some instances, these Buddhist cakras show the influence of the Hindu cakras. The association of the elements, shapes and syllables specified with cakras in the Yogaratnamâlâ and Srijnevajraśakyauivarana, for instance, are examples of this. At other times, the Hindu cakras show the influence of the Buddhist cakras. Such influence can be seen in the Kaulajñânaniññâya both in its listing of only five cakras in one place and in its positioning of the 8 cakras in its 8-fold scheme of the cakras, though this latter may reflect in its lowest cakra, for instance, earlier Hindu development as well.
Drawings of cakras in a manuscript owned by the late W. Norman Brown, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania. Currently in the Rare Book collection of the University's Library. Reproduced with permission of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.
The conception of *cakras* also has entered Islam in India. The eldest son of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, for instance, wrote a book in which he described three different centers. It has also been borrowed by the Sufi tradition in Persia. And suggestion has been made that there is reference to it in the philosophy of the Hopi Indians in North America.

In the modern West, there have been a number of scientific attempts to provide a physiological basis for the modern standard Hindu system of six *cakras*. These have produced some interesting results. But the results have been limited.

The diversity of the different schemes of *cakras* indicates that they are in origin probably no more than centers on which to focus meditation. Different religious and philosophical beliefs led to different elaborations of such meditational centers. Not implausible is that they may be in part an expression of an influence in India of Chinese medical knowledge such as that involved in acupuncture. References to the *nādis* in late *Upaniṣads* treating yoga suggest this. Similarly, the location of *cakras* in the big toe and at the root of the upper front teeth in one of the lists referred to, for instance, suggest a neurological association. The stability of the locations of the most referred to *cakras* may also suggest a physiological basis. But they no doubt also are based in part on the observation that as one proceeds outward from the mind, one reaches more and more as well as succeedingly grosser bodily functions. In part, their development follows from this through analogy of the body with the universe. There was precedent in India for such analogy even with regard to certain of the specifics. The locations of the most referred to centers, therefore, was also at least in part based on significant parts of the human anatomy. In fact, the *Dhyānabindūpaniṣad* states that the genital *cakra* is the genital organ itself. And its *Anāhata-cakra* appears to be the heart itself. It is here that the *jīva* (soul) very clearly is said to in fact reside, reposing on different petals or in the pericarp of the *cakra* and thereby disposing a person to duty, sloth, anger, play, sex, compassion and so forth.

In Hinduism, until the coming of modern Western medicine, *cakras* attained a status along with the *nādis* as bodily verities, even shifting the identification of one of the main *nādis*, the *suṣumna*, and transferring its base from the navel center to the bottom of the spinal column. Knowledge of internal anatomy was being transmitted in the pre-European period primarily by a meditative elite and a medical elite prohibited for religious reasons from cutting open the body. It was easy for such shifts to occur on this account. When Western medicine entered India, however, the *cakras* were not found in the body, and so they were shifted to being parts of a subtle body. Centers having perhaps in
part a neurological basis not known to modern Western medicine, though, would not be seen.

It is questionable that attempts to locate and understand the cakras will succeed until the history of the cakras is understood better and the development of the concept can be traced back to its earliest forms and original source. This does not affect their statement, though, which is as true today as it was initially. Through the usage of such a concept devotees were, and still are able to gain control of impediments to spiritual progress, gain spiritual knowledge, and focus thoughts on succeedingly subtler truths.
PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS IN TANTRA

By

SUREN CHANDRA BANERJI

In recent times, there has been a widespread interest in the study of Tantra not only in India, but also abroad. The interest in Tantra is not merely academic. Some Indians and foreigners have taken to the Tāntric way of life and devotion. The prolific writings of Justice Woodroffe (1865-1936), who wrote under the nom-de-plume Arthur Avalon, went a long way in attracting the attention of foreign scholars, particularly of Europe, to this class of literature. The esoteric nature of the Tāntric doctrines and practices made the Tāntric literature a close preserve of the followers of Tantra. The hostility of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical faith was also, to a great extent, responsible for the lack of publicity of the Tāntric works.

The Tantra literature can be broadly divided into two classes, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical. There is hardly any sect, worth the name, that has not its own Tantra. Thus, each of the sects of Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava etc. has its Tāntric treatises.

The circumstances and time, in which Tantra originated, are shrouded in obscurity. The fact, however, remains that Tāntric practices are coeval with the Veda. Elements of Tantra are noticeable in the Rgveda, the earliest extant treatise in the Indo-European literature. Tāntric practices occupy a prominent position in the Atharvaveda. In fact, this Sāṁhitā has an entire section on Abhicāra or malefic practices designed to cause mischief to others. The following line testifies to the elevation of Tantra to the rank of Śruti (lit. that which is heard or orally transmitted):

Śrutiśca dvividhā proktā vaidikā tāntrikā tathā/ Śruti is twofold, viz. Vaidikā (Vedic) and Tāntrikā (Tāntric).

Tantra may have originated in hoary antiquity. But, no extant Tāntric work can be dated earlier than the Gupta Age (C. 320-510 A.D.).

There is a great controversy about the original home of Tantra. While some point to Bengal as the place of origin of Tantra, others think that this class of works arose, first of all, in China. Orissa also claims to be the originator of Tantra.
A complete Tantra consists of four broad parts, viz. Jñāna (knowledge including philosophical and metaphysical doctrines), Yoga (means of controlling the mind), Kriyā (containing instructions for making images and for the construction and consecration of temples) and Čaryā (rules relating to rites, rituals, festivals and social duties). Here we are concerned with the philosophical and ethical aspects of Tantra and not with the ritualistic aspect.

In the history of Tantra in India, Kashmir and Bengal are known to have been strongholds of Śaivism and Śāktism respectively. So, an account of the philosophy and ethics of Tantra relates mainly to the Tāntric works of the above regions.

Kashmir produced Śaiva Tantras of highly philosophical contents. The most well-known Tāntric philosophical system of this province is called Trika (the triad). Śaivism passed through two successive stages in Kashmir. In the older form, it belonged to the Pāśupata sect, and preached a dualistic doctrine. It was, in a large measure, supplanted by the Trika system which taught non-dualism or dualistic monism.

The literature of the Trika system can be broadly divided into three classes, viz.

Āgama-śāstra, Spanda-śāstra and Pratyabhijña-śāstra.

The principal works of the Āgama class are as follows:

Mālini-vijaya (or—Vijayottara), Svacchanda Vijñāna-bhairava, Ucchusma bhairava, Ānanda bhairava (lost), Mrṣendra, Mātaṅga, Svāyambhūva and Rudrayāmala.

In the early stages, the above treatises were usually interpreted from the dualistic, even pluralistic, point of view. Traditionally, the Śiva-śūtras (c. 850 A.D.) were revealed for rendering the dualistic outlook nugatory and for establishing that the highest form of Śivāgama taught pure Advaitism.

The Spanda-śāstra takes its name from Spanda which denotes vibration or activity. The activity of Śiva, the only substratum of the universe, is believed to be the cause of all distinctions. This Śāstra is based on the Spanda sūtras generally known as Spanda-kārikās.

The Pratyabhijña-śāstra, based mainly on the Śiva-dṛṣṭi of Somānanda (close of 9th Century A.D.), is so called as it considers pratyabhijña or recognition of the reality as indispensable for salvation. Another prominent work of this school is the Īśvara-pratyabhijña also called Pratyabhijña-sūtra or—Kārikā) of Utpala, teacher of Abhinavagupta.
(10th-11th cent). This Utpala is to be distinguished from Utpala Vaiṣṇava, author of the Spanda-pradipikā.

Kashmir Śaivism has considerable similarity with Sāmkhya philosophy. But, there are some differences between the two, which will be clear from the following resume of the Śaiva philosophy of that valley.

Śiva-Śakti

The Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir moves around the pivot of Śiva-Śakti. Śiva (Paramesvara, Para Śatāvīt, Caitanya or Parama Śiva) is the Ātman or immutable in-dwelling reality of all beings and objects. He resides in them separately and in the universe totally.

He is the experienter as distinguished from the experienced. He is eternal, infinite and beyond the limitations of time, space and form. He is both immanent (Viśvamaya) and transcendent (Viśvottirṇa).

The immanent aspect of Śiva is called Śakti which is, therefore, not an independent entity, but His creative energy. Of the infinite modes of Śakti, the principal ones are as follows:

1. Cit-śakti—by this, Parama Śiva shines by Himself like the sun even when there is no object to reveal or shine on.
2. Ānanda-śakti—With it the Supreme Lord realises absolute bliss.
3. Jñāna-śakti—by this, Parama Śiva brings all objects in conscious relations with Himself and with one another.
4. Ichā-śakti—Volition which makes Parama Śiva feel supremely able and of irresistible will so that He can do or create something.
5. Kriyā-śakti—Parama Śiva’s power of assuming all kinds of form.

The universe is manifested by Parama Śiva in His Śakti aspect. He becomes the universe which He pervades and transcends. The universe is manifested when there is Unmeṣa (also called Udaya Abhāsana or Srṣṭi) or opening of Śakti. Its manifestations disappear when there is Her Nimeṣa or closing up. Nimeṣa is equated to Pralaya. Creation is followed by Dissolution (pralaya) in a cyclic order, a complete cycle being called Kalpa.

The Tattvas

Underlying the endless variety of objects and beings in the universe, there are a few tattvas (principles of factors). The five constituents of the material universe are:
Solidity (क्षिति) Liquidity (ञप), Formativity (तेजस), Aeriality (मरुति) and Vacuity (व्योमन). These are collectively called Pañcabhūtas (five gross elements).

There are five principles which, appearing in the body, constitute the five motor organs (कर्मनिर्लयसि), viz. the organs of handling (पादि), locomotion (पादि), rejection (पायु) and creation (उपास्था).

The five sensory organs are the eye, the ear, tongue, nose and skin.

The five subtle elements (तन्मत्त्र) of sense-perception are Śabda (sound), Sparśa (touch), Rūpa (form), Rasa (taste) and Gandha (smell).

The Antahkāraṇa or the inner organ is constituted by Manas (mind or the faculty of concretion and imagination), Ahāṅkāra (faculty of self-arrogation, the Ego) and Buddha (faculty of judgement).

Prakṛti-Puruṣa

These are the two principles of the limited individual subject-object. Prakṛti, the source of all kinds of feeling, affects the experience as pure consciousness or awareness in which there is no action or movement, as a moving passion or as stupefaction or dullness. The limited individual being, that experiences these feelings, is called Puruṣa. The Puruṣas produced by the Ultimate Reality through the process of Ābhāṣa, realise themselves as different and separate from one another. This realisation is like that of a number of living cells that experience themselves as distinct and separate from one another, though they have a common source of life.

In the conception of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, the Śaiva system of philosophy makes a notable departure from the Sāṁkhya system. Puruṣa and Prakṛti of Sāṁkhya are the ultimate realities from which creation proceeds. They are eternal and unlimited. Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Trika system are derivatives and, as such, limited. Sāṁkhya believes that the innumerable Puruṣas are independent entities. According to the Trika system, they are but manifestations of the one Ultimate Reality. Sāṁkhya Puruṣa is always unaffected, but in the Trika conception, He is not always so.

Prakṛtis are also numerous, one for each Puruṣa. In Sāṁkhya, Prakṛti and Puruṣa are the uncaused cause of the universe. According to Trika, they are produced by Māyā. Prakṛti is the equipoise of the three Gunas called Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. Ananta impels Prakṛti to creative activity for the sake of Puruṣa. Prakṛti is independent in its activity according to Sāṁkhya. Sāṁkhya believes in one single Prakṛti, whereas, according to the Trika, is is manifold. On the part of Puruṣa, there is no specific experience of Prakṛti, but only a vague feeling of something.
The Tattvas of the Trika philosophy, stated above, agree with those of Sāṁskṛtya. But, as the former looks upon Puruṣa as a derivative, it recognises the following additional Tattvas.

The additional Tattvas and Māyā

The following are the six principles of subjective limitation.

1. **Kāla** : limitation in respect of duration of presence and simultaneity of experience.
2. **Kāla** : limitation with regard to the authorship or power to accomplish, leading to limited activity.
3. **Niyati** : restriction in regard to presence, as in space.
4. **Rāga** : limitation in respect of interest, leading to attachment to some objects or selection.
5. **Vidyā** : limitation in regard to the sphere of cognition.

The above five are called Kaśeukas (sheaths or cloaks) which are believed to cover the Puruṣa or the limited individual.

Unlike Vedāntic Māyā, which creates illusory forms, Māyā in the Trika system is the limiting, self-forgetting and differentiating power. Through the power of Māyā, the phenomenal world comes into being. Through the force of Māyā again the above limitation arises, and the infinite experience reveals itself in a number of limited experiences or Puruṣas. This Māyā is sometimes regarded as the sixth Kaśeuka covering the Puruṣa.

The following are the five principles of the universal subject-object:

1. **Śuddha-vidyā** : principle of correlation in the universal experience between the experiences and the experienced.
2. **Īśvara-tattva** : principle of identification in the universal experience between what are thus correlated.
3. **Sādākhyā-tattva** :
   - **Sadāsiva-tattva** : principle of being, that from which or in which the experience of Being begins.
4. **Śakti-tattva** : principle of negation and potentialisation of the universal experience.
5. **Śiva-tattva** : principle of the pure experience by itself, with all experience of objects and means of experience absolutely suppressed.
Process of Manifestation and Evolution

The manifestation of the Universe is the expression of the ideas or the experience of Parama Śiva. The process of this manifestation is called Ābhāsana or Ābhāsa. It is, to a great extent, similar to the Vivarta of Vedānta. There are, however, some marked differences between the two. According to the Vivarta doctrine, the appearances are mere names and forms (nāmarūpa) which are not essentially real, being for ever non-existent in the Supreme Reality or Brahman. The Ābhāsa-vādins, however, take appearances to be real in as much as they are aspects of the Ultimate Reality or Parama Śiva. Ābhāsa is the name of the process by which the source, revealing manifestations, itself remains unaffected and undivided.

The order of evolution of the universe, according to the Śaiva school, is substantially the same as that in Sāṃkhya. Śaivism, however, has some noteworthy features of its own.7

Bondage and Liberation

Our bondage is caused by the ignorance (ajñāna) of the reality. According to Kṣemarāja (11th cent.), the soul, which is of the nature of consciousness, regards itself as finite. Though independent, it identifies itself with the body. It is oblivious of the unreality of the world apart from Śiva and of its identity with Śiva. Thus, the in-dwelling pure consciousness in each of us is obscured by unreal upādhis or limitations.

The continuous recognition (pratyabhijñā) of the reality, viz. man’s identity with Śiva, is the only means of liberation from bondage. The soul, having realised its identity with God, enjoys pure bliss. This realisation by the soul is possible through deep Yogic meditation. Though the individual soul is identical with the universal soul, yet this realisation on the part of the former is not redundant; it is the sine qua non of liberation. An analogy will make it clear. To a love-lorn lady, pining in separation from her lover and yearning for meeting him, the mere presence of the lover by her side is not enough for her solace. She must recognise him as her lover for assuaging her anguish.

Abhinavagupta recognises three classes of emancipated souls, viz.

(i) those merged in the Supreme (pramukta).
(ii) those united with Him in His manifested phase (apramukta)
(iii) those yet residing in the body (jivanmukta).

According to Sāṃkhya, liberation is attainable through the correct knowledge of the twenty-four categories (tattvas) of this system as distinct from the Self. This view is criticised by the Trika according to
which this knowledge of distinction is possible neither in Prakṛti which is insentient (jada) nor in Puruṣa which is absolutely passive.

Some of the Brāhmaṇical Tantras, e.g., Kulārṇava, Pārāśara-sūtra, Prapañcasūtra, Mahānīrūga, etc. contain lofty philosophical ideas derived from the Upaniṣads, Gītā, Sāṁkhya and Yoga. Like the orthodox Śastra, Tantra also regards mukti (release from the bondage of births and deaths) as the final goal. But, unlike the orthodox Brāhmaṇical works advocating the conventional path to liberation, Tantra treads fresh ground, and prescribes the way chalked out by it.

Unlike the orthodox Brāhmaṇical scriptures and philosophical works, which uphold the ideal of renunciation and self-mortification for reaching the highest goal, Tantra advocates mukti (liberation) through bhukti (enjoyment). Pañcaratvās, comprising fish, meat, particular poses of hands and fingers, wine and women, are prescribed as essential for a Tāntric devotee. It should, however, be noted that, barring a few Tantras, which ordain excessive drinking and promiscuous sexual intercourse even with one's mother (e.g. Guhyasamājā, Paṭalā 5), the general tendency of the Tantras is to inculcate principles of morality into a Tāntric devotee.

Some Tantras categorically prohibit the offer of wine to a deity and the drinking of it by Brāhmaṇas. The Tantrasūra of Kṛṣṇananda (16th cent. A.D.) for example, quoting the Śrikrama, contains this prohibition. Even when a Brāhmaṇa is allowed to drink wine, he should do so after undergoing the rite of Abhiṣeka. It states that the provision for the compulsory drinking of wine is meant only for those who belong to the fourth stage of life (saṁnyāsa). The Mahānīrūga declares that householders should use madhuratā milk, sugar and honey) instead of wine. Drinking in excessive quantity is condemned. The prohibition of wine in case of householders appears to be recommendatory rather than mandatory. This is because, in another context, this Tantra (vi. 193 ff.) provides that a householder Sādaka should drink only as much wine as can be contained in five drinking vessels.

The Tantrarāja-tantra (Chapter viii) emphatically prohibits drinking without offering the wine to Devi. It allows drinking only so long as the mind is not wholly absorbed in Devi. One, who drinks for self-indulgence, must be punished by the king. The Mahānīrūga ordains that a Kulā woman should avoid wine; the smell of it is sufficient for her. It is stated that a Kulāsādaka loses Siddhi by drinking excessively. Only as much should be drunk as does not cause rolling of eyes. Drinking beyond the prescribed limit is like drinking, in a brothel.

Though meat is a must in Tantra sādhanā, yet indiscriminate eating of meat is prohibited. Of beasts and birds, only a few have been specified.
Although sexual union with a woman is enjoined as essential, promiscuity is condemned. Only an initiated woman is allowed to be enjoyed. The sadhaka is allowed to resort to one woman only. In connexion with Śaiva-vivāha, the Mahānīrvarṇa (i. 279) provides that a man, wanting issue, should live with his wife, but must leave her with the expiry of the Cakrā period. This Tantra vehemently condemns the enjoyment of others' wives and sexual union of women with others' husbands. A man, raping even a Candra woman, deserves death penalty. This Tantra states that, in Kali Age, people are prone to lasciviousness and lack of self-control; so, this practice is prohibited. The high ethical ideal of the Mahānīrvarṇa led to the division of Tāntric devotees into three categories, viz. Divya (divine), Vīra (heroic) and Paśu (animal). The devotee of a divine nature is like a deity, endowed with a pure heart (suddhāntakarana), dvandvātta (having equanimity in pleasure and pain), vitarāga (having no attachment) and sarva-bhūta-sama (to whom all beings are equal).

When all is said and done, one cannot pass over the fact that, as pointed out before, some Tantras, as stated earlier, allow incestuous sexual union even with one's mother and the offer of one's wife to the Guru. The fact, however, is that Tantra originated with a sublime philosophy of attaining salvation without stifling the natural propensities. But human nature being what it is, moral degeneration and depravity gradually crept into Tāntric practices. Demoralisation is particularly dangerous when a religious label is attached to it, and people hug the very chain that ties them and brings downfall.

Not only Brāhmañical Tantras, but also the Buddhistic ones reveal moral degeneration. Such degeneration in the latter is all the more strange and detestable, because the Buddha preached an ethical religion, and laid the greatest stress on discipline and morality. The extent, to which demoralisation went in the Tāntric practices of the Buddhists, is shown by the following instance. The followers of the Nīlaapaṭākakārana looked upon Cupid, a courtezan and wine as the three Ratnas (jewels) instead of the famous and venerable Triratna, viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha which are regarded worthless like glass beads.

The present-day apologists, in their attempt to vindicate the apparently atrocious Tāntric practices, aver that the directions, contained in the Guhyasamājā, for the style of life to be followed by the adherents of Vajrayāna, are applicable only to Yogins who have reached a degree of Yogic perfection, and not for all and sundry. This seems to be hollow when one finds that even a criminal and opprobrious practice like incest is enjoined for a Vajrayāna Yegin. Attempts, made by scholars like Avalon, to attach spiritual significance to the use of
Makāras. (viz. Matsya, Māṃsa, Mudrā, Maithuna) seem to be strained and designed to make the abominable practices look in a favourable light.

A product of the speculations of the myriad-minded Kashmirian scholars is the Krama Tāntricism. It is a medley of monistic Śaivism, Tāntricism and Śāktism. It shares much in common with the Pratyabhijñā and Kula systems of Kashmir Śaivism. Yet, it has an independent entity that justifies its recognition as a separate system.

The term ‘Krama’ means Citt-krama or Bodhi-krama, i.e. the gradual process of awareness or self-realisation. This school is variously styled as Krama-naya, Mahārtha or Mahārtha-naya, Mahānaya, Mahāsāra, Atinaya, Devatānaya or Devanaya, Kāl-naya, etc. As regards Krama-naya, it should be noted that sometimes the Krama is prefixed by Anuttara, Anupāya, Devatā, Mahā, Mahārtha, Auttara in accordance with the element that is stressed.

This school has a fairly extensive literature which is broadly twofold. viz. Āgamic (revealed) and non-Āgamic (written by human authors). Āgamic literature is sub-divided into two categories—one constituting the Āgamic Śaiva literature of Kashmir, the common source of all the systems of Kashmir Śaivism, which anticipated Krama, and the other pertaining exclusively to Krama Āgamas. The first type includes such esteemed authoritative works as the Mālinīvijaya, Sarva-jñānottara, Brahmayāmala, Tantrarāja, Kiranāgama etc. The other type includes the Krama Āgamas only. The works of human authors are known from references only. Neither do they exist nor are their authors known.

Krama Āgamas (in their probable chronological order) Pañcāśatika or Dvīpañcāśatika (c. middle of 9th cent.) Śārdhaśatika (c. 9th cent.) Kramarāhasya (earlier than or contemporaneous with Abhinavagupta), Krama-sadbhāva (c. pre-Abhinava), Kālikākrama or Devikākrama (perhaps contemporaneous with or slightly later than Abhinavagupta), Krama-siddhi (c. 11th century).

Some do not include the Brahma-yāmala and Tantra-rāja among Krama Āgamas because of two reasons. They have been traditionally assigned to the Āgamas. Moreover, the manuscript of Brahmayāmala in Asiatic Society of Calcutta and Woodroffe’s study of Tantrarāja do not represent them as exclusive Krama Āgamas.

Non-Āgamic Krama texts Kramāśutra, Siddhasūtra, Mahānaya-paddhati, Kramodaya, Amavasyāṭrīṁśika, Rājika.

The highlights of the system are as follows. Reflecting the infiltration of Śākta ideas, it is naturally divided into two schools, one
emphasising the Śaiva aspect and the other highlighting the Śakti aspect of the Supreme consciousness. The principal feature that distinguishes the Krama system from the Spanda system, which is a prominent school of Kashmir Śaivism, is this. While the former is a Tāntric system, the latter is not so.

The Krama system is designated as Bhedābhedopaya (unity in duality—bhide abhedaḥ) which means that it attaches importance to the idea of dualism or diversity within the framework of monism or unity. This school of thought is closely related to the immanent Reality. According to it, immanence is an essential expression of transcendence. The Pratyabhijñā and Kula systems, however, are more concerned with the transcendental aspect of Reality.

The most salient feature that marks the Krama system, as distinct from the sister schools of Pratyabhijñā and Kula, is hinted at by the very name Krama. While Krama recognises spiritual progression or gradual self-realisation, the other two believe in instantaneous or immediate self-revelation. The Mahārtha-mahijari-parimala (p. 137) makes the point clear in the following observation: 

\[ \text{etadeva hyasya darśanāntare bhya vaśiśtyam yad bhoga-mokṣa-dvaitaṃ-nubhāti-sāmarasyam nāma.} \]

The Krama system recognises the Tāntric ideal of self-realisation as a synthesis of Bhoga and Mokṣa, which is expressed as bhoga-mokṣa—sāmarasya.

Another feature, that demarcates Krama from the other schools of Kashmir Śaivism, is its epistemic accent. The Pratyabhijñā and the Spanda are more metaphysical. In comparison with Kula, with which the Krama has some similarity in esoteric and mystical garb, the latter emphasises the cognitive and the epistemic aspect.

The Mahārtha-mahijari-parimala, in the following line, points out another feature that distinguishes Krama from the rest of the schools of Kashmir.

\[ \text{asmadu-pāśya-vidyānusandhāne prāyaḥ prākṛtasya aucityam ujjṛmbhata} // \]

The Krama school prefers Prākṛta language to Sanskrit for the presentation of its doctrine. Some important works of this school like the Krama-sūtra, Mahānaya-prakāśa etc. appear to have been composed in some form of Prākṛta. Not that Sanskrit was totally abjured. The bulk of the extant literature is in Sanskrit.

Mahēśvarānanda and Jayaratha (c. beginning of 13th cent.) are the two great exponents of the Krama school. The former looks upon this system as the finality of all philosophical disciplines and the culminating point of all the six stages\(^1\) of Tāntric culture, viz.
(i) **Bhāvārtha**—consisting in the literal meaning according to the intention of the speaker at the time.

(ii) **Sampradāyārtha**—the above is so called if it is intended for enlightenment owing to the exposition of self-knowledge etc.

(iii) **Nigarbhārtha**—it emphasises the realisation of the internal character of multiplicity as Śiva by the pure self.

(iv) **Kaulikārtha**—by this the Universal self is instinctively realised as principle of self-luminous pure awareness even is empirical and phenomenal experiences. As the self is known as Kula, this is so called.

(v) **Sarvarahasyārtha**—in this stage, the emphasis is gradually shifted from 'this' to 'I'. The aspirant has to make effort for realising this identity; after this, the identity of the self with objectivity becomes a fact of experience. The pursuit of this process leads to immediate self-revelation. This is possible through esoteric training and secret practices. Hence it is called rahasyārtha.

(vi) **Mahā (parama) tattvārtha**—When the above stage is crossed, pure, alogical, irrelational immediacy prevails. This is the last stage.

The Krama system coordinates the above six-fold Tāntric approach with the following four-fold Upāya of Kashmir Śaivism, and herein lies the distinctive character of the contribution of Krama. The four Upāyas are:

1. **Ānava**—With the help of external means it seeks to unfold the aspirant's real nature.
2. **Śāktopāya**—it consists in processes designed to effect the refinement of Vikalpas (logical construction), it leads to the realisation of this as an expression of 'I' (sarvo mamāyam vibhavaḥ).
3. **Śambhava**—it consists in the indeterminate self-realisation.
4. **Anupāya**—consciousness pure and simple. Reality per se.

Most of the Tantras of Bengal deal with the ritual aspect, and are not much concerned with the philosophical aspect of Tantra. They deal with rites, rituals, particularly Dikṣā, Purāścarana, Siddhis, and the usual ṣaṁkarman, viz. Śānti (pacificatory rite), Vaśikaraṇa (bringing others under control), Stambhana (causing paralysis), Viḍveṣaṇa (causing hatred or enmity), Uccājana (expulsion) and Māraṇa (killing).

The concepts of **Kundalini** (the coiling serpent) and **Cakras** (nerve-plexus) within the body, the assumption of the body (bhānda) as an
epitome of the universe (brahmāṇḍa)—these are philosophical ideas. Also philosophical is the conception of Kālī, the dominating deity in the Śākta system, as the Supreme Power. The very name of Kālī, derived from Kāla (Time), is philosophical. She is so called as She has devoured Time (kāla-saṅgrahanāt), i.e. She is beyond Time—past, present and future. She is conceived as dark; this is significant. As all other colours are merged beyond recognition in the black, so all beings are supposed to be dissolved into Her in the end.

Kālī has been conceived in different forms. The most popular form, current in Bengal, is as follows:—

Moon-mark on the forehead, three eyes, wearing a cloth of blood, of four hands one is represented as granting a boon (vura) and another freedom from fear (abhaya), placed on a red lotus, standing upon the bosom of Śiva lying flat on His back. The Mahānirvāṇa-tantra (Vaṭgavāst ed. xiii-2-13) explains the significance of this form as follows: the moon-mark signifies the repository of nectar. She views the world, made with a limitation of time, clearly with the eternal sun, moon and fire. Hence She has three eyes.

She chews and devours all creatures. Therefore, She is represented as wearing a cloth in the shape of their blood. Her activities in saving the creatures from danger and compelling them to action are represented by the hand-poses of vara-dāna (granting of boon) and abhaya-dāna (granting freedom from fear). She pervades the worlds produced by the quality of Rajas so, She is placed on a red lotus.

Her standing on the chest of Śiva is taken by some to signify the supremacy of Śakti over Śiva who willingly lays Himself under Her feet. Among the Tantras of Bengal, philosophical ideas are found in the Śrīttattva-cintāmaṇi of Pūrṇānanda (16th cent A.D. latter half), Prānatoṣṇi of Rāmatoṣṇa and the anonymous Mahānirvāṇa.18

Bengal Tantra deals, to some extent, with metaphysics and ethics. Eschatological ideas occur incidentally. Epistemology is not discussed as such; some information on Jñāna, however, is found. Jñāna (knowledge) is divided into two kinds, viz. that derived from scriptures and that arising from discrimination. The means of attaining the highest form of knowledge is Tantric sādhana. The means of valid knowledge, usually discussed in works on philosophy, has not engaged the attention of Tantra writers of this province.

Pūrṇānanda discusses the nature of Brahman or Parama Brahman who is immanent, but neither gross nor subtle. The conception of the Supreme Being is conventional.
Pūrṇānanda refers to different views about salvation, and gives his own opinion that it means the merger of the individual soul in Paramātman, the mass of deep bliss or beatitude.

The author holds that jīva alone is the cause of salvation. Two-fold knowledge has already been stated; knowledge of Śabda-brahman arises from scriptures and that of Parama-brahman from discrimination. Śabda-brahman is inaudible sound according to some, sabdārtha according to others. The author rejects both the views which identify Śabda-brahman with something unconscious. According to him, it assumes the form of Kūndalī or Kūndalinī within the human body, manifests itself as varnas or letters. In other words, it is the sole producer of energy in every creature.

As regards Parama-brahman, the author says that some look upon it as non-dual, while others have a dualistic outlook. He secures to look upon it as beyond dualism and non-dualism.

The Supreme Being should be perceived through Prakṛti. The Prakṛti or Śakti can be known through dīkṣā (initiation).

The Prāṇatōsini deals with the order of creation, Śiva, Śakti etc. From the union of Śiva and Śakti was born the first son called Brahma with Mohini Śakti, the second son Viṣṇu with the Śakti given by Śiva’s consort, the third son Sadaśiva with Bhuvanamohini Śakti.

About Śabda-brahman, the author’s view is identical with that of Pūrṇānanda. Jīva can attain Śivahood by knowledge imparted by Tantra alone and not by any other creature of treatise, not even the Veda.

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1. This term indicates a particular literary genre. Generally derived from the root ṭan (to spread), it is taken to denote that class of works which increase knowledge (anyate
vistāryate jñānam anena) Tantra has come to stand for a special set of doctrines, practices, mystic syllables metaphysical speculation, occultism etc.

2. While older scholars assigned it to c. 6000 B.C., most modern scholars bring it down to c. 1500-1200 B.C. Very recently, a western scholar concludes, on astronomical evidence, that this Saṃhitā originated about 12,500 B.C. (Vide D. Frawley, Astronomical Evidence etc. in Glory of India (Quarterly Journal on Indology), Vol. V. Nos. 3-4, 1981, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi).

3. It is believed by some scholars that this Veda represents real popular beliefs as yet uninfluenced by the sacerdotal class. They think that these beliefs are older than the Rgveda, but the Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda is posterior to the Saṃhitā of the Rgveda.

4. Hārīta quoted by Kullākabhaṭṭa in his commentary on Manu, ii. 1.

5. The followers of this system recognise a threefold division as Parā (works dealing with the doctrinal aspect), Aparā (those dealing with the practical and ritual part) and Parāparā (those which combine the nature of both Parā and Aparā). According to some, the system takes its name from the fact the it treats of the ultimate, God, soul and matter.

6. Śiva-sūtra is said to have been revealed to Vasugupta (8th. cent. A.D.) who taught it to Kallaṭa. Some of the important works of this school are: Spanda kārikā of Vasugupta or Kallaṭa, Somānandā’s Śiva-dēṣṭhi (900 A.D.), Utpala’s Pratyabhijñāsūtra (930 A.D.), Abhinavagupta’s, Paramārtha-sāra and Pratyabhijñā-vimarśini, Tantrāloka, Kṣemarāja’s Śiva-sūtra-vimarśini and Spanda-sandoha.

7. For details, see K.C. Pandey, Abhinavagupta.

8. Consecration by the Guru of the neophyte, performed before or after dikṣā (initiation). It is broadly of two kinds, Śakti-bhīṣeka and Pūrṇābhīṣeka. It is performed by sprinkling holy water on the aspirant, and reciting Mantras to propitiate deities particularly those who drive away evil spirit. Pūrṇābhīṣeka, for which the candidate has to pass through severe ordeal, is believed to impart divinity to the initiate. See Raghavabhaṭṭa’s comm. on Śrīradātilaka iv. I, Prāgataśiṅgi II. 5, p. 142, Śaktisāṅgama-matantra, Kālī, xi. 29-37.

9. One, following Kaula-marga or Kaulācāra which is a way of Sādhana, confined to the spiritual lineage of a particular group of Tantric Gurus or preceptors.

10. A Tantric mode of marriage which is of two kinds, viz. for a limited period and valid till death. For details, see S.C. Banerji, Tantra in Bengal, 1978 pp. 109-110.

11. An assembly of Tantric devotees for performing certain rites. Generally two Cakras called Bhairavī and Tatāvī, are known. For details, see S.C. Banerji, Ibid., pp. 158, 159, 165, 168, 185.


15. It is supposed to reside in Mūlādhāra (mystical circle) above the organ of generation, about the novel. The goal of Tantric sādhana is the union of Kuṇḍalini with Śiva supposed to be residing in the Sahasrāraḥ (a supposed multi-coloured lotus of 1000 petals believed to be contained in Brahmamandala which is believed to be at the centre of the head; through Brahmamandala the vital breath of life is believed to exit at death. In Her passage from Mūlādhāra, Kuṇḍalini is supposed to penetrate the other cakras (see below).

16. Mystical circle. The human body is stated to contain the following cakras in the ascending order: Mūlādhāra (in the lowest) extremity of the spinal cord Śvadhiṣṭāna (above Mūlādhāra),Manipura (near the region of the navel), Anāhata (in the region of the heart), Vīṣuddha (above Anāhata, in the region of the neck), Ājñā (in between the eye-brows). For details about the forms of Cakras, see S.C. Banerjee, Tantra
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18. It is believed by some that the work was written partly or entirely by Hariharāṇanāndanātha, spiritual preceptor of Rāja Rāmmohan Roy (1772 ?-1833 A.D.) at the instance of his disciple in order to bolster up and buttress the latter’s reformist views.
THE PURĀNAS—PRIESTLY OR POPULAR?

By

J. L. BROCKINGTON

Debate about the precise character of the Purāṇas has been going on for a long time—though in the past it has perhaps concentrated on their degree of historicity and their chronology, while more recently the great debate has been between the text-historical and the structuralist approaches, carried on mainly in the pages of the journal Purāṇa by Bedekar and Biardeau.¹ But the question of their more brāhmaṇical or more popular orientation has not been neglected. Let me say straightaway that I used the term “priestly” in my title for the sake of alliteration and that brāhmaṇ and brāhmaṇical would be more accurate. But, to stay with my title for a moment, the answer to the implicit question depends so much on definitions that it would be sensible enough to declare, according to one’s standpoint, that the Purāṇas are “priestly”, i.e. brāhmaṇ-dominated, that they are popular, that they are both and that they are neither, to follow the Buddhist tetralemma format.

One half of the dichotomy is relatively straightforward to define, at least initially, since the values and functions associated with the brāhmaṇ class are well enough known. It may not exactly correspond to the term “official” of this conference’s overall theme of “Official and Popular Religion”, which has also served as the title for volume 19 in Mouton’s Religion and Society series,² but its overtones are similar. However, are we to define “popular” then, as I think is often implicitly done in Indian culture, as non-brāhmaṇ or more specifically as belonging to the lower levels of society and the tribal groups?

Though composed and edited by brāhmaṇs, the Purāṇas are nevertheless very much a manifestation of popular religion; they bear witness to the fact that the brāhmaṇs have maintained their position as guardians and transmitters of the religious tradition only by being receptive, albeit often reluctantly, to any innovations which achieve a real popular following. So much is this the case, that the more popular form of Hinduism from the Gupta period onwards has often been called Purānic Hinduism, while equally they reflect the growing strength of the sects, since most Purāṇas now have a definite Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva orientation. Though often relevant to sectarian developments, they nonetheless constitute the first expression of the more synthesising strand, concentrating on simple rituals
rather than exact doctrines, which is characteristic of mediaeval and modern Hinduism. Indeed, as a class of text, the Purāṇas are largely dedicated to this task of synthesis (not only between differing religious trends but also between religious and more secular aspects of tradition) as well as of establishing a religion more accessible and less hieratic than that which prevailed in the Vedic schools.

Nevertheless, the origins of the Purāṇas are very early; the term first appears in the Atharvaveda and thereafter is often linked with the stories elaborated to form the epics as the “ancient” material which, with the Vedas, constitutes the traditional learning. Indeed, it can be argued that the oldest material in the Purāṇas is contemporary with the Vedas but was recited either in a different context from the ritual or by others than brāhmans. Such an alternative context could be the source of the smṛti tradition, within which both the epics and the Purāṇas arose. Smṛti as a whole of course—the name literally means “memory”, more generally “tradition”—is that broader, less defined and more popular body of received tradition which was supplementary to śruti, the Vedas, and validated by its acceptance by the guardians of śruti, the brāhmans.

On the other hand, there is a good deal to be said for the view that others than brāhmans were involved, in particular kṣatriyas. In that case, however, is the label “popular” entirely appropriate? The evidence is strongest, of course, for the kṣatriya background of the epics, with which the Purāṇas are closely associated by tradition in the compound tīkāsapurāṇa, sometimes even claimed as the fifth Veda. Let me remind you, too, that a number of the debaters in the Upaniṣads are of aristocratic, kṣatriya rather than brāhman background. It is noteworthy that the idea of rebirth, which appears as a decided novelty in the two oldest Upaniṣads, is taught by a kṣatriya; there are several other clear indications that these speculations were not the exclusive preserve of the brāhmans. Indeed, if we accept the views so cogently argued by Paul Horsch. the passages associated with the kṣatriyas may well be distinguishable from the brāhmanic material by their inclusion of verses in śloka metre, the standard metre of the epics and Purāṇas.3

The kṣatriya background of the extant Purāṇas is revealed perhaps most clearly in the king-lists which form one of their topics. I do not want here to become embroiled in the question of the Purāṇas as sources of Indian history or of Pargiter’s role in establishing them as such. Suffice it to say that Pargiter assigned the Purāṇas to the class of “ancient kṣatriya literature”, argued that this “grew up in virtual independence of brāhmanical literature”, and claimed that this kṣatriya literature provided better historical data about ancient India than the brāhmanical literature.4 His views have attracted probably more opponents than sup-
porters, generating more heat than light. Personally, I would agree with the judicious summing up by Dimmitt and van Buitenen: "It seems likely that these two traditions were never entirely distinct, for Vedic literature includes numerous stories of kings, and the epics and Purāṇas both promote the social and religious preeminence of brāhmīns and their values. Thus the Purāṇas represent an amalgam of two somewhat different but never entirely separate oral literatures: the brāhman tradition stemming from the reciters of the Vedas, and the bardic poetry recited by sūtas that we handed down in kṣatriya circles."

This brāhman/kṣatriya opposition is raised in a sense even more acutely by the epics, for their origins and early development belong to the kṣatriya aristocracy. Originally therefore broadly secular works, recited at courts by bards attendant on the kings, both epics grew over a long period to include much other traditional material and acquired religious significance as an important figure in each was identified as an incarnation of Viṣṇu; in the process their transmission and amplification passed into the hands of the brāhmans. Indeed, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa are a major source for understanding the substantial transformation taking place in the religion in the post-Vedic period. Even here, where the shift is much more clear-cut and far more work has been done, the chronology of the process is still not entirely clear.

To return to the Purāṇa king-lists, these do in fact provide us with some clues about the chronology of the Purānic literature. They fall essentially into two groups, of which the first series of genealogies runs from Manu, the mythical ancestor of the human race, to the immediate descendants of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, while the second series presented as prophecy (which may reflect their addition to the established texts) but undoubtedly like all the best prophecies written ex post facto, ends with the Guptas or another dynasty of the 4th-6th centuries A.D. The end point of the first series, corresponding to the aftermath of the supposed Bhārata war, may well represent the period early in the first millennium B.C. when this material originated. Similarly, the end point of the second series seems to mark the period at which this material began to assume its present form in the extant Purāṇas, which were compiled between the fourth and about the twelfth centuries, with additions till much more recent times in some instances.

Traditionally, each Purāṇa covers five topics (purāṇapañcaalakṣaṇa): the emanation of the universe, its destruction and re-emanation, the reigns and periods of the Manus; the genealogies of the gods and sages, and the genealogy of the solar and lunar dynasties (to which all Hindu dynasties trace their ancestry). The first three of the traditional topics amount to a full presentation of the developed Hindu cosmology. In their relationship to the other two topics of genealogies, these topics represent a transition from the universal to the more particular and a
balance between them; in themselves, they constitute quite as much of a secular and even "scientific" approach as a religious one; while the genealogies have certainly at least as much to do with ksatriya values as with brähman concepts. Thus, the impression given by the list of five topics tends to reinforce the idea that the Purāṇas in their origins were primarily connected with the ksatriyas.

Unfortunately, the first mention of five topics is in the lexicon of Amarasiṃha the Amarakośa, of the fifth or sixth century, and they are not named until later still. Furthermore, while these five do occur in some Purāṇas they occupy only a tiny fraction of their extent and some Purāṇas omit some of them. Thus, if they do form the original nucleus, then the Purāṇas have expanded out of all recognition. There is in fact a fairly general recognition that the Purāṇas have grown by accretion. As part of this process other topics were added, such as instruction on the duties of class and stage of life (varnāstramadharmas), sacred sites and pilgrimage, worship of images and construction of temples; among their characteristic themes are the greatness of the rewards which can be secured by little effort and their accessibility to women and śūdras, an obvious parallel to the emphases of the bhakti movement, in this more activity-related type of religion.

Again, there is a similarity to the epics, for there are many parallels to verses of Manu, probably the oldest of the dharmāstras, in both epics, especially in the Śānti and Anuśasana parvas, the twelfth and thirteenth books of the Mahābhārata, and the Mahābhārata contains an important section on pilgrimage in its third book (the Trthayāṭraparvan); in both cases this material has been added in later stages of the epics' growth. The difference is that, whereas for the epics considerable progress has been made in identifying the stages of this growth, far less coherence has been achieved so far in the picture of Purānic development. One of the reasons is of course the sheer bulk of material; whereas tradition ascribes a lakh (a hundred thousand) of verses to the Mahābhārata, it assigns no less than a crore (ten million) to the Purāṇas. Inflated as the figure probably is, it still gives an idea of the scale of the problem.

One of the few overall schemes is that suggested by Dimmitt and van Buiten who declare:

In the course of their long history the Purāṇas have become truly encyclopedic in content. They contain four principal types of material which have accrued in an identifiable, if not precisely datable, order: the pāṇīcalakṣaṇa, or "five characteristics"; bhakti, or devotional theism; dharma, or social duty; and practical matters, derived from both arts and sciences.
However, as soon as one looks at the details, this scheme becomes a good deal less plausible. Pilgrimage, if we are to judge by the evidence of the Mahābhārata, was a popular practice at a relatively early date; after all, its description of tīrthas starts with the one major cult spot still associated with Brahmā, making hyperbolic claims about its sanctity, and so suggests that Īrāvani was much more important than subsequently. Although Hacker has demonstrated that there is some evidence for Brahmā’s importance in the earliest levels of the Purāṇas, in most of them Brahmā has given way to Śiva and Viṣṇu. He retains a place only in the trimūrti, which perhaps reflects a transition phase in the relationship of the three gods but becomes fossilised and retained mechanically later. Incidentally, as I have suggested elsewhere, it may be that one reason for Brahmā’s ultimate eclipse is that he had become too closely identified with the interests of the brāhmans as a class. If so, this provides another interesting slant on our theme.

Alongside Brahmā’s eclipse, the Purāṇas also indirectly attest the rise of the Goddess. Devī, in whom are fused various local and more or less “popular” female deities (the warrior goddess, Durgā, conqueror of the buffalo demon, Māhiṣaśuramardini, the blood-thirsty Kāli, the mothers or mārkās, Ambikā, Caṇḍikā and so on) and who is sometimes Viṣṇu’s consort (Viṣṇumāyā, Śrī, Lakṣmī), more often Śiva’s (Umā or Pārvatī), and often also independent.

Again, if the bhakti element is the second group of material after the “five characteristics”, this implies that the Purāṇas as they were redacted during the Gupta period lacked the elements which presumably they classify under this heading, and this seems an unduly restrictive view of the Purāṇas at that period. Nevertheless, it is with the bhakti material that we come to anything which can definitely be labelled “popular” in the sense of belonging to the masses rather than to the elite. So far, our discussion has been in terms of brāhman and ksatriya and of the links between the Purāṇas and the epics, which are in origin pre-eminently ksatriya literature. The rise of the bhakti movement proper in south India from about the 7th century A.D. was truly a movement of the lower levels of society. Yet even before its influence reached the north, elements were being incorporated into the Purāṇas which must reflect a broader and to that extent more popular attitude to religion.

Indeed, much of the dharma material is probably a great deal less brāhman-oriented than might be thought, since, while there is an acceptance of the varnāstramadharma, far less emphasis is placed on the disabilities attaching to the lower varṇas than on the means by which they can achieve religious merit. Pilgrimage is one of these means, which must have a popular background, for such a cult of localities is at variance
with the mobile character of Vedic ritual. The cult of pilgrimage to
cracked places, tirthas, became fairly widespread by the mediaeval period
and was a popular way to remove sins and accumulate merit; the merit
acquired in visiting them was commonly reckoned in terms of the perform-
ance of so many Vedic rituals, but, unlike the sacrifices that they thereby
replace, the sacred sites were open to all. As their name tirtha suggests,
such pilgrimage centres are usually (though not invariably) associated
with rivers and especially with the Gaṅga. However, the city of Vārāṇaṣī
on its banks is a particularly sacred city (and is celebrated, for
example, by its older name of Kāśi in the Kāśikhaṇḍa of the Skanda
Purāṇa).10 Gradually other rivers and sites came to be centres of pil-
grame, or in several cases no doubt older traditions of pilgrimage asso-
ciated with local, tribal cults were granted orthodox recognition. To mark
this, passages eulogising these tirthas were inserted in one or another of the
Purāṇas. Some Purāṇas even deal mainly with tirthas, such as the Padma,
Skanda and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas, and occasional minor Purāṇas are little
more than extended māhāmyas, eulogies of such sacred sites, of which an
example is the Sarasvatī Purāṇa, a local Purāṇa from Gujrat which
describes the tirthas on the banks of the Sarasvatī there.

There is in fact a definite regional element to some of the Purāṇas,
to judge by the tirthas and the temples mentioned. Would it be going too
far to say that this reflects one pattern, even the main pattern, of their
transmission after the decline of the Gupta dynasty? Possibly the Purāṇas
were preserved in the local literature of certain temples and shrines, which
would help to account both for the regional emphases and for the
increasing openness to popular attitudes and beliefs. If so, the smārta
brāhmans, who are particularly associated with the group of five deities
which replaced the earlier synthesis of the trimūrti and who certainly
played quite a significant ritual role for several groups, may well have
played an important part in this.

This question of regional variation is obviously a significant one in
our understanding of the development of the Purāṇas in general, as well
as to the popular origin of particular features. However, the inadequate
textual basis for many—indeed most—Purāṇas severely inhibits its explo-
ration as yet. As an example, let me quote a point that Ludo Rocher
makes in his recent book on the Purāṇas:

In their descriptions of the Durgāpūjā the nibandhakāras quote
numerous verses from a variety of purāṇas—Bhaviṣya, Liṅga,
etc.—, which do not appear in the editions of these texts. We
may therefore assume that the place of Durgāpūjā in the purāṇas
of northeast India was and probably still is—far more important
than their written versions seem to indicate.11
Further study of the variant versions of different Purāṇas could well yield significant new material on regional and popular developments.

Apart from their emphasis on pilgrimage, the Purāṇas are even better known as the great storehouses of Hindu mythology, and in this too they have played a synthesising role, bringing into relationship with the two major deities, Viṣṇu and Śiva, many local deities and cults by means of a particular myth. One major element of this is the provision of the deities with their individual mounts (vāhanas), thus bringing into relationship with each deity an appropriate animal symbol of his particular nature or activity. Thus Brahmā is provided with a goose (because of its lofty migration to remote distances, a symbol of the soul’s quest for release), Viṣṇu rides on Garuḍa (the mythical bird who in Vedic literature is entirely independent of Viṣṇu) and during the dissolution of the universe he reclines on the cosmic serpent Śeṣa or Ananta (“remainder” and “infinite”), and Śiva has his bull, Nandin. Of course, deities in animal form have been taken directly into the developed pantheon, in particular the monkey Hanumān (who has a wider significance than just his aid to Rāma) and Śiva’s elephant-headed son, Gāṇeṣa. Interestingly, Gāṇeṣa himself is furnished with a mount, the apparently incongruous rat which in reality symbolises another aspect of Gāṇeṣa’s ability to overcome obstacles.

This system of the deities’ mounts represents, therefore, another mechanism, alongside the proliferation of Viṣṇu’s avatāras and Śiva’s ever-enlarging family circle, by which the Purāṇas have contrived to assimilate the multiplicity of local cults, which have always been a feature of Indian religion, into the framework of a developed religion. Certainly, while for example such a figure as Varāha, Viṣṇu’s boar incarnation, can be traced back as far as the Brāhmaṇas, in most cases such theriomorphic figures stand outside the Vedic tradition. Undoubtedly in this there has been an element of deliberate manipulation of the material by its brāhmaṇa redactors to achieve the desired end. But another significant feature of the use of myth is its employment as a kind of meta-language, a method of presenting religious concepts in a symbolic form which is open-ended. A myth can be endlessly reinterpreted to suit the needs of the individual or the period in a way that is impossible to achieve with doctrinal formulations. The Puṇḍras provide countless examples of the narration of essentially the same myth from a Vaiṣṇava or a Śaiva angle and, in the case of Śaiva mythology, with unlimited scope for exploiting the ambivalence inherent in the nature of a deity who represents in so striking a fashion the totality of the universe.

Although the Purāṇas do contain sectarian materials and indeed constitute excellent sources for the study of Hindu sects, their sectarianism is by no means exclusive, favouring one god to the detriment of all others, but rather in them a measure of respect is shown to all the major deities.
Inevitably, as with any such generalisation, there are passages which constitute an exception but as a whole this is undoubtedly the case. While attempts are made to link a third each of the traditional number of eighteen with each deity of the trimūrti (or alternatively or in addition with the three guṇas of sattva, rajas and tamas), the procedure is rather artificial. For example, the Kūrma Purāṇa, though named after an āvatāra of Viṣṇu, is classified by this scheme in the Padma Purāṇa as being Śaiva, but in fact it presents an intriguing combination of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva elements. More specifically still, its opening chapters show a clear Pāñcarātra outlook, while the rest often shows a Pāśupata viewpoint but among those includes the Ṣvaragītā (Kūp 2. 1-11), a Śaiva adaptation of the Bhagavadgītā, which is in itself an excellent example of this relatively eclectic approach. While the Kūrma Purāṇa is probably a Pāśupata adaptation of an earlier Pāñcarātra work, the Matsya Purāṇa (again named after an āvatāra of Viṣṇu) places Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva material side by side in an apparently random manner. I could go on adding examples.

The point I am making, however, is that in thus placing Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva material alongside each other the Purāṇas are not exhibiting the type of theological outlook that one might expect of religious specialists, that is of brāhmans, but rather the broad tolerance which seems always to have characterised the mass of the Indian population. On the other hand, it is quite clear that the composition of the Purāṇas and in large measure their transmission was, as I have been suggesting, in the hands of brāhmans, so that this is an example of their responsiveness to the needs or desires of their clientele, the mass of the people. But then, as I have noted elsewhere,10 within the relatively unstructured mass of Hinduism, brāhmans as a class exercise a leadership by consent rather than a dictatorial control. They need to give their sanction to any innovations that achieve a real popular following, if they are not to be left out on a limb.

At times it seems as if this desire to be inclusive, to anticipate the vagaries of popular belief, has led the compilers of some Purāṇas to make them into repositories of almost any traditional learning that may have any bearing on religious practice. It is natural enough that they should include, as well as the pilgrimage aspect that we have already glanced at, material on the worship of images and construction of temples. Here again they provide evidence of a trend which has become characteristic of Hinduism in more modern times. In fact, the first extant examples of Hindu temple architecture come from the Gupta period and thus are more or less contemporary with the compilation of the earlier Purāṇas, except for a very few shrines connected, perhaps significantly, with popular cults such as that of the Nāgas, the snake deities. Although temples and image worship were to replace the Vedic ritual, their earliest
symbolism was derived from it. The Purāṇas give the first clear prescription of the cult of images, beginning with methods of manufacture, then their installation in the temple, followed by the bathing, perfuming, adorning and consecrating of the statue. Although canons of proportions are given, the concern is not artistic but purely iconographic.

However, some Purāṇas, or rather their latest compilers, have gone very much further, until a few have become positively encyclopaedic, notably the Matsya, Garuḍa and Agni Purāṇas. The iconographic teachings of the Agni Purāṇa have in fact been the subject of a major study by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann. Less obvious topics treated in its 380-odd chapters include politics (218-31), trees and water reservoirs (247 and 282), medicine in two chapters (280 and 370—the subject of studies by R.F.G. Müller), metrics (328-35), literary ornament (alaṅkāra; ASS 337-47/Bib. Ind. 336-46) and lexicography (360-7/359-66). But an Upapurāṇa, such as the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, can include a major work on mathematical astronomy, the Paitāmahasiddhānta (2.166-74), and sections on painting (citrasūtra, 3.35-43) and image making (pratīmālā-kṛśana 3.44-85); in this case the topics are not so surprising but the scale of their treatment is somewhat out of proportion. In the case of the Agni or Garuḍa Purāṇas, the logic of the inclusion of much of this material is not apparent.

Another aspect of the regional element that I was referring to earlier is the translation and adaptation of Purāṇas into the regional languages. There are actually two types of vernacular Purāṇas: those that have been translated, however freely, from Sanskrit originals and those that originated independently. It is indeed a mark of both the popularity and the importance of the Purāṇas that such vernacular versions constitute a major part of the earliest literature in most of the NIA languages. Among the Dravidian languages, Tamil is particularly rich in works called Purāṇas, among which the Periya Purāṇam is particularly significant, especially for its association with the bhakti movement, for it was composed in the 11th century by Śekkiḷār, the minister of the Cola ruler, and describes the lives of the 63 Nāyanmārs. It is thus even more directly linked with the bhakti movement than the monumental Bhāgavata Purāṇa which, though in Sanskrit, was clearly composed in south India, most probably in Tamilnād, and is, of course, of paramount importance for the devotional sects worshiping Kṛṣṇa. There are incidentally Tamil versions of the Bhāgavata and many early European references to this Purāṇa were in fact taken from a French translation of one Tamil version. In these two works, the Sanskrit Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Tamil Periya Purāṇam, we do now see the full-scale influence of the bhakti movement and—which is probably not coincidental—a fully coordinated plan for each work.
I am not really qualified to comment in any meaningful way on these vernacular Purāṇas and so will not attempt to go beyond the brief remarks I have just made. However, this does bring us back to the issue of the transmission of the Purāṇas, which I briefly touched on earlier in relation to their links with the epics and their common oral background, as well as in their possible connection with particular temples and shrines as an explanation for local emphases. Now that we have examined the content and purpose of the Purāṇas in some fashion, perhaps I could finish with some examination of their transmission, in so far as it reveals attitudes towards them.

Although the Purāṇas do seem to share a common background of oral, bardic composition with the epics, it is likely in my view that written texts had become the main means of their composition and preservation at least by the Gupta period from which the earliest extant Purāṇas date; thus, the repetitiousness of their style is less a survival of the formulaic style typical of oral poetry than a symptom of their method of compilation. However, recitation of the Purāṇas to an audience drawn from all segments of society seems always to have been prevalent and specifically to have distinguished them (and other parts of śāstra) from the Vedic literature, for which the audience was carefully restricted; in this context, of course, their oral nature or otherwise is irrelevant. Inscriptional and literary evidence in north India shows that endowments were made for the popular recital of the epics and the Purāṇas from about the 7th century onwards. And V. Raghavan, in a paper significantly entitled “Methods of Popular Religious Instruction in South India”,16 gives numerous examples of endowments by the Pallavas, Colas and Pāṇḍyas for the same purpose and goes on to state: “Thus the practice of popular exposition of the epics and the purāṇas has been handed down to the present day in an unbroken tradition.” It is perhaps not altogether too fanciful to see in such recitation, usually in a temple, a direct continuity with the claimed first recital of the various Purāṇas by the sūtra at the sacrificial sessions (satras). In any case, it is clear that such public recitation was a regular, even the main, means of their dissemination from an early period onwards.

Raghavan also goes on to suggest that, in Tamilnād at any rate, nowadays the Purāṇas are only rarely taken up and that it is the Rāmāyaṇa which is most often recited. On the other hand, other studies of contemporary practice do give the Purāṇas a larger share. For example, Fieldner and Marâthe, in a field-work description of modern Hindu feasts, refer to the recitation of Purānic texts on these occasions;17 themes from the Purāṇas and the epics form the basis of the chau dances performed in Bhumij villages;18 and Valentina Stache-Rosen has studied local traditions of presenting Purānic and epic stories in shadow-plays
and popular ballads.19 Further examples could easily be found from a perusal of the anthropological and similar literature, but perhaps I could simply add one further, slightly different example by pointing to the frequency of Purāṇic material in the study of modern calendar art in North India by V.G. Vitaxis.20 If we need any proof of the popular character of the Purāṇas, it is surely here.

The undoubted fact that the Purāṇas have achieved a wide popular audience does not, though, ipso facto make them popular works in the sense of belonging to, or reflecting the values of, the mass of society rather than the elite. There is far too much evidence of the role of the brāhman in their composition and transmission, even in some aspects of their subject-matter, to dismiss their brāhman nature out of hand. But in this, as I remarked earlier, they do not stand alone, for both the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa originated in a kṣatriya milieu but subsequently came under the influence of the brāhmans as the guardians and redactors of all received tradition. Yet they are clearly not brāhmanical works in the way that the Kalpasūtras and other ancillaries to the Vedic literature, or much of classical Sanskrit literature, manuals of the six systems, or even much sectarian literature is brāhmanical. To oversimplify, though written or compiled by brāhmans, they are intended for a popular audience. However, this is not the same as is implied in a quotation which over the years I have used on my students as an examination question (for so long in fact that I have mislaid its source—if indeed it is a genuine quotation); this declares: “The Purāṇas are popular Hinduism with a priestly veneer.” The brāhman element is more than just a superficial adaptation.

Dimmit and van Buitenen were certainly nearer to it when they ask “if there is any overall plan, theme or structure to these collections of old stories as they now exist. Whether intended by a compiler, or unintentional, can we discern a central thread, an inner coherence, a guiding principle to the contents of these eighteen major Purāṇas?” For their reply is that it appears that “a guarded yes can be given to the question of intention. One principle guiding every accretion to a received text of these old stories is the principle of exotericism by which less esoteric, more popular religious beliefs and practices were dignified by acceptance into the loftier Sanskritic oral tradition maintained by the class of brāhmin priests.”21 I am not sure that this is entirely valid for the really encyclopaedic Purāṇas, like the Garuda and Agni Purāṇas, nor am I entirely happy about the emphasis on oral tradition, if they mean (as I think they do) oral composition rather than recitation. Nevertheless, the overall trend is towards inclusiveness and comprehensiveness; indeed, defined in those terms, it is possible to see the encyclopaedic Purāṇas, not as aberrations, but as the extreme examples of the tendency to include more and more. Nor is this tendency to make almost a library out of a particular Purāṇa
at all surprising if we accept the suggestion that their custodians may have been relatively unsophisticated temple priests—in many ways the lowliest of the brāhmans—who in this way collected in one work whatever might be useful to them in their daily life, as they attended to the religious needs and aspirations of their clientele. This localised aspect is after all even more obvious in some of the minor Purānic literature—in the sthalapurāṇas devoted to the glorification of some particular place (as well as in the māhātmyas included within the major Purāṇas) and, in a different way, in the caste Purāṇas, a still insufficiently explored genre which superimpose a restriction by social grouping on to that by region. The degree of literacy of the later Purāṇa redactors may well be considered questionable, in view of the poor Sanskrit of so many manuscripts. Such unlearned brāhmans, with their horizons limited to their own immediate area, may well be considered to have more in common with the rest of the population than with the elite to which they nominally belong. Yet they undoubtedly stand at the intersection of the divide between the “Great Tradition” and the “little traditions”, once so favoured by the social anthropologists.

“Official” and “popular”, or “priestly” and “popular”, could easily become in the same way a stereotype into which the evidence is made to fit. If the contrast is viewed as a mere either/or proposition, it will prove too simplistic, but if we regard it as a starting point—a preliminary orientation, if you like—from which to explore the vast and still inadequately charted terrain of the Purāṇas, it may well possess considerable practical utility.

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6. Amarasingha the author of the Amarakośa, gives simply purāṇam pañcalakṣaṇam; the fuller definition, sargaśca pratisargaśca —, occurs first in commentaries on the Amarakośa.


10. On Vārānasī see for example Diana L. Eck, Banaras: City of Light (Knopf, New York, 1982).


20. V.G. Vitaxis, Hindu Epics, Myths and Legends in Popular Illustrations (OUP, Delhi, 1977).

THE DOCTRINE OF KARMA IN THE PURĀNAS

By

Y. KRISHAN

The essential features of the doctrine of Karma in the Purānas are the same as of the classical doctrine of Karma as enunciated in the Mahābhārata. This is as, it should be considering the close relationship between the Purānas and the Mahābhārata. The presentation of the doctrine of Karma is in the context of the mythology and cosmology of the Purānas (as also of the epics). The observations of the different Purānas on the various features of the doctrine of Karma have been put together and presented below.

Karma as a causative force

The Vāyupurāṇa 31.42 says: Karmabhiḥ prāṇīnām loke sarvaceṣṭā-pravarttakah; the Karmas are the cause of all activity among living beings in this world. Again Vāyu 56.64 & 67 speak of beings, on fulfilment of the Karmas with which they are equipped, being embodied (dehasambhavāt) or destroyed (dehapātanāt). Vāyu 56.71 speaks of Karma yoniṣu, Karmas being the wombs. Vāyu 56.179 reiterates: paśvādi sthāvaranteṣu bhūṣanām teṣu karmasū: moving and non-moving creation is the result of Karmas.

The Matsyapurāṇa 154. 356-366 says that many classes of men are born in it (world) by virtue of their deeds.

The Bhāgavatapurāṇa 3.32.38 ascribes the various states of existence of the jīva or soul to its ignorant actions—avidyākarma nīmitthā, the Karmas rooted in ignorance are the architect of existence. The Bhāgavata 5.5-14 avers that ignorance (avidyā) is the storehouse of Karmas (Karmā-sayam) and ignorance is the cause of the knot in the heart (hṛdaya granthih) and of bondage (bandham).

The Bhāgavata 3.31.1 makes Karmas a generative force. Karmāna daivanetrena janturdehopapattaye/striyāḥ praviṣṭa udaram pūraso retāḥ kaṇāṣrayāḥ; by force of Karmas as directed by fate (daiva) the soul enters the womb of a woman through the generative fluid of a man for the formation of a body.

The Kūrmapurāṇa 2.2.21 avers that it is through Karmas that everyone becomes subjected to birth in different bodies sarva deha samudbhavaḥ.

The Padmapurāṇa 2.94 Karmamāhátmya sets out the efficacy or virtues of Karma. It calls it Sarvakāraṇam, the supreme cause 2.94.1;
sarvatra kāraṇam karma subhāsubham na saṁśayaḥ: Undoubtedly Karma is everywhere the cause of happiness and unhappiness 2.94.2; Karma is called the pradhāna, the originator and source of visible or material world 2.94.8; Karmadāyadā kālo karmasambandhi-bāndhavāḥ: Karma is responsible for kins and relations in this world 2.94.10; Karmāṇi codayantiḥa puruṣam sukhaduṣkhayoh: Karmas provide the stimulus causing happiness and unhappiness 2.94.11.

The Garudapurāṇa I.221.3 says Karmadārāḥ karmalokāḥ karma-sambandhibāndhavāḥ/Karmāṇi prerayantiḥa puruṣam sukhaduṣkhayoh.

It is due to Karmas that persons get wives, obtain birth in various forms of existence, and family members, it is the Karmas that lead a person to happiness and misery.

The Brahmaivaivartaapurāṇa 2.24.17 says graphically:
Karnaṇā jyaye jantu karnaṇaiva pratiyyate / Sukham duḥkhham bhayam śokam karnaṇaiva prapadhyate.

The jīva or being is born from Karmas and disappears due to Karmas. It is the Karmas that bring about happiness, suffering, fear and misery. Again the Brahmaivaivarta 2.26.16 says that gods, demons, gandharvas, rākṣasas and human beings are all born of Karmas (Karmajanaka) and are not equal (na sarve samajīvino).

Karma, Transmigration and Rebirth

The Vāju 14.2 says: tathā suktakarmā tu phalam svarge samajñute / Tasmāt sṭhānāt punorbhraṣṭo mūnusyamanupadyate: a man of noble deeds enjoys the results of those actions in heaven; on falling therefrom, he becomes a human being.

The Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 10.63-64 says that when a person dies his vital airs give up this body of pain and assume another body rūpadeham anyatra prapadyate. That body is intended for chastisement which is born of actions Karmajam yātanārtham and is not (really: born of father and mother. It is the Karmas of previous life (prāg-bhava) which determine his length of life (pramāna vayo avastha) and death (sānsthā).

Mārkaṇḍeya 11.31 says: Evam saṁsāra cakre asmiṁjantavo ghaṭi-yantravat/brāmyante prākṛtaṁ bandhairbaddhā badhyanti ca sakṣī. So in the round of worldly existence creatures revolve about like the Persian wheel at the well and having been bound with the fetters of nature, they are bound repeatedly.

The Matsyaapurāṇa speaks of the next life (param loke) of a devotee (96.1) and of past life, bhavāntara (72.25) janmāntara, (96.24), atite janmāni (115.7) and pūrvajjanmāni, (115.10 and 15, Again the Matsya
181.10 & 17 speak of \textit{pūrva saṅcita karma}, (pāpam), previously accumulated \textit{karmas}. In the \textit{Matsya} 39.18-19, Yayātī says that anyām yoṇim punyapāpānusārām hitvā deham bhajate rājasīnāha punyām yoṇim punyakṣṭo viśanti pāpām yoṇim pāpakṣto vrajantī kītāḥ pataṅgāśca bhavantī pāpānna me vivakṣāsti mahānubhāva: A soul after vacating the corpse enters another body according to its virtue or sin. A virtuous soul is reborn in the form of a pious being and similarly a vicious soul takes its birth as a worm or insect. Again the \textit{Matsya} 154.147-52 says “the beings are born on account of their past \textit{Karmas}. Egg-born ones again become egg-born; they may also be born among men. Human beings may be born again as reptiles and reptiles can become again men. These superior births are according to their greater merit (\textit{dharma})”.  

The \textit{Matsya} 37 and 38 mention that Yayātī falls from heaven due to loss of virtue. Again \textit{Matsya} 186.26-28 and 189.17-18 speak of a person offering worship to Śiva after bathing in the Narmadā or the confluence of Narmadā and Kāverī and as a result going to heaven for a specified period of time and returning to earth thereafter.

\textit{Viṣṇupūrṇa} 3.7.4-5 says: \textit{Prāṇino yatra karmabandhanibandhanah/ sarve caite vaṣam yānti Yamasya bhagavan kīla, Āyuṣo ante tathā yānti yātanāstaipracoditaḥ}. Now all these beings are captives in the chains of acts and at the end of their age, became slaves to Yama who sentences them to painful punishments. Further \textit{Viṣṇu} 3.7.6 and 7 says “Released from these inflictions, they are again born in the condition of gods, men or the like and thus living beings......perpetually revolve (jantayah parivartane). \textit{Viṣṇu} in 6.5.50-52 observes that souls of the deceased undergo pain not only in hell; the heaven is also a temporary abode and the individual self is ever tormented by the prospect of descending to earth again and taking birth. \textit{Viṣṇu} 6.7.16 is very explicit \textit{Sarva dehopabhogāya kurute karma mānavaḥ/ dehaśeṇāyo vaddā pūṇastadā bandhāya tatparam}: Man performs all actions for the enjoyment of the body, the consequence of such acts is another body; in the result man is always bound to bodily existence.

The \textit{Bhāgavatapurāṇa} 3.32.3 and 18-21 states that a man who performs the duties of a householder, earns wealth and indulges in the pleasures of the sense and performs sacrifices to gods and manes, attains after death, the realm of the moon......but (when the stock of merit that earned him the abode of the moon is exhausted) he must return to the mortal world.

Again the \textit{Bhāgavata} 3.30.34 says that “Having gone through in a regular order all the tortures of hell and passed through the lowest forms of animal life preceding human birth (such as that of dog, swine and so on) and thus purged his sins, he is reborn as a human being on earth”.


Agnipurāṇa 203.1.3 says āyuṣo, ante ............. ....anyacchariraman-ādatte yātaniyam svakarmabhīh. At the end of life i.e. after death, a soul acquires another body and suffers according to its Karmas. Further Agni 371.8.9 observes “At the time of death, the soul moving quickly enters wombs to take birth eyavantam jāyamānam vā pravīlantam ca yonisv; (at the moment of death) the subtle body i.e. soul immediately takes hold of a body through yōga or binding faculty (ghṛṇāti tattvānādyoge śariram ca ativāhikam) Again Agni 371.29-30 says that a mortal sinner is born in terrible hells (mahāpātakajān ghorān narakān prāpya) and on the destruction of (the results) of (sinful) Karmas (Karma kṣayā), he is born (praṇāyante) as deer, dog, pig and camel; by drinking liquor, he is born as ass or mleecha, and he who steals gold, is born as a worm, insect, bird, tree or shrub. Padmapurāṇa 2.16 describes the various sufferings, a sinner has to undergo after death. Apart from suffering due to exposure to extreme heat, thirst, hunger etc. he is reborn (punarjanana) in different existences (yonis) such as dog (tvāna), tiger (vyāghra), cat (māṛjāra), swine (tūkara), serpent (sarpa), bird (pakṣī), worm (kṛśī) etc. Padma 2.94.14 says the doer as a result of his action becomes a deva, human being, animal or bird.

The Garudapurāṇa I.104.1-3 states that on the exhaustion of evil karmas (pāpasya karmano), a fallen person rises above hell (naraka), if he is a killer of a Brahmin, he becomes a dog, an ass or a camel, deaf or dumb; man who steals gold becomes a worm or an insect. Again Garuda I. 225.3-6 describes saṁsāra cakra, the wheel of existence: on death, a person acquires another body (deham anyat prapadyate) to which he is taken by the messengers of death (Yama). A person goes to hell (naraka) due to sins (pāpa) and to heaven (svarga) due to good deeds (punya).

After leaving heaven or hell, he takes birth in the womb of woman (strīnām garbhe bhavyathath). Thus the soul revolves in the world like the Persian wheel: evam saṁsāra cakre asmin bhūmyate ghaṭiyantravat.

Karma as a law of personal responsibility

The Vāyu 56.72 states: svakarmānyeva śocanti yātaniśthānamā gatāḥ: on being born in a place of torture one blames one's Karmas. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 14.16-18 states that a person verily attains merit (punya) and demerit (apunya) in regular order and his sin (pāpam) or merit diminishes (Kṣayam yāti) as he consumes it. But no human action, whether virtuous or sinful, quickly cleanses except by consumption (parityajaya bhogāt). Again Mārkaṇḍeya 15.46 proclaims svakarmaphala bhoktṛṇām punyāṇām pāpāṇām tathā: holy and wicked eat the fruits of their own actions. Again Mārkaṇḍeya 15.69 narrates that Indra tells King Vīpāṣcit during the latter's visit to hell: “The evil doers come to hell in consequence of their own deeds: Karnaṣṭā
naraka-prāptisām pāpiṣṭhayakarmānām" and adds "thou also, O King, must go to heaven, svarga, in consequence of thy meritorious deeds (puṣyena karmanā)." The Viṣṇupūrāṇa 6.5.13 says that an embryo is bound to the world by its former works—nījakarmanibhandhanaḥ. The Matsya-pūrāṇa 27.29-30 says "Every being reaps the harvest of pain and pleasure in this world according to his actions (ātma doṣa). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa 3.31.31 states that "a person bound by his deeds (Karmas) is born repeatedly and suffers misery and does actions through ignorance (avidyā) which keep him in the bondage of Karma. The Bhāgavata 3.32 repeats that a man reaps in hell as before the consequences of his evil acts again done by him.

The Agnipūrāṇa 159.13 says: Vatsavatprākṛtam Karma kartāram vindate dhrutam: indeed action (Karma) follows the doer as the child or calf (runs after its mother). Again Agni 203.3 emphasises: bhūktē atha pāpakṣyduḥkham sukham dharmaśa saṁgataḥ: (The soul) experiences suffering for evil acts and happiness for good acts done in previous life. The Padma 2.94. 2-3 says puṣyena karmanā...... naraḥ saukhyam prabha-qjati, duṣṭikṣtam bhūjate cātra pāpayuktena karmanā: through good deeds, men enjoy happiness, through evil deeds one experiences here their evil (results). Padma 2.94.7 proclaims: yādṛṣṭam kriyāte karma tādṛṣṭam paribhūjate as a man does, so does he experience; kṣetreṣu yādṛṣṭam bṛjai vapate kṛṣṇārakah/sādṛṣṭam bhūjate tāta phalameva na saṁśayaḥ 2.94.8-9: Just as the cultivators reap the crop of the seed they sow in their fields, likewise men enjoy the fruit (in the case of Karma). Again Padma 2.94.16-17 says ātmanā vihitam duḥkham ātmanā vihitam sukham; garbhaśayāmupādāya bhūjate pūrvadaiḥśakam|pūrvadehakṛtām Karma na kaścit puruṣottamaḥ: Suffering and happiness are self-created; after entering a womb, a being experiences the (Karmas) of his previous life, no one else bears the results of actions done in previous life. So Padma 2.94.18 adds svakṣriṇyeva bhūjaṭi duḥkhaṇi ca sukhaṇi ca—the doer alone experiences the unhappiness and happiness caused by his own deeds. Padma 2.94.19 says: śubhaśubham karma kartāram anugacchati, good and evil deeds follow the doer. Finally Padma 2.94.20 says Upabhogadīte yasya nāśa eva na vidyate|prāktanam bandhanam karma ko'nyathā karturāh: the Karmas cannot be destroyed or exhausted without having experienced their consequences; who is competent to change or modify the deed of the previous birth. The Garuḍapūrāṇa in many passages unambiguously and forcefully stresses the doctrine of personal responsibility for the consequences of a person's Karmas: The wealth that a man acquires by his exertions risking his own life is divided among his successors after death. Only the sin that he commits in his eagerness to earn remains his exclusive property, Garuḍa 1.109.22: "A person reaps what he sows. All objects or belongings remain at home.......Body is
consumed by fire; good and evil deeds alone accompany the deceased”. Garuda II. 9.36-37: “A man is born alone; man dies alone; he enjoys his merits by himself; he reaps the bitter fruits of his sins by himself”; “Casting off the dead body along with logs of wood or clods of earth, the kinsmen turn away (from the cremation ground) but the dead man’s virtues or evil definitely follow him Garuda II. 12.22-25. The Garuda purana I.221.8 says: Na dātā sukha duḥkhānām na ca haritāsti kalacānā hriṣajante svakṛtānēva duḥkhānā ca sukhanā ca: “There is no one who causes or gives happiness or suffering nor takes them away for acts done by oneself, no one else experiences the suffering and happiness arising therefrom”.

The Skanda purana 3.2.5. 15-16 says that an evil person (durācāri) is afflicted by disease (vyādhi), is short lived (alpāyuh) and is always suffering (duḥkha-bhāk). The Vāmanapurāṇa 12 describes the various hells (narakas) to which men go to experience their own Karmas (svakarma-phala bhogārtham 12.2). The Brahmana vairatpurāṇa 1.26.181-19 says śubhāsubham bhūṣiṣṭe ca karma pūrvavijjita param: Persons experience the consequences of good and evil actions done in previous births. Again the Brahama vairata 2.24.20 and 2.26.21 says a person is long lived (dirghaśīvi), short lived (ksināyuh), happy (sukhi), unhappy (duḥkhi). he becomes a god (sura), a man (manusya), a lord of lords (rājendra) etc. and attains heaven as a result of his Karmas.

Karma and the caste system

The Mārkandeyapurāṇa 10.21-26 attributes the birth in different castes: Brāhmaṇa Kṣatriya Viśām-Sū드rānanām cāpi yoniṣu, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, the status of master or lord and of servant, slave and poor man etc. all to Karmas.

The Matsya purāṇa 154.153 says: “It is owing to the differences of dharma (good and evil acts) that differences of castes and āśramas take place.

The Brahmana vairatpurāṇa 2.24. 20-22 proclaims: (sva) karmanā Brāhmaṇatvaṇca kṣatriyatvaṇca vaiśyatvaṇcaiva śūdratvamanťayatvam, a person becomes a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya or a Śūdra or an outcaste due to his own Karmas.

Karma and Mokṣa or Emancipation

The Viṣṇupurāṇa 6.7.69-72 says that meditation on Viṣṇu destroys all sin—sarva kīlابjanāsanam. Again Viṣṇu 6.7.74 says that just as fire blazing in the wind burns dry grass similarly Viṣṇu, seated in the heart, consumes the sins of Yogis: tathā cittasthitō Viṣṇuryoginām sarvakīlēstam.
In the Matsyapurāṇa 181.13-18 Śiva tells Pārvati that the sins of thousands of ages are destroyed the moment one enters avimukta, Kāśi; the sins are consumed like cotton in the fire.

The Matsya 206.15-19 says that "Whatever sins I may have committed through insinuation, back biting, or eating flesh not offered to the gods", "the sin of falsehood and lust for women" and "sins committed through ignorance" are all washed away by giving copper, silver and gold vessels. Matsya 224 says that dāna or charity is the best means of destroying Karma. Matsya 275, 276, 278, 279, 281, 283, 285, 286 and 287 specify the various mahādānas (great charities) which destroy mortal sins (mahāpātaṅgas). The Bhāgavatapurāṇa 12.2.17 says that Lord Viṣṇu appears (in this world) for protecting virtue and wiping out the Karmas which are the source of death, that is, which are a causative force: dharmatāya sādhunām janma karmāpanutaye. Bhāgavata 12.3.44 calls Karma an impediment to liberation: vimukta karmāgala, Bhāgavata 12.3.46 says that hearing, chanting or singing the names of the Lord (Viṣṇu) drives away all the sins committed in thousands of lives: dhunoti ...... janmāyutāśubham.

The Kārmāpurāṇa I. 29.30 says that the sins accumulated by one over thousands of births all instantly perish sarvam vrajati kṣayam when he enters avimukta (the city of Vārāṇasī). Again Kārma I.29.51 says "The very arrival of a man at Vārāṇasī purifies him entirely even though he be a sinner (pāpi), a rogue (iṣṭha) an impious man (adharma). Again Kārma 2.4.11 says that "Even if the people of low castes like Śūdras and those who are engaged in wrong activities, worship me (Viṣṇu) with devotion, they are also liberated in due time and are united with me".

Kārma I.3.24 observes that a person who performs actions for the propitiation of the Lord (Viṣṇu) is exempted from acts and their consequences.

The Garudaapurāṇa I. 230.41 says that "If the evil deeds of a person are indeed as much as the mountains Meru and Mandara, these all are destroyed by remembering Keśava. Again Garuda I. 230.42 says: If any person does acts which are good or evil (śāśtu asāshtu) and if these acts are offered to Nārāyaṇa (sarvam Nārāyaṇe nyasya kuruṇnapi na lipyate), the deeds done do not stick to him, that is, he does not have to bear their consequences. Garuda I.232.23-24 says that he who reads, listens etc. daily to the praise of the Lord (Hari or Viṣṇu) all his evil deeds done in millions of births (Koti janma kṛtam pāpam) are destroyed (prnaśyati). Garuda I.227.19-20 maintains that even a cruel person who follows an evil path (nīlansa durātmāṇah pūpācāraraṇatāstasthā) attains the highest region through Nārāyaṇa (yanti param sthānam Nārāyana parāyaṇah). Garuda I.230.16 says: yathāgajñirudhyatātikhaḥ kakṣam dāhati vānilaḥ | tāthā
cittasthite visnau yoginam sarvakilisam: Just as the leaping flames of fire burn up the world, likewise Visnur dwelling in the hearts of Yogs destroys all sins. Again Garuda I. 230.18 says that a thousand baths in the Gaṅgā and a crore (million) baths in the Puṣkara destroy sins (pāpam vilayam), likewise the sins done earlier are destroyed on remembering Hari.

The Vāmanapurāṇa 59.119 speaks of sarvapāpa vinirmuktah release from all sins by adoration of Jagannātha (Viṣṇu). The Vāmana 60 48 calls Jagannātha as the destroyer of grave and lesser sins, mahāpātaka hā and upapātaka hā. The Brahmavaivartaapurāṇa 2.25.9 says:

Haribhakti naro yaśca sa ca muktah śrutat ā śrutam
Janammṛtyujārayāddyoti kṣobhātivivarjitaḥ.

According to Śruti, the person who is a devotee of Viṣṇu, is free from birth, death, old age, disease, sorrow, fear etc. Brahmavaivarta 2.25.12 calls Kṛṣṇa as the embodiment of Karma-Karmātpaśa bhagavan Śrīkeśa. Again Brahmavaivarta 2.34.3 describes Kṛṣṇa as pāvanam karma vrksanām kṛtapāpakaughahāram: Kṛṣṇa purifies the tree of Karma and removes the mass of sins already done by a person. Brahmavaivarta 4.1.4-6 says that listening to the story of the birth of Kṛṣṇa destroys birth and death of human beings (janmādi khaṇḍanam nirṇām), destroys karmas (karmaghnam), it is the medicine for destroying diseases born of the experiencing of Karmas (Karmopabhoga rogānām khaṇde ca rasāyanam). Brahmavaivarta 4.1.18 proclaims the virtues of Hari-kaṭāḥ thus: pāpendhanānām dahane jvaladagnīśkhāmiva/Puṁsām śrutavatām koṭiñjana kilbiṣa nāśinim: the story of Hari is like the flaming fire which consumes the fuel of evil deeds. Anyone who hears the story of Kṛṣṇa, his evil deeds of million years are destroyed.

Karma and Daiva (Fate or Destiny)

The Purāṇas discuss the relative roles of Karma as puruṣārtha (self effort) and daiva (fate, destiny). Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 23.26 says that the accomplishment of a deed depends upon daiva (fate) and puruṣārtha (effort). The Matsyapurāṇa in 221.1-6 says:

Svavevakarma daivēkhyam vidhi dehāntarāṛjitam /
tasmātpauruṣaṃveveha śreṣṭhamāhurumanīśiṇah. 1-2

What is called daiva is also one’s own Karma, what has been accumulated (as Karma) in previous existence is Vidhi or predetermined or fate. For this reason, the wise consider pauruṣa or effort as superior. Further:

Pratikūlamatathā daivam pauruṣeṇa vihanyate /
Maṅgālācārayuktānām nityamutthōnaśūlinām. 3

Even if daiva (fate) is adverse, it can be destroyed or neutralised by puruṣārtha or efforts of those who do auspicious acts and even make effort to improve.
Again

Yesām pūrvakṛtam karma sāttvikam manujottama
Pauruṣeṇa vinā teṣām keśācid drṣyate phalam. 4

O best among men, those who have done good acts previously, in
their case we see the fruit without pauruṣa or effort on their part
(in this life).

Further

Pauruṣenāpyate...prārthitavyam phalam...

It is through pauruṣa (effort) that men obtain the desired fruit. 6.1

In the Matsya purāṇa 30.12 Devayānī says: Sarvameva..............
Vidhēnāmanuvartate: all go round (in existence) due to destiny or fate.
Matsya 38.6 says: nānābhāvā bahavo jvaloke daivādhitā naṣṭa ceṣṭādhikārāḥ........sukham hi jantrayadād vāpi duṣkhām daivādhitam vindanti
nātmaṁśātisyā. The numerous and varied beings in this existence are sub-
ordinate to fate and cannot obtain anything by effort..................
Happiness and suffering which creatures undergo are under the control
of destiny and not the result of self effort.

Again Matsya 47.214 says:

Avatārayābhūvino hyarthāḥ prāptavyā mayi jāgrati /
na śakyaṁvanyathā kartum diṣṭam hi balavattaram.

All the things in this world are under the control of daiva (fate) and the
exertions of men. Daiva (fate) cannot be clearly recognised but the exer-
tions are seen to bring about successful results. Matsya 221.2-4 explains
that “The actions of the past life are known as daiva or fate; consequently
the wise have always held one’s own effort and perseverance as superior.
A man who everyday performs righteous and auspicious deeds turns even
his ill-luck into a good one. Those who have performed good deeds......
do not get the desired fruit without their personal efforts and exertions”.
Matsya 221.5-6 adds.........“men get all their desired ends by their energy
and efforts.” Matsya 221.7-8, therefore, says “Consequently fate conjoint
with the present, the past and the future gives fruits while perseverance
in most cases bears fruit in the present. Fate (daiva), perseverance
(puruṣārtha) and time (kāla) all three conjointly bear fruit to a man.”
Matsya 221.11-12 warns : “Lazy people and those who only depend on
fate do not even gain their objects. Prosperity forsakes those who always
dream of fate and favour those who persevere; one should, therefore,
always be active and alert.” Agnipurāṇa 226.1-2 repeats what has been
said in Matsya purāṇa 221.1-2. Agni 226.3-6 adds:

Pauruṣam daiva saṁpattya kāle phalati bhārgava /
Daivam puruṣa-kāraśca avayam puṁsaḥ phalāvaham. 3
(Karma) fructifies due to effort (pauruṣa), fate (daiva) and time (kāla). In fact daiva (fate) and pauruṣa (effort) are the two factors which bring about fruition.

Agni adds:

$kṛṣeṣvṛśīstisāyogāt kāle syuh phalasiddhyah /
sa dharmam pauruṣam kuryāṃ laṣo na cā daivavān, 4

Agriculture bears fruit when it rains in time (similarly), effort should be done with righteousness and (one should not be lazy or depend upon) daiva or fate.

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PRELUDE TO THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

By

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The fertile valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates (Iraq), Nile (Egypt) and Indus and its tributaries (Indo-Pak sub-continent) saw the rise of the urban civilizations during the chalcolithic period with varying degree of achievements. Of these the discovery of the Indus civilization in the Indo-Pak sub-continent also known as 'Harappan Culture' has pushed back the antiquity of the urbanization in South Asia to the 3rd millennium B.C. It is characterised by well-planned settlements with excellent drainage system, inscribed pictographic seals, standardized weights and measures, art objects, sturdy red ware with black painted designs etc. The form and style of the Indus civilization is distinct and to a great extent homogenous.

In the present trace the relics of the Indus civilization have been located at Manda (Jammu and Kashmir) in the north, Daimabad (Maharashtra) in the south, Hulas and Alamgirpur (Uttar Pradesh) in the east and Sutakagendor on the Makran sea-coast (Pakistan) in the west. Its outposts (or colonies) had been established even at Shoturghai (Afghanistan) and Altyan Depe (Soviet Central Asia). It covered an area of 1.3 million square Kms. (Joshi, et al., 1984), studded with a number of cities, townships and villages of varied dimensions. In size, even if conservatively assessed the Indus civilization covered three or four times the area of ancient Sumer (Iraq). The important excavated cities and townships of the Indus civilization (Fig. 1) include Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Chanhudaro, Kot Diji, Sutakagendor, Allahdino, Balakot (Pakistan), Manda, Ropar, Surkotada, Lothal, Rangpur, Rojdi, Desalpur, Kalibangan, Banawali, Balu and Mitathal (India). Besides, a few village settlements have also been excavated.

The relics of the Harappan sites reveal themselves in full blown form and as such appear to be a result of sudden outburst imposed over an extensive region. In the absence of known beginnings of the Indus civilization the archaeologists tried to suggest Mesopotamia as the source of the Indus cities or virtually regarded it as the colony of the Tigris-Euphrates valley (Wheeler, 1953) where the cities first appeared in the ancient world. But an analysis of the civilization of Indus and Mesopotamia indicates basic differences and therefore, the possible colonization
of the former by the later is difficult to be accepted (Gupta and Asthana, 1978). Others visualizing the distinct and homogenous character based on perfect town-planning, script and pottery emphasised the possibility of the indigenous origin of this civilization (Marshall, 1924; Ghosh, 1964; Faiservis, 1971). The debate regarding the origin (Chakravarti, 1984) and other facets of the Indus civilization will continue till the decipherment of the script which may hold the key to different aspects of life. The planned and systematic archaeological investigations, however, conducted during the last few decades have revealed a good amount of evidence on the sites of Iran, Afghanistan, Baluchistan—Pakistan and India dating back to the pre-Harappan times and throwing light on the pre-urban and proto-urban stages achieved beyond the Tigris-Euphrates valley (Tosi, 1977). The material remains excavated at Shahr-i-Sokhta (Eastern Iran) Mundigak (Afghanistan) and Mehrgarh (Baluchistan) reflect the development of trade, industry, settlement and density of population. The evidence also reflects the influence from the advanced west extending to the eastern region. Even the regions of Turkamenia and Turan were involved in the process of this socio-economic development. There are clear signs of incipient urbanization process, socio-economical aggrandisement, sharp increase of major settlements at Altyan Depe, Shahr-i-Sokhta and Mundigak. There is evidence of specialized production of almost every craft and spread of writing which seem to be the effect of the function of an administration co-operating and controlling the whole procedure during the early bronze age.

The archaeological evidence pertaining to the development prior to the Indus urbanization from a few important sites (Mehrgarh, Amri, Kot Diji etc.) in the Indo-Pak sub-continent is worth mention. The first three periods I-III at Mehrgarh, situated on the Bolan pass (Jarrige and Lechevallier 1977; Allehins 1983), belonged to the Neolithic age (c. 8000-5000 B.C.) with the evidence of cereal produce, first evidence of cotton, domestication of sheep and goat characterised by non-pottery. The last phases saw the diversification of agriculture, introduction of pottery and copper tools. In the next period IV the wheel-made monochrome, bichrome and polychrome decorated pottery was introduced, central Asian (Namazga III) type terracotta female figurines were fashioned and terracotta stamp seals were used. The sickles were fashioned by setting stone blades in bitumen in wooden hand and a copper chisel was discovered. Further development is noticed in period V characterised by stamp seals, grey ware (Kalat type) with painted motifs and the Central Asian female figurines. The material of the period VI, contemporary of Mundigak III, Shahr-i-Sokhta I, Damb Sadaat III, Amri IIA, yielded a huge mud-brick platform, stone blades, stone leaf-shaped arrowheads, several beads of lapis lazuli, terracotta compartmented seals, male and female terracotta figurines, pottery decorated with Pipal-leaf and fish design, grey ware
(Faiz Muhammed type) and Quetta wet ware. During the last period at Mehrargarh (second half of the 3rd millennium B.C.), there is evidence of mud-brick structures, developed Quetta ware (Damb Sadaat III, Mundi-gak IV, Amri IIIB) and Kot Dijian ware, besides the Zhob type Mother Goddess figurines, stone blades and leaf-shaped arrowheads, bead drills etc. A cemetery was located on the south of habitation. Several copper and bronze objects, and carved stone pieces related to divination game as found in the graves of Shahr-i-Sokhta were discovered from graves. The discovery of the compartmented seals, beads of lapis lazuli indicate the widening trade and commerce and consequent increase of property and the influence from beyond.

The developmental process of the material life took further strides in the proper Indus plains. The settlement at Amri, Dadu district, Sind (Sankalia, 1975; Allchins 1983) began with hand-made pottery comparable with Kili Gul Mohammad, Mundigak etc., chert blades, stone sling balls (IA, IB) mud-brick houses with four structural phases. The wheel-thrown both plain and polychrome pottery (one sherd with painted Indian bull) was also in use. In phase ID there is evidence of the introduction of the Harappan pottery and pottery with Kot Dijian correspondence. The period II of Amri is characterised by increasing Harappan pottery along with Amri ware. The period III belonged to the mature Harappan phase. The C14 dates of ID and IC phases are respectively 3540 B.C. and 3240 B.C. The cultural continuity was noticed in different phases at Amri. The excavations at Kot Diji, another site in Sindh, Pakistan (Khan, 1981 and Allchins, 1983) and Kalibangan, Ganganagar, Rajasthan in India (Thapar 1975; Lal N.A., 1979) and related sites suggest wide cultural horizon in the greater Indus and North Baluchistan (Mughal, 1973) with evidence of fortification, the beginning of script, development of copper technology and large number of pottery types plain or painted motifs with Iranian, Afghan and Baluchi influences evolving and developing a few new ones, all found below the relics of the full-fledged Indus culture. At Rahman Dheri, a Kot Dijian site in Gomal valley (Dani, 1981; Allchins. 1983), we have the remains of a planned city, parallelogram in design, a seal and some graffiti marks on potsherds — the latter with close parallels in the Indus script. A few items and forms (fish-scale, intersecting circles, terracotta cakes, dish-on-stands, shallow dishes, etc.) found in the pre-Harappan assemblage continued in the Indus civilization (Mughal, 1973). Besides, the cult of mahisa and the sacredness attached to the Pipal tree, which formed a religious ideological basis of the pre-Indus cultures (Allchins, 1983), are traceable in the cultural heritage of the Indus cities. These and other features speak about the continuity of the pre-Harappan traits in the Harappan culture (Allchins, 1968). Therefore Mughal (1973) prefers to designate the pre-Harappan culture as the 'Early Indus civilization'. The process of change from the
pre-Harappan (Early Indus) to the Harappan civilization needs to be properly understood. The long history of gestation that led to the mature Harappan can be contrasted to a relatively short period of transition between the non-urban and urban stages... "the jump to full urbanization in the greater Indus valley took place rapidly, proceeding from a relatively undifferentiated village base... there was a short period of rapid cultural change that immediately proceeded the Harappan urbanization" (Possehl, 1984).

The development of trade and commerce with the adjoining regions, and the cultural expansion in different regions as evident from the material remains, had made even the early Harappans to rise above rigidity due to various influences and recreate new items and forms to suit their own tastes and likings. The signs of the beginning of new cultural traits are seen at various sites. The typical items of the Indus civilization (script, pottery, weight, religion, etc.) were gradually evolved and developed during the pre-Harappan stage itself and although the sites indicating the stage of transformation remains yet to be excavated by the archaeologists, it was left to their successors whom we call 'the Harappans' to systematise and zealously maintain this developing individualism. Since the Indus civilization was largely dependent on the commercial activities, its bearers strictly adhered to certain norms such as honest dealings in the standardized commodities through a uniform and reliable weight standard which also resulted in the formation of a distinct character.

The rise of a city is, theoretically, attributed to 'the technologico-economic change' (Childe, 1952) on the one extreme, while on the other to 'the primacy of political power' (Sjoberge, 1963) or considered as 'pre-eminently a social process' related to centralized political power structure (Adms, 1960). The growth of urbanization, as suggested by Joshi (1972-73) in the Ganga valley in the sixth century B.C., seems 'primarily an outcome of the techno-economic developments preceding the rise of the powerful states in the Doab and a desire (or need) to control trade routes by means of political expansion or peaceful political relations.' The same might have been true in the case of the rise of the cities of the Indus civilization.

The Indus cities, as the distribution and settlement pattern indicates, were founded in various river valleys. The important city of Harappa lay on Ravi, Mohenjodaro on Indus, Ropar on Sutlej, Kalbangan and Banawali on Ghaggar (ancient Sarasvati), Alamgirpur on Hindon, a tributary of Yamuna. Most of the geographical area occupied by the Indus civilization had been under the control of the pre-Indus (or early Harappans) due to fertility of soil useful for agricultural purposes. The spread of the Indus civilization thus synchronised with the wheat-
producing zone, and the strength of the people lay in the effective control of the hydraulic (or irrigation) activities as in Mesopotamia. The discovery of a series of coastal townships suggest that these settlements grew to exploit locally available raw material (shell, minerals etc.) as well as to act as ports to help in the trade with the Gulf region. Likewise the northern settlements—Manda (Jammu and Kashmir) and Ropar (Punjab) near hills may have facilitated the exploitation of the Himalayan forest wealth useful for building purposes, and Shoturgai (Afghanistan) and Altian Depe (Soviet Central Asia) provided direct links with those regions for importing raw material (lapis lazuli) abundantly available there.

Different types of urban settlements developed during the period of the Indus civilization. At Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan existed a 'Citadel' and a fortified 'Lower city' separately and at Surkotada and Banawali a closely knit 'Citadel' and a 'Lower town (Annex)'. There is evidence of an 'Acropolis' and 'Lower town' at Lothal. The other fortified settlements (Desalpur, Rojdi, Balu) appear to be castles (or garhis) of the merchant-landlords. There resided the owner, descendant or his trusted representative who collected taxes, engaged the villagers in different activities (irrigation, agriculture, construction of castle etc.) which increased his property and prosperity as a result of the surplus accumulation of wealth. The three important centres—Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan are suggested to have been the capital seats of the Indus empire.

Thus, the Indus civilization seems to have been an outcome and culmination of the cultural and economic interaction which started from the earlier village base beginning from the Neolithic age whose vestiges have been found on a large area spreading from Afghanistan to Indo-Pak sub-continent beyond Mesopotamia. It was in this region also, as archaeology reveals, that various strides in the material life synchronizing with the pre-urban and proto-urban stages of development were made. There is also evidence of the West Asian, Central Asian and Afghan-Baluchi traits which were gradually transformed and assimilated in such a way that became the part of the heritage of the pre-Harappan culture. In the pre-Harappa period itself a few elements of the Indus civilization made their appearance. Even a religious ideology (a belief in the sacrality of pipal tree, and the cult of Mahiṣa, which might have served as a cultural binding factor, also came into existence. The trade and commerce further developed and became an organised affair. The act of standardisation in this sphere of activity was left to the authors of the Indus civilization, who belonged to the pre-Harappan stock. It gave them a unique and distinct character in the world of civilizations. The Indus cities were founded in the same wheat-producing region, watered by the rivers effectively controlling irrigation activities, which had been under the control of their predecessors. These cities were centres of socio-eco-
onomic activity of the Indus people. These were also the seats of power in the hands of the merchant-landlords mostly residing in fortified citadels and castles.

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I. Can the Two Texts be considered Contemporaneous?

According to the facts we have marshalled, the Greeks could not have been the Yonas who in Aśoka's edicts, no less than in early Indian literature, are coupled with the Kambojas. But, failing "Yona", we have in these edicts no other designation possible for the Greeks as Aśoka's subjects. What then are we to think of the Greek text accompanying the Aramaic which, contra Benveniste and the modern historical school, we have shown by detailed analysis of his thesis to have been intended for the non-Greek Yonas of Aśoka's empire? Could it be that only the Aramaic text is Aṣokan and that the Greek is merely a translation and adaptation of the Aramaic, made by the post-Alexandrine Greek colony of Arachosia? But the region of Arachosia in which Kandahār is situated was within the empire of Aśoka. Have we then to regard the Kandahār of Aśoka's time as having had nothing to do with this colony so that the Aṣokan Aramaic text would not be post-Alexandrine at all?

Here comparative linguistics is the field to be explored. We must scrutinize the two texts, examining various other features than their common omission of Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas to which we have already attended. Now we must attend closely not only to the characteristics of the thought in the texts but also to those of the language in them, as brought forward by Robert, Dupont-Sommer and Benveniste in the *Journal Asiatique*.

What emerges very prominently from a perusal of Benveniste's study of the Irānian words in the Aramaic version is the impression that, while the Greek has all the signs of a living dialect of the third century B.C., especially the period 275-225 B.C., the Aramaic is much of a riddle. Benveniste notes:

"Even leaving aside the rather unclear πτυτω, we gain five Irānian words of good standard quality: *patizbata, frabasta, hupatyasti, mazišta,*
a high proportion for a relatively short text. The gain is as appreciable as it was unexpected. At the date of the inscription, in the middle of the third century B.C., these words indicate, by their form, an Irānian language of ancient type, like Avestan or Old Persian, and not the Middle Irānian stage: the notation of pati with the mute and the final vowel, the notation of the final vowel—ī in prbīty, are the principal proofs of this. To define the dialectal position of the language, we have a significant pointer in the form maziṣṭa—which was restricted till now to Avestan.

"From the lexical point of view we attach great importance to the word hwptysty (=hupatyasti) 'good obedience' which establishes an essential bond between our inscription and that of Taxila. This concordance, in addition to the name prydrš, puts it beyond doubt that the inscription of Taxila was also an edict of Asoka, reduced to a fragment of a few words. As we have noted above, hupatyasti is new as composed with hu-, but the term patiyasti belongs to the language of the Avesta and to the Mazdean vocabulary. It has not survived, to our knowledge, in Middle Irānian...

"This lexical fact agrees then with the dialectal trait which issues from the form maziṭṭa. Shall we conclude here that, in the milieu of the third century B.C., the Irānian population settled between Kandahār and Taxila spoke the same language as the Avesta? We need not yet go so far. All that seems allowable to affirm, on the indirect testimony of this inscription, is that the religious language coincided with that of the Avesta, and that Mazdeism prevailed in this region. If one reflects that even yesterday we knew nothing of the linguistic and religious conditions proper to this zone of the Irānian world for the period in question, this conclusion, though limited, is not without import."

We can see that Benveniste is trying to be cautious and drawing only a limited conclusion when the signs are wide enough. Earlier he says about hupatyasti: "That it should appear now at this date......" Evidently there is no reason why the "religious language" in the inscription should be that of the Avesta rather than some other less ancient form which we might expect in the milieu of the third century B.C. The common people would be reached much more readily through the latter language. The most likely conclusion from such an abundance of Avestan terms in so short an inscription is that the people living between Kandahār and Taxila in the time of Asoka did speak more or less the same language as Avestan. If there was a difference from it, the difference is hardly explicable by the kind of Irānian we know of in the Achemenid period, much less in the post-Alexandrine. Benveniste himself speaks of "the rather unclear
"ptytw" which is definitely Íranian but cannot be elucidated in the light of post-Alexandrine or even Achemenid Íranian. And the difficulty seems even greater with the possible alternative reading: ptytz. Benveniste3 confesses: "ptytz (or ptytw) sets us at the very start face to face with a difficulty which will be in fact the most serious of those we shall encounter in our study." There is also his statement:4 "The word 'dwšy (or 'rwšy), supplied with an Aramaic plural, is not Aramaic. But one hardly ever sees an Íranian word like 'dwš or 'rwš that answers to the sense which the context would suggest; 'disagreement, misfortune' or 'bad action, impiety' or a similar notion... One does not find in Íranian the matter for a useful hypothesis."

Ancient terms or forms appear to be drawn upon and, even when some of them cannot be paralleled in the Avesta for the meanings that seem necessary, it is instructive to realize that these terms or forms which cannot also be paralleled in post-Alexandrine or even Achemenid Íranian have nothing to do with religion. They are not strictly part of a "religious language". The word ptytz (or ptytw) follows the phrase which in Aramaic signifies "ten years" and the word in the same place in the Greek text is "elapsed" or "passed".5 The word 'dwšy (or 'rwšy) should mean, as Benveniste says, "disagreement, misfortune" or else something like "bad action, impiety". So it is not only the religious language of the inscription, that carries the atmosphere of an ancient semi-Avestan tongue. What induces Benveniste to limit his conclusion is just his idée fixe that by any means we have to be in the middle of the third century B.C. If we go uninhibitedly by the evidence of the Íranian or non-Aramaic words we should be almost obliged to date the inscription to a period when a semi-Avestan language could be thought of as current. At least—on the basis of Benveniste's linguistic observations—there would be no bar to carrying the non-Greek part of this inscription—and by analogy the whole inscription of Taxila—to a greater antiquity than the Greek part.

The prevalence of a semi-Avestan language for all uses and not only for religious ones in the areas adjoining north-western India in Asoka's day would best explain some general peculiarities in the dialect of the Shāhbazgarhi and Mānehrā redactions of his edicts and even in that of the Girmār redaction. Here we are much nearer to Sanskrit than in the other versions, but Mookerji6 well remarks; "As Michelson has pointed out, this dialect cannot be regarded as a mere lineal descendant of Sanskrit. It presents certain forms which establish its affinity to Avestan rather than Sanskrit; e.g. atikrātam (G); susrasā, susrāsatām (G) corresponding to Avestan susarasmno; G. srūgāru, Shb. srūneyu and M. srūneyu, which agree with Avestan surunaotī in structure as opposed
to Sanskrit šrṇotī.” What, of course, concerns us is not Avestan rather than Sanskrit forms but Avestan rather than later Iranian. And their presence indicates not only the former’s general prevalence we have spoken of: it indicates also the antiquity of the Aśokan dialects involved.

And when we look at the non-Iranian element in the Aramaic text—the strictly Aramaic element there—we find in Dupont-Sommer’s study several signs of archaism in it. We find him writing things like: “to note the archaic form”, “as an archaic *ittafal* of this root”, “it may be explained as corresponding to a form archaic (or dialectal)”, “this form is altogether unprecedented . . . Is it the survival of an archaic form . . .?” The strictly Aramaic element is itself such as suggests greater antiquity than the time we can assign to the Greek part. Hence one is tempted to suppose that originally—much before the middle of the third century B.C.—the Aramaic version alone of the bilingual inscription was there and that the Greek was put centuries later in the empty space above it. The Aramaic might very easily have been so positioned as to leave empty spaces both above and below.

So much for the linguistic data proper. When we look at the language in relation to the thought we are again led to cut apart the two versions. In Section 3 of our Part I we have already quoted Dupont-Sommer: “The Aramaic recension, a little longer, is manifestly closer to the Indian text . . .” We have also illustrated by one example out of several given by him the shorter and more generalized character of the Greek text. This text has also a distinct Hellenic touch more marked than the Iranian touch of the Aramaic text which, says Dupont-Sommer, the Aramaic scribe has adapted from the original Indian “to a lesser degree than the Greek scribe”. The greater length, the more detailed character, the closer approximation of the Aramaic to the original Indian create a *prima facie* case for regarding it as a more fundamental version than the Greek instead of as one tagged on to the latter, as superficially it might appear from the engraving of the Greek above it. The Aramaic seems to be the version to which importance was attached by Aśoka and over which his scribe took conscientious care. It is as if the sole version set up by Aśoka. The brevity, the generalized nature, the greater departure from the assumed original Indian, which we observe in the Greek, support the presumption that Aśoka had nothing to do with it and that he had no Greek subjects to whom it could be addressed.

Even in the single instance where the Greek text is longer, Dupont-Sommer cannot bring himself to trace a greater fidelity to the original
Indian. Apropos of the Aramaic version—"even those who catch fish"—he\(^9\) comments: "This expression designates evidently the fishermen, who are precisely mentioned in the Greek inscription; the latter equally mentions the hunters and it states precisely that the question is of 'hunters and fishermen of the King'; these precisions do not figure in the Aramaic text. Perhaps they were absent from the Indian model which, by taking up only the case of the fishermen, may have left it understood that the same thing held, a fortiori, for the hunters; according to this hypothesis, the Greek scribe, by mentioning hunters and fishermen, may have wished no doubt to make explicit the passage he was translating."

Dupont-Sommer is so impressed—and rightly—by the fidelity the Aramaic text appears to show to the original Indian that where the former is shorter than the Greek he postulates a similar shortness in the model. But he is loth to give up the idea that the Greek scribe is dealing at first hand with the original Indian. Here he is at one with all the scholars who have written about the inscriptions: they suppose, on noticing the adaptations of Indian concepts made by both the Greek and the Aramaic texts, that the authors of them do not depend on each other and work from a common model according to the spirit of their own culture. But is it not possible that the adaptation by the Greek scribe is from the Aramaic adaptation? If we can think of him as Hellenizing Indian concepts and turns, we can equally think of him as Hellenizing Iranian or Indo-Iranian ones. Dupont-Sommer\(^10\) writes: "Piety, . . . . under the pen of the Greek scribe is a transposition of the Indian idea of dhamma, just as 'Truth' . . . under the pen of the Aramaic scribe." But to adapt dhamma to "Piety" is on a par with adapting "Truth" to "Piety"—especially as Dupont-Sommer\(^11\) himself informs us about the word for "Truth" in the Aramaic text; "We translate therefore 'Truth', but this word means practically 'religion, faith, piety'."

Benveniste\(^12\) draws our attention to the sequence "mother-father" and "father-mother" in the Aramaic and Greek texts respectively. About the former he says that it proves for the Aramaic version a direct translation from an Indian model, for repeatedly and always Ashoka writes "mother-father", continuing the old Vedic dvandva mātāra-pitāra. Then Benveniste argues that since the Greek text is in disaccord with the Aramaic and gives the traditional Greek order of the two words, we have a proof that the two versions are independent of each other and both go to a common Indian model. But is there not a slip in Benveniste's logic? If the Aramaic order of the two words establishes a direct derivation from an Indian model, how can the reverse order do the same? Conversely, if the reverse order implies a direct derivation from an
Indian model, its difference from the Aramaic text which in this case is exactly like the Indian should also imply a direct derivation from the Aramaic model. Logically, the true inference from the circumstances is that, since the Greek sequence differs equally from the mutually agreeing Indian and Aramaic, it could derive from either.

Even in the instance of the hunters and fishermen, why cannot we take the Greek scribe as making explicit what is in the Aramaic version? When Dupont-Sommer feels bound to equate the latter to the Indian text, we can relate the Greek to the Aramaic just as validly as to the Indian. And actually the Aramaic, by taking up only the case of the fishermen, does appear to leave it understood that the same thing held, a fortiori, for all others who kill living creatures. For the words run: “even those who catch fish, these men are subject to prohibition”. This seems to imply that there is a prohibition not only against others who take animal lives but even against such men as kill creatures like fishes. There is implicit here everything that Dupont-Sommer imagines the Greek scribe to be making explicit from the Indian model.

Thus, in the matter both of concepts and of linguistic turns, no sign exists anywhere that the Greek scribe, like the Aramaic, worked straight from a non-Greek non-Aramaic model framed by Aśoka.

Only one proper noun—the name of the king—can provoke a doubt to the contrary. Benveniste\textsuperscript{13} comments; “The difference between Piodasses of the Greek and prydrš of the Aramaic shows already that the two texts do not depend on each other. This difference attests two distinct dialectal traditions. The Greek form Piodasses is imitated from the Middle Indian Piyadassi, with a phonetic peculiarity, the internal -o-... On the contrary the Aramaic prydrš agrees with those edicts (notably of Shāhbāzgaṛhi) which have the quasi-Sanskrit form priyadraśi (Skr.-darśi).” Certainly, two distinct dialects are observable in the two forms, but what is implied in the situation cannot be gauged unless we try to reconstruct how the assumed original model could have led to them.

Dupont-Sommer\textsuperscript{14} says: “...every Greek colony, from archaic times down to the Byzantine period, had around it the group of those ‘Hellenised’ by the culture, and it is from them most often that the translators and the interpreters were recruited.” Well, then, there would be for the translation and interpretation a “Hellenised” person knowing Greek as well as the Indian language in which the original model came. Similarly, for the Aramaic version, there would be an Iranianized person knowing Aramaic and the Indian language. The latter go-between was evidently of the region (most probably Shāhbāzgaṛhi) where the quasi-
Sanskrit priyadraśi was in vogue. The former go-between must be imagined as a man of the region where the Middle Indian piyadassi was current.

It is true in general that the Greek transcription of Indian proper names bears touches of a middle Indian medium—yet not unmixedly in most part. These touches are exhibited by at least two out of the three examples quoted by Benveniste to illustrate one of the ways in which the internal o could have entered: Taprobane for Tāmrarāni, Sandarophagos for Chandrabhāga, Errannobaso for Hironyavāha. But it is notable that the r in the first part of each Sanskrit name, whether intervocal or conjunct, is preserved. On the analogy of Taprobane and Sandarophagos and we may add, Sandrokottos (for Chandragupta) we should expect Priodasses or else Priodasses. Something Sanskritic mixes with something Middle Indian. The initial Pr- itself of a Sanskritic name is seen preserved in the well-known Prasoi for Prāchya, the “Easterners”, the people whose capital was Pātaliputra (Greek Palibothros). Strabo (VI, 22), based on Megasthenes, mentions a class of Indian philosophers, the Pramain, who are obviously the Prāmāṇikas. Priodasses is somewhat of an anomaly.

It is also difficult to understand why a go-between from a place like Mānsehrā or Shāhbāzarā, near the Greek settlement, an intermediary who would be more likely than a man from an inner province to know Greek, would not be found to help the Greeks. To explain Priodasses as nothing more than the result of a Middle Indian dialectal tradition is too simple, too abstract.

Again, we have to ask whether the Indian model read Piyadassi or Priyadraśi. Barua has given what looks like the most accurate picture of the way the edicts were prepared for Indian localities: “R.E. III goes to show that the Yuktas of the Imperial Secretariat codified the king’s orders or messages under the instructions from the Parīṣād or Puruṣas acquainted, according to P.E. IV, with the king’s desires (ehāndainānī). And it is clear from R.E. VI that these orders and messages were issued verbally at first by the king. The drafts prepared on the basis of the king’s verbal orders and dictations by the different personal agents were bound to vary. We are, moreover, to presume that among the Yuktas some were considered competent to prepare the draft for Shāhbāzarā, some for Mānsehrā, some for Dhaulī, some for Kālst, some for Yerragudi...” If suitable linguistic drafts of the original which was in the official language (Middle Indian) of Pātaliputra were prepared and if the draft for the inhabitants of Arachosia was also first done in an Indian language, it must have been in a linguistic form resembling
what used to be prepared for Šāhībāzgaṛhī and Mänsehrā which neigh-
bourcd this region. Benveniste himself has seen the accordance of the
Aramaic prydrē with priyadrasi of Šāhībāzgaṛhī. Now the question
arises: Could Ašoka have sent to Arachosia two linguistically different
drafts—one in quasi-Sanskrit and one in Middle Indian—for local trans-
lation into Aramaic and Greek? All the adaptations made by the Greeks
and by the indigenous Arachosians have been attributed by the scholars
to these people themselves: it is reasonable to believe that prydrē and
Piodasses are also due to these people working on the same draft,
though possibly in two copies. It seems fantastic to hold that a draft in
Middle Indian was especially despatched to the Greeks living in a region
close to the provinces where quasi-Sanskrit was the dialect.

Or if we hold that the whole Greek version and the whole Aramaic
to have been got ready in Pāṭaliputra itself by competent Yukta, then
also there is no reason to hold that the Greek was made from a Middle
Indian draft and the Aramaic from a quasi-Sanskrit. Why should an
Aramaic-knowing Yukta in Pāṭaliputra not work from a Middle-Indian
draft, just as the Greek-knowing Yukta might be thought to have done?
If the indigenous Arachosians could be said to have more acquaintance
with the Shāhībāzgaṛhī forms of Indian names and terms, the same must
be said of the Greeks of Arachosia. Priyadrasi would certainly be more
natural to them than Piyadasī since they would always be hearing
Indian names and terms following the quasi-Sanskrit dialectal tradition
popular in the neighbourhood of Šāhībāzgaṛhī and Mänsehrā. The
Greek-knowing Yukta of Pāṭaliputra might introduce a variation in
keeping with the usual run of Greek forms answering to Indian ones; that
is, he might mingle Middle Indian with Sanskrit or quasi-Sanskrit as in
Taprobāne and Sandrokottos. In that case, he would not exactly write
Priotrasi or even Priodrasses but he would at least write Priodasses and
not Piodasses.

The same would hold if we posited an educated Greek under Ašoka
as the writer of the Greek version. To make him capable of Piodasses
we should have to imagine not only that he was settled in Pāṭaliputra
and had learnt the court-language but also that he would be quite un-
aware of the Prākṛta prevalent in Arachosia side by side with Aramaic
and heard by the Greeks there. The possibility that he would know
merely the Magadhan Prākṛta and be entirely ignorant of the Arachosian
would be still less if we realized, as we must, that he would himself be
not a fresh foreigner but the member of a Greek family settled in Ara-
chosia since the time of Alexander's invasion—in other words, for two
generations. Even though he might not be master of Arachosian
Prākṛta he would be sure to remember what sort of Indian dialect his
fellow-Greeks around Kandahār would hear. Writing for the Greeks in Arachosia and not in Magadha, would he choose for Aśoka a form unfamiliar to them instead of one with which they were daily acquainted? What would be his point in confronting them with a form so different from Priyadāsī which would be all the while in the air of their province?

There is a small yet not insignificant further matter to be reckoned with. Piyadassī is indeed the Indian equivalent of Piodasses, but in no inscription of Aśoka’s do we find Piyadassī. At Kālīṣ and several dialectically related localities, as well as occasionally at Gīrnār, we have Piyadassī: we never have the form with a double s. Of course, the single s is an orthographic convention adopted in order to save the trouble of engraving a conjunct which would abound in Prākṛta: the actually spoken Middle Indian for the Sanskrit Priyadarśī must have been either Piyadassī or else Piyadāsī. However, in all copies in Middle Indian of an edict distributed for engraving, the written form would be Piyadāsī without exception. Such a copy handed for the Greek text to a translator—be he a Hellenized Arachosian in Arachosia itself or a Greek-knowing Yuktā at Pātaliputra or a Prākṛta-knowing Greek there—could never have read Piyadassī. And there is no reason why the translator should ignore the universal practice of Piyadāsī for epigraphs and, in spite of the same form confronting him in his own copy, Grecize the name as Piodasses rather than Piodases. Benveniste has been very scrupulous about the phonetic value of prydrī: “The Aramaic script naturally does not let us decide between Priyadāsī and Priyadarśī, but as Priyadāsī is alone attested (to the exclusion of -darśī) in the Indian epigraphy of Aśoka, it is for this form that we opt.” It is surprising how Benveniste, though never doubting the Greek version to be Aśokan, forgot that Piyadāsī is the sole attested form in the epigraphs concerned and that it is the form relevant to the discussion of Piodasses and that this form would not be apt at all to explain Piodasses as an epigraphic fact. Epigraphically, Piodasses should be considered non-Aśokan.

When we look closely into all the features of the situation in which Prydrī and Piodasses could come about, the latter hardly connects us to an original Indian model. To accept it at its face-value and speak of a distinct dialectal tradition is to make things over-easy. We cannot explain it by remaining within the direct context of Aśoka and thinking of a Greek translation on his own orders. Piodasses has to be independent of Aśokan epigraphy.

How then is it to be explained? Suppose the Aramaic text is already there from the past, and the post-Alexandrine Greeks in
Arachosia discover it. An interpreter knowing both Aramaic and Greek translates it for them. The Greeks, vis-a-vis the alien and unheard of name Priyadrasī as given by the interpreter, will inquire into the identity of the king bearing it. An inhabitant of Arachosia at a period sufficiently removed from Aśoka’s will scarcely be able to throw light on the subject. Several Indians will be called in. The interrogation will go on until the arrival of one who hails from Magadha. He will be the most likely to know about the king who called himself “Lājā Māgadhe in the Bābru Edict. Speaking Middle Indian, this man will, in the course of his informative talk, keep repeating to the Greeks a form—Piyodassi—which they may represent by Piodasses. Naturally they will defer to his greater acquaintance with Indian things and select his version rather than the other. No doubt, the form Piyodassi would not be possible in Arachosia as a basis for the Greek version if simultaneously and at the same spot the Aramaic had Priyadrasī as its basis and if both were executed in the province during the life-time of Aśoka when he would be well known as Priyadraśī and when the Middle Indian form with a double s would never be submitted for any inscription. But Piyodassi, at a time different from Aśoka’s and from his Aramaic text’s, would be easily acceptable and could lead to Piodasses.

Thus the bilingual inscription, examined from the standpoint of both linguistic form and message-content, prop up definitely the idea provoked by the non-Greek character of Aśoka’s Yonas—that the two texts are not contemporaneous. They call out to be placed in epochs distant from each other—the Greek as a late addition in 275-225 B.C. to the Aramaic which was an Aśokan edict set up much earlier, when the kind of language, secular no less than religious, which we find in it was in use instead of the Aramaic current in 275-225 B.C.

2. Aśokan Inscriptions and Later Additions

To suppose an addition made at a later date to an inscription in the far past is not to imagine a state of affairs unique in history. The Allāhābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta is right under an old one and the latter is actually an Aśokan epigraph. The inscriptions of Rudradāman I and Skandagupta are both on the same Junāgarh rock—and they share this rock again with an edict of Aśoka. When two inscriptions of Aśoka himself have received additional matter from other ages, we should not be surprised if a third—of whatever kind—is supposed to have done the same.

The sole novelty in the present instance would be the positioning of a later inscription—an adapted translation or paraphrase of an earlier
one—above rather than below the original. But, provided that space was available both above and below, it would be a question of convenience or of end in view or of artistic consideration, whether the one were selected or the other. Granted the space, there is no reason why a later inscription of any sort should follow rather than precede the earlier. Perhaps the Greek’s proverbial pride in his own language, together with his equally proverbial eye for artistic effect, would choose the upper space even though the lower might be just as convenient.

A close look at the lines of the Greek text seems to show that the first four lines are less interspaced than the rest, as though the engraver put them one after the other somewhat near lest sufficient space should not remain for the ten more to follow and, then, finding space enough, put those lines a little more apart. If the Aramaic was not already engraved, there would be no need to crowd the lines even slightly, for there is space on the rock for an Aramaic text twice the present length. The tentative crowding would be required only if a fixed height of space were available because the Aramaic stood already there in the middle of the rock. The middle position may itself suggest the original solitary engraving of the Aramaic.

A flood of clarifying light is cast on the situation if we look at another Aramaic message of Aśoka’s—the one discovered in 1966 in the valley of Laghman in North Afghanistān. The text, except for two mysterious words (knty and shyty), is all in Aramaic but again in a kind of language in keeping with that in our bilingual. Dupont-Sommer informs us: “As the other Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka show, this Aramaic language is generally of a rather awkward style, and, at times, of an incorrect grammar.” In the post-Achemenid post-Alexandrine age and in the proximity of Iran, we should have a very different quality of expression and syntax—hardly the archaic gaucherie and linguistic primitiveness which take us back to the beginnings of a tongue’s use and do not at all suggest an Aśoka of 269-232 B.C. But what we are immediately concerned with is how the Laghman text stands on the rock-face.

The text has below it an inscription in quite different characters, a specimen of the famous “petroglyphics” of Laghman. Above, there is a blank space where a Greek translation or paraphrase can easily be introduced. An Aśokan inscription does not always start right at the top of a rock-face and its being in the middle does not imply that it is there because it follows a Greek or any other version of it. Its position allows several possibilities.
If the Greeks were in Aśoka’s time as his subjects, why is there in Laghmān, which is part of the locality where the Greeks are known to have settled in the wake of Alexander’s invasion, no Greek version set up by Aśoka of the Aramaic text although room is available both above and below? The “pictoglyphics” must have come much later than the original Aramaic text. Aśoka could have added a Greek version in their place or in the space at the head of the rock-face. The absence of it argues against the Greeks having been present in Laghmān in Aśoka’s time and against this time having been post-Alexandrine in which the Greeks were actually in Laghmān.

The case of this inscription is different from that of the epigraphs of Taxila and Pūl-i-Dāruntah. The latter two are on stones leaving hardly any room for a Greek version below or above the Aramaic. The opportunity provided by the Laghmān epigraph and the wasting of it are significant for our contention that just because the Greek in the Kandahār bilingual is above the Aramaic it need not be deemed contemporaneous with it: it may have been put there later. The Aramaic in the Kandahār bilingual, just like the Aramaic at Laghmān, has sufficient space above and below for other texts to be accommodated.

Perhaps we shall be asked: “Why should the Greeks of a later age have been interested to put a version in their own language?” The answer is not far to seek. We know that during the seventy-five years or so after Alexander’s invasion they were extremely interested in India and matters Indian. The preserved fragments of the Indika of Megasthenes—starting around 302 B.C. in the reign of Sandrokottos—amply attested to the interest: it is an anthology of social, political, economic, military, religious information, and legend after strange legend is collected in it to whet the curiosity of the Western reader. Pliny, Strabo, Arrian have drawn copiously upon the Indika. The companions of Alexander have themselves left records from which later writers like Curtius and Arrian have derived abundant material. The absorption of the West in “Indology” continued for centuries. We may hark back to the testimonies of Athenaeus and Epiphanius, cited in Section 2 of our Part I. The former reports that Ptolemy II Philadelphus reigning in 285-247 B.C. organized processions in which Indian women, Indian hunting dogs, Indian cows and also Indian spices on camels were to be seen. We are told by Epiphanius that the Head of Philadelphus’s Library at Alexandria was anxious to translate the books of the Hindus. To get a translation done of an old Indian semi-religious inscription discovered in Arachosia and to have it engraved on the same rock as the original—this is precisely what we may expect of the Greek Arachosian colony. Robert tells us that a Greek emigration, in the Hellenistic epoch, always included intellectuals, school-
masters, rhetoricians, poets, actors, philosophers, doctors, professors of every sort and every qualification, athletes, artists, marble-cutters, stone-engravers. He adds: "One may be sure that there was in Arachosis, as at Babylon, a gymnasium, with its young men, meeting-place for festivals and conferences and conversations." The cultural character natural to a Greek colony is enough to account—more than ever in a period when Hellenic eyes were keenly turned on India—for the engraving of a Greek recension of an Aramaic inscription in the Kandahār-region.

The one possible objection, in the present context, to our separating rather widely in time the two versions is Benveniste's "historical perspective" for the Aramaic version. He writes: "To put this Aramaic text in the historical perspective which accords with it, we should compare it to the documents of Achemenid date found in Egypt. Two centuries after the Great Kings, at the other extremity of the Irānian world, we rediscover the same type of wording, the same titling the same language equally stuffed with Irānian words. The surprise is just there: that an inscription set up in a region bordering on India and subject to the power of an Indian sovereign should be in the Aramaic language and find its analogues only in the writings of the ancient Persian satrapies. The use of Aramaic shows that we are in reality in an Irānian province where were maintained the traditions of the Achemenid chancelleries. One could conjecture it since the discovery of the Taxila inscription. It is now a certitude."

If our own thesis is correct, the Aramaic version still keeps a relationship with the writings of the Old Persian satrapies, but the relationship gets altogether reversed. It is not the documents of the Achemenid times discovered in Egypt that provide the precedents of this version; this version itself manifests a style and texture that are echoed in those documents. The use of Aramaic may show that we are in a province, if not Irānian, at least Irānianized, but not that the traditions of the Achemenid chancelleries are maintained here. Those traditions may have formed themselves on an antecedent practice such as we find in our inscription. We know that Xerxes (485-465 B.C.), Darius I (522-486 B.C.) and even the earlier Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) were masters of Arachosia and other regions west of the Indus, and this mastery continued up to 330 B.C. when Alexander defeated Darius III. We know too that the traditions of the Achemenid chancelleries in the form that Benveniste has in mind do not go beyond Xerxes. They could easily have started after the Persian conquerors had seen ancient Aśokan inscriptions in the territories ruled by them. Or else, if they did not see those inscriptions,
they may have got acquainted with the official practice in those territo-
ries, inherited from earlier Aśokan times.

In any case, it is not true that only in “the documents of Achemenid
date found in Egypt” do we have “the same type of wording, the same
titling” as in the Kandahār inscription. Benveniste’s “Egypt” is correct
but his “Achemenid date” is not at all binding for the official verbal
turns by which he sets store. The most typical expressions of this type
in our text are: “our Lord Priyadrati the King” and “our Lord the
King”. The basic formula here is actually found in Egypt 900 years
before the Achemenid Xerxes. Leonard Cottrell27 mentions the urgent
appeals which in c. 1400 B.C. poured forth for troops into Akhmenen’s
Foreign Office from the Governors of some threatened provinces. The
Governor of the coastal city Tunip wrote: “And when Aziru enters
Simyra [another coastal city] he will do as he pleases in the territory of
our Lord the King. . . . For twenty years we have been sending to our
Lord the King, the King of Egypt, but there has come not a word, not
one.” This type of wording and titling continued in later yet still pre-
Achemenid epochs, and even outside Egypt. Thus Georges Roux28
quotes from one Zakir’s correspondence with Ashurbanipal (668-631
B.C.): “The disturbance is the fault of the King of Amurru and his land
for allowing the money of the king, my lord, to be in the land of
Amurru. Let the king, my lord, do as he wishes. The hand of the king,
my lord, shall capture him . . .”

The formula in question was a standard one all over the ancient
Orient and the Persian satrapies merely copied it. These satrapies them-
selves are not required in the least to account for it in Aśoka’s Aramaic
text. But entirely to cut it apart from the Achemenid chancelleries,
we must bring the pre-Achemenid Orient into relationship with India
and demonstrate an early contact of the Aramaic language with this
country as well as this country’s contact with early Iran’s Avestan
thought.

3 India, Avesta, Aramaic

There are passages in the Avesta seeming to indicate a political hold
by early Iran on Northern India before the Achemenids. As R.K.
Mookerji29 reports, although corroboration or details of this connection
have hitherto been lacking, some scholars have taken these passages as
genuine evidence. Particularly apt is the Vīdevātā’s reference to Šapta-
Hindu (Sapta-Sindhu)—land of the seven-rivered Indus-system—as one
of the countries Ahura Mazda created for his own people. Juxtaposed,
the Avestan passages and the Avestan character of the Irānian component in our text may be seen to throw light on each other.

Persia's own contact in pre-Achemenid times with the Semitic world from which the Aramaic language emerged can serve as a background for India's early touch with the latter. Quite famous is the tablet of Assurbanipal (668-631 B.C.) mentioning the Zarathustrian pantheon under the form of Assara Mazas (Ahura Mazda) along with seven good angels and seven bad spirits—the tablet which provides one of the clearest arguments for dating Zarathustra much before Darius I in whose reign a number of scholars are inclined to place him. Sargon II (722-705 B.C.) records in a clay prism the names of two conquered princes: Mazdaku and Mastaku—names derived from Mazda. R. Ghirshman cites the annals of Shalmaneser III to show that the Assyrians knew of the Medes (Madaí) in 836 B.C. and of the Persians (Parsua) in 844 B.C.

Information on India's own touch with the Semitic world hails from several quarters. R. A. Jairazbhoy has two interesting bits of it: "The cotton tree was introduced from India into Assyria (c. 700 B.C.) by Sennacherib (704-601 B.C.) who is reported to have said that trees that bear fleece were sheared and shredded into garments... The earliest date for the Indian peacock's arrival in Assyria may be 738 B.C., when there is a possible reference to a peacock among the wonderful birds received as tribute by Tiglath Pileser III." A.D. Pusalker, gathering "archaeological evidence" of India's communications with Western Asia, refers to "the figures of apes, Indian elephants and Bactrian camels on the obelisk of Shalmaneser III (860 B.C.)."

The very presence of Semitic tongues in North-western India is attested. We have already quoted from Agrawala two examples of Semitic words in Pāṇini—hallihila (VI. 2.38) and goni from goto (IV. 1. 42)—which Agrawala inclines to regard as originally Aramaic. He has one further example relevant to our theme: "Jābāla denoted a goatherd and mahājābāla (VI. 2. 38) one who was the owner of a big sheep-run. Jābāla does not seem to be a word of Sanskrit origin. It may be traced to a Hebrew word yobel or jobil, signifying ram's horn, whence 'Jubilee'..." But it is not only the number of Semitic (Hebrew, Aramaic or Arabic) vocables to be culled from Pāṇini that is of direct moment here: it is also their chronological pointer. Pre-Pāṇinian all these vocables surely are and if Pāṇini, as we have argued apropos of Agrawala's statement about the grammarian's province Gandhāra having been an independent kingdom (IV. 1.169), is earlier than even the first Achemenid Cyrus who started his reign in 558 B.C., India's Semitic contacts go
substantially beyond the time usually allocated to Aśoka: the middle of the third century B.C. And with goṇa before us we see from Agrawala himself\textsuperscript{34} that through goṇoka in the Brahmajāla Sutta XV we may even link this term, which denotes "obviously a cloth", to kaunakās, "a one-piece loin cloth worn by the early Sumerians and Accadians". The prevalence of Aramaic in India's borderland could indeed be very early.

This should not be surprising when we consider the enterprising character of the Arameans whose language was Aramaic. Their merchants went far and wide. "The Arameans", says Philip K. Hitti\textsuperscript{35} "traded in purple from Phoenicia, embroideries, linen, jasper, copper, ebony and ivory from Africa, and in the 'product of the seas', perhaps the pearls for which throughout the ages the Persian Gulf has been famous." And if we believe, as Hitti\textsuperscript{36} does, that several groups formed parts of the Aramean movement, though not so designated, and that, besides the Khabiru, there were the Akhamu (otherwise known as the Ahamu), whose designation "companions" was generic rather than ethnic and must have been first applied to a confederation of tribes—if, with Hitti, we believe that the first mention of the Arameans by Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1100 B.C.), in close association with the word "Akhamu", merely throws into prominence a people already subsumed under the latter a couple of centuries before, then we have the presence of the Arameans, according to Roux's information,\textsuperscript{37} attested in 1400-1350 B.C. in Assyria, at Nippur, and even at Bahrain down the Persian Gulf. Overseas as well as overland the Arameans are likely to have travelled with their language and their alphabet in the direction of Arachosia at a pretty early date.

Here we may also take account of a fact long ago spotlighted by G. Bühler apropos of the Brähmi script which Aśoka used along with the Kharoṣṭhī. Today the undeciphered script of the Indus Valley Civilization is regarded as lying behind Brähmi, but part of Bühler's contention still has force. He pointed out that a certain proportion of the oldest Brähmi letters are practically identical with letters on some Assyrian weights and on the Moabite Stone of King Mesa\textsuperscript{38} which bears the longest and one of the earliest Hebrew inscriptions.\textsuperscript{39} The striking resemblance must have come about by contact of India with the Semites (Hebrews, Arameans, Phoenicians) before and not after the time of the Moabite Stone; for later Semitic forms show no sufficient agreement.\textsuperscript{40} The Moabite Stone was erected, as Hitti\textsuperscript{41} notes, shortly before 842 B.C. We must, therefore, pass beyond the middle of the ninth century B.C. for the contact of the Arameans and their likes with Arachosia and its neighbourhoods.
Bühler's fact about Brāhmī illuminates also the chronology of Aramaic in these places. For, there is no doubt that Brāhmī's companion, Khāroṣṭhī, is derived from Aramaic, as Bühler convincingly explicated. However, the question will be put: "Can the antique and archaic nature of the Kandahār Aramaic allow us to go very far back in time beyond the definite date of the Kandahār Greek? Have we historical evidence of great antiquity for Aramaic inscriptions?" Let us see how much we can retreat into the past in this context. Hitti\(^2\) tells us about the earliest epigraphs known. For long the pride of place went to the inscription of King Zakir (c. 775 B.C.). But now come earlier specimens. A votive stele, unearthed four and a half miles north of Aleppo and bearing the name of Ben-Hadad I is of c. 850 B.C. Older yet is a short inscription from Tell-al-Halaf (Gozen) in North Syria: it dates back to the beginning of the ninth century B.C. Still more old epigraphic evidence may be indirectly cited. Hitti\(^3\) brings the information: "The annals of Ramses III (1198-1167 B.C.) give the Aramaic spelling of the name [for Damascus] 'Tiramaski' corresponding to Aramaic Der (fortress)—Mesheq." So the inscription at Kandahār which has traits tending to place it among very early epigraphs need not be denied its proper antiquity. The Egyptianized echo of the Aramaic for "Damascus" permits, by its promise of epigraphic possibilities, the Aśokan edict to find its true historical perspective.

Perhaps we shall be challenged: "Can our inscription be regarded palaeographically as more primitive than those Hitti has mentioned or even the Egyptian documents of the Achemenids which Benveniste has cited?"

One should not be discomfitted very much if the palaeographical pronouncements were unfavourable to one's thesis. Palaeography—the comparative study of old writings—is not an exact science. We may recall Sylvain Lévi's opinion\(^4\) that palaeographical tests have little independent value (autorité absolue) although they may be used as a check (controle) upon or a guide (indice) to the interpretation of positive history. In a narrower context Jouveau-Dubreuil\(^5\) has put palaeography in its place: he has remarked that it is a bad auxiliary to the chronology of Indian history as very often the documents dated in the same reign differ much from each other and thus its evidence would be mainly suggestive or corroborative but at any rate not by itself conclusive.

A.S. Altekar provides us with a significant "slant" on questions palaeographical. Discussing the dynasty known as the Maghas, he\(^6\) mentions that "there is a great controversy about the dates of the rulers of this dynasty." Some scholars think the Maghas date themselves in the Chedi Era starting in 248 A.D.; others go in for the Gupta Era as
commonly calculated to begin in 320 A.D., still others opt for the Śaka Era of 78 A.D. Thus the datings would vary by 72, 178 or 242 years. Altekar favours the Śaka Era for reasons which to his mind outweigh the most impressive-looking palaeographical considerations. What is especially to be marked is that such considerations can be countered within the realm of palaeography itself, for there is no final standard in it. Altekar writes: "The most cogent argument in favour of the Chedi or the Gupta Era is palaeographical; there is no doubt that the characters of the Magha inscriptions are almost the Gupta characters. This argument however is not a convincing one; for many of the Gupta forms of characters are to be seen in an inscription of Kaniška, dated in the 14th [Śaka] year (92 A.D.); see Epigraphia Indica XXI, 2."

Thus, among the factors that are determinative, palaeography has no more force for the Kandahār inscription than for the Magha epigraphs. Determinative are other factors, chiefly the pre-Pāṇinian presence of Aramaic in the grammarian’s Gandhāra leading to Aramaic words in his Astādhyāyī and, most significant of all, his knowledge of the Aramaic script which we have deduced to be the sense of his expression Yavanāṇī. But we have to keep in mind that the language embodied in this script at Kandahār differs widely from the one we meet in the Achemenid Aramaic texts. It differs both in its own form and in the quality of the Irānian words interspersing it. A further difference in the basis of its texture is gauged from four other Aramaic inscriptions of Aśoka. Those of Taxila and Pūl-i-Dāruneh, which were found many years ago, and the comparatively recent one, a slab broken off from a rock and picked up in the bazaar of Kandahār in 1966 and christened Kandahār II, display Prākṛta as part of this basis. The last-named and the Laghman example provide another and a most unexpected association.

In the former, Dupont-Sommer dwells on the expression ‘NK’ joined to the Irānian word patiañsti which occurs as hupayastī in the Kandahār bilingual. He says that the interpretation of these letters is very difficult. They cannot be explained by resort to Irānian nor can they be taken as a terminal or else as an independent word: in Aramaic they correspond absolutely to nothing known. Dupont-Sommer asks: "One thinks of the word keno ‘right, just, true’ attested in Syriac (cf. Hebrew ken; Akkadian kenu ‘firm, right’, kettu ‘the truth, the right’); is it a qualifier of patiañsti: ‘the just obedience’, expression equivalent to hupayastī ‘the good obedience’, with this difference that the Irānian prefix hi would be transformed into an Aramaic pseudo-suffix? It would make of patiañstikēna a hybrid word, trans-Aramaic, rather monstrous,
or the element \textit{kêna} would play, we r-epeat, the role of a suffix, a role which it never has in Aramaic." Our scholar’s puzzlement clearly suggests a strange Aramaic with Syrian affinities.

The Laghman text has an unusual name inscribed at the end—"Wasu"—as that of the "judge" with whose help the epigraph was made. Dupont-Sommer\textsuperscript{49} is perplexed by it. It is not an Indian or an Irânian appellation. Considering the language of the epigraph we should expect it to have an Irânian air about it. But Dupont-Sommer reports: "The name Wasu is not found noticed in the work of Emile Benveniste, \textit{Titles and Proper Names in Ancient Irân} (Paris. Klinckscheck, 1966). One encounters in Nabatean, in the inscriptions called Sinaïtic, the proper name W'SW (\textit{Corpus Inscriptionum Sinaïticarum}, II, 2136, 2315) and also 'W'SW (\textit{Ibid.}, 325); one supposes generally these forms are incorrect for 'W'SW 'Usu, a proper name extremely frequent in Nabatean (cf. J. Cantineau, \textit{Nabatean}, Vol II, p. 88 sq.)." Here again the affinities are very odd for a supposedly post-Achemenid epigraph, and the appeal to "the inscriptions called Sinaïtic" brings into the picture an epoch remote indeed. William F. Albright\textsuperscript{50} informs us that, thanks to "a University of California expedition" in 1948, these "inscriptions prove to date from \textit{c. 1500 B.C.}" And, as John Gray\textsuperscript{51} informs us, "From the Sinai inscriptions, fragmentary and uncertain as they are, a direct line of development may be discerned to legible alphabetic inscriptions in Syria and Palestine in the second half of the second millennium B.C."

The Nabateans do not carry us to such a far past, though they are certainly older than the fifth century B.C. when they are seen pressing "northwards from the oases of the Hâjaz" and ousting "the Edomites of Scripture"; but geographically they are a far cry from the borderland between India and Irân in the time of the Greek settlement there after Alexander’s Indian expedition.

\textit{A}soka’s Aramaic inscriptions carry us to a historical period in which not only ancient Avestan Irân but also the Middle East seems to have been directly connected with India, the Middle East of a greater antiquity than the post-Achemenid era where modern historians situate \textit{A}soka and during which the oddities of expression and nomenclature traced by us are out of the question.

On all the counts we have taken into our purview the Greco-Aramaic inscriptions of Kandahâr creates an uncommon chronological background sufficiently wide and clear for us to suggest at least the possibility of attacking in some way or other the evidence which is held to be the strongest in favour of putting \textit{A}soka in 269-232 B.C.—namely, his \textit{Edict XIII} with its apparent list of the names of five Greek kings who flourished in that post-Alexandrine period.
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4. Ibid., p. 38.
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8. Ibid., p. 34.
9. Ibid., p. 28.
10. Ibid., p. 24.
11. Ibid., p. 23.
12. Ibid., p. 42.
13. Ibid., pp. 37, 38.
15. Ibid., p. 38.
19. Ibid., Plate III, facing p. 6.
21. Ibid., p. 163.
22. Ibid., p. 159, Pl. II.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., pp. 43-44.
33. *India as Known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow 1953), p. 220.
34. Ibid., pp. 220-21.
36. Ibid., p. 162.
42. Ibid., p. 170.
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47. Ibid., fn. 2.


52. Ibid., p. 16.
SOME REMARKABLE COMBINATIONS OF DEITIES
IN THE ATHARVAVEDA

By

J. GONDA

In the charm against the disease-demon takman, the originator of (malarial) fever,1 AVŚ. 5, 22, 1 Agni, Soma and Varuna as well as the pressing-stone (grāvan), the sacrificial bed (vedi), its grass-covering (barhis²) and the fuel are implored to drive away that demon.

Agni’s well-known function, that of burning and dispelling demons and evil spirits, is repeatedly referred to² (RV. 1, 12, 5; 1, 36, 15; 20; 3, 15, 1; 10, 87; AVŚ. 1, 25, 1 (AVP. 1, 32, 1; 3, 31, 6 etc.). Agni’s prominence as the god in whose special care life is placed is indeed a characteristic feature of this class of literature (see, e.g., AVŚ. 2, 13, 1; 2, 28, 5; 7, 53, 6). The pressed soma—which is no element of the rite in Kauś. 28, 18 ff.—was supposed to make an end of languor and various diseases when it has ascended in the patient (RV. 8, 48, 11) and to render poison ineffectual (AVŚ. 4, 6, 1 “he first drank the soma; he made the poison sapless”); this ability is of course ascribed also to the god Soma who RV. 1, 91, 12 destroys pains: AVŚ. 10, 4, 26 Agni is said to have taken out the snake’s poison, Soma to have taken it away; see also RV. 9, 85, 1 (where the divine draught is expected to keep illness and demoniac power at a distance); 9, 86, 48; AVŚ. 5, 4, 7; 19, 39, 6ff.; AVP. 2, 32, 3 etc. In AVŚ. 6, 3, 2 the pressing-stone and Soma, as well as Sarasvati and Agni, are implored for protection. As to Varuna, the god of the noose and well-known punisher of the sinner to whom he sends, his disease, dropsy, is already in RV. 1, 24, 8 believed to be also able to cure physical defects, and is implored for prolongation of the speaker’s life (RV. 1, 25, 12; 2, 27, 10; AVŚ. 2, 28, 2 (AVP. 1, 12, 2)). According to TB. 2, 6, 17, 7 he is a healing god (bhesaja); to TS. 6, 6, 3, 2 one can make medicine by pronouncing the mantra RV. 1, 24, 9 in which he is stated to have a hundred, a thousand medicines; to TB. 1, 5, 9, 7 he should be worshipped in order to obtain healing power and to be free from his scourge (nirvaruṇatvāya). To the grateful poet of AVŚ. 5, 13, 1 he has given a specific against poison. AVŚ. 10, 6, 15 (AVP. 16, 43, 3) deals with a (salutary) amulet that Varuna fastened on a person and 19, 44, 10 mentions an ointment that was brought back by
Varuna and Mitra. These places also are in harmony with the rule that there is a relation between what is effected by special (human) effort and the god Varuna. In short, as the commentator on TB. 3, 6, 1, 3 has it, the god wards off what is undesirable or disadvantageous. The epithet \textit{p\=utadaksa} “of pure ability or adroitness”, which characterizes the god already RV. 1, 24, 7, has been rendered by “of purified dexterity” (Whitney), “of tried skill” (Bloomfield), and, less felicitously, by “dintel pure est I habileté liturgique” (Henry). According to SB. 4, 1, 4, 1 Varuna personifies the idea of \textit{dak\=sa}, i.e. “skill and adroitness”; “whenever...what one desires is accomplished, that is \textit{dak\=sa}”. In AVŚ. 6, 93, 3 he receives the same epithet, being implored, together with the Maruts (who RV. 5, 29, 1 are \textit{p\=utadak\=sa}ḥ) and Agni-Soma, for protection against poison and a deadly weapon. In AVP. 13, 1, 1, which corresponds to AVŚ. 5, 22, 1, the \textit{marut\=aḥ p\=utadak\=sa}ḥ take the place of Varuna. The Maruts, well-known helpers (RV. 1, 167, 2; 2, 34, 14 f.) and protectors (1, 85, 12; 1, 86, 1; 2, 34, 14 etc.; cf. AVŚ. 3, 1, 2; 3, 2, 6; 4, 27, 1; 6), are sometimes described as taking an active interest in the worshippers’ health (RV. 7, 57, 6; 8, 20, 23; 25 f.; cf. AVŚ. 4, 13, 4; the above AVŚ. 6, 93, 3 and 8, 4, 18).

In AVŚ. 5, 22, 1 the proper names Soma and Varuna are separated by \textit{gr\=\v{r}\=\v{a}} “the stone for pressing out the \textit{soma}” and after Varuna mention is made of the sacrificial bed (\textit{vedi}, incorrectly translated by “altar”), the layer of sacrificial grass strewn over the \textit{vedi} with which its name, \textit{barhis}, is very often associated and the logs of firewood (\textit{sam\=i\=d\=i\=ha}ḥ). These objects are obviously expected to co-operate with the three gods, who without them cannot accomplish what they are prayed for. The close association of the stone(s) and \textit{soma} is self-evident. The firewood is a form or manifestation (\textit{r\=u\=pa}) of Agni (SB. 2, 2, 3, 18), with whom it is often mentioned in the same context (AVŚ. 5, 27, 1; 5, 29, 14 f.); in AVŚ. 19, 64, 4 Agni, united with the pieces of fuel, is requested to prolong the speaker’s life. The relation between \textit{vedi} and \textit{barhis}—which may be regarded as a unit (cf., e.g., SB. 1, 2, 5, 26; 1, 3, 3, 2; 8, 11, 4, 1, 14)—and Varuna is less easy to establish. Notice, however, the frequent ‘identification’ of the \textit{vedi} with the earth (SB. 1, 2, 5, 7; 7, 3, 1, 15; 18; 27; 7, 5, 2, 31; 9, 1, 2, 11; 9, 4, 2, 3; 12, 8, 2, 36), the \textit{barhis} being the plants (1, 3, 3, 9; 1, 9, 2, 29; cf. 1, 8, 2, 11)—it is also said to be arable land (PB. 16, 13, 6) yielding (LS. 8, 3, 4) rice or barley (which is Varuna’s plant, KB. 5, 3, 2; SB. 5, 2, 5, 13)—on the one hand and Varuna’s relation with the earth and corn on the other: the earth is his favourite resort (PB. 14, 2, 4) and in post-Vedic literature he has happy relations with the goddess of the colour of ripe corn \\textit{Gauri}; to the fact that black victims are to be immolated to the earth (VS. 24, 10;
ĀpŚ. 20, 14, 6) and the buffalo—which in India has a dull black body—to Varuṇa (24, 28; should the ram mentioned in 30 be a black one?; “what is black belongs to Varuṇa” ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 17); and to the other fact that the chthonic serpents are called daughters of Varuṇa (AśvG. 2, 3, 3; ŚG. 4, 18, 1; PG. 2, 14, 4). Lastly, strings (made of grass etc.) belong to him (ŚB. 6, 5, 2, 13).

So the functions of the deities and objects mentioned in this texts as well as their at first sight extraordinary combination and their presumed co-operation are completely intelligible.

The combination Dyāvā-Prthivī, Sarasvatī, and the complementary pair Indra and Agni (indrāś cāgniś ca12) occurs in AVŚ. 5, 23, 1 (AVP. 7, 2, 1) which at Kauś. 29, 20 is used in a healing ceremony against parasites (“worms”) and in largely the same wording in AVŚ. 6, 94, 3 which according to Kauś. 17, 5 is to be employed in a rite for concord or harmony. These deities, a dual one, a single one and a closely connected pair that elsewhere is stated to be twin brothers (RV. 6, 59, 2), friends or relatives (ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 3),13 are in the above stanzas described as having been “woven in”, which must mean “brought in or included for (the speaker’s) aid” (“caused to help”),14 to effect the success of the rite (cf. 5, 23, 1 d).

Heaven and Earth—as a pair often praised for their helpfulness, protection and benevolence (e.g. RV. 1, 159, 3; 1, 160, 2; 1, 185, 4; 7, 53, 2; 9, 69, 10)—are also elsewhere called upon to free a person from illness, especially from kṣetriya, an organic hereditary defect or disease15 AVŚ. 2, 10 (cf. AVP. 2, 3, 1), a charm for release from this evil in which they are invoked to be propitious, is Kauś. 27. 7 employed in a healing ceremony according to Keśava intended against kṣetriya. In TB. 2, 5, 6, 1 ff. the text is used on the occasion of the birth ceremonies of children that are afflicted with this defect (see also HG. 2, 3, 10 ff.). In AVŚ. 4, 26, 7 (AVP. 4, 36, 7) and 7, 112, 1 this unanimous (st. 1) divine pair is besought to free those speaking from distress (anhas), in 6, 62, 1 for purification and RV. 9, 68, 10 they are peaceably and sympathetically disposed. Therefore they are obviously supposed to transfer such dispositions to their worshippers (see AVŚ. 6, 94, 3).

The pair Indra and Agni is in the atharvanic sūkta RV. 10, 161 (st. 1-4) asked to release a person from consumption; in an extended form this text is AVŚ. 3, 11 (cf. also AVP. 1, 61; 62), which at Kauś. 27, 32 f. is prescribed in a general healing ceremony and 58, 11 in a rite for
length of life. The gods’ benevolence is often implored, their power often confirmed. Notice also 5, 23, 1 d “let them crush the worm”. Kauś. 29, 24 enjoins the practitioner to “do as is prescribed in the text” (viz. AVŚ. 5, 23, 13 c), that is, to split the worms’ heads with a stone (and so to impersonate Indra Vṛtrahan). In connexion with Kauś. 12, 5 it may be recalled that Indra and Agni represent also the association and co-operation of the two highest social classes.

As to Sarasvatt she is explicitly stated to heal or cure (AVP. 20, 14, 2; 20, 25, 7; AVŚ. 7, 57, 1; cf. also 4, 4, 6; ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 2), to be healing medicine (bhesajam, 12, 7, 1, 12; 12, 7.2, 3); to give medicine (AVP. 20, 6, 1; cf. VS. 20, 55); to protect (AVŚ. 6, 3, 2, together with Soma and Agni; VS. 13, 35; TS. 3, 2, 4, 4) help (TS. 5, 1, 11, 3; in RV. 8, 38, 10 “Indrāgni together with Sarasvatt” are besought for help), purify (VS. 22, 20) or grant felicity (VS. 25, 16), to counteract the evil effects of poison (AVŚ. 6,100, 1); to be or act as a physician (VS. 19, 12; 21, 3; cf. TB. 2, 6, 11, 2 ff.) and in this capacity she often keeps the Āśvins, the physicians of heaven, company (VS. 19, 12; 20. 56; ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 1; 12. 8, 3, 2); in VS. 19, 94 she even figures as their consort. The author of RV. 1, 89, 3 (AVP. 2. 30, 2) wants her to give mayas (i.e. restoration, redress, refreshment). Sarasvatt owes these qualities and functions in all probability to her primary character as a river goddess (AVŚ. 6, 30, 1; AVP. 16, 13, 1), exactly as the sacred river of the region in which a considerable part of the Vedic literature was composed (see, e.g., RV. 8, 21, 18; 6. 61, 1; 7, 95, 4 ff.) As such she is in RV. 2, 41, 16 ff. no doubt worshipped as the river and mother par excellence, implored for honour, offspring and length of life and requested to enjoy the manifestations of brahman which the Grtsamada family offers her as oblations; as such she seems in AVŚ. 16, 4, 4 to be besought for protection against the inhabitants of the earth. It would appear that as the river goddess she was the protectress of her worshippers, the more so as water was generally held to exert a purificatory, healing and wholesome influence (cf RV. 10, 9, 6-9; 10, 17, 10; 10, 64, 9; 10, 131, 5). According to TB. 2, 5, 8, 6 all medicines are in the waters which cure everything (visvabhes-aṭṭh) and the same passage requests Sarasvatt (in her manifestation as the river, comm.) to anoint the speaker’s mouth with the honey that is in her (comm.) water. As to the occurrence of Sarasvatt’s name in Kauś. 12, 5 (see above), notice that the benevolent goddess occurs in the Rgvedic hymns of propitiation (āpri) and presides over sweetness of speech (AVP. 10, 6, 4; 20, 27, 1).

The stanza AVŚ. 6, 111, 4 “let the Apsarases give thee back again, let Indra again, let Bhaga again let all the gods (vīśe devāh) give thee
again, that thou will be sane" creates the impression of being a more or less occasional—or perhaps even improvised, but in any case untraditional—triplication. First, because the characters of the three deities invoked as well as their chief and normal functions are widely different and the combination of the Apsaras, Indra and Bhaga is most unusual; and in the second place, because the corresponding stanza AVP. 5, 17, 8 mentions after the Apsaras other gods, viz. Vāta and Yama and his messengers. The text is a charm against insanity, used in the remedial rite Kauś. 26, 29-32, which essentially is a purificatory ceremony intended to expel the divine and demoniac powers that have caused the patient’s abnormal mental state. In st. 4 the Apsaras and other gods are besought to give him back, that is to restore the patient’s mind (manas), which is supposed to have left his body (cf. also AVŚ. 8, 2, 3), to its place. Now, the Apsaras (and their partners, the Gandharvas) are AVŚ. 2, 2, 5 (manomihā) and TS. 3, 4, 8. 4 clearly stated to confuse the mind or to cause madness (cf. also RV. 10, 11, 2); so the prayer addressed to them is perfectly intelligible.

But Indra may rather be supposed to figure as a god whose help is implored (compare, e.g., RV. 7, 23, 5; 8, 52, 7; AVŚ. 3, 21, 8; 4, 3, 5.). In this function his protection is insistently demanded in RV. 6, 46, 9 which, as SV. I, 549, is at SVB. 2, 2, 2 prescribed in another rite performed to cure one possessed of madness; to the accompaniment of this sāman one should offer a thousand, or at least a hundred oblations. As to Bhaga, he is the divine representative of the idea of distribution or partition, one of the attitudes and functions of the powers that by conferring their benefits upon men individually, by dispensing food and wealth and by rendering assistance control human welfare for the assistance which he is expected to lend see, e.g., RV. 5, 46, 6; for his giving the object of one’s choice, 5, 48, 5; for his being the god who brings their share of happiness to men 7, 41, 5. Thus the first god has made the patient demented and is now requested to return his mind; what is expected from the second is the mighty help, and from the last on a display of his well-known sympathy and benevolence.

Turning now to AVP. 5, 17, 8 it should be observed that in post-Vedic medicine Vāta (wind, moving air) is, as one of the three morbidic entities, a cause of diseases, among them fever and incongruous paroxysm; that in ancient Iran the god of wind was not only a warrior god etc. but also a conductor of the souls of the deceased; and that the wind must have occupied an important place in the estimation of the Vedic Indians. Regarded as a purifier (AVŚ. 6, 62, 1; AVP. 10, 9, 5; MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 7 etc.) Vāta, wind, is often besought to "blow
healing hither"; and to "blow disease (infirmity, complaint, etc. rapas) away"; "for thou all-healing one, goest (as) messenger of the gods" (RV. 10, 137, 3; AVŚ. 4, 13, 3; AVP. 5, 18, 4; TB. 2, 4, 1, 7 (cf. 8); see also AVP. 19, 46, 7 where he is also requested to "prolong the duration of our life"; TĀ. 4, 42, 2); he is said to have medicine "in his house yonder" and asked to "give us from it that we may live" (AVP. 19, 46, 9); the prayer "weal (jām) for us let the wind blow" is often pronounced (AVŚ. 7, 69, 1; AVP. 13, 8, 4; 20, 33, 1; VS 35, 8; TĀ. 6, 7, 3; 6, 9, 2; cf. also AVP. 6, 19, 4); from SB 12, 6, 1, 30 it may be inferred that he is supposed to drive away evil pāpman), cf. also AVP. 20, 38, 5; TB. 3, 7, 10, 5. Parenthetically, the wind is not infrequently said to have arrows (AVP. 2, 36, 3; cf. AVŚ. 19, 55, 2; cf. AVP. 20, 41, 10; 3, 11, 4; 3, 24, 4) or to be a missile or missiles (SB. 8, 6, 1, 19; 9, 1, 1, 36). The combination of wind and breath requires no comment (see AVŚ. 5, 9, 7; AVP. 13, 7, 7; AVŚ. 11, 4, 15 (AVP. 16, 22, 5) "breath is called wind"); 11, 8, 31 (16, 88, 2); 10, 7, 34 (AVP. 17, 10, 5); AVP. 15, 3, 5; TB. 1, 1, 8, 1); notice however that the wind is requested to "defend a person with breath" (AVŚ. 19, 27, 2; AVP. 10, 7, 2; 20, 61, 9); see also BĀU. 1, 1, 1; AiU. 1, 2, 4. Interestingly, wind (vāyu) is often coupled with the idea expressed by manas, "mind", or more exactly, "the fundamental psychical organ or principle by which man purposes, has intentions etc. and his sense-organs can function"; the wind is swift as manas (manojaśāh, TB. 2, 7, 7, 6). "there is nothing swifter than the wind, nothing swifter than manas" (SB. 5, 1, 4, 8; cf. AVŚ. 1, 11, 6); see also AVŚ. 10, 7, 37 (AVP. 17, 10, 8) "how does the (moving) air not become still?, how does the mind not rest?", and the similes AVP. 2, 30, 1 and 20, 61, 4; 10; as well as AVP. 13, 5, 23. In SB. 3, 4, 2, 6 and 7 the theory is expounded that what one proposes in one's mind goes to the wind and that the wind tells it to the gods. In AVŚ. 15, 2, 6 f. etc. mind is said to be a vehicle that is drawn by the wind. When during the performance of an animal sacrifice the victim is anointed on the forehead the formula "let your breath unite with the wind" is pronounced (VS. 6, 10; SB. 3, 7, 4, 8; ĀPŚ. 7, 14, 2 etc.). A dying person should pray that his breath (vāyu) may go to the immortal wind (anilam amṛtam, BĀU. 5, 15, 3; ĪśaU. 17 (cf. also Kauś U. 2, 12). In st. 13 and 14 of AVP. 13, 9—the preceding stanzas of which are for the greater part identical with AVS. 5, 29, which is a prayer addressed to Agni for the destruction of the demons who are responsible for a man's serious disease—the god of fire is insistently requested to place back the patient's manas, (complete duration of) life (āyus), physical strength, etc., the sun to restore his eyesight, the wind to impel his breath (to go back). In AVP. 2, 80, which is to be recited for a similar purpose, various gods are besought
to restore his faculties etc. to a man who is seriously ill, Soma to place back his breath (st. 1); the Sacrifice, Bhaga (see above), Savitar and Yama (see below) his life (asu, st. 3), the wind who is purifying (cleaning) himself, pavamāna is asked to cure him and the goddess Vac (Speech) to free him from the fetters of Death and Perdition and to give back. In AVP. 5, 11, 9 the god Wind is together with the (ominous) birds besought to restore his son to the person speaking. Whereas Vāta’s name is AVP. 10, 6, 11 coupled with that of Bhaga to whom the eulogy and prayer is addressed, the former is 3, 10, 2 together with Yama and the Fathers, Varuna-and Mitra, Agni and Nirṛti (the goddess of decay) implored to give back (a patient).

With regard to Yama it may be remembered that the person speaking in RV. 10, 60, 10 prides himself on having led away the manas of Subandhu (who had died) from Yama, the son of Vivasvat, and that in a prayer addressed to Soma (PB. 1, 5, 17 f.) the latter god is besought to make the manas of the person speaking that has gone to Yama return to him “that I may live and not die and that I may be unhurt.” In AVŚ. 6, 63, 2 (AVP. 19, 11, 3; AVŚ. 6, 84, 3 Yama is represented as giving back to the one speaking the person on whose behalf the spell is uttered; cf. also AVŚ. 18, 3, 63; 18, 4, 54; AVP. 3, 39, 1.

The conclusion may therefore be that just as one would prevail upon some gods, among whom Vāta, to bring back breath, mind and life of a dying person, the manas of a person who had gone mad, was likewise supposed to have left his body and must, through the help of gods, according to AVP. 5, 17, 8, of Vāta and others, be returned to the patient.

AVŚ. 7, 24, 126 “What Indra dug (uprooted) for us, what Agni, (what) the Viśve Devāh, what the Maruts who (deliver their) eulogies well (svarkāḥ), that (I expect,) will Savitar, who is true to his socio-religious duties and principles (satyadharma27), Prajāpāti (and) Anumati bestow upon (confirm to) us”. The non-expressed object of “dug” no doubt is” (a) medicinal herb(s)” (oṣadhi, cf. AVŚ. 4, 4, 1; 4, 7, 6; 6, 109, 3; 7, 38, 1; (Kauś). 33, 9; RV. 10, 97, 20; 10, 145, 1). The gods mentioned in line 1 may be taken to represent the social classes, Indra nobility or ruling power (ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 27; 5, 1, 1, 11; 5, 3, 1, 3; 9, 3, 4, 18); Agni the brahmimical order (ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 9; cf. 8, 5, 1, 12); the Viśve Devāh28—as a single unit—and the Maruts—who are also elsewhere coupled with one another—are often equated with the third estate (TB. 2, 7, 2, 2; ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 6; 27, 3, 9, 1, 16, f.; according to TS. 2, 2, 5, 7 the Maruts are the viśaḥ, i.e. the retainers or subjects of
the gods\textsuperscript{29}; cf. also 2, 2, 11, 3 f.; AiB. 3, 20, 1). The Viśve Devāḥ and hymns and invocations addressed to them are often placed after Agni and Indra and hymns etc. belonging to these gods, that is to say, in a sort of subordinate position. The Maruts are AVŚ. 4, 13, 4, (AVP. 5, 18, 5) besought to “rescue this main—the text is Vaitś, 38, 1 used in a ceremony for the preservation of the sacrificer’s health—; 4, 27, 1 ff. called upon “to free us from distress (amhas)”—Kauś. 27, 34 it belongs to a group of texts that are employed in a heading rite—; st. 4, 27, 2 f. suggest that their healing proficiency derives from their pouring, as bringers of rain, sap into the herbs; for their medicines see also RV. 8, 20, 23; 25. Agni is requested to give a child a complete span of life (AVŚ. 2, 13, 1)\textsuperscript{30} and is said to be an expeller of diseases (1, 28, 1; RV. 1, 12, 7; cf. also AVŚ. 6, 111, 2; 7, 53, 3; TS. 1, 3, 14, 1). Indra is rarely associated with medicines and preservation of health (e.g. ĀśvŚ. 2, 10, 4), but often with help, assistance and protection. The epithet (svarkaḥ) characterizes the Maruts, who are Indra’s bards (RV. 1 10, 1; 1, 33, 2; 5, 29, 1; 6), as exerting influence for good, strengthening divine personages, provoking a manifestation of power by means of their eulogies (arka)\textsuperscript{31}; see e.g. AVŚ. 7, 63, 1; RV. 1, 47, 10; 1, 52, 15; 1, 62, 1; 1, 85, 2; 8, 29, 10; for the epithet compare also RV. 7, 35, 9 (AVŚ. 19, 10, 9; AVP. 13, 8, 9) expressing the hope that the Maruts will bring happiness; AVŚ. 7, 77, 3, asking them to release from the fetters of sin (cf. AVP. 20, 31, 6; TS. 4, 3, 13 m).

Savitār, the divine impeller or stimulator, the “ruler of impulses” (AVŚ. 5, 24, 1), effects or brings about something (4, 8, 6; 6, 1, 3), promotes undertakings, the execution of purposes, the realization of ambitions (1, 18, 3; 2, 26, 8; 7, 15, 1; 7, 115, 2); he is satyasava “his impulses come true” (7, 14, 1; 7, 15, 1) and the above epithet satyadharmā (cf. RV. 10, 34, 8; 10, 139, 3) characterizes him as one “the observance of whose duties is in conformity with that aspect of reality which he represents”, Anumati (AVŚ. 7, 20) represents assent or approval (with the verb anuman—AVŚ. 6, 131, 2; 7, 20, 1); her name occurs, no doubt not by chance, after names of other gods mentioned or invoked (1, 18, 2; 2, 26, 2 (AVP. 2, 12, 2); RV. 10, 59, 6; 10, 167, 3.

Prajāpati is related to have concerned himself about the miserable condition of the goods when they were afraid of death (KS. 11, 4; 148, 11; MS. 2, 2 : 16, 9; TS. 2, 3, 2, 1); in a passage such a AVŚ 3, 15, 6, used in a rite for success in trade (Kauś. 50, 12; 59, 6) he is no doubt invoked because he is the preserver of life\textsuperscript{32}. In TB. 3, 7, 7, 2 f. ĀpŚ. 10, 8, 9 he is besought to “save us from death”; in PG. 3, 3, 6 etc. to give continuance of life. According to Kauś. 66, 11 one should cook a rice-dish which this god cooked in the mythical past (AVŚ. 4, 35,
18. The four stanzas of AVŚ. 6, 111 correspond to AVP. 5, 17; 6; 7; 1; 8 (with variants).
19. For particulars see the comm. on AVŚ. 6, 111; Keśava, on Kauś. 26, 29; M. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva-veda, Oxford 1897, (reprinted) Delhi 1967, p. 518 ff.; J. Jolly, Medicin (Grundriss Indo-Ar. Phil.), Strassburg 1901, p. 121 f.
20. For the manas in the body see, e.g., AVŚ. 6, 18, 3; VS. 34, 6; ŚB. 10, 6, 5, 6; for the manas leaving one’s body, e.g., Jñ. 1, 149 (of somebody fainting); TS. 6, 6, 7, 2; VS. 4, 15 (of a sleeping person). See Gonda, Mind and moon, in Studies D.C. Sircar, Delhi 1986, p. 147 ff.
21. In AVP. 4, 18, 4 the help of an amulet is implored against gandharvas, apsarasas etc.
26. The only stanza of AVŚ. 7, 24, not found in AVP.
29. On viś see Gonda, Triṣa in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1976, p. 137 ff.
30. On Agni dyusmān Gonda, Rice and barley offerings, p. 79.
33. For a longer discussion of this and the following places see Gonda, The gods of the godāna ceremony (AVŚ. 6, 68) in Amṛadhara, Felic. Vol. Dandekar, Delhi 1984, p. 153 ff.
34. See Gonda, Pūṣan and Sarasvatī, p. 14.
IS THE MEHRAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF CANDRA POSTHUMOUS?

By

ASHVINI AGRAWAL

Near the famous Qutub Minar in Delhi, amidst the ruins of a mosque known in medieval Indian history as Masjid-i-Quwat-ul-Islam, there stands a wonderful iron pillar bearing eloquent testimony to the high metallurgical skill of the ancient Indians. On this pillar are engraved three Sanskrit verses in the elaborate metre Śārdūlavikṛdita in Brāhmī characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. These verses eulogise the achievements of a certain king Candra, who according to the inscription, set up this iron pillar as a mark of his devotion to the god Viṣṇu on a hill named Viṣṇupadagiri.

J. F. Fleet, who published this inscription in the third volume of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum in 1888, called it a, "posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Candra". Ever since this remark of Fleet the identity of king Candra and the posthumous character of the inscription have been hotly debated topics amongst the epigraphists and historians of ancient India. Fleet did not give any reasons for calling the epigraph as posthumous. Evidently, he was led to this conclusion on the basis of the second verse of this inscription, which he translated as, "He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like (the remnant of great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his) actions, (but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame." All those who have followed this translation of Fleet, naturally believe that the inscription is posthumous. But they have not cared to give a second thought to the whole problem, which would at once make it clear that such a conclusion is the result of the faulty translation of this verse by Fleet.

D.C. Sircar, following Fleet, remarked that, "the pillar was erected by Candra Gupta II about the end of his life, but the record was engraved by Kumāra Gupta I soon after his father's death." The
suggestion, though appealing in the light of the above mentioned rendering by Fleet, is difficult to accept. There is not a single instance in the inscriptions of ancient India where a person erected a monument himself, but left it to his successor to record this great act on his predecessor. There would have been some substance in this theory, had it been a memorial pillar, but in that case the name of commemorator would have been mentioned in the inscription. For instance, in the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva, a successor of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, it is specifically mentioned that this memorial of his father has been erected by Dhanadeva. As it is, there is nothing in the Mehrauli Pillar inscription to such an effect. It is quite obvious that the inscription was got engraved by the king who set up this pillar. The very purpose of this inscription was to record this fact.

Recently, Acharya Udayavira Shastri has put forward another theory. He avers that the first two verses of this inscription describe the achievements of Samudragupta while the pillar was erected by his successor Candragupta II, who got the inscription engraved on it. This theory has no plausibility what so ever. In the first place why should Candragupta II refer to the achievements of his father on the pillar, which he himself got erected on account of his own deep religious faith? Had it been as Udayavira Shastri holds, the name of Samudragupta as well as his relationship with Candra would have been definitely mentioned in the inscription. Since the epigraph specifically mentions that the pillar was erected by Candra, who had to his credit the achievements mentioned there in, to find any reference to Samudragupta in it is nothing but pure imagination of the learned scholar. Acharya Udayavira has also been misled by the second verse of the inscription and thinks that the king eulogised in the first two verses had already died when the inscription was engraved. Apparently he was aware of the fact that the inscription can only be ascribed to the person who got this pillar erected and hence he has put forward this explanation which is untenable.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the primary object of this inscription is to be record the erection of this pillar in the honour of the god Viṣṇu by king Candra. His eulogy in the first two verses is a prelude. In the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman, we have strikingly similar idea, where we are told in verse 7, that, "as if to measure the sky up above, (and) as if to count the multitude of luminaries, (and) as if to point out the way of the heaven on high to his own fame earned by means of good deeds, this pillar has been caused to be erected by His Majesty Yaśodharman, who is the enjoyer of this earth, for the time extending to the end of the aeon, and whose arm is charming like a
column and is firm like the bolt of the city gate.”

Fleet, who edited this inscription, has himself remarked that, “the record that Yaśodharman himself erected the column, shows that the inscription is of his own time, not posthumous.”

The same thing applies to the Mehrauli Pillar inscription. We wonder what led Fleet to call it a posthumous eulogy. The idea of winning heaven (lit. going to heaven) by fame was a favourite theme of the writers of the Gupta period. It is frequently met with on the Gupta coins, such as Kācogāmajīya divaṁ karmabhirutt-mair jayati on the Kāca types of coins and Kṣitimajīya sucaritair divaṁ jayati Vikramādiyaḥ on the coins of Candragupta II. These examples can easily be multiplied. The Mehrauli Pillar inscription conveys the same idea, that the fame of king Candra, earned by his own martial achievements and meritorious religious deeds, though has reached the heaven, does not leave this earth.

D.R. Bhandarkar observed long ago that this inscription is not posthumous. He translated its second verse as follows:

“Who, the king, quitting this go (earth), as if dejected, has resorted to another go (intermediate region); who, though he has, in body, gone to the land (avani) conquered for religious rites, has remained on earth (kṣiti) by fame; (and) whose great pratōpa (valour), (though it is now the conclusion of the exertion of (him) who had destroyed his enemies, does not as yet leave the earth like the pratōpa (heat) of the conflagration in a great forest (though it has now) subsided.”

Bhandarkar stressed the meaning of two words occurring in this verse, mūrttyā i.e., ‘in bodily form’ and go which has three meanings ‘the earth’, ‘the sky’ and ‘the heaven’. He argues that, “how can any human being go to the land (of paradise) in bodily form?” He tried to explain this verse from an entirely different angle and maintained that go stands here or antarikṣa or ‘mid-region’ which was actually a mountainous region where Viṣṇupadagiri was situated. He further said that king Candra i.e. Candragupta II had retired to Viṣṇupadagiri to lead a religious life, after handing over the empire to his son Kumāragupta I. This explanation of the learned scholar is not only too far-fetched but also contrary to the well known facts. No doubt that go means antarikṣa or the sky but whether it can be equated with some mountainous region is highly doubtful. The verses quoted from the Mahābhārata by J.C. Ghosh and D.R. Bhandarkar in support of their theory do not at all convey that antarikṣa, here, means a “high peak on some mountain almost reaching upto the sky.” The first of these simply tells that all the tīrthas (places of pilgrimage) on this earth and in the sky shall assemble at Sannihiti in Kurukṣetra on the last day of every dark fortnight. The second says that Naimiṣa for the people of
the earth, Puṣkara for the people of heaven (or sky) and Kurukṣetra for the people of all the three lOKas are places of pilgrimage.16 It does not speak of Puṣkara situated either in heaven or in mountains. In both these verses, the importance of Kurukṣetra and Sannihiti tank is eulogised. The third verse quoted by Bhandarkar from the Sabhāparvan occurs in the context of Nakula's conquest of the Western region.17 A study of the geographical data given here makes it amply clear that Puṣkarāraṇya mentioned here should be identified with Puṣkara, the famous place of pilgrimage, situated 7 miles from Ajmer in Rajasthan. This is in conformity with the region associated with Nakula's conquest in the Mahābhārata i.e. the western region of India. In fact the whole theory of Bhandarkar and Ghosh is based on the pre-conception that Viṣṇupadagiri was situated in the mountainous region of Himachal Pradesh on the banks of the river Beas, and Candragupta II had retired to that place to lead the life of an ascetic. The verse in the Mahābhārata runs as follows:

एतद्व विष्णुपदे दृश्यते तीर्थस्थलम्।
एषा रथ्या विपान्सा च नदी परम पावनी॥ III, 130.8

Kaśmirīr māṇḍalā caitāt sambhūtakरित्वयम्
mahāśākṣaṇaṣṭubhāivid vastavak arthāṃ

It must be noted that though verse III, 130.8 clearly associates Viṣṇupada with the river Beas, there is no place sacred to Viṣṇu all along the course of this river, nor is there any record or even tradition about the existence of a sacred place in the entire course of this river. Moreover, the territory of Kashmir is too far away from the river Beas. High mountain ranges intervene between the river and Kashmir. Therefore, the identification of Viṣṇupadagiri itself is highly uncertain in the absence of any positive evidence and no historical conclusions can be drawn on its basis. Moreover, there is not the slightest evidence to show that Candragupta II had ever abdicated his throne in favour of his son. This appears highly unlikely considering the fact that he came to the throne at a mature age, as the evidence of the Rāmagupta episode indicates, and then ruled for almost four decades—A.D. 375 to c. A.D. 413.

No doubt Bhandarkar's view about the non-posthumous character of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription is correct but he too missed the real purport of the second verse of this inscription, which should actually be translated as follows:
The great glory of him, who had destroyed his enemies, does not even today leave this earth like the glow of fire which has become extinct in the great forest, and who like (the glory) of a king, who has resorted to the other world having abandoned this earth, as if tired, and has gone in bodily form to the world won by his actions (though he is abiding) on this earth by means of his fame.”

Once we have this correct translation of the verse, all doubts vanish and the truth surfaces. This verse simply compares the glory of king Candra’s past deeds with the glory of a great king, which still is abiding on this earth even after the latter’s departure for heaven and like the glow of a burnt out fire in a great forest. It does not at all speak of the death of the great king who got this lofty pillar erected in the honour of the god Viṣṇu.

We may profitably recall here, for the sake of comparison the following verse from the Eran Stone inscription of Samudragupta:

यस्योऽजन्तं समरकर्मण्यपरारङ्कं
शुष्कं यदां सुविपुरुषं परिवर्त्वभीमति ।
कर्मणि यस्याप्रवजन्य रणोऽजन्ताति
स्वविज्ञातं देवं विज्ञातं परित्वरसित ॥

‘Whose valorous war deeds (are) made resplendent by his prowess. Whose abundant white fame is whirling around; and thinking about whose mighty deeds on the battle-field, the enemies, are terrified even in dreams’.

Here we find that deeds of prowess performed by a mighty king on a previous occasion are remembered with a shudder, by his enemies who suffered a defeat at his hands, and his fame is spoken of as still whirling round, all over his dominions, and far beyond.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Fleet, CII, III, 140.
2. Ibid., 141.
4. Ibid., 96.
5. Paropakārī. Feb. 1987, 25-31. S.R. Goyal has given a more plausible theory by identifying king Candra with Samudragupta and ascribed these achievements to him. A History of the Imperial Guptas, 201 ff. However, this theory is absolutely untenable not only because Samudragupta is not known to have had a name Candra but also because he never crossed the seven mouths of the river Indus to conquer the Vāhlikas.
7. Fleet, CII, III, 146.
8. Altekar, Coinage of the Gupta Empire, 87 and 130.
11. Ibid., 57.
12. IC, I, 516 ff.
14. Ibid.
17. Sabhāparvan, 32. 8-9.
18. Translated by Prof. Jagannath Agrawal. Dasharath Sharma gave almost similar translation of this verse and pointed out that the inscription is not posthumous. Cf., IC, V, 206-08.
ARNORĀJA’S EXPEDITION TO THE SINDHU AND THE SARASVATĪ

By

DEVENDRA HANDA

The Chāhamāna ruler Arnorāja, also known as Analadeva, Ānalandeva, Anna and Ānāka, was the son of Ajayarāja and Somalladevi. Born before V.S. 1170, he was a young man when he was put on the throne a little before V.S. 1190 by his father Ajayarāja who retired to the forest adjoining the lake Puṣkara. Arnorāja probably ruled for about two decades and is credited with defeating Naravarman of Malwa, slaughtering the Turuṣkās (Muslims) near Ajmer, leading an expedition into the Haritānakā country and carrying arms up to the Sindhu and the Sarasvatī. All these events find mention in the fragmentary Ajmer Museum prasasti.2

Pṛthvirāja Vijaya gives a detailed account of Arnorāja’s fight against the Turuṣkās on the plain outside the city of Ajmer where, later on, the lake Ānāsāgara was excavated and filled with the waters of the river Chandrā to wash off the stains of the Muslim blood.3 Naravarman’s defeat finds corroboration from the Bijolia inscription.4 Arnorāja’s expedition against the Haritānakā country seems to have been the result of the Chauhan-Tomara rivalry, which goes back to the period of Chandrarāja who had killed the Tomara Chief Rudra.5 The fragmentary Chauhan prasasti states that the march of Arnorāja’s soldiers rendered muddy the waters of the Yamunā river and the women of the Haritānakā country shed tears —

वाण्य-वारिणि कालिस्वी हिरितानक-पोषितां ।
सप्तवाराणसय मिलिता यक्ग्रामाणे रजस्वला ।।

(Line 16)

Haritānakā finds mention in the Palam Baoli inscription of V.S. 1337 as Hariyānakā6 and the Delhi Museum inscription of V.S. 1384 as Haritānā7 also. The present name Haryana is derived from Haritānakā and its variants Hariyānakā, Haritānā, Hariyānā etc. With its capital at Dhilli (Dhillikā, i.e. Delhi), it was ruled over by the Tomaras before it was conquered by the Chauhans. The Tomaras were finally worsted by Vigraharāja IV.8
It is, however, Arñorāja’s expedition to the Sindhu and the Sarasvati whose details are not clear. The fragmentary praśasti refers to it as—

. . . . . कूपे प्रहलादकुपे पिपङ्गु: संसारसिन्धु च सरस्वती।
मन्ये समाने जनमः पिपङ्गु संसारसिन्धु च सरस्वती।
(Verse 23)

i.e., rendered thirsty by having remained in the arid desert and with his thirst unquenched at Kūpa and Prahlādakūpa, Arñorāja reached the Sindhu and the Sarasvati.

Prahlādakūpa has been equated by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma with modern Pallu⁹, an ancient site on Jaipur-Ganganagar road about 80 kms. south of Hanumangarh (in district Sri Ganganagar) which is located on the bank of the river Ghaggar, often identified with the Sarasvati. Pallu lies almost exactly north of Ajayameru. There is absolutely no barrier between Pallu and Hanumangarh and one may reach the Ghaggar unchecked from the former. It is also to be noted that in the medieval period, the present city of Sirsa was also named Sirsuti (=Sarasvati)¹⁰. Standing on the high bed of the Sarasvatī river, it was a strategic fortified town then. From Pallu, Sirsa may be reached easily via Nohar.

As far as Sindhu is concerned, it poses difficulty. The river Sindhu lies beyond the vast arid expanses to the west of the Chauhan dominions. This waterless desert has been the most difficult tract to cross and has perhaps seen thousands of soldiers dying of thirst during the medieval period in particular. There is absolutely no evidence that the Chauhan dominions ever touched the Sindhu, in the west. Does it then mean the Sutlej, the southernmost tributary of the Sindhu? Arñorāja may have carried his arms as far north as the Sutlej. It is likely but yet remain, to be corroborated.

Arñorāja’s son Vighrahāraja IV had defeated the Bhaḍānakas and the Tomaras. His Siwalik Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1220 (= 1163 A.D.) indicates that he held sway from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas.¹¹ The original location of the Siwalik Pillar was the village Topra on the river Yamunā, about 10 kms. south-west of Jagadhari. So he may have touched the Himalayas near Nahan. There is, however, no evidence that he ever conquered Sirsa or the region beyond the Sarasvati. That this area was included in the Chauhan dominions is indicated by the coins of Somalladevi, the queen of Ajayarāja and mother of Arñorāja. More than 125 of her coins have been found from Pallu.¹² This is by
far the largest number of her coins found from anywhere. Ajayadeva's coins, too, circulated at Pallu. Two coins of Somalladevi from Pandusar, four from Karoti and one from Dhanasia, all in the Nohar tehsil of Sri Ganganagar district (Rajasthan), show that Somalladevi's coins were the popular currency of this area. These are copper and potin coins and their low denomination is indicated by their small size and light weight as well as by their metal. As such they were not meant for trade purposes. Nor were the sites mentioned above any pilgrimages. There is, thus, absolutely no doubt that Somalladevi's small copper and potin coins were the common and popular currency of the period and that the area of their circulation could not be outside Chauhan dominions.

Five coins of Somalladevi obtained from the old mound of Sirsa were also noted by us some years back. One coin of Somalladevi has been found from Agroha in regular excavations. Rodgers, too, has recorded a coin of Somalladevi, though he could not then identify that from Samana in district Patiala. Recently, her coins have been found from Sunam in district Sangrur also. In the medieval period, both Samana and Sunam were important fortified and strategic towns. The discovery of Somaladevi's coins from these places indicates that they were included in the Chauhan dominions. The area may have been annexed by none else than Arnorāja who, according to Hemachandra, a contemporary writer, was helped by the rulers of eastern Madra and the towns of the Vāhikaśeṇa which certainly was the country beyond the Sarasvati. This also justifies the title of Udichyapati for Arnorāja as mentioned by Hemachandra.

REFERENCES

4. Epigraphia Indica, XXVI, pp. 94 & 104, verse 17.
6. अशोकि तोमरराजी बोधाङ्स्तन्तरम्
   हृदिराजकुरज्ज्वलयाजेन्द्रः
   शास्ते[ः] शून्या ॥ (Verse 3)


देशोऽस्तित हरितानाध भूविष्यां स्वर्यसनिम; ।

हिर्णकाय x पुरो तव तोमरेण स्वर्य पिलमिता ॥


11. च (मु)ः संप्रति वाहिनान्तिलकृण: शाकसंतरीमूलवितः:

श्रीमडबङ्घराज एष विजयो तंतानायात्यस्म: ।

श्रस्माणि कर्ष्याय विश्वविज्ञानां भूव: शेष

स्तीकरणां गार्तु भवतान्यविश्वाय शुर्यः मनः ॥


15. We are thankful to Shri Rameshwar Dass, an enlightened citizen of Sunam for bringing to our notice a large number of sculptures and other antiquarian remains including Somalladevi’s coins found from Sunam.


ANANDAVARDHANA'S CONCEPT OF ORIGINALITY IN LITERATURE

By

C. RAJENDRAN

In western literary criticism, we can discern two strains of thought with regard to the extent of originality that is possible in literature. One school maintains that originality is an impossible ideal while the other adheres to the view that true greatness of literature consists in absolute independance from tradition. Traditionalists like Dionysius, Bacchylides and Scaliger subscribe to the view that everything has been said before by the masters of the past; the only course left to any aspiring poet is to imitate earlier authors and present their thoughts in a superior manner. A more respectable offshoot of this school, however, regards emulation as the ideal to be pursued instead of imitation. While imitation is mere mechanical reproduction, emulation aims at surpassing the model in merit. However, imitators and emulators are alike in valuing tradition as a torch to be inherited from the past to be bequeathed to posterity. On the other hand, modernists in literature call for a complete breakaway from the past, which is to them a dead weight marring the progress of literature. Edward Young, who condemned the 'meddling ape Imitation', as the destroyer of individuality. Joseph Glanvill, who ridicules the superstitious reverence of the past and F.T. Marinetti who wanted to destroy all the museums, libraries and academies are all spokesmen of this school. In the words of the Dadaist, Marcel Janco, art should begin with a tabula rasa, with no encumbrance of the past. He seats the caveman who starts everything afresh as the ideal for any creative movement.

It is interesting to note that the problem of resolving the conflict between tradition and originality is discussed by Anandavardhana in the fourth Uddyota of the Dhvanyāloka. Anandavardhana seems to be the only author in Sanskrit poetics who was concerned with the question of rejuvenation or revitalisation of literature in the face of monotony and staleness. The crux of the problem, as he saw it was that the topics at the disposal of poets are already exhausted by earlier poets. The prescriptive part of Dhvanyāloka is mainly devoted to enlighten poets as to
how the doctrine of Dhvani can be called into service to achieve rejuvenation in literature. It can be seen that he advocates a middle courses to be followed in literature, combining the merits of tradition and originality, at the same time steering clear of the anemia of the former and the anarchy of the latter.

The great esteem with which Ānandavardhana holds tradition is manifest throughout the Dhvanīyāloka. Time and again he sets authors like Vālmīki, Vyāsa and Kālidāsa as models worthy of emulation. Ānandavardhana takes great pain to demonstrate that his Dhvani theory is not, in any way, a departure from the concept of literature of the past, as alleged by the Abhāvavāda of the second school. The contention of these Abhāvavādins is that the technique of Dhvani is unacceptable because it would militate against the concept of poetry of established tradition. Refuting this charge, Ānandavardhana makes it amply clear that thought Dhvani theory as such was not discovered by literary theorists of the past; great literature of the past implicitly shows an intuitive understanding of its principles. Ānandavardhana demonstrates the main aspects of Dhvani with illustrations largely drawn from the works of ancient masters. In another context, he pays an eloquent tribute to early poets and points out that his new theory is not something which is outside their concept of literature.

Pūrve viśrīkhala girah kavyah prāptaktatayah ......
vālmikivyāsamanukhyāta ye prakahātah kaviśvarāh
tadabhi práya bāhyo’yam nāṃśabhirdarśito nayaḥ

It is not surprising, therefore, that Ānandavardhana is averse to the idea that progress in literature should be conceived only in terms of a breakaway from the past. Literary excellence can be achieved only when the contemporary poet understands and assimilates what the tradition can offer. Ānandavardhana's orientation towards tradition can be seen in the note of caution with which he refers to new plots invented by poets. According to him, adoption of well-known stories of mythology is to be preferred to newly invented ones since one is on surer grounds about characterisation and the like in the former. Poets are liable to go astray when they grapple with an unfamiliar story.

yastu utpādyavastu nātakādi kuryāt tasya aprasiddhānucita nāyakas-vabhāva-varṇa ne mahān pramādah

We can compare this with Horace's advice, 'It is better to dramatise a Trojan tale than break new ground.' By large, Ānandavardhana
does not advocate any epoch-making change in literature through the treatment of new themes, invention of new literary forms, or other experiments. The Dhwani theory aims at improving the prospects of literature with improved techniques of expression. The examples given by Ānandavardhana in the fourth Udyota to demonstrate rejuvenation of literature through Dhwani illustrate this point.

A significant point emerging from Ānandavardhana’s discussion is that in his view, literary topics do not pose any threat of being exhausted at all. Old works do not make the efforts of new poets superfluous since there is some uniqueness in every work of art. Ānandavardhana demonstrates that every object in the universe offers endless possibilities of treatment on account of the difference it manifests due to its condition, place, time and innate nature.

_Svabhāvo hyayam vācyāṅām cetanānāmacetanāṅām ca yadavasthābhedaḥ desabhedaḥ kālabhedāḥ svālakṣaṇyabhedāccāntatā bhavati._

To demonstrate this, he shows how the same Pārvatī, in _Kumāraskambhaḥ_, described earlier becomes the object of a totally different description when seen by Śiva in penance, and again, when being decorated for marriage. Poets focus their imagination on one aspect of an object at one time, and a totally new perspective emerges at another moment. Ānandavardhana meticulously scrutinises the whole range of poet’s subject matter against the background of the permutations and combinations available on the basis of the variable factors mentioned above. Though the procedure adopted by him may seem to be too much mechanical, the conclusion he reaches about the inexhaustibility of nature and literature will be inspiring to poets.

_Tathā hi jagatprakṛtiratīta kalpa paramparā virbhūta-vicitra vostu prapañcā sati punaridānīm, pariśītāpara padārthā nirmāṇa-śaktirīti na śacyate’ abhidhatum, tadvadeveyam kavyasthitirantarābhīhi kavi matibhirupabhubhūr pi nedānīm parīhyate pratyuta navanāvabhiḥ vyutpattibhiḥ parivardhate._

An interesting question has been posed and answered by Ānandavardhana in this connection. It is contended by the opponent that originality in literature has the limited sense of new techniques of expression. The subject matter, by itself is already exhausted by the first poet himself. This objection is fortified by the contention that literature can deal with only the generic aspect of things, not the specific aspect. The generic aspect, being essentially limited in scope does not offer
endless prospects of discription. Hence all that poets can do is to concentrate on methods of expression.

It is in reply to this argument that Ānandavardhana clarifies his concept of originality as encompassing not only techniques of expression, but subject matter also. He rejects the view that poetry can only hope to capture the generic aspect of things. It is centered on unique and specific aspects things. Ānandavardhana drives home his point by demonstrating that a single person deemed to be a poet after Vālmki would mean that there is endless scope in subject matter. That would show that everything has not been exhausted by the Ādikavi himself.

vālmikivyayatiriktasya yadyekasyāpi kasyacid
iṣyate pratibhārtheṣu tattadānantiyamakṣayam.9

Ānandavardhana’s above statement comes as a refreshing note of originality in Sanskrit literature which is replete with sayings like Vyāsocchītam jagat sarvam and Bānocchītam jagat sarvam. Ānandavardhana further turns the arguments of the opponents to his favour and maintains that methods of expression, suggested as the only course left to the poet, actually multiplies the scope of novelty in poetry if added to the subject matter which itself is infinite.

The above discussion of Ānandavardhana strongly reminds one of the modernist slogan of “New beauties, new truths”. Ruthven sums up this trend in the Western literature thus:

In the later eighteenth century, writers turned aside from generalities to isolate whatever is uniquely particular in the plentitude of nature and began to treat with contempt the kind of literature to which every bosom returns an echo. To sustain the new endeavour, a brand new form was invented in the eighteenth century, a form unknown to the ancients, and called (with disarming candour) the novel. For, as Johnson suspected, the plentitude of ‘Nature’ ensured the existence of a thousand fountain recesses unexplored, a thousand flowers unplucked, a thousand fountain unexhausted, then it was up to the new novelists to do the unexploring, the plucking and the exhausting.10

It can readily seen that Ānandavardhana brilliantly anticipates this insight of modern novelist movement into the specific aspects of things and the inexhaustibility of nature.
Resemblance of one poem with another is an intriguing problem in aesthetics. Resemblance may be either because of slavish imitation or when it is more dignified, because of some unconscious literary influence at work in the poet. Though Ānandavardhana subscribes to the view that potentialities of poetry are indeed endless, he nevertheless exhorts poets not to be daunted by the prospects of resemblance (samvāda) with some works already existing in literature. He does not rule out even the possibility of some accidental coincidence in creative inspiration.

\[ \text{sthitam hyetad samvādinya eva medhāvinām buddhayah}\]^{11}

However, he makes some gradations in such resemblances. Ānandavardhana shuns mere mechanical copying of existing works. He refers to two types of objectionable imitation, viz. (1) when a new work looks like a reflected image (pratibimba) of another work and (2) when it stands in the relations of a pictorial representation (ālekhya) of an object with regard to another work. When the new work can claim a soul of its own, because of distinctive individuality, and yet show traces of resemblance to another work, it is free from any fault whatsoever.\^{12} Petrarch had a similar, if less noble, ideal when he told Boccaccio that a respectable imitator will see that 'what he writes resembles the original without reproducing it. The resemblance should not be that of a portrait to the sitter—but—of a son to his father'\^{13} Petrarch's illustration of a portrait and sitter is surprisingly close to Ānandavardhana's concept of pictorial representation and the original object, while the parallel of father and son exactly corresponds to two people with different souls, yet possessing some resemblance, cited by Ānandavardhana as an instance of permissible resemblance. However, Ānandavardhana does not plead for conscious imitation, like Petrarch.

Let us sum up Ānandavardhana's position: Like most of his western counterparts, Ānandavardhana also is concerned with novelty in literature. But while the extremist of modernism would advocate a complete severance of ties with tradition, this position is not acceptable to Ānandavardhana. He shows that topics of discourse are endless and that there is no necessity for any 'cultural pessimism'. Ānandavardhana strikes a positive and optimistic note in asserting that originality in literature can be achieved without sacrificing our hoary traditions, but with a perceptive eye to the more intimate aspects of the nature around.

REFERENCES

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SANSKRIT IN THE RENAISSANCE OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

By

LOKESH CHANDRA

The names of Asia and Europe were learnt by the Greeks from an Asian people. Assyrian monuments contrast between *asu* "(the land of) the rising sun" and *ereb* "(the land of) darkness or the setting sun." *Asu* became *Asia* and *ereb* came to be *Europe*. These names were passed on by the Phoenicians to the Greeks. In Homer, Europa is a young Phoenician princess whose beauty fires the love of Zeus. She is the personification of the continent of Europe. The earliest mention of Europe is in the Homeric ‘Hymn to Apollo’. The distinction between Europe and Asia is found in Aeschylus in the 5th century B.C. The contrasts and contradictions of Asia and Europe have dominated the history of man. The intellectual domination of Asia by European civilisation continues. The sun rises in the East, ideas arise in the West.

In 1801, Sir William Jones wrote in the first volume of the Asiatick Researches: ‘Though we cannot agree with the sage preceptor of that ambitious Prince (Alexander) that the Asiaticks are born to be slaves, yet the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right when he represents Europe as a sovereign princess and Asia as her handmaid.’ This was the main thrust in the six substantial volumes of ‘The History of British India’ by the renowned Utilitarian philosopher and writer James Mill, which appeared in 1817. They made an astounding and continuing impression. Mill attacked the eternity of India. By his assessment, contemporary as well as ancient India, whether in science, religion, government, law, or political economy, was barbarous. Ever since the first publication of Mill’s famous work, the perception of India has been under his shadow. A decade or later after it was published, Macaulay referred to the History in the House of Commons as “on the whole the greatest historical work which has appeared in our language since that of Gibbon”, and afterwards in his famous Minute on Indian Education paid it the compliment of using some of his material.

For India, rays of hope were to shine from the transformation of conscience that Europe had been undergoing since the Renaissance. The
forces liberated in the Renaissance took a specific bias, namely that of Humanism, the particular form assumed by human self-esteem. It indicates the endeavour of man to reconstitute himself as a free being, away from theological thrall, and he derived peculiar assistance in this effort from Greek and Roman literature, leaning rather to the side of man than of divinity. For a generation nursed in theological scholasticism, it was the fountain of renascent youth, beauty and freedom, the shape in which the Helen of art and poetry appeared to the ravished eyes of mediaeval Faustus.

As monarchical rule was overthrown in the United States and France, the citizenry discovered an emotional identification with the forms and images of the ancient republics. To them Greece and Rome were not dead civilizations, but the living birthplaces of freedom and democracy. Their affinity with the ancient world not only gave them a sense of heroism and glory, but it also furnished convenient precedents for the new governments in America and France, and to a certain extent the British constitutional monarchy. The ancient Athenian commonwealth and Roman republic became the symbols of liberty and the new order. The senior legislative houses in the United States, France and later in the Latin American republics, were named senates after the old Roman prototype.

The passion for Hellenism brought Europe to the threshold of Eternal India. After all, the Greeks had admired India as the source of all philosophy. Dusebios (4th cent. B.C.) reports that an Indian had discussed philosophy with Socrates at Athens. The philosopher Pythagoras, who swayed Greek intellectual life from the 6th century B.C. onwards, transmitted Indian ideas. It was commonly held among the Greeks that India was the land of wisdom: for instance by the noted author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 70 B.C.), Apuleius (ca. 150 A.D.) and Philostratos (early 3rd century). The popular satirist Lucian (2nd cent. A.D.), in his “Runaways”, lets the Goddess of Philosophy tell Jupiter that she first descended upon “the Indians, the mightiest nation upon earth.” To cite Sedlar: “India served as an object upon which educated Greeks projected their own demoralization, namely their loss of confidence in contemporary Greek culture and institutions. Thus India became an idealized country, abundantly fruitful, while Indian philosophers came to possess a wisdom superior to that of the Greeks.” The linguistic affinity between Sanskrit and their language had, however, eluded the Greeks.

The European quest for the origin of languages is recorded as early as Herodotus. In his History he notes that since the days of Psmmetichus
of Egypt men searched for the origin of language and the reason for their similarities and diversities. In the Mediaeval Ages, Hebrew was taken as the starting point for the evolution of Greek and Latin, compare for instance, Richardson’s “A Dissertation on Language”, published in 1777. The Hebraic hypothesis led to blind alleys.

Boxhorn was the first to postulate a theory of common origin of Indo-European languages. He did not publish any work. His ideas became known through his friend George Horn in the latter half of the 17th century. He postulated some sort of a common language which he called Scythian, as the mother of Greek, Latin, German and Persian from which ‘like dialects would start’. No lesser a person than Leibniz added his authority to this theory of the ‘Scythian’ origin of the peoples and the languages of Europe. In the first volume of the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy, Leibniz attacked the old Hebraic hypothesis. He put forward a theory which was very similar to that of Boxhorn and he clearly distinguished the Indo-European from the Semitic and the Finno-Ugrian groups. Now linguistics had rightly bid goodbye to its Mediaeval moorings. Studies reached the threshold of a new era. The ancient Greeks were overwhelmed by Persian might. The new term for the family was ‘Scythian’. It was natural that Scythian or Persian dominate the scene. It is evident from a letter of William Jones to Prince Czartoryski dated 19 Feb 1779: “Procopius, I think mentions the great intercourse both in war and peace between the Persians and the nations in the north of Europe and Asia whom the ancients knew by the general name of Scythians. Many learned investigators of antiquity are fully persuaded that a very old and almost primaeval language was in use among these northern nations from which not only the Celtic dialects but even the Greek and Latin are derived.”

In 1786, on the horizons shone a new light, the light of Sanskrit. Sir William Jones started to learn Sanskrit in September 1785 and after a study of mere four months he was led to a realisation which sparked off the discovery of comparative and historical philology. “The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.”

Jones added Sanskrit to the ‘Scythian’ family of languages. The scientific age of historical linguistics had dawned. Europe was on the
verge of discovering the origins of her own culture and its original meanings, that had eluded the Greek Euhemerus in the third century B.C., or the Roman statesman, scholar and orator Cicero in the first century B.C.

The observations of William Jones were in tune with the mood of the times. The European mind had been moving away from the Age of Reason, to a movement that is known in general as Romanticism. The idea that the Europeans migrated from a distant and unknown land soon fired the imagination of the Romantic mind. Friedrich Schlegel, a high priest of the Romantic movement, coined the word ‘Comparative Grammar’. The English translation of the Shākuntala of Kālidāsa was done into German in 1791 by Georg Forster, and it awakened the highest enthusiasm of literary men like Herder and Goethe. The European literators were surprised that India too had excellent dramas. Dramas were no more the monopoly of the Greeks. To the Classical Graeco-Roman world was added the more ancient and pristine Classical world of India. The Romantic movement idealised the Classical world of Greece and Rome. The emotional espousal of Greek independence that was prevalent all over Europe and the U.S. was actively expressed in letters and the arts. Both classical countries—Greece and Italy—were under the yoke of foreign tyrants, and intellectuals and poets passionately championed their cause. Byron’s Isles of Greece, Shelley’s Hellas and Prometheus Unbound, Friedrich Holderlin’s Hyperion, Victor Hugo’s Les Orientales, and Vittorio Alfieri’s tragedies, all upheld these liberation movements.

For the Romantic School, headed by the brothers Schlegel, Indian literature had a special attraction. Friedrich Schlegel, the father figure of the Romantic movement, expected from India nothing less than “the unfolding of the history of the primeval world which up till now is shrouded in darkness.”

The thorough investigator Franz Bopp (1791-1867) published in 1816 the results of his researches on the conjugation system of the Sanskrit language in comparison with those of Greek, Latin, Persian and German. The Indo-European family of languages was thus established. In fact, Bopp used the term “indo-europaisch”. Europe had found a new identity with Sanskrit. European man had found his consciousness lapsed in space and time. Sanskrit was the discovery of the primal soul of Europe, the discovery of her deeps. To cite Pablo Neruda: “deracination of human beings leads to frustration in one way or another obstructing the light of the soul.” Sanskrit was the majestic
and mysterious syllables from the dawn of time, the deep-rooted vitality, inexhaustible history, and limitless growth. Winternitz says: "if we wish to learn to understand the beginnings of our own culture, if we wish to understand the oldest Indo-European culture, we must go to India, where the oldest literature of an Indo-European people is preserved."

As Sanskrit broke upon the scene, European languages found a new raison d'être for their efflorescence. European languages were trying to assert themselves for at least five centuries. For instance, Martin Luther (1483-1546) translated the Bible into German. His remarkable handling of the German language influenced and shaped the development of modern German. English prose owes in abundant measure to King James’ Authorized Version of 1611.

These efforts of Biblical translations did not take the European languages very far. With the study of Sanskrit, dictionaries of European languages were taken up on historical principles. These lexicographical monuments revealed their deep roots, their evolution over centuries, and their rich semantic spectra. The European languages gained a new self-confidence. Moreover, Greek and Latin were no longer the original or prime languages. Sanskrit was more ancient than both of them, more transparent, more logical, and could explain the formation of these Classical languages themselves. Now modern European languages could stand by the side of Greek and Latin, which like them, stood in the same relation to primordial Sanskrit.

The National Revival (about 1775-1850) of Czechoslovakia was a great social movement characterized above all by a national consciousness on the part of the people, and a drive for economic and cultural independence. Thanks to one of the reforms of Joseph II the German language became the only official language of the country. At the same time he abolished feudalism in 1781. As a result former serfs could now move to the towns and their children could study. The Czech language started to gain momentum. Dobrovsky (1753-1829) wrote a definitive grammar of Czech. The existence of linguistic connection between Czech and the ancient and perfect Sanskrit was a great encouragement to the oppressed nation in its efforts to improve its language. Many others shared Dobrovsky’s interest in India. The advocates of Czech pointed out that their language was closer to Sanskrit than German, hence was more ancient and deserved a place of honour. They cited the example: *stara matra data medu* = Sanskrit *sīhāvikā mātā dādāti mādu* श्वाविकां माता द्वारत मधु ‘the old mother offers honey’ (to the guest).

The Bulgarians struggled hard in the 9th century against the Three-Language Doctrine brought forward by the German clergy.
According to this dogma church services could be held only in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Brothers Cyril and Methodius created the Cyrillic alphabet to replace them by Old Bulgarian, so that in every Bulgarian church the people would hear their own tongue. Cyril defended the right of the Slavs to have their own script. Doesn’t God send an equal amount of rain to all? And doesn’t the sun shine for everybody.... How is it that you are not ashamed of recognising only three languages, and of decreeing that all other nations and tribes should be deaf and blind? A people are naked without books. Once again in the 19th century, during the struggle of National Revival language became important. Leaders were proud that their language Bulgarian was closer to Sanskrit and hence older than any current non-Slavic European language. Old Bulgarian has synu for Sanskrit sūnu “son”, and dini for Sanskrit dina “day”. This fired the Bulgarians with a new enthusiasm for their language.

The Germanisation of Lithuania started from the 12th century as a result of the proclamation of a crusade against them by the Pope. The Lithuanians lost on the battlefield, lost their ancient faith and as a result their language declined. Czarist regime in the 19th century forbade the use of Lithuanian. Grandmas in remote villages narrated folk-tales to eager grand-children in their Lithuanian language which was despised by the Slavished nobility and punished by the Czarist regime. The traditional folk-hymns called dajna (from Sanskrit dhyāna) were abandoned by the courts, but they lived on in the villages, faithfully preserved by the poorest people of the country, guarded by the mother of the family, during the darkest period of Lithuanian history: the occupation by Tsarist Russia between 1795 and 1918. The grandmothers and mothers would tell their children and grand-children: Dievas dave dantis, duos ir duomos ‘God has given teeth. He will give food’. The sentence meant: when God has given life, he will grant us freedom. Language and freedom were inseparable.

To this day Sanskrit is associated with Lithuanian as a symbol of national identity. We can go to a classroom at the Vilnius University of the Lithuanian Republic. The professor writes sentences on the blackboard in Lithuanian and Sanskrit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lithuanian</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kas to esi</td>
<td>kas tvam asi</td>
<td>Who are you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kas tavo sunus</td>
<td>kas tava sūnuḥ</td>
<td>Who is your son?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kas to esi is an eternal question before man in his quest for Knowledge. The answer is as brief in Lithuanian as it is in Sanskrit: Tus tu esi = Tat tvam asi.

Sanskrit opened up new universes of how man has expressed ideas. Sanskrit had preserved a rich system of inflexions, both declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs. It had transparent roots which showed the dynamics of vocabulary creativity. Sanskrit revealed the unique linguistic phenomenon of Indo-European languages wherein prefixes enriched human horizons of communication, for example, inspect, suspect, aspect, respect, conspectus—all from spect-, specere ‘to see, look at’. Language is formed. Man has created words through, them ideas, thoughts, categories, and they in turn have brought into existence solid objects, the machines and so on. Language is a living organism. It gives man an ever-renewing life. Language led to science. Language was the epic of creativity.

Sanskrit led to two new principles in the methodology of research: (i) comparative study (ii) historic development. The newly evolved comparative-historical method was applied to the study of language and it resulted in the publication of the biggest Sanskrit-German Dictionary in seven large volumes by Bohtlingk and Roth in 1852. It created a new intellectual climate in which evolution of language was fully established as a part of human march onwards. This milieu influenced the natural sciences. Seven years after the appearance of the Dictionary, came out Darwin’s monumental work ‘Origin of Species’ in 1859, who soundly established the theory of organic evolution, that was to determine the development of natural science.

Dictionaries of European languages on historical principles were undertaken on the model of the Sanskrit German Worterbuch. In 1854 was published the first volume of Grimm’s German Dictionary, whose completion took a century. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm were the most distinguished brother-scholars of the German Romantic period, renowned as the collectors and editors of ‘Grimm’s Fairy Tales’ (1812-15). They worked assiduously at the great dictionary of the German language, a task so large that it was impossible for the brothers to finish it themselves. Its last volume appeared in 1960.

“Ever since the Normans conquered England in 1066, the everyday tongue of the British Isles had suffered a long eclipse. Even in its native land, English was a second-class citizen, owning neither the status of Latin and Greek nor the aristocratic patina of French. Those who studied the origins of the language of Chaucer and Shakespeare
were essentially amateurs, as there was little prestige to be gained by such work.” In 1857 James Murray commenced “A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles” to show the extensive heritage of the English language. Its first section was printed in January 1884 by the Oxford University. It gave the historical development of every English word. It opened up a new wonder. Its editor, its moving spirit, James Murray, was knighted. It embodies and interprets to this day the culture of the English language from its earliest documentation to the present times. English now had a rich heritage and was as respectable as any of the Classical languages or elegant French or intellectual German. Continuous progress and sustained development arising out of historical-comparative studies afforded a new esteem to European languages. The Oxford Dictionary took the etymologies of English words far back to Sanskrit, e.g. the word thousand has the base teu : Sanskrit tavaus ‘strong, energetic’ (from the root tu) and hundred. It can be seen in Old Norse thiós-hund, Old Frankish thus-chunde, as the ‘great hundred’. Thousand was power, strength. Time, Latin tempus was Sanskrit tapas (with an nasal m inserted) which mean ‘heat’. Day is the hot part of the cycle of 24 hours. The vast time scales in Sanskrit exploded the Biblical myth of 6000 years of creation. In Sanskrit the Šrīshīti Saṇvat or Era of Creation runs to two billion years. This made possible geological time, paleontological time, and astronomical time with billions of years of creation.

Till the discovery of Sanskrit, Classical European mythology was a fragment of metaphors and dreams, pages torn from the book of Cleo, the Muse of History. With the rise of Comparative Philology and Comparative Mythology, it became possible to sift and interpret the several strands that wove the magnificent fabric of Classical myths, the artistic and ethical parameters that gave rise to creative symbolisation in a galaxy of mythologies. The omnipresent Pan-hellenic god Zeus was Vedic Dyaus ‘sky’, Latin Ju-piter= Sanskrit Dyaus-pitar. What at first was only an appellative of the sky became the supreme ruler of goods and men, whose will was law. Europe had to wait for 2,300 years to know the origins of Zeus, when Sanskrit was discovered in the 18th century, though Zeus was the mythical deep of European time. The word ‘Europe’ itself was born out of the myth of the young princess Europa who was carried away by Zeus disguised. Today Europe awaits elopement by Sanskrit Dyaus. Modern civilisation again needs the aroma of Sanskrit. Sanskrit is the eternal and the evolving in a fruitful unity. In it the endless past and the fleeting present live together for a thrust in the future sans end.
Periodical Revision in Astronomy

Kerala, the land's end in India, had, on account of its secreted geographical position and comparative freedom from political turmoils, evinced a continuous interest in the development of observational and computational astronomy from very early days, at least from the 4th century A.D., the earliest work known being the ‘Moon Sentences’ (Candra-vākyas), beginning with gir naḥ śreyah, produced by a Kerala-Vaṅgali. With the advent into Kerala of the system of astronomy promulgated by Āryabhaṭa (b. 476 A.D.) with its advocacy of observation and experimentation, Kerala astronomers accepted the system with avidity and, in due course, the land became the bastion of the Āryabhaṭa School. An account of the development of the system in Kerala and the periodical revisions which the indigenous astronomers effected by means of experimentation and observation has been neatly set out in a few verses in a medieval work, Dṛkkaranaṁ, composed in A.D. 1607, in Malayalam, presumably by Jyeṣṭhadeva, author of the well-known Yuktibhāṣā. The said account is well worth being set out here:

‘Now, I shall set out here what the early astronomers enunciated. Before Kali 3000, the eclipses and other observed phenomena did not tally with the astronomical manuals or the Siddhānta-s (Dṛkkarana, 5-6).

‘Then, in the Kali year jñānatviga (3600), an astronomer by name Āryabhaṭa was born in this world. (7)

‘In the year giritviga (3623) was his work Āryabhātiya composed and therein he stated the revolutions of the planets. (8)

‘He had adjusted these revolutions by subtraction and addition in such a way that there was no zero correction at the beginning of Kali. (121a-13a)4

The Parahita System of Haridatta (A.D. 684)

The first major revision, in Kerala, of the astronomical constants enunciated by Āryabhaṭa was effected in A.D. 683-84 by a group of astronomers who had gathered for the twelve-yearly Mahāmagha (Māmāṅkam) festival at the religio-educational centre in Tirunāvāy in northern Kerala. The revised system, which come to be known as the Parahita system has been enunciated by Haridatta in his Graha-cāranibandhanam5 and Mahāmārganibandhanam6. The Dṛkkaraṇa records this event as follows:

'In course of time, deviations were observed (in the results arrived at by Āryabhata’s) computations. Then in the Kali year mandasthāla (3785, A.D. 684), equivalent to Śaka tanuta (606), several astronomers gathered together and devised by observation, (a system), wherein the correct number of revolutions were found by multiplying the current Kali year-minus-giritūṅga (i.e. Kali 3623, viz. the Āryabhataṇ epcho) (by the yearly Bhaṭābd or Śakābd corruption enunciated). (18-19)

'This system was named Parahita and many followed it assuring themselves of its accuracy.' (25)7

Dṛkh System of Paramesvara (A.D. 1431)

The parameters of the Parahita system were revised by Paramesvara (A.D. 1360-1455) through his reputed work Dṛggaṇīta. The Dṛkkaraṇa describes the event thus:

'When a long time had elapsed, there occurred substantial deviation. Then, (Paramesvara), a noble brāhmaṇ, residing on the coast of the Western ocean revised it (i.e. the Parahita system) by means of (astronomical) observations, in the Kali year raṅgaśobhānu. (4532, i.e. A.D. 1431), (26-27a)8

Revision by Nilakaṇṭha (A.D. 1444)

The Dṛkkaraṇa text specifies the planetary revolutions depicted in the Tantrasaṅgraha as pertaining to '12 years later' than those of the previously mentioned, revision i.e. it refers to A.D. 1443-44, which is the year of birth of the author of the work, Nilakaṇṭha Somayāji. To cite Dṛkkaraṇa:

'Twelve years later (were determined the planetary parameters depicted in) the Tantrasaṅgraha.' (27b)9
Revision in Dṛkkaraṇa A.D. 1607

The Dṛkkaraṇa then records its own revision promulgated in A.D. 1607:

'The revolutions given therein (i.e. in the Tantrasaṅgraha), too, being found to be imperfect, observations were continued by the astronomers on the west coast for thirty years, from Kali year jārastava (4678, i.e. A.D. 1577) to the Kali year janaseva nu (4708, i.e. 1607) and by observation, the astronomical tradition was revised accurately. Henceforward, too, (the deviations) that would occur should be carefully observed (and revisions effected)."10 (28-30)

The Dṛkkaraṇa follows up the above statement by depicting the parameters as was arrived at in A.D. 1607, in its next section, verses 1 to 6.

Insistence on observation

Often, one finds Kerala astronomers asserting that computed results would be valid only if they accorded with observation. Thus Parameśvara observes categorically at the commencement of his Dṛggaṇita:11

'Planets computed by the Parahita system are found away from their observed positions. In the science (of astronomy), however, it is said that the observed positions alone are the true-positions. (Dṛggaṇita, 1.2)

'Planetary positions alone are the means of ascertaining the times for auspicious rites. And, times indicated by incorrect planetary positions are impure for rites. (1.3)

'Hence, by those twice-borns who know astronomy and are scholars in spherics, effort should be made towards understanding planetary positions which are true (to observation). (1.4)

Observations of Parameśvara

Parameśvara himself had been a sky-watcher of repute, scanning the sky and recording astronomical phenomena continuously for a number of years. He himself states at one place: 'The planets had been scanned by me for fifty-five years. Their positions computed according to the Parahita system were all different (from their observed positions)."12
Parameśvara’s pupil Nīlakanṭha Somayāji states that Parameśvara composed his *Dṛggaṇita* in A.D. 1430 on the basis of astronomical observations for fiftyfive years:

'Paramesvara, too, imbibed well, in his younger days, the rationale of mathematical and spherical astronomy from astronomers like Rudra Nārāyaṇa son of (another) Paramesvara, and Mādhava (of Saṅgama-grāma). He identified the differences between observed (planetary) positions and those derived from the computational methods (taught by earlier authorities) and understood the causes for the differences. He thought over the enunciations found in several texts, verified them with the eclipses and planetary conjunctions and from a consideration of all matters, composed (his) *Dṛggaṇita*.13

In yet another place, when Nīlakanṭha had the occasion to refer to Paramesvara, he says: 'Paramesvara, too, examined the eclipses, planetary conjunctions etc. with astronomical instruments for fiftyfive years.'14

In his commentary Siddhāntadipikā on the *Mahābhāskariya-Bhāṣya* of Govindasvāmin, Paramesvara has a long disquisition on eclipses,15 during which he enumerates a large number of controversial eclipses, solar and lunar, which he had observed. He commences this disquisition with the statement:

'Commencing from Śaka 1315 (A.D. 1393), a number of eclipses have been observed by me. In all of them, the observed time of occultation was different from the computed times. (verse 2)

'In them, the observed times (of eclipses) were prior to their computed times. Hence a correction has to be applied in them by astronomers. (3)16

After several arguments and enumeration of eclipses, he says, towards the end of this disquisition:

'Many more solar eclipses as also lunar eclipses than those enumerated above have been noticed by me, but they are not set out here. And, I am indicating below the correct positions of the Sun, Moon, Higher Apsis and Node, determined on the basis of these past eclipses.’ (verses 86-87)17

Further down, Paramesvara says: 'When the planets etc. are computed according to the Parāhita school, the above-indicated corrections have to be applied since the present conditions are as stated above. In future also, similar corrections have to be thought of by astronomers.' (92-93)18
Despite innovations as above instituted by the astronomers of land, it was given to Nilakaṇṭha Somayājī to produce a unique work entitled Jyotirmītāṅśā, "Investigations on Astronomical theories", devoted entirely to the discussion of astronomical theories, apparent inconsistencies between computed and observed results, and enunciation of corrections so that the two results accorded with each other.

Stressing the experimental nature of astronomical science (pp. 1-2, 5), Nilakaṇṭha points out that statements in ancient texts about "direct instruction by divine beings" means only the intellectual inspiration experienced by the "mortal authors" of the texts, who codified the results of their experiments and enunciated the astronomical Siddhānta-s.

The methodology of astronomical revisions adopted by Nilakaṇṭha, who quotes a philosophical parallel, is unexceptional. He says:

"The correlation of the computed Moon etc. with actual observation at a particular place, the revision of computation on the basis of such correlation, logical inference therefrom being transmitted as tradition, it being again corrected (through observation and again revised) and transmitted further down to others—this is how tradition is continued without interruption. And this gives continued authoritativeness to tradition." (p. 3)²⁰

Nilakaṇṭha continues in the same strain: "One has to accept that (each of) the Five Siddhāntas had been authoritative at one time (or other, though they might not be so now). In fact, one has to look for a system which tallies with observation. The said tallying has to be verified by contemporary experimenters at the time of eclipses. When the two differ, i.e., when an earlier system does not agree (with observation), experiments have to be conducted with instruments and the revolution-numbers of the planets calculated therefrom. A new system has thus to be expounded. Nobody will be ridiculed for this in the world nor punished in the next." (p. 6)²¹

Accurately observed eclipses being the most convenient natural phenomena for the verification of astronomical systems and formulation of corrections to current computations, Nilakaṇṭha advocates this method for the purpose. He says:

"The eclipses illustrated in the Siddhāntadīpakā might be computed (in all their details) by the experimenter. Even so, might be computed other eclipses handed down by tradition of one’s own School. In the light of these and of the eclipses actually observed by oneself, future
eclipses should be computed and forecast. Or, eclipses occurring at other parts of the country should be computed using the longitude, latitude, etc. of that part of the country and, with that as basis, the True Sun, Moon Apsis and Node (at the relevant times) ascertained. Then, from the Sun, Moon and Node ascertained as above, past and future eclipses at one's place shall be computed, using the latitude and longitude of one's own place.' (pp. 31-32)

Nilakantha continues with the enumeration of the several eclipses observed and recorded by Paramesvara explains the procedures, and illustrates the correction with a practical example. (pp. 32-36)

The uniqueness of this work, Jyotirmimānsā and its importance in providing an idea of practical and observational astronomy during medieval times in Kerala would be clear from the above. The picture would have been full had alone the instruments used by these enterprising astronomers and the manner in which they used them and recorded the observations over long periods through which these experiments lasted, been known. The instruments constructed out of perishable materials seem to have been lost in the ravages of time and the palm leaves on which rough recordings had been made seem to have been discarded, leaving the modern researcher in the dark with regard to these two matters.

REFERENCES

1. The date of this author is based on the dates of birth and death of his brother Melattol Agnihotri, given by the Kali-day chronograms purādbhī samāśrayah (12, 57, 921 in Kaṭapayādi notation) and yojāsthānam surakṣyam (12, 70, 701), which occur respectively in A.D. 347 and 378.
2. Cf. Aryabhata's instruction to observe and compute planetary positions, in the verse kṣiti-ravi-yogad dhrukātya etc. (Aryabhata, 4.48).
3. The date of the work is given by its concluding verse Kolambe barhisānu etc. as the Kollam year 783, corresponding to A.D. 1607-8.
4. The textual verses read:
   
   paṇḍuṇa gaṇiṣṭhaṁmār connanoṭṭaṁ paraṁśūnām /
   kalyābdham trirasastraṭṭil parama cenuñla mānīlu //5//
   ottuvanmiṣamāṭilla grahanāḍḍikal anname /
   karaṇaṇuṇaṁ oṭtīti siddhāntanuṇaṁ oṭtīti //6//
   tada hy āryabhato nāma gaṇakas tv abhavad bhuvī /
   'jñāntiṭuge' ti kalyābdhe jātanāy avanitale //7//
   'gūrīṭugac' ti kalyābdhe gaṇitam nirmiṭam param /
   Sāstram āryabhaṭyaṅkṛtyam taman pariyaṁ uvakvān //8//
   
   * * *

   iva annaykkuyāviṇa kuracēṭṭum kareṣṭṭhyam //12b//
   kalyadoḍhuvaṁ illate oppiccīṁ anau niraṇyam //13a//

6. Known from quotations in Grahaeciratibandhana etc.
7. Pinne iggaṇiṭuttinvu nikkam kaṇṭitu bhāṣtale /
mandasthale’ti kalyabade ‘tanute’ ti sakabdahe ||18||
palarum ganjanmāmar kāte nokkiṭṭu veccatu /
kalyabdāti ‘ginithwō’ nōt šeṣam vecco perukkanām ||19||
* + *
prūram Parahitam emnu, ganitam sūkṣmam ennuti /
ti niṣcitā yam palarum ācariccupanātāle ||25||
8. cirakālam kazhiṅḥapālī nikkam valare vanuttu /
‘raṅgaśohō nu’ kalyabade kasclā vibhavāras tadā ||26||
pasīmimbṛdhi-tirattu nimmu nokkīṭṭu vaccatu ||27a||
9. dvādaśābda kahzhiṅṅittya Tantrasaṅgah graham emnu ||27b||
10. tasmān paryayavum pinne sthālām āyitut colliyāl /
‘janastave’ ti kalyabade tutarmā raviṇāle ||28||
pasīmimbṛdhi tirattu nimmu muppattu ārjavanam /
nokkīṭṭu gaṇakannamūr ‘janasevā nu’ vatsarē ||29||
sūkṣmam varuttī nirmaıcēe ganitōgmaṃ annavar /
inīyam kaṇṭukotēnam cirakālādvarunatnu ||30||
drṣantyē vighāe dṛṣṭai bhīṁmē Parahitidāh /
pratyaśasiddhaḥ spastāḥ syur grahaḥ āṣṭresya ititītim ||1-2||
satarkomātakālas ya grahaḥ hi jījnāsādhanam /
aspaṣṭaihaḥ siddhan kālāsuddhaḥ na karnaṃ ||1.3||
ye to āṣṭravādas tadvad gola ruktibida ca talī /
sphutāhecara jhēnēy vayath kāryo dvijair aṭah ||1.4||
12. grahendrāh paścapanācasadvarṣakālam nirikṣītiho /
maya, tadā bhīṁmē dṛṣṭai Parahitidāh ||
13. Paramesvaras tu Rudro-Paramesvarōtmaja-Nārāyanā-Mādhavādhikṣhya gaṇita-gola-
yuktir api bōya eva samyag grihitā tebhya eva kriyā-mānapra-yogasya drīgvisānav-
dam tatkāraṇam cāyu dhōrya āṣṭrāy api bahūny alocya paścica-paścicaśadvarṣakālam
nirikṣya, grahaṇa-grahaṇyogādīṣu parikṣaṇaḥ, sana-Drggāeśaṃ ca kākāra.
(Āryabhātīya-Bhāga on 4.48, edn. Trivandum, 1957, p 154)
14. Paramesvarōcaryena pūnabh grahaṇa-grahaṇyogadikam yantraḥ paścica-paścicaśadvar-
sakālam samyak parikṣiṣṭam. Ṭhāna ca jāvam—‘grahendrāh paścica-paścicaśadvarṣakāla-
şoṣaṇa’ ityādi. (ib., p. 154)
15. See Mahābhāskarīya with the Bhāya of Govindasvāmin and the Super-comment-
tary Siddhāntadiplkā of Paramesvara, ed. by T.S.K. Sastri, Madras, 1953, under
5.77, pp. 321-32.
16. ‘tiḥiḥitiśa’ same śāke prārthiya grahaṇaṃ mayaḥ /
anekam ikṣitām, teṣu bhīṁmañ kāla dṛṣṭā soda ||2||
pratyakṣakālaṃ teṣu prāg gaṅitānītikālaḥ /
atadā ḍhriya ‘tra samśkro ṭo kaisicā gaṅakottamaḥ ||3||
17. uktēbhya ‘‘nye coparīgō mayaḥ dṛṣṭā vibhavataḥ /
indōt ca bahavo drētōste tu nodhiḥtā iha ||86||
etōn atiparēgōn saṁcintya parikalpitōh /
vilūkhyante mayaḥ bhūnu-candra-candraś-candra ṛhavaḥ ||87||
18. yadā Parahit-praktō gṛhyante vihagīa tadā /
kāryāḥ pārvoktasamākṣkro yato ‘ṭmīn sthitir iḍāḥ ||92||
kālāntare to saṁskāras cintyataṃ gaṅakottamaḥ ||93||
20. Gaṅitomālāsa candraśe deśavādeśāniyasya pratyaśaṃ saṁvidah, tato niṣcitā-
nyavasya parasya gaṅitalīgopadeśāḥ, tatas trayaḥapadeśapatanāniyasya anumānām,
parasmai ṭopadeśāḥ iti sampradāyā-večchedāt prāmāṇyaṃ. (Jyotirmitāmsā, p. 3)
21. Pañca siddhāntās tāvat kvaçikāle prāmāṇyam eva ity avagantavyam. Api ca yah siddhānta darśanaśīhāvādi bhavati, so 'nveṣaṇīyaḥ. Darśanaśīhāvādas ca tadānintanaiḥ parikṣakākair grahasādau vijñātavyah. Ye punar anyathā, prāktana- siddhāntasya bhide sati, yantraḥ parikṣyā grahasām bhaganādi-saṅkhyaṃ jñātvā abhināvasiddhāntah praṇeyā ity arthāt. Tat tā ihaloke ahasanīyāḥ, paraloke adhārānīyāḥ ca iti. (Jyotirmīmāṁsa, p. 6)

THE GAÑGĀ AND INDIAN CULTURE

By

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

Replete with tradition and history, and in many ways symbolic of India, the Gaṅgā is more than just a river. Lovable and familiar, laden with myths and history, memories and prayers, the holy Gaṅgā—the river most worshipped in the world—tumbles down precipitous mountains, 12,000 feet above sea-level, then winds placidly across the plains of India, collecting tons of silt and sewage on the way, building up bars, banks and islands and gaining dimension and meaning as she journeys through the plains of India to meet finally with the sea. But, long before she reaches the sea, the Gaṅgā creates a phenomenon that cannot be brushed aside.

Chunks of history, legendary triumphs and defeats, climate, geography and scenic beauty with fervency of religion coalesce into a rich and colourful mixture, to mould the worshipping of the Gaṅgā. A symbol of India’s age-old culture and civilization, the river exudes a magic which has captured the hearts of men since time immemorial. In Vedic times, saints and seers meditated by this sacred stream to unravel the mysteries of life and death, so also the secrets of the universe.

Hindus are never tired of singing the glories of Mother Gaṅgā and every Hindu desires to take a dip at least once in his life in this sacred river: he yearns to breathe his last, sipping a few drops of this liquid Brahman. “Many wend their way to the Gaṅgā to spend the evening of their lives and to meet their end on her banks. Hindus carry the bones of their dead to consign them to the holy Gaṅgā. “To touch it, to drink it, to bathe in it when alive, to be washed in it when dead”, goes the belief,” is to be cleansed within and without for life and beyond”. And thus, the Gaṅgā, the Gītā, Gāyatri and Govinda are the four supports of a Hindu, the Gaṅgā being one of the unifying factors of the people of India from the cape to Kailāsa and from Dvārakā to Kāmakhyā”.¹

II

When the hymns of the Rgveda were composed, the centre of the Āryan culture was the region between the rivers Yamunā and Sutlej
(Śutudrī) and along the upper course of the river Sarasvatī. It is interesting to know that the vedic poets know the Himalaya, but not the land to the south of the Yamunā nor the Vindhyā. To the east, the Āryans had not expanded far beyond the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. The latter is mentioned in one of the hymns of the Rgveda which in all invokes about twenty rivers in different maṇḍalas. It speaks “of rivers that are thrice seven”, and in the next verse it mentions the three great rivers—Sarasvatī, Sarayū and Sindhu “as divine and as mother”. However, she is the first among many rivers invoked in the famous Nadi-stuti hymns of the tenth maṇḍala of the Rgveda. We come across the word Gaṅg-yah, meaning probably “growing on the Gaṅgā” in one of its hymns. The Aitareya and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas refer to the victories and sacrifices of Bharata Dauḍantī on the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas contain hundreds of verses eulogising the greatness and the sanctifying activity of Gaṅgā. In the Skanda Purāṇa we have one thousand names of the Gaṅgā, and it has been rightly pointed out that “to most men in India great rivers like the Gaṅgā, great mountains like the Himalaya present a double aspect, viz., the physical aspect and the spiritual aspect. A great river, apart from its volume of water, is deemed to have a spiritual or divine life which animates it”. In fact, the Gaṅgā is not only a river constituting the life-line of more than half of Āryāvarta, she is treated as if she were a living intelligent being, a goddess as it were, talked to and propitiated whose very sight sends a thrill of joy through the hearts of the millions of devotees throughout the length and breadth of this country. There are innumerable treatises glorifying the Gaṅgā and the pilgrimage to it such as the highly esteemed tīrthas as Kanakhala, Haridvāra, Prayāga and Kāśi.

This perennial spiritual aspect of the Gaṅgā is so absorbing, so scintillating that it has attracted poets and scholars through the ages to sing in praise of her great many qualities which have moulded and enriched the centuries-old culture of India. The Mahābhārata while eulogising the Gaṅgā declares: “The Gaṅgā is equal to Kurukṣetra wherever one may take a bath in it, but there is a speciality about Kanakhala and in Prayāga there is the greatest and highest (holiness).

In the Kṛta age, all (places) were holy, in Tretā, Puṣkara was (the holiest place), in Dvāpara Kurukṣetra and in the Kali age, the Gaṅgā. The Gaṅgā, when its name is uttered, purifies a sinner...There is no holy place equal to the Gaṅgā, there is no god higher than Kēśava. That country and that penance-grove where the Gaṅgā flows should be known as the sacred spot of success (or perfection) since it attaches itself to perfection”.

15
How sacred the Gaṅgā is can be judged from the pronouncement of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā wherein He says: “among purifiers, I am the wind; among wielders of weapon, I am the Rāma; among fishes I am the alligator; and among rivers I am the Gaṅgā.” Of the hundreds of rivers flowing in different parts of the country, only seven rivers have been given supreme importance, and they are Gaṅgā, Yamuna, Sindhu, Godāväri, Sarasvatī, Narmadā and Kāverī. Though unfortunately the Sarasvatī has now completely dried out and it is difficult to trace its bed even, thousands of years ago, she was regarded the most sacred river on the bank of which the great sages and seers of India had meditated for years and sung for the first time the “Great Song” which has now come down to us in the form of the immortal Vedas. And, so long as the ṛcās (verses) of the Vedas remain extant on the earth, the grateful people of India will remember with immense gratitude and reverence the lost stream of the great Sarasvatī which in fact is still flowing and shall always continue to flow unabatedly in the hearts of the Hindus wherever they be.

In point of sacredness and importance, of all the rivers, the Gaṅgā now occupies the most exalted position, and because of her tremendous spiritual qualities and influence on Indian mind, she is regarded by most people as the greatest river of the world. The Gaṅgā is simply water, but charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree to the utmost people. From the Gaṅgotrī to the Gaṅgāsāgara is an enchanting tale of hundreds of tirthas (places of pilgrimage) which are frequented round the year by the devotees to whom the very sight of the Gaṅgā offers a thrilling glimpse into divinity. Her ever-flowing unabated stream is a perennial source of spiritual and material happiness to the millions of human beings as well as animals and birds—a unique euphoria which no other river in the world can offer. She has since the dawn of history held India’s heart captive and drawn uncounted millions to her banks. “The story of the Gaṅgā, from her source to the sea, from old times to new, is the story of India’s civilization and culture, of the rise and fall of empires, of great and proud cities, of the adventure of man and the quest of the mind which has so occupied India’s thinkers, of the richness and fulfilment of life as well as its denial and renunciation, of ups and downs, of growth and decay of life and death.” What is that tremendous faith that has been drawing our people for untold generations to this famous river of India?

The Hindus believe that she purifies all beings from day to day when her name is heard, when one desires to see her, when she is seen or touched, when her water is drunk, when one plunges into it and when one utters or sings her name. And, the devotees who daily bathe in the
sacred water of the Gaṅgā are traditionally believed to be free from all sins committed either in this birth or in the previous one. It is because of this importance that the ancient literature of India abounds in references to, and praise of, the Gaṅgā who, to the millions of Hindus is as sacred and revered as mother. No other river in the world is accorded such a unique place in literature of any country as the Gaṅgā finds in Indian literature. Right from the days of the composition of the first Rk to the modern times, the Gaṅgā has maintained her supremacy and spiritual greatness in Hindu mind which not even this horrible atomic age could diminish in the least. It is always the pious wish of a Hindu to die on the bank of the Gaṅgā so that his ashes are submerged in her sacred water which, as he believes, will secure for him the ultimate goal of the devotees. The early epigraphic records of India are also full of references to the Gaṅgā and the holy places situated on her bank. She has been a source of inspiration not only to the Hindu seers and poets from time immemorial, but also to the innumerable Muslim saints and poets such as Rasakhāna, Rahima, Tāja, Mira and others. In fact, the Gaṅgā has been a symbol and a memory of the past of India running into the present and flowing into the great ocean of the future.

Though the Gaṅgā is mentioned in the Vedas, she is not given as much prominence there as in the Purāṇas. The Vedas eulogise the Sarasvati and the Sindhu in eloquent terms but the Gaṅgā is referred to only twice in the Rgveda.19 In the Brāhmanical literature, however, she is frequently mentioned as the most sacred river.20 That the Gaṅgā does not find frequent mention in the Vedas can be explained by the fact that the Āryans first came to the Panjab and Sindh where the Sarasvati and the Sindhu flowed since the hoary past. They had no doubt heard the name of the Gaṅgā, but they came to the Gangetic plain later and as such they were not quite familiar with the unique importance of the Gaṅgā who formed the nerve-centre of the cultural life of the people inhabiting this region. When in the course of time they proceeded towards east and south and entered into the fertile Gangetic plain they were literally overwhelmed by the enormous life-giving qualities and tremendous potentialities of the Gaṅgā. And, this chiefly explains why the Gaṅgā has been so much eulogised in later Vedic literature, particularly the Purāṇas ignoring the Sarasvati and the Sindhu which it seems, by this time, had been completely forgotten by the descendants of the Vedic Āryans who settled down in this part of the country.

In some of the Purāṇas the Gaṅgā is described as flowing in heaven as Mandākini, on the earth as Gaṅgā and as Bhogavatī in the nether region (pātāla)21. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa22 and other Purāṇas, she is depic-
ted to have sprung from the toe-nail of the left foot of Viṣṇu; in some others Śiva is credited with having let off from his matted hair the Gaṅgā in seven streams, three flowing towards the east (Nalini, Hīādini and Pāvani), three to the west (Stītā, Cakṣus and Sindhu), and Bhāgirathī. According to the Kūrma Purāṇa and Varāha Purāṇa, the Gaṅgā flows first in four different streams—Stītā, Alakanandā, Sukakṣu and Bhadrā. Of these the Alakanandā flowing towards the south comes to Bhāratavarṣa and falls into the sea with seven mouths. In the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, the Gaṅgā is described as having sprung from the foot of Viṣṇu and established in the matted hair of Maheśvara (Śiva).

In almost all the Purāṇas the same sentiment is expressed about the holiness of the Gaṅgā, the very touch of whose water purifies one from all sins. The Varāha Purāṇa derives the name ‘Gaṅgā’ as gām gataḥ (that has gone to the earth) and the Padma Purāṇa specifies the Mūlamantara about the Gaṅgā as follows: Om namo Gaṅgāyai, viṣvarā-pīnyai nārāyanai nama namaḥ. The Padma Purāṇa declares that Viṣṇu represents all the gods and the Gaṅgā represents Viṣṇu. It further declares: “sons may abandon their fathers, wives their husbands, friends and relatives their friends and relatives if any one of these is adulterous, or patita, or wicked or becomes a Cāṇḍāla or kills his guru or is full of all kinds of sins and hatreds, but the Gaṅgā does not forsake such persons”.

Some of the Purāṇas lay down the holy region of the Gaṅgā in the following words: “the region within one garvāti from the banks of the Gaṅgā is called Kṣetra within which one should reside, but not on the bank itself, as residence on the bank of the Gaṅgā is not desired. The limits of the Kṣetra are of the extent of one yojana between both the banks, i.e., two kroṣas from each other. Of the great tīrthas situated on her bank, the following deserve special mention: Prayāga, Kāśi, Gaṅgaśāgara, Kurukṣetra, Mathurā, Haridvāra and Puruṣottamatīrtha (Jagannātha).

The Tīrthayātra section of the Vanaparva of the Mahābhārata (composed earlier than the Gupta period) refers to Gaṅgaśāgara as a very tīrtha, the Śabdakalpadruma quoting verses from the Kūrma Purāṇa says that a person dying in the waters of any part of the Gaṅgā gets salvation; at Vārāṇasī salvation reaches him even if he dies on the banks of the river; but at Gaṅgaśāgara salvation is guaranteed whether one dies in the waters or on the land or in the air. The Viṣṇu Sāṁhitā (a post-Gupta work) recognises the importance of this tīrtha in regard to the performance of funerary rites.
From Alberuni’s account (c. 1030 A.D.) we learn that Gaṅgāsāgara was well known in north-western India in the eleventh century A.D., "where the Ganges flows into the sea." The all India importance of the Gaṅgāsāgara tīrtha gradually waned and its enviable position "as the greatest tīrtha in Eastern India was ultimately usurped by the medieval Puri tīrtha in Orissa". However, it preserved its popularity as a local tīrtha in Eastern India throughout the medieval period, and also in modern times. It is interesting to note that in the medieval there was a wide-spread practice in south-west Bengal of dedicating children to the goddess Gaṅgā in the waters of the confluence at Gaṅgāsāgara. Medieval Bengali literature such as Cāṇḍīdāsa’s Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtīnāma, Gayānanda’s Caitanyamaṅgala Mukundarāma’s Cāṇḍimaṅgala, etc. eulogise the importance of Gaṅgāsāgara.

In a number of medieval Sanskrit works such as Vidyāpati’s Gaṅgāvākyāvalī (c. 1375-1450 A.D.) and Vācaspata Miśra’s Tīrthacintāmaṇi (c. 1425-1480 A.D.) we have prominent mention of this tīrtha. But, the most valuable information about the religious and monastic establishment at Gaṅgāsāgara is to be found in the Tīrthasāra or Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra (a Bengali writer: Śaka 1651 = A.D. 1729) which tells us how people flocked to this tīrtha with a desire to touch the feet of Pitāmaha ((Brahman), to have a bath in the waters of the Mandākini (Gaṅgā on her way to pāṭāla) and to worship the images of Mādhava (Viṣṇu), Amaraśaṅkara (Śiva), Kapila (founder of the Sāṅkhya system and regarded as an avatāra of Viṣṇu), Skanda-Kārttikeya and Hari (Viṣṇu).

The real purpose of pilgrimage to holy places in all the four extremities of India was to travel over the length and breadth of the whole land "in order to know her properly and to feel the fundamental unity of the various elements in the Indian population". It has been rightly suggested that every Indian who is proud of his great religious and spiritual heritage should devote some time in going to holy rivers, mountains and places of pilgrimage. "The very sight of the holy Gaṅgā at night or at sunrise in Haridvāra or on the majestic ghāts in Banaras surely empties our minds of meanness and, for the moment at least, fills our hearts with a sense of nature’s beauty and with purity, and brings us in tune with the Infinite". In fact, these silent life-sustaining rivers and snow-capped, awe-inspiring peaks of mountains and great forests should be looked upon as teachers of mankind.

The scenery in the plains varies little, but the binding factor, the element that makes the countryside rich is the arterial flow of the
Gaṅgā. At Allahabad (Prayāga), one of the first cities founded by the Āryans, the Gaṅgā meets the Yamunā to form the holy confluence (Triveni) and after their tryst, both the rivers flow side by side for a considerable distance. The blue of the Yamunā and the white of the Gaṅgā are clearly distinguishable before the two streams finally merge into one.

There was a time when the highest form of worship at the holy confluence was a gift of one’s life. According to Hiuen Tsang, religious suicide was practised here as “the people of the country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters. By bathing in these waters (they say) all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed”. In early days pilgrims were conducted by stoical priests to the waiting boats and as the chanting and rites rose to a crescendo, the salvation seekers were lowered into the water and “Instantly swallowed amidst universal acclamation”. Today, shaving of the hair serves as a substitute for the ‘life’ sacrifice. Prayāga is thus the headquarters of the Hindu Trinity, graced by the entire Hindu pantheon, favoured by the hallowed waters of the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā and the mythical Sarasvatt.

III

Spiritual and religious aspects apart, the contribution of the Gaṅgā in different spheres of Indian life are simply unique and unsurpassing.

Megasthenes and earlier Greek eye-witnesses were all impressed by the great rivers of India whose magnitude and number they described with reckless hyperboles. The spinal cord of the watery nerves was formed by the Gaṅgā which was the eastern boundary of Gangaridai (Kaliṅgā), and by the Indus which was the eastern boundary of India, both “having their sources in the mountains which stretch along the northern frontier”. Though the Indus is inferior to the Gaṅgā, she surpasses any other river in the world in certain respects. It has been rightly observed by Arrian that “we ought not therefore distrust what we are told regarding the Indus and the Ganges, that they are beyond comparison, greater than the Ister and the Nile”. Thus, as Egypt is the gift of the Nile, Northern India is the making of the Indus and the Gaṅgā, rivers of perennial water unlike their sisters in the South. “There is no other river in the world which has influenced humanity or contributed to the growth of material civilisation or social ethics to such an extent as the Ganges”, and there is no other river in the world having such a vast tradition of history and economy. She formed the main artery of inter-state, commerce and brought down the wealth of northern India for carrying trade at Tāmralipti. Material prosperity, political ambition, and spiritual ideals were simultaneously nurtured in this plain
and made it the "pivot of that culture and magnificence which was India's pride".47 The casual references in the Pāli works conjure up the panoramic vision between the Oudh and the Delta of "a wide area of crop-producing land, broken up by clustering groves of mango, tamarind and other trees, giving place gradually to long lines and avenues of palms bordering the fresh verdure of irrigated rice-fields in the lower reaches of the valley".48

Since ancient times great puras and janapadas as well as capital cities have flourished on her lofty bank. In fact, each rising and disappearing wave of the Gaṅgā can narrate, only if it could speak, the story of the rise and fall of the great empires that once flourished on her bank whose grandeur and excellence enticed even the foreign travellers and pilgrims like Fa-hian, Yuan-Chwang, I-ting and a host of others. It was on her historic bank that the rising and ever-expanding Āryan civilisation had seen its golden days; it was on her bank that some of the great-ancient capital seats, such as Hastināpura, Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Pratīṣṭhāna, Pātaliputra, Kāśī (Vārānasi), Campā, etc. blossomed, flowered and ultimately lost their fragrance and vitality, and it was again on her bank that most of the great battles were fought in early and medieval India that ultimately paved the way for the dawn of a new era of construction and consolidation in different fields of life. The vast canvas of land stretching along her bank known as the most fertile tract in the world which is irrigated by the combined waters of several rivers which join the Gaṅgā at some point or other. Being the confluence of many rivers she has helped grow the various centres of trade and commerce in different parts of the country since time immemorial.

The material benefits bestowed by the Gaṅgā on the inhabitants of the Indo-Gangetic plain were equally significant, epitomising the cardinal difference between abundance and deprivation. A dependable, constant source of precious water and consequently fertility, the Gaṅgā was also the cheapest highway for the movement of goods and people. A natural link between the trade of the interior and the ocean-borne commerce at the head of the Bay of Bengal, the river served as a safe line of communication and pilgrimage, and commerce centres proliferated on its banks. In fact, she formed the only route through which trade and commerce transactions were affected before the establishment of the Railways in India. Rail travel evolved in the latter part of the nineteenth century and robbed the Gaṅgā of a large part of its waterborne trade. It is true that the better and faster means of locomotion diminished the river's utility, but it is also equally true that it enhanced its sanctity, drawing millions of worshippers to her banks as she wandered through the three most populous states of India—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West
Bengal. Moreover, the development of the powerful Indian Navy also owed its origin to the great waters of the Gaṅgā.

About four lakh square miles of fertile land, irrigated by her water, have hardly any parallel in the world, and one third of India’s population lives in provinces situated on her bank. As a result, there has been a net-work of scientific resources on both sides of her bank the like of which is not seen elsewhere. Besides this, the medicinal importance of the water of the Gaṅgā is recognised by scientists all over the world because of the unique chemical effects which her water carries with her. This has been proved by many scientists, who, after numerous experiments, have shown beyond doubt that her water is polluted neither by dirt nor by filth nor worms or insects which are so dangerously harmful to human body. Some of the western physicians have suggested, through experiments, that when the different limbs of the body become weak, causing loss of speech, the use of the sacred water of the Gaṅgā (Gaṅgā-jala) restores energy and happiness to diseased—a sort of miracle which it is difficult to explain in terms of words. Be it the Śaivas, or the Vaiṣṇavas, the great Śaṅkarācārya or Rāmānuja, Vallabhācārya or Rāmānanda, Kabīra or Tulsidāsa, Caitanya Mahāprabhu, Rāmakṛṣṇa, Vivekānanda or other saints and ācāryas—they all have eulogised the Gaṅgā as a great deity who, in the form of pure water on this earth, heals the sufferings of the human beings by providing them material as well as spiritual food. Loved, worshipped and revered more than any river in the world, the Gaṅgā flows on through Bihar and West Bengal, and enters the wilderness of the Sundarbans to unite finally with the sea, “smiling and dancing in the morning sunlight, and dark and gloomy and full of mystery as the evening shadows fall, a narrow, slow and graceful stream in winter, and a vast roaring thing during the monsoon, broad bosomed, almost as the sea, and with something of the sea’s power to destroy.”

IV

The word ‘Gaṅgā’ is derived from the root, gam which in Sanskrit means ‘ever-fast-flowing stream’. Many interpretations of this word have been suggested by scholars, but the most convincing is the one suggested above. The flow of her current is so forceful, that it is said, Brahmā, the creator of this universe, and Śaṅkara (Śiva) had to stretch their Kamanḍalu (water-pot) and hair-knots respectively before the Gaṅgā to contain her force while falling down on the earth. Moreover, the word, Gaṅgā sounds so rhythmic to the ear that it suddenly evokes reverence in a devotee’s heart, and creates a divine atmosphere all around. This is one of the reasons why the poets of India have been
eulogising the Gaṅgā of which the Gaṅgā-Lahārī (a poetical work in Sanskrit) composed by the immortal poet Paṇḍītarāja Jagannātha is a monumental instance.

V

A cursory look at the population map of India will convince any one that the concentration of population is in the two valleys watered by the Gaṅgā group and Cauvery (Kāvert). The valley of the Gaṅgā accounts for more than one third of the country's population while the Kāvert more than 35 millions, and the vast area forming the interior from the plain of the Gaṅgā to the Mysore (Karnātaka) tableland is comparatively sparsely populated. The Godāvari delta is among the richest and most populated lands in India, but the earlier reaches of the river flowing across rocky tablelands neither provide a waterway or inland navigation nor help irrigate vast areas. The Gaṅgā-Yamunā system, on the other hand, "Once it leaves the Himālaya, spreads out its waters and covers an immense area of fertile land. Similarly the Cauvery once it leaves behind the Mysore tableland enters a plain which it waters and fertilises". The Gaṅgā valley has always dominated north India because of its immense concentration of population and resources. "It is the dominant area from which not only political power but economic forces and cultural movements spread to Áryāvarta, to the area north of the Vindhyān ranges. The earliest imperial traditions in India were developed in Magadhā and wherever a dynasty successfully united the Ganges valley, it invariably spread its authority over the entire Áryāvarta". Almost all the Kings of early and medieval India—the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Vardhanas, the Delhi Sultans and the Moghuls—indeed the entire succession of north Indian imperial dynasties drew their power from the Gaṅgā valley and so strong was this tradition that "the Gaṅgā-Yamunā toraṇa became the symbol of imperial sway".

The Central Indian tableland with its mountain ranges, to the south of the Gaṅgā valley spreading from Gujārat to Rajmahal, constitutes its backbone which gently sloped to the Gaṅgā valley. With Upper Vindhya and the Aravalli bisecting the area, the pressure from the Gangetic valley is dispersed and finds its line of expansion normally into Malwa and Gujārat, and only to a less degree into Bundelkhand and other areas which have thus remained "The main currents of Indian development".

Thus, the dominant position of the Gaṅgā valley makes it the core of India from every point of view and it is so obvious that it requires no
proof to establish it. The Hindus, wherever they be, have viewed it as such which can be seen from the fact that not only is Gaṅgā the sacred river par excellence of India but the entire area from Prayāga (Saṅgama) to Haridvāra and from Gaṅgā to Mathurā is recognised by every one as "the holy land of Hinduism". Every dynasty either in the north or in the south, once it established its authority in its homeland, dreamed of consolidating its rule by establishing itself in the area "The Sātavāhanas of Pratīṣṭhāna, the Kings of Avanti, and even the Peshwas of Pune realised that their imperial sway could be maintained only if they controlled the Gangetic valley. The British advancing from the sea came to the same conclusion". The Gangetic valley thus gave control of Āryāvarta and led its masters to attempt to bring the rest of India under its control, and this unity of the Gangetic valley has proved a great geographical factor in enriching the various facets of the culture of this great country which is evident from the fact that the vast desert area lying to the south of the Panjab, bisected by the Aravalli, was at all times an area of refuge, the geographical conditions of which enabled communities "displaced by invasions to take shelter and carry on their life unmolested by the people of the Gangetic valley. The Minas, the Bhils and other indigenous tribes first took shelter there. In more recent times when the Muslims occupied the Gangetic valley it is to this in hospitable area that the Rajputs withdrew and carved out new states".

As we know, the normal flow of the Gaṅgā water and that of other rivers in her valley is from west to east. This west to east flow of rivers in a country lying north to south creates what may be called horizontal areas, and the geographical regions of the country have therefore less connection among themselves than if the rivers had flowed from north to south, which resulted in integration of population in a closed area, bound together, by the Gaṅgā and her tributaries. This has converted the whole area into a dominant force in Āryāvarta.

From the days of the Kuru-Pāṇcāla to the present day this has been the capital and governing factor of Indian history. But, geography is continuously trying to assert itself and India's history can only be understood if we realise that it is a perpetual struggle to achieve a harmony between the cultures of the Gaṅgā valley and the Deccan. In fact, the Gaṅgā is the national river of India as the Himālaya is its national mountain. The two focuses of Indian civilisation—Āryāvarta with its centre in the Gangetic valley and the Deccan extending from the Vindhyan region to the tip of the Peninsula, though separate socially, linguistically and politically are united through culture, religion and a classical language—Sanskrit which in early days became pre-
eminently a national language and like the Gaṅgā, shaped the mind of the people from the Himālaya to Cape Comorin, moulding their speech and thought in a way which no other language has done.

Centuries ago Virgil and Dante took note of the Gaṅgā. Alexander, the Great fell under its hypnotic spell and Columbus, the discoverer of America earnestly searched for it. Today, as the Gaṅgā Plan swings into action, the great river has once again evoked worldwide interest and offers of assistance, the extent of which leaves millions of traditional worshippers aghast. In fact, occasional cleaning of the Gaṅgā has been ordained by the scriptures themselves. In a mythical age, when king Bhagiratha beseeched the celestial Gaṅgā to descend to earth, she expressed reluctance, fearing she would be polluted by people washing their sins in her waters. Thus, according to the Śrīmadbhāgavata. Bhagiratha assured her that good and philanthropic people would purify her from time to time. Old as creation, if the Gaṅgā were to flow along pure and free, religion, tradition and ecological reality must join hands in the ebullient river as she rises above the world in the Himālaya infusing fresh life into the plains, influencing the future of millions of people and rolling on to mingle with the great ocean that washes India’s shores.

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, Mr. B.H. HODGSON AND
BUDDHIST STUDIES

By

MANABENDU BANERJEE

Sir William Jones, a devoted Oriental Researcher, conceived the idea of promoting the study of Oriental Literature and Science, when he came to Calcutta in October, 1783. This idea was materialised in the establishment of the Asiatic(k) Society in Calcutta on Thursday, the 15th January, 1784. For the next two hundred years, this Institution has been engaged in carrying out its object of "enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia" with the active cooperation of the leading scholars of the world. Learned members of the Society, despite the heavy duties they had to discharge in their respective fields, began to contribute largely to the advancement of the Society by their literary and scientific researches. In the beginning, the Grand Jury Room of the Late Supreme Court was used for the conducting of Meetings of the Asiatic Society. In course of time the Society's office, library and Museum were accommodated in its own house the possession of which was taken at the beginning of 1808. Huge number of books, both European and Oriental, manuscripts, drawings, copperplates and other articles were, from time to time, presented to the Society. Considerable volumes of books and manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Urdu were collected, sometimes at great expenses and trouble, from the College of Fort William. The Library of the Society received about 3000 manuscripts from the Government of India and several others from Indian and Anglo-Indian scholars. The Sanskrit manuscripts, now preserved in the Asiatic Society's Library, cover almost all the branches of learning such as literature, philosophy, grammar and so on. Of the contributors of the manuscripts to the Society, the greatest one is undoubtedly Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson who was the largest and most magnificent collector of manuscripts, ancient texts and vernacular tracts. The history of the Asiatic Society would be certainly incomplete if Mr. Hodgson's contributions to the Society are not confidently taken cognizance of.

B.H. Hodgson, "the founder of the Buddhist Studies", was born at Lower Beech, in the parish of Prestbury, Cheshire, on February 1, 1800.
He was the most favourite of his parents' seven children—three sons and four daughters. When his family moved to Macclesfield, Brian was sent to Dr. Davis' School where his interests in study and games were simultaneously augmented. About the age of 14 he was sent to Dr. Delafose's Seminary at Richmond, Surrey, and at 16 he completed his short course of school education. During this period Brian became very much interested in the local languages of India and obtained a prize for his proficiency in Bengali (May 1816). This year he was admitted to the Haileybury College where from students were generally sent for training of the civil servants to the College of Fort William at Calcutta. Haileybury College laid the foundation of Brian's aptitude in Classics, Mathematics, general principles of law and political economy and in the history and languages of India.

Having passed out of the Haileybury College, Brian sailed to Calcutta in 1818 and on 30th April he entered the Bengal Civil Service as a Writer. At that time, he earned proficiency in Greek and Latin. In August he attended for a year the College of Fort William and passed through usual course of training. As a student of this College he assiduously mastered the Persian language. On August 20, 1819, he was appointed Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon. Next year he became the Assistant to the Resident of Kathmandu and in January 1833 he was himself appointed Resident. Almost all the period of his services and public work was spent in Nepal where his stay extended over a period of 21 years. In 1843 he resigned the service and went home. Two years after he came back to India, settled in Darjeeling as a private resident for 13 years and went in for literary and scientific pursuits. In 1858 he finally retired to England.

Gifted with high intellectual powers, Hodgson utilized to the utmost the opportunities he got of carrying on his literary and scientific researches. He generally moved on the field till then untrodden. He had a strong passion for collection. While in Nepal and also in Darjeeling he engaged himself in collecting new and valuable materials. He was also an erudite student of the materials which he thus collected. Within a few years of his assuming the service in Nepal he gathered a large number of manuscripts, specimens and antiquarian curious a lot of which were donated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Sir Joseph Hooker in his *Himalayan Journals* (1854, p. xi) speaks of Hodgson during the latter's Darjeeling recluse—'By unceasing exertions and a princely liberality, Mr. Hodgson has unveiled the mysteries of the Buddhist religion, chronicled the affinities, languages, customs and faiths of the Himalayan tribes, and completed a natural history of the animals and
birds of these regions. His collections of specimens are immense and are illustrated by drawings and descriptions taken from life, with remarks on anatomy, habits and localities of the animals themselves. Twenty volumes of the ‘Journals and the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal teem with the proofs of his indefatigable zeal.” Hodgson was a liberal donor and his valuable collections enriched the reputed libraries and museums, such as, British Museum, the India Office Library, the Asiatic Societies of Bengal, Great Britain and France. On February 2, 1814 at the suggestion of Dr. N. Wallich the Asiatic Society of Bengal determined upon forming a Museum the collections of which were later on greatly dignified by the contributions of Hodgson who brought many precious specimens from Nepal. Several thousands of specimens of birds, mammals and reptiles, collected and prepared with the help of hunters and taxidermists were presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society Museum, British Museum and other scientific bodies.

Besides large donations of valuable samples of Natural History, Hodgson's contributions to the Asiatic Society's Journals (Asiatic Researches and Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal) amount to total of 112 research papers. His literary labours cover Physical Geography of Himalaya and Tibet, Literature and Antiquities, Trans-Himalayan Commerce and above all Buddhism. Though the papers appeared in the Journals of the Asiatic Society form but a small fraction of his vast writings, they have established him as “a keen observer, master of a facile pen, and enthusiastically devoted to study, neglecting no opportunity of taking notes of all that appeared before him.”

Hodgson's researches into religion are limited to Buddhism that prevailed in Nepal. He had written about 18 papers on this subject and they are full of varied and instructive information. He collected Buddhist manuscripts from Nepal, studied them with great steadiness, wrote articles on them and put up the Buddhism on sound philosophic basis. Hodgson's articles were very much appreciated by personalities like Csona De Coros and E. Burnouf. Burnouf, whose attention was first attracted by the 147 Buddhist manuscripts sent by Hodgson to the Paris Asiatic Society in 1837, described Hodgson as “the founder of the true study of Buddhism on the basis of the texts and original remains.”

Hodgson's first articles on Buddhism were authorised to be published in the Asiatic Researches and Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society and those papers appeared in 1828. Later on in 1841 these articles, along with numerous communications, were embodied in his
"Illustration of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists," printed at Serampore Press, reprinted in 1870 and finally they formed the opening section of Hodgson’s "Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet" printed in 1874. In this work Hodgson has admitted that it was quite impossible for him to digest the mass of manuscripts which he had collected; such a task was beyond the reach of even twelve men. Hodgson, however, has given an elaborate account of the Buddhist texts both in Sanskrit and Tibetan languages. Through these articles Hodgson tried to enlighten scholars with the current Buddhism which he saw in Nepal and prepared a comprehensive review of the manuscripts so that the transition stages of the Buddhism could be correctly studied. The publication of Hodgson’s Essays generated an extraordinary sensation in Europe.

Burnouf in his Introduction to the History of Buddhism, says, "In the Asiatic Researches for the year 1828 was contained a dissertation (i.e. on the Buddha Literature and Religion of Nepal—Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, 1828) by Mr. Hodgson, full of ideas entirely new regarding the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and of Tibet: and this first essay contained also an account of the different philosophical schools of Buddhism, which has never since been surpassed or equalled. This first memoir yet further teemed with value at bringing to light, among other important discoveries, the grand and therefore wholly unknown fact that in Nepal there existed numerous Buddhist works composed in Sanskrit, the original language of Buddhism. Burnouf further states that Hodgson "collected a large body of original documents on Buddhism than had up to that time been ever gathered together either in Asia or in Europe." Csoma De Coros applauds the works of Hodgson thus—"Mr. Hodgson’s illustrations of the literature and religion of the Buddhists form a wonderful combination of knowledge on a new subject with the deepest philosophical speculations" (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1842). Professor Weber wrote a letter, dated 24th April, 1860 to Hodgson wherein he said. "The path you have opened has already been of the greatest service to a better understanding of the most curious religion, Buddhism". Sir Alexander Cunningham wrote to Hodgson (15th April, 1851), "I found in your work the only clear and intelligible account of Buddhism." M. Elphinstone records his debt to Hodgson in his History of India (ed. 1874, p. 114) with the statement that "the general account of the Buddha tenets is chiefly derived from the complete and distinct view of that religion given by Mr. Hodgson". After Hodgson’s death in 1894, his obituary in The Times included the lines—"To him the world still owes the materials for a knowledge of the great proselytising faith which was the one civilising influence in Central Asia."
Hodgson's laborious collections included two complete sets of Tibetan manuscripts—Kahgyur (Tripitaka) and the Stangyur—the latter being a compilation of all sorts of literary works written mostly by Indian Pandits just after the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet i.e. during the 1st part of the 7th Century A.D. The first set comprises one hundred and twenty three volumes and the second two hundred and twenty five volumes. Analyses of these compilations have been made by Csoma De Coros in the Asiatie Researches and the J.A.S.B. and thus he has helped scholars understand correctly the religion of the Buddha as current in Tibet. Hodgson transmitted the first set of manuscripts to the college of Fort William from where it passed to the Library of the Asiatic Society in 1829. Hodgson, at his own cost, procured these manuscripts from the Archives of the Buddhist monastery of Sambhunath, from monks who annually visited Nepal and from the humblest individuals. These are Tibetan versions of Sanskrit texts. The printing was performed by wooden blocks after the Chinese manner. While himself engaged in collecting manuscripts, Hodgson kept constantly employed local artists and scholars to copy and explain every architectural, sculptural and pictorial monument of Buddhist origin existing in Nepal.

Hodgson's discovery of the Sanskrit-Buddhist works in Nepal entirely revolutionized the history of Buddhism and amounted to new revelation of his scholarship. Hodgson distributed these manuscripts (the total number of which is not exactly known) among the renowned Oriental Societies for the use of the scholars. Sir William Hunter printed in 1881 from Trubner, catalogues of 399 Sanskrit manuscripts and Buddhist works presented by Hodgson, and stated therein that almost all the original works among northern Buddhist manuscripts in France, Great Britain and India had during the first half century been based upon materials collected by Hodgson. To the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he presented from 1824 onwards 94 Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts. Other centres where his collections were distributed include the College of Fort William, the Royal Asiatic Society in London, India Office Library in London, the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Asiatic Society in Paris. To the last mentioned institute Hodgson made a splendid donation of 147 Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts and thus enriched French orientalists. These manuscripts were written in Newari character. The Newar samvat, in which many of these manuscripts are dated, commenced in 880 A.D. The material of the manuscripts consists generally of Nepalese paper of yellow colour.

Almost all the original works relating to the northern Buddhist manuscripts in France, Great Britain and India have been based upon materials collected by Hodgson. Relying on the great historical value of
the manuscripts presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Mr. Arthur Grote, President of the Society (1859-1862, 1865) urged the Vice-President Dr. R.L. Mitra to examine them and prepare an analysis of their contents. Dr. Mitra took the burden of this task and in course of time he composed his monumental work, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal* (1882) where he had dealt with the manuscripts supplied by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society. Dr. Mitra also edited the *Lalita-Vistara* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñā-pāramitā* from the manuscripts in Hodgson's collections. Burnouf, who placed the study of Buddhism on a scientific western basis, composed his work, *The History of Buddhism* taking materials from the manuscripts presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Paris. When the famous palaeographer Mr. C. Bendall started on his archaeological travels from Cambridge to Northern India in 1885, he visited Mr. Hodgson in his Gloucestershire residence for inspiration and advice, for, he considered Hodgson as "the greatest and least thanked of our Indian Residents" and thought that "Hodgson's works form the most important contribution to the bibliography of the literature of Buddhism." When Bendall landed at India, Hodgson's collections at the Asiatic Society of Bengal was "the first shrine which he visited". The Catalogue of the manuscripts which Hodgson presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain was prepared by Professors Cowell and Eggeling.

The collections presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal "vary in extent from a few Ślokas to a hundred and twenty thousand stanzas. The great bulk of the works refers to the history, philosophy, morality and rituals of the religion of Buddha" (*Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Introduction, p. XXXIX).

The Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose transactions and Museum had been greatly enriched by contributions and collections of Hodgson is still proud of "the talented associates". He joined the Society on 24th April, 1833 as an ordinary member. The Society held a special monthly meeting chaired by the President W.W. Bird on 6th February, 1844 on the occasion of the retirement of Hodgson from his service in India. It presented him with an address which shows as to how the writings of Hodgson were valued at that time. The address runs thus—"The high reputation which Mr. Hodgson has conferred on the Society is not merely a local and an Indian one. His name, widely spread with his discoveries among the scientific societies of Europe, has carried with it corresponding credit of the Body, as a member of which he had laboured, and which ought therefore to testify their acknowledgements in a mode creditable alike to their distinguished associates and to themselves." In response to the Meetings' resolution, a marble bust
was put in the Society as a testimony of the high sense entertained by this Society of the Hodgson's scientific and literary labours, and also as a mark of personal regard. On 6th July, 1858 he was elected Honorary Member of the Society. Thus, in various ways the name of Mr. Hodgson was intimately associated with the progress of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In appreciation to his services to literature and science, the Royal Society of London elected him a Fellow. The French Academy elected him a Foreign Member and the French Government bestowed on him the dignity of the knighthood of the Legion of Honour. These honours prove the estimation in which Hodgson's contributions to the Buddhist Studies were held not only in India but in the Continent of Europe also.
CONTRIBUTION OF KUṬṬAMATTU FAMILY TO
SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By

N.V.P. UNITHIRI

Kuṭṭamattu Kunniyūr house in Kasargod, the northern most district
of Kerala, is one of the prominent cultural and literary centres of the
state. During the last two hundred years this family has produced at
least ten poets. Of them, half-a-dozen poets have composed works in
Malayālam as well as in Sanskrit. It is a sad fact that none of the
Sanskrit works is printed in Devanāgarī script excepting the Guruvāyupureśtanavaka and Kāminīkaṭāka of Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu, as a result
of which scholarly world outside Kerala is completely ignorant of the
literary contributions of these poets. In this paper, therefore, a humble
attempt is made to give a general idea of the contributions of the
Kuṭṭamattu family to Sanskrit literature.

Kuṇṇuṇṇī Kurup (1813-1885)

The first among the six poets mentioned above is Kuṇṇuṇṇī Kurup
whose real name is Kṛṣṇa. He was the son of Kaṭṭattanāṭṭu Śaṅkara
Varmā, the author of the astronomical work, Sadratnamāla, and Śrīdevi
Amma of Kuṭṭamattu Kunniyūr house. Apart from his parents, one
Nambiyyār Ezhuttacchan also taught Kuṇṇuṇṇī the elementary lessons
in Sanskrit, Astronomy and Mathematics. Kuṇṇuṇṇī was said to be
the only person well-versed in Golakriyā available in Kerala in his time.
His deep knowledge in Śilpaśāstra and Śrīcakragaṇita was well
appreciated by the contemporary scholars. A devotee of goddess
BhadraKāli, Kurup was an authority on the Kaula system of Tantra.

Kuṇṇuṇṇī Kurup has written Devīmāhātya, Vyūsothpatti, Kapota-
sandeśa, Ratiprāḍīpiṇī Parvataśataka and Śrīcakragaṇita. He has a few
stray verses in Malayālam and Sanskrit to his credit.

Devi māhātya is a stotra work of considerable poetic merit, written
on the model of the well known Nārāyaniya of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa
Bhaṭṭa. The stotra is dedicated at the feet of the Goddess Tiruvarkâṭū-
kâvil Bhadrakâli alias Māṭiyikkâvil Bhagavatī, the tutelary deity of
Kolattiris, the rulers of ancient Kolattunāḍu (modern Cannanore
district). The work having twelve cantos and 128 verses praises the
greatness of the goddess by depicting the destructions of the demons
like Madhu, Kaiśabha, Mahiśa, Sumbha and Nisumbha. The following
verses from the description of the goddess preparing to kill the demon
Mahiśa will show the general style of the poem:

Sāndram tatās svavupuṣṭaḥ parinirgalantyā
Kāntyā joganti ca caturdaśa bhāsayanī
t/ Vṛāstya daityakṛtātāpam apōhayanī
t/ Dhṛtvayudhāni vividhāni ca dossahasre-

Vādṛisadattom adhiruhyā mrgendrayugyam
Ghorāṭhāśabhusabhyāhitacāpaphośair
Digantikarṇavivarāṇi ca ghūṛṇayanī
t/ Ayodhanāya mahiśābhimukhi prayāṇī
t/ Baddhodyamā suramūṁndragaṁedyaṁānā
t/ Sā tvam samastadurātis samam ādhipālam
Kṣipram nivārya diśa saṅkari maṅgalam me

(VIII. 8-10)

Vyāsoṭpatti² is an instant poem containing only 36 verses. Only
deviation from the Mahābhārata story introduced by the poet is that it
was Kāli (Satyavati) who first fell in love with the sage Parāśara.

Kapotasandeśa is not available at present.³ Ratipradipkā is a
compendium of the information gathered from the texts on Kāmaśāstra.⁴
We have no idea about the two other works, namely Parvataśataka and
Śricakragaṇita.⁵

One of the stray verses composed by Kuṃnuṇṇi Kurup is quoted
below. It is about an astrologer (Gaṇaka) who is called Kaṇiśa in the
northern part of Kerala whose traditional job is to make palm-leaf
umbrellas:

Chatrakṛt śāstrakṛtaḥbhāvam udvahan kaṇiśaḥ kṛtī
yasmin vṛttaviṣeṣavam pāḍabandhanakāritā
t/ A Kaṇiśa (Gaṇaka), the maker of (palm-leaf) umbrellas, will be
perfect if he is a Śāstrajñā who knows Vṛttaviṣeṣa (different types of
metres in the case of Śāstrajñā; circular form of umbrella in the other
case) and pāḍabandhana (arrangement of lines in a verse; fitting the leg
of an umbrella)

Ceṭiya Rāma Kurup (1847-1906)

Lakṣmi Amma, sister of Kuṃnuṇṇi Kurup and Viṣṇu Nampūtiri
of Pācca Illam were the parents of Ceṭiya Rāma Kurup. He had
studied Kāvyas, Nātakas and Alāṅkāra śāstra from his elder brother and Vaidyaśāstra from his uncle Kṛṣṇa Kuṟup. Besides Āṭṭakkathas and Tūḷḷḷal works in Malayālam, Čeriya Rāma Kuṟup has to his credit yamacakāvyas, namely, Rukmiṇisvayamvara and Sitāsvayamvara, a Mahākāvyya, namely, Subhadrāharana, stotra works like Gopālakeli, Govindaśataka and Stotramañjari (two parts), and a medical treatise namely, Sarvagārala pranocana.

Rukmiṇisvayamvara is a yamacakāvyya in three cantos. Sitāsvayamvara also falls in the same group. Čeriya Rāma Kuṟup’s Yamacakāvyas are very difficult to understand without commentary. Fortunately both of his kāvyas have Malayālam commentaries written by the great scholar P.K. Kṛṣṇan Nambyār. There are however lucid and simple verses also like the following one:

Rūpeṇa te smaravadhūr avadhūtadarpā
Vidyādhanatīśa bhavatī bhavatiha kirtyā/
Mayyasti sattarahite rahite guṇais tais
Tasyāḥ kutasvid ayi te dayitenurāgah||
(Rukmiṇisvayamvara. III. 49)

Subhadrāharana is a Mahākāvyya in twelve cantos. Among stotra works Gopālakeli is the largest. Govindaśataka praises Śrīkṛṣṇa in 101 verses couched in different metres and embellished by a variety of figures of speech. The poet shows in this work his skill of blending beautifully the poetic qualities and technical knowledge in Jyotiṣa, Gaṇita, and Vedānta. When we come across the series of descriptions of Śrīkṛṣṇa comparing Him with many things like sea, mountain, sun, moon, fire, cloud, peacock and cuckoo by the device of double meaning and similarity, one may rightly wonder that the poet tries to establish figuratively the metaphysical principle behind the Upaniṣadic expressions like ‘Sarvam braham’ ‘Viśvam Viṣṇuḥ’.

The first part of Stotramañjari consists of four devotional poems, namely, Ānandajanani, Sarasvatam, Lakṣmipraśasti and Girikeyaśṭakam while the second part contains five, namely, Devistotram, Mahābalaśṭakam, Śivastotram, Dhānvantarastotram and Mṛtyunjayanukundastotram. Ānandajanani is composed after the model of Saundaryalahari and contains 36 verses. Sarasvatam and Lakṣmipraśasti are in praise of the goddesses Sarasvatī and Lakṣmi in 21 and 28 Vasantarīlakah verses respectively. Girikeyaśṭakaka is on the goddess of Kuṭṭamattu. Devistotra has only six verses couched in Sragdharā and Kusumamaṇḍari metres, whereas Mahābalaśṭakaka praises the Lord of Gokarna. In Śivastotra there are eleven verses in honour of Śiva in different metres. Dhānvantarastotra having ten Mandakrānta verses praises Dhanvantarin.
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Mṛtyunjayamukundastotra extols Śiva as well as Mukunda simultaneously by way of Śeṣa and it contains seven verses in upajāti metre. One who goes through the stotra works of Čērīya Rāma Kuṟup experiences an atmosphere of ardent devotion tempered with erudition and poetic fancy. Only one verse from these works is quoted below:

Bandhūkabandhuratayā dhṛtarāgabhāvat
Sandhyeva mandahasitendurucā vibhānti/
Yāntyā sudhaikamayatā madhuroṣṭharekhaḥ
Yasyā hṛdi sphuratu me bhuvaneśvariyan//

Sarvagalarapramocana containing twelve chapters is a big work on toxicology.

Rāma Kuṟup’s poetical works are more or less scholarly and often decorated with yamakālāṅkāras. His style reminds us of that of Vāsudeva Bhaṭṭārī, the famous yamaka poet of Kerala. As Uḷḷūr S. Parameśvara Iyer observes Kuṟup is the last of the poets of this kind.14

Kuṇḍambu Kuṟup (1857-1911)

A Hāviga Brahmin and astronomer Čeruputtūr Aṭukattāyar and Śridevi Amma were the parents of Kuṇḍambu Kuṟup. His preceptors in Sāhitya were Kuṇḍamṇi Kuṟup and Čērīya Rāma Kuṟup. He learnt the advanced texts of Āyurveda like Carakasamhitā and Suśrutaśāṃhitā under Vālīya Kuṭṭa Kuṟup.

Kuṇḍambu Kuṟup has to his credit several Malayālam works like Amsūnatiḥdharmanaguptam which is the first drama written in Malayālam language. He has written some Sanskrit works also; but Uḷḷūr keeps quiet about these contributions.15

Kuṇḍambu Kuṟup’s works include a stotra, Mūkāmbāsataka, a Campū Indrasabhā and two plays, namely, Satyavatiṣṭāntavanam and Bṛhasprabhaṇa. Cidambaranaṭaka and Līlāvatiḥkathā were written by him in collaboration with his brother, Kuṭṭa Kuṟup.16

Mūkāmbāsataka extols the goddess of Mūkāmba temple at Kollūr in South Karnataka. The theme of the Indrasabhā campū is of some novelty that in it there is a discussion among Indra, Bali, Nārada and Bṛhaspati on the people’s life of modern Kerala. The marriage of Satyavati and Śantanau is described in Satyavatiṣṭāntavan. Cidambaranaṭaka or Cidambaranarṣita is said to be composed to teach his disciple Ambāṭi Paṇikkar who was a performer of Pārakkali, a folk art of northern
Kerala. The story of this work is that due to the curse of the ‘moon’ the sages Vyāghra and Patañjali were forced to come to the earth and they got release from the curse after reaching Cidambara (in Tamil Nadu) and seeing the dance of Śiva. A verse from the description of the Tillai forest is quoted below:

Tarubhir iva janātīthivārthibhiḥ puspapakvā-
Kulakisalayapāṇīḥ sthīyate yatra namraiḥ/
Kusumasurabhīr āśasundarīr gandhavāhāḥ
Pikasuralitavēcā modayanabhuyapaiti/

Lśāvati is the translation of a story from Kannada into Sanskrit.

Kuṇāmbu Kuṟup was an expert in composing instant poems. Here is a verse couched in forceful Gaudi style rushed out of his mouth just as he heard from a scholar friend of his that he was also included in the list of culprits in a criminal case with which he had no connection:

Vakṣah Kutṭimadipikāyita hariprakṣipta cakrāvyudha-
bhrājattārakakandharōsamadhirāpuraṇapratīmikā/
Dordaṇḍakaviśānī bhagavataḥ krauñcādvidhavaṁśanaś-
śaktiś jatūkulum samūlamihā naśchindyād ananyakriyāḥ/

Kṛṣṇa Kuṟup (1868-1899)

Śrīdevi Amma and T.C. Kṛṣṇa Varma Valiya Rājā of Nīleśwar were the parents of Kṛṣṇa Kuṟup.

Apart from the last part of Cidambaranātaka, Kṛṣṇa Kuṟup has to his credit two poems, namely, Kalāvati and Govardhanārūḍhana. The story of Vibhūtimān and Bhūtimati is described in four cantos in Kalāvati which is a work intended for students. From Govardhanārūḍhana a verse may be quoted below:

Iti raṇakṛtotsāham sāhantamarbhakasaṅkule
Praharanavidhālo lamolambilatanutvīsam/
Caitavalayottamsam tam samyag ikṣya sa markaṇ	nyagadad asurāḥdhiśam dhiṣamsitāri sa cōpalah/

Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu (1880-1943)

Kuṇākṛṣṇa Kuṟup popularly known as Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu because of his substantial contribution to Malayālam poetry, was the son of Vaññāṭṭu Uṇṇamman Uṇittiri and Devaki Amma, sister of Cēriya Rāma Kuṟup. His uncles and cousin Nāru Uṇittiri taught the poet Sāhitya and Vaidyaśāstra.
Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu’s Malayālam works like Bālagopālan (Children’s play) gained wide popularity all over Kerala. His contribution to Sanskrit literature is also remarkable. He has written six stotras, namely, Mūkāmbikāsodāti, Anubhūtimaṇḍari, Mūkāmbikārāmeśvaram, Dhanuṣkotibhujāṅgam, Śrīlokācalesvariprārthanā and Gurupavanapureśanavakam three poems in praise of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahamsa, namely, Śrīrāmakṛṣṇabhujāṅgam, Śrīrāmakṛṣṇasakṭiṣodāti and Śrīrāmakṛṣṇabhāgavatam (incomplete) a Khandaṅkāva, namely, Kāminiṣṭha, three felicitation poems dedicated to Rabindranatha Tagore, Gandhiji and A.R. Rajaraja Varma well-known as Kerala Pācini, Kuṭṭamattu Kunniyāru Vamsāsamudbhātā vidvanmuktāmanayah and Śrīrāma Varnajannārkarṣamaṅgalapadyāṇi. Similarly some other works might also have been written by him.

The main under current of the Mahākavi’s Sanskrit works is Bhakti. The domestic problems like his wife’s serious illness forced the poet to resort to the shelter of devotion to various deities, especially to that of Mūkāmbi (Kollūr). A close perusal of the devotional poems of Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu will reveal that neither the dis-interestedness in the worldly life nor the passion for emancipation to be attained in the other world influenced him in a considerable manner. Only the thing was that this devotional fervour gave him utmost solace in the whirl-pool of the difficult family problems troubled his tender heart uninterruptedly. The emotional appeal of his stotras can be well experienced from the following verses from Anubhūtimaṇḍari:

Madgātram ca momendriyānypapi mama prāṇāṁśca manmānasam
Madgōtram ca dhanam ca māmakṣamasthōtram ca mām apyaje
Sāṣṭhāpantapātpārṇvākam ahām tvaṭpādāpīṭhōntike
Sarvam ca devi saṃarpayāṁ janani tvadhūram āvīṣkurū∥
Pratyuphullasahāsrapatradhavālāmbhojे marandāyita-
promiḷannava kumkumāsvajhari samraktalokatrayam∥
Bhūśvadratmaṅkiriṇaṁ ambā karunāpāṅgaṁṣitaṁ dyanmukham
Tvadhūram navavyauvanam sapadi me sandariyaṁ śrikaram∥

The poet’s devotion to Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahamsa is beyond words. It is a great loss as far as Sanskrit loving people are concerned that Śrīrāmakṛṣṇabhāgavata was left incomplete. Only the first two cantos were written by the poet. After the benedictory verses the first canto called Śaṅkarakālaṁsti begins as follows:

Gitopanisadam dharmakāhalam romahāraṇam/
Udbhūṣya pāṅgavaśākam vāsudeve tirolīte∥
Kālātmanaḥ kaleśāktir vasudhāyām tamomayī/
Pādapratiṣṭhām atanot sandhyām iva niśṭhīnī/

Then the poet describes the emergence of the Buddhism and its gradual deterioration. Then comes a flash of Kaumāril school of thought. Śrī Śaṅkara’s Advaita Vedānta demolishes all the previous schools of philosophical thought and gained wide popularity. This is followed by the different branches of Hinduism like Vaiṣṇavism and thus ends the first canto.

In the second canto called Vaiśyavijālasaprakrama the poet describes how the powers of the pious Brahmins and heroic Kṣatriyas gradually lost ground and subsequently the Vaiṣyās established their power in India. The various indigenous religions deteriorated so that foreign religions spread their influence throughout this country. The poet introduces this idea in the following verse:

Dhanāśābaliśaprotamatamāmsajīghṛksaya/
Duspurohitahasteṣu nipetuh prāyaio janāh/

The religious fight continued everywhere in India. The Christianity apparently having the light of wisdom and beauty of wealth, also happened to be consisted of dangerous and non-sensical beliefs and commercial considerations. An objective assessment of the foreign rule is given by the poet through the following beautiful description:

Aṣṇigdhaiḥ paruṣaiścāpi mugdhair niyamaraṭmibhiḥ/
Tam bandhum udyatam loko bandhum eva vyamanyata/
Mauhammadair haindavaśica matakāñcanaṁantarubhiḥ/
Protā sūmrājyamālā sā vibhinna kraiṣtarair mataiḥ/
*     *      *
Adhyātmanomabhaṇḍarakaṭodghāṭanaksamāḥ/
Janāṣṭu vaiṣyabhaṇḍaradvārasaṁcāringobḥavan/

Kāminiṇiḥākṣa is a beautiful piece of work of ample romantic touch. In the vicinity of the temple of Mūkāmbikā, on the occasion of a Harikathā performance, an unknown charming damsel throws her glances towards the poet: The reflections of that experience in the pious heart of the Mahākavi are depicted in this poem. Two verses may be cited from it:

Rajatamṛduśalākāśmaṭrupūrṇam madhyam
Vadanam idam aye na śvetapadam praphullam/
Thus we can see that a study of the works of Mahâkavi Kuṭṭamattu omitting these contributions to Sanskrit literature would be incomplete.

Cešiya Nārāyaṇa Kuṟup (1891-1969)

Cešiya Nārāyaṇa Kuṟup, well known among the local people as Vaidyar Nārāyaṇa Kuṟup, was the son of Subrahmanyan Namputiri of Kāññirappāḷḷi Illam, and Naññeli Amma. He studied Sāhitya and Āyurveda under his uncles. He led his life as a teacher and an Āyurvedic physician.

Sanskrit renderings of Bālagopālan (play), Śrīrāmakṛṣṇa Gitā, both Malayālam works of Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu, Uśāniruddha of Kuññambu Kuṟup and Jñānapāṇa of Pûntānām Namputiri are Nārāyaṇa Kuṟup's contribution to Sanskrit literature. An independent work by name Rājendraprasādacarita also was written by him. He edited many works written by his predecessors.

The foregoing survey reveals that the Kuṭṭamattu family's service to the cause of Sanskrit literature is remarkable. These contributions are confined mainly to stotras, yamakakāvyas and works on indigenous medicine. In a comprehensive study of Kerala's contribution to these fields of literature, one cannot avoid the works produced by the poets of Kuṭṭamattu family. Only a very few centres of learning are there in Kerala similar to this such as Deśamaṅgalam Vāriyam and Koṭuṅnallūr palace.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Devimāhātya with the Malayālam commentary Śrīpadaraṇjini by Mahākavi Kuṭṭamattu, Kuṭṭamattu Kunniyuru Sāhitya Samuccaya (KKSS), first year, No. 1, Silver Jubilee Press, Cannanore, 1939.
2. Included in the Prabandhadvariyi, KKSS, fourth year, No. 3, Śrī Nārāyaṇa Press, Tellicherry, 1942.
3. Only two verses of this poem are quoted by V. Uṇḍikrishnan Nair, Ibid., Introduction, p. iv.

6. KKSS., fifth year, No. 1, Tellicherry, 1943.


9. KKSS., Second year No. 7, Tellicherry, 1940.


11. KKSS., Third year, No. 3, Tellicherry, 1941.

12. Included in the Prabandhadavyi, 1942.

13. KSC., IV, p. 786.


16. The present writer has got this information from an unpublished biography of Kuvalamba Kurup written by K.K. Kutramattu Kunniyur. None of the works of Kuvalamba Kurup is published so far. Some of them are not even available.

17. Vajaikkumkar says nothing about Mahakavi's Sanskrit works. Ullur mentions the names of Mukambikasodasi, Anubhutimaahji and Sriramakrisnabhagavatam (incomplete). Sridevaranama included by him in the list is not a Sanskrit work.

18. Given as appendices to the Malayalam work, Mukambikapuram, Vidyavilasam Press, Calicut, 1929.


20. The present writer has discovered this work from a notebook of Mahakavi Kutjamattu and published it in Bharatamudra (Sanskrit Journal), Trichur, 1981. I am thankful to Sri Y.M.C. Kuni Krishna Kurup, Tagore Vidyaniketan, Taliparamba, for lending me this notebook.

21. Unnikrishnan Nair and Pavan have referred to both these works.

22. Included in the collection of poems, Amrit Arasi (Part X), Calicut, 1944, pp. 1-10.

23. The first two parts were published in Kavanakaumudi (Vol. 22, No. 9 and 12) in Malayalam script. The present writer has discovered the third part of this kavya also from the poet's above mentioned notebook and published the whole work in Devaragari script in Bharatamudra, Trichur, 1981.
SOME NEW POINTERS TO INDIAN CONTACTS
WITH PRE-COLUMBIAN AMERICA

By

R.N. PRASHER

Similarities between the ancient civilisations of America and India have been identified by many scholars. Parallels between architecture of Aztecs in Mexico and that of India, Java and Indo-China have attracted the attention of researchers for a long time. Mention has been made of similar pyramids, serpent columns and banisters, vaulted galleries and corbelled arches, attached columns, stone cut-out lattices and Atlantean figures. The remarkable resemblance of the lotus motif in ancient India and at Chichen Itza in Mexico has also been noticed. Likewise the occurrence in both areas of the Makara motif, as a serpent head with a human face in its mouth is also considered remarkable.

Lopez has dwelt upon the linguistic similarities between Sanskrit and Quichau, the language of the Incas. The commonness of the belief in the existence of four yugas to ancient Hindu and Aztec mythology is also viewed as a remarkable coincidence, particularly when the length of first of them is the same in both viz. 4800 years.

Scholars have concluded that at least one of the two races of maize found in Asia must have crossed the Pacific in pre-Columbian times. Similarly, it has been established that one parent of the American cotton undoubtedly came from Asia. Several other crops like coconut and sweet potato were also common to both the regions.

We notice that the Aztecs generally cremated their dead, a practice which certainly has been prevalent in India for a long time. The spaniards found the ruler of Mexico moving under a canopy, a practice not only very common in India but also quite typical. Whenever the Aztecs approached strangers, they first brought incence and fumigated them. The Hindu system of performing Äratt of visitors might have had its roots in something similar. We find that the Aztecs represent sun as a wheel made of gold and moon as a wheel made of silver. The association of gold with sun and silver with moon is again an old Indian idea. Gunther reports that by legend, gold is called “sweat of the sun” in Peru; silver is “tears of the moon”.
Doubts have been expressed about the possibility of contacts between America and India extending into Buddhist times when the pre-Columbian Americans had not entered the iron age. However, there is evidence to show that these Americans were at least aware of the existence of iron, if not of the technology to make it. Díaz reports that the Aztecs called iron 'Tepustle' in their language and this was the word they applied to the Canons of Cortes. Similarly, Díaz reports the presence of a helmet on the head of a deity in a Mexican temple. This helmet was said to be similar to the helmet worn by a Spanish soldier and obviously was made of iron. We find further evidence of familiarity with iron ore in the form of concave mirrors made of this material found in Olmec sites.

Certain common practices can be noticed between ancient America and India. The Incas did not enter their temples with shoes on and had to leave their shoes outside the temples. More striking is a marriage scene (Plate-1) depicted by an Aztec artist in Codex Mendoza ordered in 1541 by the Viceroy Antoneio de Mendoza to give Charles-V a graphic account of His Majesty’s new subjects. In this scene we find that the marriage was performed before a fire and the garments of the bride and the groom were knotted together for officially uniting them. The similarity with the Hindu marriage ritual is quite striking. Similarly the marked identity between the game of Patolli played in ancient America and the game of Pachisi played in India has been noticed. Another striking coincidence is the depiction of multi-headed snakes in India and in Peru (Plate-2).

There are certain noticeable similarities between even modern day American Indians and fairly old practices in India. The Peruvians chew coca leaves with lime, a practice quite similar to the Indian practice of chewing betel leaves with lime. In both cases the idea is to help release of the intoxicants from the leaf. Similarly, the game of 'invado' played by some tribes in Brazil invokes direct recognition of the Hindu festival of Holi. We also notice that the American Indian tribes recognise six directions, the North, South, East, West, the Sky and the Earth. This is quite similar to the Indian system.

To this list of striking coincidences we shall add similarities in some of the names which often occur in the Hindu scriptures, the Greek mythology and in ancient America.

The root —"atl", which in Nahua means sea or water, occurs repeatedly in Maya as well as Aztec mythology. The leading deity was Quetzalcoatl, his twin was the god Xolotl. Similarly there are other
personal names and place names having the root—atl like Axayacatl, Ixtacihuatl, Micelantecuhltli, Mixcoatl, Nexahualcoyotl, Quetzalpctatl, Tenochtitlan, Tezcatlipoca and Xiuhcoatl. A speer thrower was called alatl. It has been observed that the name of Greek titan, Atlas, of the lost city Atlantis and the name of the ocean Atlantic itself are derived from this root “atl”. In Berber, the root t... ...l means fountain or source and it is the root of the Greek word ‘thalassa’. An attempt to find a similar root in Sanskrit at once draws attention to the word tala (from the root tal) which figures as a part of the names given to the nether regions in Indian mythology. The sage Parāśara describes these nether regions to Maitreya in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. Each one of these seven regions of Pāṭāla is stated to be extending downwards for 10,000 yojanas. These were called Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimat, Mahātala, Sutala and Pāṭāla. In Vāyu Purāṇa, even Gabhastimat becomes Gabhastala, thus, extending the root ‘tal’ to all the seven. These names occur with slight variation in some other Purāṇas also. The occurrence of root “atl” in American names and in Greek mythology and in ancient Indian literature for the same regions appears to be another interesting coincidence. This is, however, not the end.

The Viṣṇu Purāṇa further describes these under worlds embellished with magnificent palaces in which dwell numerous Dānavas, Dāityas, Yakṣas and great snake gods. The mention of snake gods acquires particular interest when we find that the leading deity of the Aztecs was Quetzalcoatl, a snake god which was translated as feathered water serpent and has been sometimes depicted with a human head projecting out of his mouth. The snakes were a dominant presence in the temple architecture of the Aztecs. However, we find further evidence of the Nāgas in Hindu mythology reappearing in America as snake gods.

The sage Nārada is stated to have visited Pāṭāla. On his return from Pāṭāla he declared that Pāṭāla was much more delightful than Indra’s heaven. “What”, exclaimed the sage “can be compared to Pāṭāla, where the Nāgas are decorated with brilliant and beautiful and pleasure-shedding jewels? Who will not delight in Pāṭāla where the lovely daughters of the Dāityas and Dānavas wander about, fascinating even the most austere; where the rays of the sun diffuse light, and not heat, by day; and where the moon shines by night for illumination, not for cold; where the sons of Danu, happy in the enjoyment of delicious viands and strong wines, know not how time passes. There are beautiful groves and streams and lakes where the lotus blows; and the skies are resonant with the Koil’s song. Splendid ornaments, fragrant perfumes, rich unguents, the blended music of the lute and pipe and tabor, these and many other enjoyments are the
common portion of the Dānavas, Daityas and snake-gods, who inhabit the regions of Pāṭāla.23

Thus, on the one hand, the sage reports the presence of Nāgas in Pāṭāla, on the other, he speaks of sons of Danu living there. Danu was the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of sage Kaśyapa. She is said to be the mother of Dānavas and stated to have had forty, sixty one or hundred sons.24 In western mythology also, Danu is described as a goddess. The name is variously spelled as Danu, Anu or Dana and has been described as a pagan Celtic goddess. She was honoured under various names from eastern Europe to Ireland. She was believed to have suckled the gods. Her name was borne by the legendary Tuatha Dé Danann, (people of the goddess Danu) the Irish company of gods. These survive in Irish lore as the fairly folk, skilled in magic.25

In Celtic mythology, the children of this goddess Dana of Danu are stated to have been defeated in battle and were compelled to retire beyond the western seas to the plain of joy or land of youth. The Celtic Cuculainn, who was also given the name of Setanta—which was the name for one of the early British tribes-had for his father, Lug, the sun-god. He sailed in a magic barque to the land of the Beyond, the plain of Joy, Mag Mell. He then returned and died fighting in Ireland. His name, interestingly, resembles the later white culture-bringer of the Maya, Kukulcan. According to the Maya legend Kukulcan arrived from the east and later sailed back westwards over the Atlantic.26

These sons of Dana or Danu have been described as a sea faring or mining group of Ireland and their root name Dan has been identified in the names of rivers like Danube and Don, with the ports of Aden, Ogadin and Danakil and with Dar-danelles. Interestingly these Irish sons of Danu also were worshippers of snakes and a Celtic image has been described as bearing striking resemblance to Paśupati of the Indus Seal.27 The identification of these Tuatha Dé Danann with the Nāgas becomes deeper when we find that St. Patrick is said to have expelled the serpents from Ireland.28 Bailey clarifies that it was the serpent worshipping people, not the non-existent snakes which were banished. The description of Dānavas, Daityas and snake-gods and those of the descendants of Celtic goddess Danu who were snake worshipping and in both cases their going to a beautiful land beyond the Western Seas makes an interesting parallel. We further find in Indian mythology that the beautiful cities of the regions below the earth are said to have been built by Maya, the great architect. The name obviously has striking resemblance to the American Maya. Mandodari the off-spring of Maya, the Dānava architect was married to Rāvaṇa. It is
known from the Āanda Rāmāyaṇa (Sārakāṇḍa) that Ahi Rāvava lived in Pātāla and had taken Rāma and Laksmaṇa to Pātāla after kidnapp- ing them and they were finally rescued by Hanumān.

We have noted earlier that the descendent of Celtic goddess Danu were skilled in magic. The Vāyu Purāṇa tells us that Danu the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Kaśyapa was well known for her Māyā or magical powers.29 We even find that daughter of Atlas was called Maia. Thus, the association of both father and daughter with the names in earlier Indian literature becomes fairly apparent.

The description of western lands given by historian Diodorus Siculus in 21 B.C. makes a striking comparison with the description said to have been given by Nārada on his return from Pātāla. Siculus has described an island of large size situated to the west of Libya across the ocean. This island was described as having beautiful houses, excellent gardens, mountains and rivers. The historian said that because of its excep-tional felicity, the island appeared to be a dwelling place of a race of gods and not on men,30 The description of Mexican landscape as observed by Díaz during his march to Mexico is also comparable. He speaks of great towns and buildings rising from the water; spacious palaces of beautiful stone work, diversity of trees and orchards, and gardens and ponds of fresh water.31 Thus, there is sufficient reasons to suspect that all the three sources are talking about the same place.

The Mexicans worshipped a rain god called Tlaloc. He is depicted as carrying a thunderbolt in his right hand.32 This rain god’s heaven is depicted in a mural from Teotihuacán 30 miles north-east of Mexico City.33 In this mural the dead frolic, swimming, dancing and picking flowers. This compares well with the description of god Indra who is also described as holding a thunderbolt in his hand and as the ruler of heaven. We also find that Indra is known by various names like Trailokyapati, Trailokyarāja, Trilokarāja and Trilokeśa.34 The resemblance in the description of Trilokeśa Indra and Tlaloc and the similarity between their names appears to be quite remarkable.

In Peru we find that the Incas were worshippers of sun. In fact, the successive Incas claimed their origin from the sun. According to legend, the original Incas, four brothers and four sisters, were all children of the Sun god.35

In the word Inca, ‘ca’ is a suffix.36 The word ‘In’ in Sanskrit means able, strong, mighty and glorious. It also means, the sun and also a king.37 Thus, the name Inca, for a king born from the sun, appears to be logical and its Sanskrit connection quite probable.
It has been pointed out that on a clear day America is visible from Asia. It has also been said that the first migration to America took place before the evolution of true Mongoloids. Thus the possibility of Asians having made trans Pacific and even trans Atlantic contacts is very strong. How frequent was this contact and whether it was deliberate or just accidental and occasional has yet to be left to the imagination. It will need another paper to find if footprints are visible on the midway lands which could be the stepping stones to America.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. D.P. Singhal, Red Indians or Asiamecans—Indian Settlers in Middle and South America (India’s Contribution to World Thought and Culture—Vivekananda Commemoration Volume, 1970, p. 637.
2. Ibid. p. 637.
3. Ibid. p. 638.
5. Ibid. p. 56.
10. Ibid. p. 268, 278.
11. Ibid. p. 278.
21. दैवतस्वामी के पाताल दृष्टि तम ।
कं तल स्वामी वंच शिव नितल । गंगलिङ्गः ।
महारथ्य सुततल बायन्य पाताल ।
चारि सप्तमू ।

23. Ibid. p. 168.
29. Vāyu Purāṇa, 69.93.
38. James Bailey, op. cit. p. 27.
The *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇa* literature reveal the fact that the word ‘*puruṣa*’ is normally used in the sense of ‘a person’, ‘a human being’ in general (i.e. denoting both man and woman) whereas when expressing ‘a male human being’ is meant, the term *puṁs-pumāṁś-pumān* is used.

The most common pair of the words expressing the individual and the cosmic soul in the *Upaniṣads* is *Ātman-Brahman*. But an examination of the older *Upaniṣad* literature shows that it is not so. Though *Ātman* and *Brahman* are definitely the words which have later (e.g. in the Vedānta philosophy) come to be accepted as the most popular expressions for the individual and the cosmic consciousness, yet the *Upaniṣads* know of still another expression to denote both of these concepts which is statistically more often used. It is the expression *puruṣa* which is used in almost all the older *Upaniṣads*, sometimes concurrently with *Ātman* however, in different text pieces—and sometimes even as the sole expression for the concept it stands for. And judging from the fact that the expression *puruṣa*—a person (or man) is much less abstract than the expression *Ātman* meaning ‘self’, it is plausible to believe that the former is an older and the more archaic expression for this concept.

The word ‘*puruṣa*’ is used in the following four senses in the *Upaniṣads*:

1. A human being.
2. The individual soul.
3. The presiding deity of some element or the personal God.
4. The impersonal or the abstract Cosmic Soul (*Brahman*).

Thus, *puruṣa* is a philosophical term which can be used—besides in the usual sense of ‘man’ or ‘person’—in the sense of ‘individual Soul’, ‘the highest personal God’ and ‘the impersonal Absolute’. It is the meaning of this term later in the sense of ‘individual Soul, characterised by its plurality.’ Vedānta (monistic) prefers the terms *Ātman* and *Brahman*
whereas some other philosophies (Nyāya, Yoga etc.) the terms Jīva and Tsāra.

_Bhagavadgītā_ says that there are two types of _puruṣa_: the perishable one (i.e. individual Soul). But since Bhagavat, the Lord, is beyond both these categories of _puruṣa_, he is known as _puruṣottama_—the highest _puruṣa_ or paramātman—the highest Ātman. In the _Vedas_, Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa or Bhagavat is known as _puruṣottama_. This certainly alludes to the _Puruṣa—Sūkta_ of the _Rg Veda_.

According to _Skanda Purāṇa_, one should worship Viṣṇu with the verses of the _Puruṣa-Sūkta_.

The _puruṣa_ of the _Rg Veda_ is identified with the _yajñapurusa_ Viṣṇu. This identification of the _puruṣa_ of the _Rg Veda_—out of whose body the whole creation emanates—with Viṣṇu also leads towards the development of the _Viṣvarūpa_ of Viṣṇu. In this concept, the universe is totally identified with Viṣṇu, the various phenomena of the universe being considered to be the different parts of the body of the immeasurable Viṣṇu. The sun and the moon are his eyes, the earth the feet, the heaven the head, the trees the corporal hair etc. In the _Mahābhārata_, Kṛṣṇa is said to have shown this form to the courtiers of Duryodhana, Arjuna and Uttanka. Therefore, the cosmic giant Viṣṇu is said to be like that of a human being. He is the sanātana _puruṣa_ (eternal being), the highest and the immutable.

The _Śrīradātilaka_ classifies the Viṣṇuideities in three broad heads: Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṁha and _Puruṣottama_ and deals with each one of these in a separate pañcala or chapter (15-17). A closer observation of the contents of these chapters shows that under the title ‘Viṣṇu’ (_Viṣṇuprakaraṇam_) the deities Vāsudeva, Dadhīvāmana, Hayagrīva, Varāha, Rāma and Hanumat have been dealt with; under the title ‘Nṛsiṁha’, however, the deity Nṛsiṁha in his different aspects as well as Sudarśana _Cakra_ find mention and, finally under ‘_Puruṣottama_’ the four deities: Trailokyamohana, Śrīkara, Kṛṣṇa, and Kāma. In other words, the term Viṣṇu represents the _Bhāgavata-Vāsudeva_ aspect, ‘Nṛsiṁha’ the furious or violent (_Ugra_) aspect and ‘_Puruṣottama_’ the amorous aspect of the same God.

In the _Śrīkara_ (or Śrīdhara) aspect of _Puruṣottama_, he is worshipped as the consort of Lākṣmi, in his Kṛṣṇa aspect as the beloved of Gopīs, in his _kāma_ or _pradhyumna_ aspect as the god of love himself and in his Trailokyamohana, as the god of love and as Viṣṇu, i.e., a combination of Kāma and Viṣṇu. _Puruṣottama_, thus, unites in himself the characteristics of the husband of Lākṣmi, of Kṛṣṇa and of Kāma. All of these
characteristics are present in the nature of the Puruṣottama Jagannātha of Puri.

Lord Jagannātha is the Puruṣottama of Gītā, symbolising the ‘Kṣara Puruṣa’ and the ‘Aksara Puruṣa’, pervading the heart of all beings. He is regarded as the creator, who can move about without feet. He can see without eyes and hear without ears.12 The Nilādri-Mahodayam13 describes him as the great Brahma, the great Universe, the Nirguṇa Puruṣa and the Saccidāṇanda. He is the sacred, calm, eternal, peaceful and innocent. He is Śiva and Niraṇjana. He exists in the Vedānta. In the cult of Jagannātha, we discover the impact of diverse systems of Vedāntic philosophy, such as Advaita, Dvaita, Bhedābheda or Dvaitādvaita and Acintya Bhedabheda. It is the concept of Puruṣa and Advaita (Advitiya)14 on which the Nilādri-Mahodayam bases its philosophy of Jagannātha. In the Bhedābheda or Dvaitādvaitavāda system, all the three deities are different, though ultimately and philosophically they are one. Dvaita school accepts more than one Tattvas. But its (three) Tattvas, viz., Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā, whether they are different or one, are not perceptible through human knowledge. Here we see the impact of Acintya Bhedabhedavāda and the other philosophical thoughts (Vādas) in the mode of worship in Puri and its environs.

The concept of Bheda finds a concrete manifestation, when the lord is bathed in water, brought by the Śūdras and carried to Rathavedi by the Brāhmīns. The concept of Acintya Bhedābheda is well illustrated at the time of Navakalevara, when the Devās of Śavara origin are regarded as the Kinsmen of Jagannātha and asked to perform the funeral rites, though they are not allowed to worship the God on the throne.15 Lord Jagannātha belongs to neither the Śavāras nor the Brāhmīns nor the Hindus, but is the God of all the beings of the Universe and hence, aptly called Jagannātha, the God of the Universe.

ABBREVIATIONS

3. N.M. Nilādri-Mahodayam.
4. Upa. Upaniṣad

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Rg Veda, 7.104, 5, 19.97, 4, 5, 8;
10.165.3.
Puruṣottamvāda and Lord Jagannātha

1. Atharva Veda, 8.2.25; 8.7.2;
   12.4.25; 13.4.42.
2. Ṛg Veda, 1.124.4; 1.162.22; 3.29.13;
   4.3.10; 5 62.6, 8; 7.6.1; 9.9.7;
   9.9.7; Atharva Veda, 3.6.1; 3.23.3; 4.4.4;
3. Cf. The Śoṅkhyakārikā of Iśvarakṛṣṇa:
   Puruṣo’sti bhokṣṭṛbhāvat. . . . . . /Verse 17
   Puruṣabahutvaṁ siddham . . . . /Verse 18
   ———Siddham Sākṣītvam asya puruṣasya / Verse 19
   and also the Verse 21.
5. Ṛg Veda, X. 90.
8. Ibid., 11.1.26-69.
9. Mbh., Udyogaparva, Adhy. 129;
   Ibid., Bhīṣmaparva, 35.5-31;
   Ibid., Āśvamedhikaparva, Adhy. 54.
11. Bhagavata Purāṇa, X. 55.1, 7-10;
   Ibid., X. 551;
   Ibid., VIII.8.41-46.
12. Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad. III. 19 :
   “Apāṇipād yavanograhita . . . . . .”
   Kaivalyopaniśad, Mantra-21 :
   “Apāṇipāda-hamachintya ‘śakti . . . . .”
13. N.M., 6.2-4 :
   “Paraṁbrahma paraṁdāśma pavitraṁ ca paraśparṁ,
   Pūrṇānandamaṁ Paṇyaṁ nirguṇaṁ saccidātmakaṁ,
   Vedaṁvedyaṁ paraṁ sarvatomukhamaviṁśaṁ
   Nirahaṁ saśvataṁ śāntaṁ śivaṁ tattvavidānvināṁ,
   Ajam Niraṁajanam tavadvāḥ manasa gocaraṁ.
14. N.M., 6.22 a :
   “Advitya paraṁdhasya paramāpūrana kāriṇe”.
BOOK REVIEWS

The Concept of Rudra-Śiva Through the Ages. Mahadev Chakravarti, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1986, pp. XII+219 with XII plates, Rs. 150/-.

Rudra with his braided hair and brown complexion, who wears golden ornaments and a glorious necklace is a remote god dwelling in mountains and forests, fierce like a terrible beast, sometimes called a bull or ruddy boar of heaven, a dreaded god whose arrows like those of the Greek Apollo brought plague and disaster, was an object of dread to the Ṛgvedic Āryans and was invoked to ward off an evil. Whereas other gods are invoked to come to the place of sacrifice, he alongwith his followers is prayed to go away. In deep contrast to it he has a beneficient aspect also. As a guardian of healing herbs he is giver of health. Exalted as mightiest of the mighty, he is the father of the world who is easily invoked. He is Śiva—'the propitious'.

This comparatively minor deity of the Ṛgveda, to whom only three entire hymns have been devoted in the Ṛgveda along with some casual references, rose to the highest place amongst the pantheon in the later Vedic age. In the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad he is described as the one who made all the worlds, protects them and rolls them up at the end of aeon. As such he became one of the trinity and a favourite theme of the writers and artists, sculptors and devotees alike, through the ages. This presence of Rudra-Śiva in almost all aspects of life of the Hindus has made him a favourite theme for the students and scholars of religion and philosophy, history and arts, archaeology and numismatics. It has resulted in the growth of an enormous literature around him both from the pen of Indian as well as Western scholars. As such the present study may appear at first glance to be a mere addition to already existant literature on this theme but all the same, is a very welcome addition as it provides a new angle from which this historical survey of the topic has been made and brought up to date with discussions and reinterpretation of what has been written earlier.

The book is divided into four chapters viz. I. Rudra and Rudra-Śiva; II. Śiva and the Bull; III. Śiva and the Phallus; and IV. Śaivism in Art. Each of these chapters is further divided into sub-headings each giving a precise idea of the topic discussed and the methodology followed by the author.
The references to Rudra-Śiva contained in the Sanskrit literature from the Rgveda Samhitā down to the Epics and the Purāṇas have been dealt with in the first chapter. It has been shown how Rudra-Śiva who was probably a non-Aryan god, from his status as a minor deity in the Rgvedic age was gradually admitted in the Brahminical pantheon. Copious references to the original texts as well as the works and theories of modern scholars have enabled the author to drive home the point that his contentions are well substantiated by the literary evidence.

From the literary evidence Chakravarti switches on to the numismatic and archaeological evidence in the second chapter and deals at length with the controversial topic of the meaning and interpretation of the Bull and other Śaiva symbols occurring on numerous ancient Indian coins. He takes the Bull and other Śaiva symbols such as trident as representations of Śiva himself. Though the Śaiva character of these symbols cannot be denied, it is difficult to take them as representations of this deity itself specially when we know that Śiva in his anthropomorphic form along with the bull is represented on coins from very early times. In this chapter the sections on the Bull and the Bull Cult; the Bull and the Phallus; and the Bull as Śiva’s Mount are informative and interesting.

The third chapter deals with the phallic worship in India and the ancient world. The association and relationship between the worship of anthropomorphic form of Śiva and linga has been traced with the help of some useful references. The third part of this chapter—The linga cult in early Indian literature, as a sequel to the second part is useful for a better understanding of the relationship of Śiva with phallus worship. It is also a good independent study of the latter. However, the first part of this chapter largely dealing with phallus worship in ancient world with sub-titles as phallic-flora; phallic-fauna; and other phallic symbols have little to do with the concept of Rudra-Śiva in the Indian context and is sort of deviation from the main theme. The omission of all these details in this part would have made little difference to the main theme.

Iconography of Śiva in anthropomorphic, theriomorphic and phallic forms from Harappan times to the post Gupta period in the context of India and in the South-East Asia discussed in the last chapter has shed some welcome light on the subject and has added to its utility. The discussion on Śaiva figures and symbols on coins has further enhanced the value of this work. It shows that the author has thrown his net very wide to collect his materials. Not only a large number of sculptures and lingas of Śiva have been referred to by Chakravarti but he has briefly
gone into their iconographic technique and has referred to some competent authorities like Gopinath Rao and J.N. Banerjea for details on the subject. Inspite of his best efforts one notices that perhaps the author could not include all the examples. Particularly he misses references to the Śaiva art of the Pratihāra and Candela period.

On the whole the book makes an appealing and compact study of the cult of Rudra-Śiva in its various aspects. A detailed bibliography at the end has made the work immensely useful for references on the subject for further study. The printing and get-up of the book leaves hardly anything to be desired. The price though a bit high for individuals, is very reasonable in these times of heavy cost of production. The author and the publishers deserve to be congratulated for bringing out such a fine volume.

Ashvini Agrawal

An Outline of History of Śaiva Philosophy, Prof. K.C. Pandey, ed. Prof. R.C. Dwivedi, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1986, pp. 278+10, Rs. 80/-.

The book under review is a reprint of the introductory portion of ‘Bhāskari’ Vol-III which was first published in 1954 from Varanasi in the Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts Series No. 84. It is learned work of erudite Sanskrit scholar who devoted his life time to the Study of Śaiva Philosophy, especially one that goes by the name of Kashmir Śaivism.

The work is broadly divided under two heads, namely Historical Approach and Philosophical Approach. After tracing the origin of Śaivism in pre-Vedic period on the basis of the archaeological remnants found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, the author has rightly observed that Śaivism as religion is probably ancient of all religions in India, and that it has a continuous history of at least five thousand years. Traces of it are also found in the Vedic literature and in the writings of early grammarians who themselves were followers of Śaivism. The learned author has identified as many as eight district streams of Śaiva thought viz. Pāṣupata, Siddhānta Śaiva, Daitya Śaiva of Kashmir, Lakultāpāśupata, Viśiṣṭādvaita Śiva, Vīra Śaiva, Nandikesvara Śaiva, Raseśvara Śaiva and Kashmir Śaiva, on the basis of doctrinal differences in them. The learned author has made laudable attempt to delineate chronological development of all these schools of thought. In this he has sometimes differed from the historians as he has relied more on the data provided
by ancient literature than on archaeology; for instance, he has distinguished Lakultsā Pāṣupata from the Pāṣupata. Historians generally do not approve of this distinction, but the learned author has marshalled facts from literary sources to prove their mutual distinction. He has focussed his attention to different ācāryās who have made significant contribution to the development of this particular stream of religious thought. This is more scientific because Śaivism developed in the initial stages as religious cult, the philosophy of Śaivism is of later origin. Śaiva philosophy is an especially a religious philosophy.

In the second part entitled Philosophical Approach the author has discussed the main tenets of the philosophy of the different schools and critically evaluated their contribution to the development of Śaiva thought. It is true barring a few schools of Śaiva thought such as Kashmir Śaivism, Vīra Śaivism, Siddhānta Śaivism, the available literature of different schools is scanty, in some cases nil, but this has not dampened the zeal of the learned author. After undertaking careful and painstaking study of the available Śaiva literature the author has succeeded in discovering the fragments of philosophical thought in the references to their thought by way of Pūrvapakṣa and reconstructing their philosophical approach on their basis. Mādhavācārya in his Sarvadārśana Saṅgraha has given an outline of the philosophy of only four Śaiva schools, the author has provided us with valuable information about eight schools of Śaiva thought. He has made thus indelible contribution to the study of Śaivism.

In his introductory note the learned editor of the publication Prof. R.C. Dwivedi has added valuable information about Utpaladeva, the celebrated author of śiṣṭakṣa Kārīka and has provided us with the analysis and critical evaluation of its text. The republication of the out of print book would be welcomed by all students and scholars working in this field. The printing and get up to the book is upto the standard.

D.B. Sen Sharma

Hymns from the Golden Age, David Frawley, Motilal Banarsidass, First Edition, Delhi 1986, Rs. 125/–.

The book under review is an extraordinary work and presents selected hymns from Rgveda with yogic interpretations. The author has translated and discussed them in detail from the spiritual point of view, which is highly appreciable.
The work consists of three parts excluding introduction. The first part (prelude) studies hymns of Heaven and Earth after translation of some mantras regarding Dyāvā Prthivi. The author has discussed them as divine father and mother, yielding clarity and heavenly bliss. After that he has taken some hymns related to the dawn (Usas) presenting it as human aspiration as the spiritual dawn. Part second studies the fourfold Godhead. It studies hymns to the Fire (as the flame of the sacred), hymns to Indra (Cosmic warriors in the battle for light), hymns to the Sun (the sun of creation) and hymns to Soma (Vedic Alchemy; How to extract the soma). Part third studies some hymns to the Goddess interpreting the Muse, the Goddess of intelligence, the Goddess of waters, Rodasi, the Goddess of transformed heaven and earth etc.

The author has presented one of the most radically mystical approaches ever given to the hymns of the Rgveda. In the introduction, he has presented some remarkable views regarding the Golden Age, i.e. the period of Rgveda, the solar dawn or the religion of enlightenment, the Aryan seers, the Gods and the Goddesses and the language of the mantras of Rgveda. In the end of this work glossary of terms, terms for the Self and Brahman, terms for the Goddess along with an Index of words have been provided by the author which make the author's viewpoint very clear.

According to him Rgveda is our most authentic document of spiritual languages of the ancient world. It was the great fountain head of Indian culture, the guiding document of its earliest era, its mythical Golden Age of spiritual civilization. The Rgveda also represents our original cultural roots. It is a language more proper to a deeper level of consciousness than the rational intellect.

In Rgvedic Age, it is a humanity living in a cosmic vision with a sense of reverence for the divine permeating all life. It is an era in which human beings live in harmony with the will of God. For Vedic seers worshipping the Gods meant manifesting in our own thought and action the powers and principles of enlightenment. The ancient symbols of light are symbols of enlightenment. The sun was the symbol of the enlightened; Mind, the mind of light, free of the darkness of unconsciousness and egoism. The dawn was the symbol of the wisdom of awakening. The Gods were not images but the forms of light, the laws of truth.

The spiritual culture of India's mythical Golden Age called itself Aryan, which meant noble, people of noble character. The highest human type of Aryan society, the culture bearer and guide was the seer
and sage. Aryan society was a society under the guiding rule of men of spiritual knowledge. The seers were incarnation of love and truth. Reaching in mind the highest heavens they remained as humble as the earth. They were our spiritual fathers, the makers of civilization.

A God is the divine generally and there is no real difference between one God and another. Each God is all the Gods, as each God is an all encompassing universal principle. The Gods are both one and many, many is one and one is many. They are the unity of universality, in which nothing is excluded. The ancient Gods are monism, monotheism and polytheism—all mixed together in mutual harmony. A name is merely a means of their intimation and evocation, nothing can define, delimit or explain them. They have all names and no names. The ancient gods represent the cosmic masculine force of which the human male is only one manifestation. Likewise the Ancient Goddesses represent the cosmic feminine of which the human female is only one manifestation. In fact none of the Vedic Gods or Goddesses are primarily men or women at all. The main Goddess is more the Dawn, than a woman, and the symbolic dawn of aspiration, more so than the dawn as natural phenomenon.

The mantras of Rigveda are the original form of language from which all other languages derive. This is a language in which sound and meaning correspond. It is like poetry where the sound of words reflects their meaning, more than this it is a science of sound wherein the meaning of all sounds is known and developed. Mantric language is the word by God made manifest. It is the language of truth realisation. It is the language of the mind that perceives in all objects the eternal being. It has only one message that all is Divine, all a formation of the Divine Word. The ancient seers developed their language consciously along these lines.

The translation of mantras differs many times from the traditional meanings. For example the author presents the word prśa as indicating the sense of presence, the word vaśvānara indicates the universal Man, the word dvīś indicates the meaning duality (p. 53).

This book is a part of series of books on the Vedas by this author. We are sure that by this series he will complete the translation and study of other hymns of Rigveda also. With such spiritual translation and interpretation of Vedic mantras he deserves a place amongst spiritual commentators of Rigveda like Swami Atmananda, Swami Dayananda, Shri Aurobindo and V.S. Agrawal. I offer my heartiest congratulations for this remarkable work.

K.D. Shastri
The Vedānta Doctrine of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, A. Mahādeva Śāstrī, Sri Satguru Publications, 40/5, Śakti Nagar, Delhi, pp. 170, Rs. 90/-.

The volume consists of three following works on Advaita Vedānta which embrace the main tenets of that philosophical tradition:

(i) Dakṣināmūrti-stotra by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya with Sureśvara’s exposition called ‘Mānasollāsa’ thereof.
(ii) Sureśvara’s ‘Pranava-Vārtika’ which sets forth the theory and practice of the contemplation of Supreme Ātman by means of Prānava or ‘Om’.
(iii) Dakṣināmūrti-Upaniṣad.

All the three have been translated into English with explanations appended.

The Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara is regarded as the crowning achievement of Indian thought. Vedānta as the final import of the Vedas is a long and multi-faceted tradition constituted by diverse interpretations. Pre-Śaṅkara Advaita was monistic and expounding its doctrine as ‘brahma-parināma-vāda’, tried to accommodate both the changing and the permanent in its perspective upon Brahman or the ultimate Reality. What distinguishes Śaṅkara is the absolutist character of his interpretation as distinguished from the monistic.

In Śaṅkara we find a remarkable fusion of the heart and the head. His commentaries upon Vedāntic classics represent the high water mark of intellectuality ensouled by spirituality. Besides these commentaries, there are a large number of miscellaneous works, mostly in verse, attributed to Śaṅkara. Many of them are, no doubt, apocrypha, but the few that scholarly opinion holds to be genuine, are of such great transcendent poetical beauty that they remain enshrined in the Indian mind as vignettes of the Vedāntic consciousness at white heat. They not only sum up the doctrinal content of Advaita Vedānta, they infuse the proverbial dryness of philosophy with the verve of experience lived and not merely thought and excogitated.

Dakṣināmūrti stotra is one such work. The Lord of the self is hymned here as Dakṣināmūrti—a form which represents him as a Guru imparting spiritual wisdom at the foot of a fig tree. Lord Dakṣināmūrti is Ātman or self and the hymn sings hauntingly of the glorious, fadeless, eternal nature of the Vedāntic Ātman that conjures up the world show, holds it embosomed as a seed does a tree, and then re-absorbs it into
Himself. Besides projecting, sustaining and retracting the world show, the Lord in His graciousness also strips the film of illusion from our eyes.

The second treatise comprising the trio is the ‘Prāṇava-Vārtika’ of Sureśvara, the celebrated disciple of Śaṅkara, who is justly regarded as the greatest pillar of Advaita after the great Master. In ‘Pranava Vārtika’, Sureśvara has expounded the method of winning ‘Mukti’ or spiritual emancipation through meditation on Om. There is a good deal of cosmological speculation, but according to the Advaitic orthodoxy all such speculation about the how, why and wherefore of the world so much fancied by modern scientific cosmology and geology is of secondary worth. The major task of man is not to pile up such facts about the origin and constitution of the world but to unveil its real nature as Ātman and to escape from it through the route of knowledge. The ‘Prāṇava Vārtika’ tell us how to overcome the world. There is a hierarchy of subjective powers like senses, mind etc. One of the forms of Vedāntic Śādhanā—not regarded as authentic by Śaṅkara— is the funding back of these powers to their causal principles, the ego to return to Buddhi, Buddhi to the Unmanifest (avyākṛta) and that into Brahman which is the highest consummation.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad, the third work, sets forth the way Śiva or the Ātman is to be imaged, enshrined in consciousness and worshipped. This is the way of Saguṇa worshippers and is hardly in consonance with Advaitic orthodoxy which, as both Śaṅkara and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī tell us, does not lay much store by yogic methods of meditation, but insists on the way of knowledge as distinguished from the way of Yoga and Bhakti. To this extent the editor’s claim that the book is a presentation of Advaitic orthodox view is compromised.

There is a 75 page long introduction in the beginning of the book wherein the author has tried to cover most of the topics ordinarily raised by Vedāntic thinkers. The abstruseness of Vedāntic thought is somewhat redeemed by his clear style which, though not always of a uniformly high literary standard, is adequate to the popular presentation of Vedāntic insights. Unfortunately, the lengthy introduction contains much which the orthodox Advaitin will look askance at. For instance one of the cardinal points of Vedāntic thought is the distinction that the Advaitins make between Iśvara (God) and Brahman. The question is nowhere raised and editor has often confused the two. Again, when he says (p. xxxiii) that Jiva and Iśvara are one, he forgets this is not how a cautious Advaitin will put it. They are one ultimately but ultimately even a stone and Brahman are one. Both a plate and a tumbler made of
glass are one but they are one only as glass. In themselves and regarded at the pragmatic level they are different. Similarly, Jiva and Ishvara may be one but only as Brahman. At the level named by the Advaitins as ‘vyavahārika’ they are different. Again he says that the universe is a manifestation of the self (Intro. p. IX). This is not quite correct. The orthodox Advaitin following in the footsteps of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara will say that the world is not a manifestation but misperception of the self just as an illusory snake is not a manifestation but misapprehension of the substantive rope.

The book was first published in 1899. The edition in hand was brought out in 1986. It appears how much of editing has gone into the present edition which, appearing after almost a century, could have been revised in the light of the great advances in Indological research made since then. This has not been done. It will be ungrateful to blame Sh. Mahādeva Śāstrī, for the minor shortcomings pointed out above. He was doing pioneering work, almost a century ago. Those who appear taller are standing on his shoulders. However, we should be grateful for the work even in its present form, for what is of inestimable value is the doctrinal content and the lapses are inconsequential.

B.I. Goswami

Reflections on Indian Philosophy, Dr. K.P. Sinha, Chaukhambha Orientalia, Varanasi-221001, pp. 308, Rs. 100/-.

The book is a collection of about 24 essays on various aspects of Indian philosophy and makes a comparative study of some of the pivotal concepts of Indian philosophical tradition like Ātman, Karman, Puruṣa, Prakṛti. The author claims that “in almost every school of Indian philosophy, there are some concepts which have not been clearly explained by the propounders themselves.” He has tried to meet this shortcoming according to his lights.

The essay bear the stamp of hard work and philosophical thinking. They are oriented to a spiritual interpretation of experience. The author is alive to the relevance of tradition as well as to the power of modern thought. He has access to original sources and has the eye to fix upon the crux of the issue in hand. His diction is at times loose, giving the impression that his thought is outrunning his linguistic resources, but on the whole he has been able to do justice to his themes. These merits are no doubt there, but it is doubtful whether he has always indicated his claim that he has been able to clarify concepts which even the propounders left in a confused, messy state.
Take for instance the essay: "The concept of Advaita" which on account of his specialized study of absolutist thought he should have been to elucidate fully. Here the one relevant idea of the meaning of Advaita has not been convincingly dealt with and peripheral issues have claimed his attention. The author fails to distinguish Advaitism from 'oneness' and confuses the two. On p. 282 he asks whether the Absolute will have to sacrifice its oneness in the act of revealing itself. The Advaita tradition does not identify reality with oneness for 'One' is relative to 'many' and to call the ultimate reality or the Absolute 'one' is still to remain in the realm of the relative. Brahman is beyond both 'one' and 'many' and that is why 'Advaita' distinguishes it from 'aikya' or oneness. The author should have discussed the concept of appearance which is so indissolubly linked with Advaita and not merely the differences between Vaiśnavas and Advaitins. Another topic relevant to this discussion is the distinction between God or Śaguna Brahman and the Absolute. This, too, has been slurred over.

His view that Śaṅkara grudgingly conceded the concept of 'I Śā' is not valid. He observes on p. 285: "It is quite surmisable that from the realisational point of view Śaṅkara was not against the concept of I Śā". There is no question of any surmise here. Śaṅkara is fully awake to the Divine exuberance that spills over in Śā as is evident from his commentary on Bādarāyaṇa's Śūtra (II. 1.33).

Again, on p. 202 in the essay, "The Mīmāṃsā view of Karma" he observes, "The Vedāntins are also positive on the point that Brahman knowledge cannot be attained without action." This may be true in the case of "Jñāna-Karma Samuccaya-Vādins," but it will be a misrepresentation of the position of Advaita Vedāntin. The author should, therefore, have qualified his above observation. It is wrong to think that because 'śravaṇa', 'manana', and 'nīdhiśśana' are part of Vedāntic Śādhanā, they are, therefore, the cause of Brahma-knowledge. The true Vedāntic position is that they merely remove the obstacles to Brahma-knowledge. The dust on the mirror is removed and the mirror receives the image but it will be wrong to say that the purity of the mirror is the cause of the image. Actions purify the mind but the purity of mind is not the cause of Brahma-knowledge which depends on the perception of the spirit that is imaged in the pure mind. The autonomous character of the spirit must be recognized.

The author is fully aware of the spiritual orientation of Indian philosophy. In a few essays dealing not with any particular system of thought but with the ethos of Indian philosophy and religion his outlook is marred by sanity and catholicity. Thus in an essay entitled
'Svabhāva vāda', this particular concept is so defined as to sublimate it to the spiritual level although ordinarily it is interpreted as 'naturalism' which sees the world as a conourse of fluxing contingencies bound together by the law of cause and effect. The author puts it in a spiritual context and following in the footsteps of the Gitā which equates 'Svabhāva' with spirituality (स्वभाविकारात्मकमुण्डले), he would like to render it as 'becoming or modality of the self'. This interpretation strips nature of its automatism and sees behind it an infusive and directory consciousness. We are reminded of Śrī Aurobindo's comment upon Gitā's प्रकृति मानिते मूतानि निम्रह: कि कार्यवस्ति where he says that प्रकृति has got to be followed but human nature or प्रकृति is to be distinguished from animal nature.

His viewpoint regarding the validity of Vedas is more in consonance with modern philosophies of mysticism than that of ancient Indian thinkers on Vedic authority though this particular view is not alive to Indian thought. The authority of the Veda is the authority of first-hand spiritual experience. The sceptic should first walk the way pointed out by the seer and he (the sceptic) should raise his eye-brows only if he does not come by spiritual knowledge in the end. Spiritual truths can be discovered only in the laboratory of the spirit by those who gird themselves for the effort.

The book makes for an easy introduction to some of the aspects of Indian thought although some of the themes like 'a comparative evaluation of Brahman qualified and unqualified' or the relation between Brahman and Śakti could have been made more lucid. These profound themes call unto profound moods to tackle them which the author has not always been able to appropriate. His conclusions are more often than not, right but he reaches them haltingly—almost limpingly. This is because of his unsure grip over his medium. Unhappy and ungrammatical phrasing and infelicitous turns of phrase are not hard to find. There are misprints here and there ('hydrogen' and oxygen on p. 38.) Words like "Formfulness" on p. 286 and a sentence like "Man succeeds to transcend the limitations of mind-body" on p. 53, detract from the scholarly value of this otherwise estimable work.

B.L. Goswami

**Hermeneutical Essays on Vedāntic Topics, J.G. Arapura, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, pp. 207, Rs. 100/-**

The book consists of 11 essays on Vedāntic topics like Being, Transcendence, Avidyā, Jīvan-mukti. It aims at elucidating "the
modern phenomenological and existential uses to which the theology
and ontology of Vedānta can be put." It also seeks to bring Vedāntic
thought to the treshold of those "who find it strange and alien."

These objectives are hardly clear. Vedāntic theology and ontology
(Nirguṇa Ātma-Vidyā and Saguṇa Ātma-Vidyā) cannot be made instrumen-
tial to any uses for Ātma-Vidyā does not lead to Mukti; it is Mukti.
Those who find Vedāntic thought strange and alien cannot be brought
nearer to it by using the categorial scheme of phenomenology and
existentialism. There may be superficial resemblances but the differences
run deep. True, such key Vedāntic terms as mind, ego, Buddhi and
Ātman constitute a sort of hierarchical phenomenology of consciousness.
Similarly Vedāntic idealism shares some of the categories and methodo-
dological postulates of existentialism. But the placement of Vedāntic
thought in a modernistic context made up of such movements as logical
positivism, phenomenology, existentialism etc. is apt to blur the true
aim of Vedāntism. Vedānta is a soteriological doctrine aiming at
salvation from ill. It is cradled in and nourished by a spiritual tradition.
But the above movements are either rooted in the introverted orienta-
tion of 'scientism' or expunge vital elements from the plenary con-
sciousness of men. They are severed from all tradition whose
ambience is the sap of spirituality and if there are any glimmers of
spirituality in any of them here and there they are but shards and
shells of a spirituality that has foundered on the rocks of anti-tradition-
al individualism. Thus phenomenology seems to be mapping out the
inner terrain of human consciousness. But Husserl has no intimation of
Ātman as the apex of consciousness. The secular existentialists, too,
are in the same boat, lurching from anxiety to despair, knowing 'duḥṣa
but unlike Buddhists, and Vedāntists unaware of absolution from
duḥṣa.

The author calls these essays hermeneutical. True, a close study and
careful explication of texts and key terms is necessary. But we have to
bear in mind that spiritual classics don't reveal their meaning to mere
intellectual curiosity. He who tries to understand them by mere cere-
bral activity is no wiser about them than one who interprets them
literally. For the one qualification needed here is not mere lexicogra-
phical proficiency but rectification of personality. Knowledge here is, as
they say, proportionate to being, is a function of transfigured conscious-
ness. These essays reveal cerebral activity of a high order. Prof.
Arapura has impressive credentials but there is a kindred strain in him
with those academics who cudgel their brains to find affinities of Indian
schools with modernistic philosophies and seek validation of ancient
Indian thought in terms of speculative categories. Speculation may
have its uses but soteriology is not philosophy.
One is left with the impression that there is an anti-mystical slant, in these writings which does not believe in ‘encasing’ speculation in terms of experience. The observation of the author that “in Śaṅkara, the author of the सांस्कृत, there is no ideal of Jīvanmukti,” leaves one agape with wonder. In Vivekacūḍāmaṇi, one of the few authentic poetical works of Śaṅkara, we find a full throated paean to the Jīvanmukta. His works are laced with the ecstasy of the Jīvanmukta. Quotations from the नायक्षिः will be useless as they too are replete with the experiential knowledge of Mukti here and now in the embodied state, on this bank and shoal of time. As a matter of fact, all scholars, old and new, agree that Jīvan-mukti is the differentia of Śaṅkara’s Vedānta. The concept of Jīvan-mukti becomes classified as we approach experiential knowledge of pure spirit as the eternal bedrock reality of our existence. But it is this pure spirituality about which the author is sceptical and of which he fights shy. His bid to make Vedāntic thought intelligible to those who are alienated from it by adopting existentialist and phenomenological categories can thus be understood, but hardly justified. For Vedāntic knowledge is existentialist to the core; it is not speculative, merely conceptual or rationalistic. It fulfils itself not, by piling up, ticketing and labelling hitherto unknown facts, but by revealing the unplumbed depths and levels of ‘I’ or empirical consciousness. By recasting this sterling existentialism in the image of the pinchbeck existentialism of a rootless generation, we hardly make Vedāntic thought intelligible. Whatever the merits of the work—and it bears the stamp of genuine scholarship—it fails in its resolve to bring Vedāntic thought nearer home to those to whom “it may have become strange and alien.”

B.L. Goswami


The Vākyārtha-Mātrkā of Śālikanātha Miśra is an important treatise of the Prabhākara-Mīmāṁsā. It forms the 11th Chapter of the, ‘Prakaraṇa-Pañcikā. It is a cluster of verses on which the author himself wrote a commentary. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first out of them serves as an introduction to the second. The first section consists of twentytwo Kārikās besides the recapitulatory verses by the author himself. In this section the author has established “Anvītābhidhānavāda (the theory of expression of the co-related)” and in doing so he has critized and refuted ‘Abhihitānvayavāda (the theory of co-relation of the expressed)’ as well as the theory of “Sphoṭa”. Further the author
discusses the three factors leading to the comprehension of the total meaning of a sentence viz., "Ākāṅkṣā", "Sannidhi" and "Yogyatā."

In the second section the author establishes, 'Niyoga' (moral imperative) as the meaning of the optative case-endings; Apūrva (Unique result) as the meaning of the Vedic optative and the effect of the actions as the non-Vedic optatives. In this section, there are 46 Kārikās and in both the sections Kārikās are followed by the Vṛtti.

In this small book Rajendranath Sarma has translation the Vākyārtha-Mātrkā into English. His translation is lucid, literal and faithful. There is an introduction discussing the contents of the book. The translation is followed by glossary.

In a highly technical work like this, explanatory notes are more important than the mere translation. The book however, does not contain any explanatory notes. The utility of this book may therefore be limited to the specialised scholars only. It would be desirable that in the second edition, such notes are added. Of course, the book as it is can be considered to be a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Mīmāṁsā.

G.U. Thite


This is the second edition of the Kātyāyana-Mata-Samgraha. The first one was published in 1929 (Calcutta). Kātyāyana's name is well-known to the students of Hindu law. His views are frequently quoted in the Nibandhas. His original work however is lost and we also have no means to ascertain his identity. There must have been many Kātyāyanas. There was a Kātyāyana who composed a Śrauta-sūtra, another one who wrote Vārttikas supplementing the Sūtras of Pāṇini; the third one who was a law-giver and so on. The views of Kātyāyana are available in fragmentary forms. In the present book the views of law attributed to Kātyāyana from various works like 'Viramitrodaya'; 'Vivādaratnakara'; 'Smṛticandrikā'; 'Dāyabhāga'; and the 'Parāsaramādhavīya-dharmasamāhita' are collected. They are well classified and presented in a systematic way. References are given to the works where the views of Kātyāyana are quoted.

The introduction deals with the problems of the identity of Kātyāyana, sources of Hindu law, Kātyāyana's relation to the older authors
and the Arthaśāstra; Kātyāyana’s importance in the Hindu Law etc. It also gives a summary of the contents.

Undoubtedly this is a very important collection of the legal fragments of Kātyāyana, quite useful to the students of Hindu law. This reprint therefore deserves to be received wholeheartedly. Its utility might have been increased if there had been an alphabetical index to the verses at the end.

G.U. Thite


The work under review embodies the results of a prolonged, deep and critical study of Goddess worship in India by Professor Coburn who has devoted long years to the study of Hindu religion and Sanskrit literature. This is evident from the impressive list of his writings on these subjects. The Cambridge University Press published his “Study of the Purāṇas and the Study of Religion” in 1980. The University of Berkeley brought out his “Consort of None, Śakti for All”. The Vision of the Devi-Māhātmya” in its Religious Studies Series. The present work is the culmination of the author’s quest to determine the nature of the Divine as Feminine. It is divided into four sections. The first section consists of a very learned prolegomenon covering 86 pages. In this section the author displays a remarkable grasp of the principles of textual criticism as applied to classical Sanskrit writings with special reference to the Purāṇas. The author next discusses the nature of the work going under the name Devi-Māhātmya, whether we can call it a Purāṇa, or whether it is a portion of a Purāṇa, and lastly he gives a lucid exposition of the historical ground work of the Devī Māhātmya.

After the prolegomenon, the author treats the subject proper in three parts. In part I, the various epithets of the goddess have been discussed in minute details, in 119 pages. The author explains each epithet by giving its literal meaning and then tracing the whole history of its use in Sanskrit literature right from the time of the Rgveda down to the final editing of the Purāṇas. In part II are given the myths connected with the goddess. These include the stories of Madhu and Kaitabha; of Mahiṣa; of Śumbha and Niśumbha. This part includes the integrated account of the Devī from the Vāman Purāṇa. In part III the author gives in English translation the hymns to the goddess from various Sanskrit texts. Thus from the Rgveda are given the Vāgambhi-ṭūti Sūkta (X, 125), the hymn to Rātrī (X, 127), the Śrī Sūkta—a Khila
(2.6), the Rātri Khila (4.2). From the Mahābhārata he gives, the Durgā Stava; from the Virāṭa parvan the Durgā Stotra in the Bhīṣma Parvan; from the Harivansā is quoted the praise of nidrā by Viṣṇu, and the hymn of Pradyumna, which is given in an appendix, and lastly the hymn of aniruddha. From the Devī Māhātmya itself he has quoted the Eulogy by Brahmā, the Eulogy by Śakra and others; the hymn called yā Devī and the Nārāyaṇī-stuti.

The work is thus "a comprehensive statement of the significance of the goddess. It is a wide ranging effort to establish her identity". The discussion of her epithets—a long list of over sixty is erudite, comprehensive, revealing and impressive.

The narrative of the myths is lucid and fully informative and the addition of the translation of the hymns in praise of the goddess, in important Sanskrit writings makes this study complete. In the words of Prof. D.H.H. Ingalls, formerly of the Harvard University. "To many corners of the Devī tradition he (Prof. Coburn) brings light for the first time. By the use of a carefully developed method of scriptural analysis he permits us to see in an earlier form many traits of the culturally composite goddess who has been worshipped in India for the past millennium and a half. Her character begins to take a historical dimension which has hitherto been reserved in India to the great masculine gods. This illumination is a notable scholarly achievement."

The work is a very rewarding and refreshing study for the research scholar on account of its copious referencing, elucidation of method of research, the investigations into the science of textual criticism and its comprehensive survey of the latest critical writing which can be regarded as authoritative and can be depended upon for guidance. A wonderfully rich galaxy of erudite writings on religion and philosophy against a historical setting is beautifully presented and it considerably adds to the readers' stock of knowledge on various topics of Indology. There are two appendices entitled 'The Seven Little Mothers' and the 'Correlation of Epithets and Myths'. A comprehensive and authoritative bibliography, meticulously accurate, enhances the value of the work in a great degree.

We congratulate the author for his very erudite handling of the religio—philosophic subject; and the publishers M./s. Motilal Banarsidas for the beautiful printing, fine paper and the loveable all over get up. Even the jacket is purposefully designed and printed.

Jagannath Agrawal
Minor Buddhist Texts Parts I & II, Giuseppe Tucci, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1986, pp. i-xii+1-598, Rs. 150/-.

The publishers of this, internationally known, first-rate ‘research work’, by one of the most eminent of the Buddhologists of our century that has been of an absorbing interest to the scholars as a ‘rich source material’ for research in Buddhist Thought ever since it was first published from Roma (Italy) in two volumes—Part I in 1956 and Part II in 1958—deserve to be congratulated and thanked for bringing it out as the first Indian edition. The fact that a reprint of it, in a single volume as in the present case, had also been issued from Japan in 1978 speaks of its continued value. The book is excellently reproduced except for an understatement and a howler in the very first two statements of the Blurb which are: “This volume is a Collection of Buddhist Sanskrit texts which were lying untraced in Nepal and Tibet in manuscript forms. They were discovered by the author in course of his intensive search, and are brought to light for the first time”.

As a matter of fact the value of the present volume does not so much lie in ‘bringing to light some Buddhist Sanskrit texts for the first time’—it, in fact, does not do so in all cases and need not do so since it itself points to the earlier editions of them, as for example to those of Mahāyāna Vimsīkā of Nāgārjuna by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya in 1931 from Calcutta (p. 195) and Hetutatvopadeśa of Jitārj, reconstructed Sanskrit text with the Tibetan version, by Durgacharan Chattopadhyaya in 1939, again from Calcutta (p. 249). The real value of the volume lies in the fact that the texts contained in it are all of them, in one way or the other, connected with that ‘perennial philosophy’ which has always been of interest to the discerning scholars, of the days gone by and of our own days.

This volume is ‘indeed a collection of Buddhist Sanskrit texts’ but it certainly is much more than that in so far as it is not only a thoroughly critical edition of more than half a dozen (to be precise, of eight) Buddhist Sanskrit texts, their translation into English; their comparative Tibetan, Chinese versions (in whichever case thought necessary) and very rich, perceptive and exhaustive introductions to each one of them. The whole treatment is extraordinary and so comprehensive that no detail seems to have escaped the notice and attention of the erudite author. Nothing lesser than this could have been expected from a scholar of the competence, experience and expertise of Prof. Tucci who had mastery over at least the five languages such as Italian, English, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. Besides, he had the benefit of having many competent
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scholars as his friends and admirers who extended to him fullest co-
operation in the pursuit and execution of his academic projects which has
been duly appreciated in the preface (pt. ii, p. xii).

The Sanskrit Buddhist Texts included in the Part I of the Volume
are: *Triśatikā-āh Prajñā-pāramitāyāh Kārikāsaptatiḥ* by Asaṅga; *Maha-
yāna-Vinśikā* of Nagārjuna; *Navāśloki* of Kambalapāda; *Catuḥstavasam-
ārtha* of Amṛatkara; *Hetuaitvopadeśa* of Jitārī and *Tarkasopāna* of
Vidyākāraśānti. It is a mixed assortment of works, catering to satisfy
the need of persons of varying interests. That is why Prof. Tucci while
expressing the hope: "they will certainly contribute to a better knowle-
dge of Buddhist thought," prefaced the sentence with the clause;
"Though the works are not all of equal importance" (PREFACE Pt. 1
p. xi.). During the thirty years of the extance of the volume, since its
first publication from Roma, the hope has not only been fully realized
but there had been growing interest in them. Many more people will
be benefited that way with this publication of the first Indian edition as
these excellent works of their interest will be available to more of them,
more easily now.

Prof. Tucci’s work on *Triśatikā-āh Prajñā-pāramitāyāh Kārikāsaptatiḥ*
of Asaṅga started when he found a three page worm eaten palm-
leaf manuscript with fragmentary contents but colophon intact giving
clearly the name of the text as such. He could not find a title correspon-
ding to it of any of the Tibetan or Chinese translations of the
Sanskrit texts. Yet he did lay his hand on a Chinese translation of a
text with (hypothetically restored) a title in Sanskrit as *Vajracchedikā-
prajñā-pāramitāśūtra-tāstra-kārikā* (or gāthā), compared the contents of
the two (Chinese and Sanskrit) texts and identified the text of the manuscript
with Asaṅga's Commentary on the *Vajracchedikā* (pp. 5-6) and declared,
"So our ms. contains the original of the kārikā in which Asaṅga summa-
rised and condensed in a logical and consequent way the abstruse
teaching of the Vajracchedikā." (p. 7). Once having done so it seems
natural for him that he should devote a 33 page introduction followed by
Appendix 1 'Comparison of Two Chinese versions of Taisho 1510 a
and 1510 b; Chapter 1. presenting 77 verse 'SANSKRIT TEXT;
CHINESE, TIBETAN AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS; Chapter 2.
dealing with the ‘ANALYSIS OF THE VAJRACCHEDIKA ACCORD-
ING TO VASUBANDHU’ (Taisho 1510) (COMPARED WITH
KAMALASĪLA’S COMMENTARY) and Appendix II on THE GILGIT
TEXT OF THE VAJRACCHEDIKA by N.P. CHAKRAVARTI
(together with introduction)...i.e. full 122 page section 1 of the work to
the treatment of the Text.
Less space is devoted to the treatment of Mahāyāna-Vimsīka of Nāgarjuna due to it being a shorter text requiring short introduction, its Tibetan and Chinese translations having been already published separately and only the English translation being included here requiring in all just 13 pages (from 195 to 208). The next text NAVAŚLOKI OF KAMBALAPĀDA, though smaller than the previous one occupies more space (Section dealing with it, i.e. Section III, is of 20 pages) because apart from the introduction the section dealing with it includes the Sanskrit Text-alternatively named as ĀRYĀŚATSĀHASRIKĀYĀH PRAJĀPĀRAMITĀYĀH PINDĀRTHAḥ. Two Tibetan translations respectively by Śraddhākaravaranma and Rin c’ en bzhan po and by Sumānaḥśrī and Rin c’ en grub; a Chinese translation and the English translation by Prof. Tucci. Catuḥstavasamārtha of Amṛtākara which is said to be a commentary on Catuhstava attributed to Ācārya Nāgarjuna (p. 235) is dealt with in section IV of part I of the volume. Out of the four hymns of the latter, namely LOKĀṬITASTAVA, NIRAPAMYASTAVA, ACINTYASTAVA and PARAMĀRTHASTAVA, the first is said to be missing (p. 237). The Sanskrit text of the other three is presented here along with a not very satisfactory short introduction which admits of lack of information indicated through a sentence such as "The author of the Samārtha is unknown to me." (Ibid.). The reason for the inclusion of the text in the volume seems to be 'its contents' being 'related both to the commentary on the Vajracchedikā and the Bhāvanākrama.' (238) in so far as it talks of the bhūmis quoting frequently the Daśabhūmika sūtra.

The final Section V of the Part I of the Volume deals with the Hetuttattvopadesa of Jitārī and the Tarkasopāna of Vidyākaraśāntī, presenting the texts in Sanskrit in that order preceded with a short introduction of the two together. These are texts on logic, the former of which is resembling the Nyāyapravēśa and the later Nyāyabindu Ṭīka of Dharmottara in style and design.

Part II of the volume (in 280 pages from pp. 314 to 592) is divided into two sections. Section I is further subdivided into two chapters, the first of which gives a detailed account of THE DEBATE that took place at the BSAM YAS monastery (or Temple) in Tibet between Kamalaśīla of India and Mahāyāna Hva šān (Ho shang) of China that formed the basis of the three treatises composed by Kamalaśīla as BHĀVANĀKRAMA I, II and III whereas the second chapter presents the contents of the BHĀVANĀKRAMA I by way of Introduction. In the second section are presented the Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts of the FIRST BHĀVANĀKRAMA. The Sanskrit text is provided with as many as 23 subheadings as follows: 1. Great compassion is of primary importance to

It may be appropriate to conclude the review with this list of subheadings and resist the temptation of referring to some very scholarly observations of Prof. Tucci from the introduction. They give a fairly fine idea as to what a rich fair intellectual-spiritual food is in store for someone who cares to enjoy going through the work.

K.K. Mittal

Cultural Relations between India and South-east Asian countries, H.B. Sarkar, Indian Council for Cultural Affairs & Moti Lal Banarsidass, Delhi 1985, pp. xxii+356 and 40 pages of illustrations on art paper and 5 maps, Rs. 400/-.

This is a comprehensive work on the spread of Indian culture in several countries of the South-eastern Asian peninsula and the islands of the Pacific ocean, like Sumatra, Java, Bali, Timur, Borneo Celebs etc., by a specialist, in what are known as Greater Indian Studies, who has been delving deep into the subject for the last fifty six years.

The work has been divided into 16 chapters some of which are mainly based on lectures delivered by the author at some Indian and foreign universities. In the first chapter the author has discussed the source material in great detail, which in some cases has appeared to us as out of all proportion. Many of the sources are
rather late in date and the information yielded by them does not appear to be substantial. The importance given to them seems to be due to their being foreign.

The second chapter gives the history and gradual development of the studies in the spread of Indian culture in South-east Asia and Indonesia on the basis of the monumental work done in the field of epigraphy, art and architecture by eminent French, Dutch, British and Indian scholars, through a critical and detailed examination of their writings. Here we get a very enlightening description of the writings of stalwarts like H. Kern, G. Coedes, A. Barth, Bergaigne, N.J. Krom, J. Gonda, Philippe Stern and I. Ph. Vogel. Due attention has been paid to the work of the early schools of Indian historians including R.C. Majumdar, K.A. Nilkant Sastri, P.N. Bose, B.R. Chatterji, Kalidas Nag, P.C. Bagchi and B. Ch Chhabra. The account is full and interesting as the author has not only covered all publications in the different branches of studies such as inscriptions, architecture, sculpture and literature, but has also presented a critical analysis of the contents of important works. The reader is thus enabled to get quite a lot of information about the work already done.

In the third chapter, the author has given a picture of the racial, linguistic and cultural conditions prevailing in these regions. The fourth chapter is more or less allied to the third. We get however some idea of the penetration of the Indian influences and their adjustment with the earlier beliefs and practices of the people. The fifth chapter deals with the nature of migrants from India to these countries, with special reference to the adventurous Kshatriyas who peacefully established kingdoms, and the missionaries who propagated the Brahmanical and Buddhist religions.

In the seventh chapter, the author discusses the introduction into these countries of the art of writing from India, which was certainly a great boon for these people who had so far been ignorant of this means of communication of knowledge. Prof. Sarkar has rightly highlighted the importance of this contribution of India to the culture of these countries and his observation is worth quoting: “There is hardly any doubt that much of the cultural heritage of South-east Asia would have been lost for ever if its people had not adopted at an early stage, the Indian art of writing. It is indeed very difficult now for the uninitiated people to discern that all the major scripts of South-east Asia, which today look very much different from those of India, owe their common origin to the late variety of the Indian Brâhmi Scripts.”
There is a sharp difference of opinion regarding the regions of India the script of which migrated to these Eastern colonies. In our opinion the characters of the Vocañh inscription from Indo-China, closely resemble the characters of the Eran inscription of Samudragupta, the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta-II dated G.E. 93, the script of the Copper-plate grants of the Mañtrakas and the script of the Pallava epigraphs. We may, therefore, suggest that it is the Brähmi script used in the Western and South-eastern coastal region-particularly the Vengi-rāṣṭra-that has gone into the South-east Asian countries. Eastern Indian Brähmi cannot in our opinion stake any claim to this honour. We may remark in passing that the facsimile of the Vocañh inscription has been published upside down in the present volume.

In chapter VIII, the author has made a survey of the ancient jurisprudence of South-east Asia, which has led him to conclude that the Manusmṛti played a dominant role in the foundation of the legal system in individual states of South-east Asia. However, the injunctions of other Indian Śāstras as well as the ancient tribal customs particularly of the agricultural communities were given proper consideration by the courts as well as the makers of Digests of Law in Sanskrit.

Chapter IX, provides glimpses of the tribal life of the Malayo-Indonesian world. The inscriptions and monuments of Central Java, evidently give evidence of a virile social life, in the building up of a complex Indo-Javanese culture. The early inscriptions of Central Java from A.D. 650 to A.D. 732 have been written in elaborate Sanskrit language, showing that Sanskrit scholarship flourished here in an abundant measure from the seventh century onward. Sanskrit scholars were equally proficient in the native language and were thus competent to disseminate Sanskrit culture among the native people. The author has given abundant evidence to prove his statement.

Chapter X, deals with the famous Śailendra dynasty of Java, which built the world famous Buddhist monument the Barabudur. He has discussed in detail the views of R.C. Majumdar, K.A.N. Sastri, Coedes and others and has found them lacking conviction. He has arrived at the hypothesis that the rulers of Śrī Śailam, with their capital at Vijayapuri or a collateral branch, migrated from their homeland in the lower Kṛṣṇā valley to seek fortune in Sumatra that they organised a massive colonization drive, in which people from the Deccan, the Coromandel coast, the Pandya lands and Malabar participated. A new Śrīvijayan kingdom was founded which extended its authority to Central Java. This view has much in it to make it likely. It was this powerful
Šailendra dynasty which built the majestic Buddhist monument, the Barabudur, which to us appears to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word Varabhūdhara a splendid mountain. The Buddhist monument does look like a mountain.

Chapter XI, describes the sea-borne commerce between India and South-east Asia. A detailed account of the commodities that were exchanged and the ports at which the ships called makes an interesting reading.

In chapter XII, the author tells how Sanskrit and Pāli languages were introduced into South-east Asia, and their study was placed on a firm footing. These languages penetrated deeply into various countries of this region, and their vocabulary obtained a permanent place in its languages. The author has meticulously noted the percentage of Sanskrit words in the various regional languages. Hundreds of Sanskrit inscriptions have been found from Kambuja. Pāli was introduced into Burma with the spread of the Buddhist religion. The advent of Hinayāna Buddhism in Thailand in the second half of the 12th Century promoted the growth of Pāli language and literature in Thailand, where original works on Buddhist religion were written. When we take stock of the Sanskrit and Pāli writings in this region we find ourselves almost in the Indian world. The author’s survey is comprehensive and his account in the next chapter is fascinating.

In chapter XIII, the author has given us a vivid picture of the flourishing state of Sanskrit literature. Many of the kings and queens of Kambuja were accomplished scholars of Sanskrit literature having acquired proficiency in its various branches such as Pāñjinian grammar, the Mahābhāṣya, Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra, Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya philosophies. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were highly popular. We find the whole story of the Rāmāyaṇa told in the sculptures of the Barabudur though it is a Buddhist monument. The inscriptions from Indo-China mention the names of great Indian authors of Sanskrit literature such as Vātsyāyana, Guṇāḍhya, Bhāravi, Pravarasena, Viśālakṣa, Śūra and Mayūra. Both Buddhist and Brahmanical works were popularly studied.

Chapter XIV, is particularly interesting as it tells us about the spread of the two Indian Epics in South-east Asia, “not only in texts and temples but also in the heart of the people.” While the original Indian Sanskrit texts both of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata were preserved in the temples and the royal libraries, their versions in local languages
were prepared throughout S.E. Asia. Thus we have the Rāmāyaṇa of Yogiśvara in Java, the Rāma-kerti of Kambuja, Rāmakien of Thailand, and the Hikayat Seri Rāma of Malaya. Besides these texts in local languages, we also find the Rāmāyaṇa story in stone sculptures on the walls of temples in the Prambanan Valley and at Barabudur in Java, Angkor Vat in Cambodia, and at several other places.

The Mahābhārata had been introduced in Cambodia before the 6th century A.D. soon it became very popular all over S.E. Asia. King Dharmavarma Ananta Vikrama of East Java had the versions of four Parvas rendered into old Javanese. Other Parvas were also rendered into local dialects. In addition to this many episodes based on the incidents of the story were also prepared such as the Arjunavivāha. Sarkar has thus given a succinct exhaustive and impressive account of the popularity of the Mahābhārata and its various episodes amongst the people of S.E. Asia.

Chapter XV, deals with the introduction of the Indian influences in art and architecture of S.E. Asia. He tackles the problem of the source of these influences in India and refers to the various views. While in dealing with art he has gone into sufficient detail, curiously enough, he has dealt with the grand monument—The Barabudur rather curtly.

In the last chapter XVI, the author has beautifully summed up the whole activity of the Indian people which may be best expressed in the following words of George Coedes:

"The expansive power of their (i.e. Indian’s) culture and the dynamism of their civilization of which the Indians seem never to have been completely conscious, manifested themselves in all the countries to which they emigrated."

Let us hope that the modern writings like the one by H.B. Sarkar, under review will not only go a long way in awakening that consciousness amongst the present day Indians but also arouse amongst the people of S.E. Asia a feeling of kinship, and the fervent hope expressed by Rabindranath Tagore that "The old that has been lost, to be regained and made new," will be fulfilled. While the author has done his best to bring to limelight a glorious chapter in India's past and richly deserves our hearty felicitations, the printers and publishers too share our feelings of praise. The printing, paper and the plates are exceedingly fine, and leave nothing to be desired. At a few places, the type has been mis-
placed and may sometimes cause a little inconvenience to the reader, but that does not affect the high merit of the work. Kalidasa has truly said:

एको हि दोषो गुणसङ्ग्रहाते निमित्ततीर्थोऽहिकरणेष्विवाहः ॥

Jagannath Agrawal

**Vaśidaka Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa (History of Vedic Literature). Dr. Karn Singh, Sahitya Bhandar, Meerut 1986-87, pp. 144, Rs. 10/-**

As the author has himself stated the present work has been written for the students who have to offer a paper on Vedic Literature for their M.A. Course. There is not the slightest doubt that the work under review will admirably fulfil the purpose for which it had been undertaken. It contains full, complete, authentic and very well arranged information on the various aspects of Vedic Literature which an average student needs.

Quite apart from its limited objective the present work will be highly useful to the general reader who wants to get reliable knowledge about the various branches of the ancient Vedic Literature with which every educated and intelligent person is expected to be acquainted. The author has set forth the necessary information about the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and the auxiliary Vedic Literature in a form unencumbered with pedantic details, and very easily comprehensible. The language employed is simple, chaste and graceful. The work will prove of great use for the student and layman alike.

However, we would like to point out that the value of the work would have been much enhanced, if the author had included in the Bibliography, standard works of eminent Sanskritists both Indian and Foreign instead of confining himself to books of ordinary range. A few significant omissions are, ‘The Vedic Kalpasūtras and Vaidika Vyākaraṇa by Dr. Ram Gopal, The Nighanta and the Nirukta by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Vedic Metre by Arnold, Vedic Bibliography by Dr. R.N. Dandekar and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith.

The work, on the whole is an excellent guide for one eager to be introduced to the Vedic Literature and a dependable text book for the student. It is very moderately priced.

Jagannath Agrawal
Västusūtra Upaniṣad (The Essence of Form in Sacred Art), Sanskrit Text, English Translation and Notes, Alice Boner, Sadāśiva Rath Šarmā and Bettina Baumer, Moti Lal Banarsidass, Delhi 1982, pp. xxii+192 with 3 plates, Rs. 150/-.

The present work contains the text of an old work on the Śilpaśāstra in Sanskrit, which was the subject of special study of Alice Boner, the author of Principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture which she had herself formulated. For long years she was in search of authoritative texts on temple architecture and sculpture in order to get a confirmation of her insight. She first discovered the Śilpaprakāśa which was published by E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1966. She persevered in her search and discovered the present work, but the MS. found by her was highly corrupt. She was lucky to get a better MS. from Pandit Sadāśiva Rath Šarmā but soon after starting its editing Boner fell ill and entrusted the task of revision of the text and translation together with critical and exegetical notes to Baumer, with whose collaboration the work was completed in April 1981, shortly before her unfortunate demise.

Being called an Upaniṣad the work presents a ticklish problem. In the very opening lines of this treatise, Atharvāṅgiras Śilpakāśyapa inquires about the subject of Vāstuvidyā from the sage Paippalāda, the author of one of the recensions of the Atharvaveda. His answer to the inquiry resulted in the present work. The question now arises, whether the present text is really a work of Paippalāda. A study of the Śūtra text, however, shows that the author knew the Atharvaveda, only vaguely. Moreover, the citations given in the present text are all from the Śaunakīya recension of the AV. In his introduction Dr. Deepak Bhattacharya rightly concludes that the long-drawn process of absorption of extra-Vedic elements into the fold of Vedicism through the Atharvaveda seems to have brought the nucleus of the Śilpa Vāstusāstra into the range of the Atharva-Vedic literature and given rise to the Atharva Vāstusāstra tradition. The Atharvaveda seems to have been used to put a stamp of antiquity on a very modern work. Still it must be noted that the present work confirms the intuition of Alice Boner which had enabled her to formulate what she called “The principles of Composition in Hindu Sculpture”, after a deep study of the sculptures of Ellora.

The present text may not be an ancient one, but it seems to be based on ancient traditional knowledge of the subject as handed down from generation to generation in the families of professional sculptors. In the light of this view, the Västusūtra-Upaniṣad even in this present
state is a welcome addition to the scanty literature on the subject and we feel indebted to the authors and the enterprising publishers for bringing to the fore a work on an obscure subject. The printing, paper and the plates are excellent and worthy of the high reputation of Motilal Banarsidass, an old house bringing out rare works in the field of Indological studies.

Jagannath Agrawal

**Aksara—A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy,**
*P.M. Modi*, Sri Satguru Publications. 40/5, Shakti Nagar, Delhi 1985, (Second edn.), pp. xii-175, ii. Price not stated.

It is a fact that intense studies on the evolution of the metaphysical terms used in Indian philosophy are of the utmost importance in the understanding of the development of that philosophy down the ages. To consider a term as connoting an identical sense right from Vedic times through several millennia, when newer and newer concepts were evolving, especially in philosophical thought, would be quite untenable. To trace how connotations got altered and acquired new nuances or discarded some, while the form of the term remained the same, is a fascinating study. But the task is arduous, risky and quite often non-confirmative. But without such studies the understanding of the subject cannot be full. There again, if chronologies of texts or waves of thought can be fixed on the basis of extensive studies of a few terms, such chronology can prove to be very useful in the study of the evolution of other terms. It is on this background that one has to evaluate the importance of the pioneering work of P.M. Modi who has taken up an intensive study of the evolution of the metaphysical term *aksara* and the *aksarapurusa* concept in the Vedic *samhitās*, the Early Metrical *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā*, *Mahābhārata*, *Brahma-sūtra* and the works of later *Vedāntins*.

*Inter alia*, the author brings to the fore the four mutually different concepts of *aksara* preserved in the *Mahābhārata* XII. 182-253, 302-17, 308 and 334-52, which represent, respectively, the Aupaniṣada, Śāṅkhya, Yoga and Pañcarātra connotations. The evolution of Epic Śāṅkhya and Classical Śāṅkhya is also noticed. If P.M. Modi’s pioneer attempt, first published in 1932, has stimulated some later studies on other metaphysical terms following the methodology chalked out by him, much more still remains to be done in this line.
The present publication is, obviously, an offset photo reprint of the older edition, which is welcome because the older edition is out of print. It is a pity, however, that the publishers have reprinted also the long Errata of the older edition instead of incorporating the corrections in the body of the book. The publishers could also have provided the book with a Subject Index which it badly needs.

K.V. Sarma


The origin of the universe and its dissolution is a subject which every school of Indian philosophy has endeavoured to explain. K.P. Sinha has set out in this book, in brief, the theories offered by the different schools and sub-schools, to wit, Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sānkhya, Yoga, Advaita-Vedānta, Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, Sudhādvaita, Bhedābheda, Pāṣupata, Śaiva-siddhānta, Śīvādvaita, Vīraśaiva, Pañcarātra, the Purāṇas, Pratyabhijñā Śākta and Vaiyākaraṇa. Even as expected, a vein of commonality runs through all these, but there are differences. However, in a highly analytic manner, the author identifies a comprehensive synthetic theory based on the Pratyabhijñā school of Kashmir Śaivism and Bengali Vaiśnavism, according to which Creation consists of three stages of development, viz., the consciousness, energy and matter. And he manages to adapt all the theories of the different schools of philosophy into this synthetic system, pointing out that the respective schools had but omitted certain aspects or added certain others. The entire study is a pointer to the basic fundamentals of Indian philosophy, a line of research which can be taken up with reference to other main topics of philosophy as well.

The author has provided short notes including relevant quotations from original texts. But these are placed at the end of the book under different sections. The reader would have been facilitated had these notes been placed at the foot of the relevant pages. The book carries a good Bibliography but needs an Index for easy reference to the varied material contained in it.

K.V. Sarma

Both Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvira were contemporaries according to recorded history, and preached their teachings within a few years of each other, as a reaction to the then prevailing Brahmanical Hinduism riddled with ritualistic practices. Both advocated a pure life of piety, medication, non-injury, renunciation and ultimate liberation, but neither has left any direct version of his teachings. Here, the question arises as to whether their teachings given under identical backgrounds, were the same, similar or different? Unfortunately what we have in record today are the redactions of the works of the masters which have come through a line of disciples, put together in book-form centuries after their authors had passed away from the world. And, by that time, both Buddhism and Jainism had split themselves up into schools, sects and schisms, and presented themselves as two distinct religions. The burden of the book under review is to prove that “there is not any difference between Jainism and Buddhism. Whether we speak of Jainism or Buddhism before Gautama Buddha, we speak of one and the same thing. Gautama Buddha made easy the external conduct of the monks only. He maintained the same philosophy which was prevalent in Jainism or Old Buddhism.” (Intro., p. xi.)

The author aims to prove his point, successfully enough, by essaying together a number of passages from the earliest available books of the two religions relating to (Buddhist) nirvāṇa and (Jain) mokṣa, views on the existence of the soul, the path to liberation, *karma* and its fruits, and views on *ahimsa* (non-injury). The parallel passages indicated by him are generally conclusive on the point. In the last section of the book entitled “Why Jainism and Buddhism are the same” (pp. 276-304), the author demonstrates, quoting the words of the Buddha as recorded in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, that, during the first six years of his self-exile, he lived just like a Digambara Jain. The life-style and meditative and other practices of the Buddhists are also shown to be practically the same but for certain external details.

The author does not go into the deeper aspects of Buddhist and Jain philosophy and dialectics as they developed in later times. Obviously that is beside his objective which is to show that the teachings of the two masters were the same during the early phase. Keeping this in mind and viewing the later feuds and acrimonies that erupted later between the followers of the two religions, one might echo the closing words of the author when he says: “The Jains and the Buddhists should mutually
understand each other’s literature and be friendly, knowing that their philosophies have emanated from a common source.” (p. 304).

However, what would pain the discerning reader of the book, misleading and confusing him, is the plethora of errors, mostly in the matter of spelling and in clubbing together of separate words and breaking up single words in the Sanskrit and Pali quotations in the book. Pointing out all such errors will fill pages and be too much for a review. Suffice to say that there is hardly a quotation in the book which is free from errors, either in its Devanagari printing or in its printing with dia-critical marks. The onus for this lapse is to be placed squarely on the shoulders of the publishers of the book, Sri Satguru Publications, who should have corrected these errors before giving the book for printing. To be sure, the scholarly world deserve better treatment from them.

K.V. Sarma

A Graphic Representation of Vedāntasāra, P.M. Pattanayak, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 91, graphs 27, Rs. 150/-. 

Sadānanda Yogendra’s Vedāntasāra (15th Century) is a standard introductory text-book on Advaita Vedānta which advocates identity between Jīvātman (individual self) and Brahman and explains the duality of knower and known and the plurality of the world by the concept of Māyā which is regarded as mysterious cosmic power of two-fold functions of concealing Reality, Brahman, and projecting the world of multiplicity and diversity.

Advaita Vedānta as propounded by Śaṅkara in 8th century by writing commentaries on Vedānta Sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa, the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā and as further expounded by his followers such as Vācaspati (9th century), Sarvajñātman (9th century), Padmapāda and Prakāśātman (12th century), Citsukha (13th century), Vidyāraṇya (14th century), Madhusūdana (16th century) and Appaya Dīkṣīta (16th century) is not simply a theoretical idealistic philosophy but a practical spiritual science the aim of which is not merely to establish rationally the non-duality (advaita) of Self and Brahman but also to help the aspirants to realize this non-duality in their innermost experience. Following this tradition of Advaita-Vedānta, Sadānanda Yogendra (15th century) in his Vedāntasāra first explaining with great precision and clarity the essential Advaitic concepts of Brahman, Māyā or Ajñāna, Adhyāropa, Iśvara, Creation, and also the process of interpreting the great Vedic utterances, such as ‘That Thou Art’ (Tattvam-asī) and ‘I am Brahma’ (Aham-brahmāsmi) elaborates the practical method and its steps of realizing the non-duality of Self and Brahman as the highest stage of spiritual expe-
rience resulting in liberation of self even in the body (Jivanmukti).

All these Vedântic concepts are quite abstruse and invention of any device that could help the students of Vedânta to comprehend them with clarity is certainly to be welcomed. Shri P.M. Pattanayak in the book under review, has made laudable effort for presenting these concepts of Advaita Vedânta in visual form.

The author has made successful attempt to cover all the subject-matter of Vedântasâra in 27 graphs. Each graph is neatly drawn and is preceded by explanatory notes in Sanskrit as well as in English. The descriptive content of the graphs is given in Sanskrit. The book can serve as a teaching aid for Vedânta and it is with this aim that the author has written it.

The author deserves congratulations for innovating the method of presenting abstract philosophic concepts in visual forms.

The value of the book will immensely be increased if in the next edition the errors of diacritical marks, and punctuation seen in the Sanskrit text, are removed and the English version is improved upon not only by correcting grammatical and punctuation errors but also by using more appropriate English words for the technical Sanskrit terms and also a brief introduction regarding the subject matter of the book is added.

B.L. Sharma

Pâñinîya Vyâkaraâna Kâ Bhûmikā, V. Kârâswâmi Āyângâra, Prabhât Prakashan, Delhi 1983, pp. 178, Rs. 40/-.

This introduction to Pâñini’s grammar, written in Hindi will be particularly useful for traditional Sanskrit scholars as well as students and teachers who prefer Hindi as their medium.

The book carries the title of its first chapter where the author takes a cursory notice of the origin of Sanskrit grammar, discusses the viewpoints of Śâkaṭâyana and Gârgya and takes account of the relation of Nirukta and Vyâkaraâna. Accepting the Nirukta to be an extension of Vyâkaraâna he rightly concludes that the latter was fully developed before the former which serves as a link between Vyâkaraâna and Lexicography. Pâñini making use of the available tradition succeeded in com-
posing a scientific grammar giving rise to an independent school of Sanskrit Grammar inspiring fifteen hundred works and pushing out of circulation all other contemporary systems. The author narrates with examples how Pāṇini succeeded adopting the acute shortness, i.e. lāghava (pp. 41-45), one of the prominent uses of Vyākaraṇa. He shows with a few examples how Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana has given thought and supplemented the ukta, unukta and durukta rules of Pāṇini (pp. 58, 76) and how Patañjali has either supplemented, defended or newly explained the Sūtrakāra and either corrected or rejected the suggestions of Vārttikakāra (pp. 77-78, 85-86). The author has lucidly explained some of these much debated questions. He has also taken into account a few rules of Pāṇini which are rejected by Patañjali (p. 79) as redundant and superfluous and supported the well established principle of Yathottaram muninām prāmāṇyam.

The second chapter deals with the formation of language (Bhāsa Kā Svarūpa). The inter-relation of letters, words and sentences according to formation and meaning has been taken into account. The difference between šabda and apaśabda Pāṇini’s rules about six kārakas and vibhakts, definition of kāraka, relation of kārakas and vibhakts are shortly discussed. Pāṇinian rules about morphology, syntax, tenses and moods are debated. Relation of words and meaning according to Patañjali and his commentators Kaiyata and Nāgēsa and relevant views of Bhaṭṭoṣi Dikṣita in Šabdakaustubha are also discussed in brief. Definition of word and its eternity too have been discussed.

What is sphoṭa (Sphoṭa Kā Svarūpa) is the subject of the third chapter. The two types of sphoṭa, Vyaktisphoṭa and Jatisphoṭa accepted by traditional scholars have been discussed alongwith their sub divisions according to Patañjali and his commentators, Bhartṛhari and Bhaṭṭoṣi Dikṣita.

The last chapter deals with the Types of Word (šabda Ke Bheda). After explaining the renowned Rgvedic mantra—Catvāri vākparimitā padāni—according to Patañjali and Yāska, the author has discussed the nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga and nipaṭa. Nouns, Pronouns and Adjectives are included in nāma padas. All these types of words are discussed according to the traditional grammarians.

While going through the book one regretfully comes across many mistakes, omissions and commissions scattered through its pages. Verses and passages are found quoted without their sources.

The author has limited himself to the tradition, i.e. the Trimunis, Kaiyata, Nāgēsa and Bhaṭṭoṣi Dikṣita and failed to utilise the research
works of modern Indian and Western scholars. The work often becomes overburdened with long quotations of texts and commentaries. The author has also failed to give any footnotes and index, bibliography and errata, are conspicuously lacking.

These minor drawbacks notwithstanding the present work will serve as a primary instrument for understanding the Pāṇinian word machination.

Outward get up, printing and the quality of paper are satisfactory. Price is also reasonable.

Ranvir Singh

1. Mahābhārata Ke Pātra (Hindi, Two Volumes), Jagata Nārāyaṇa Dube, Prabhat Prakashan, Delhi 1986, pp. 315+395, Rs. 60/-.
   + Rs. 60/-.

2. Bhārattyā Kalā Drsti (Hindi), Sachchidananda Vatsyayana, Prabhat Prakashan, Delhi 1985, pp. 160, Rs. 56/-.

It is gratifying to see more and more books on Indological subjects coming out in Hindi. M/s. Prabhat Prakashan therefore deserve appreciation of Sanskritists for bringing out the two books under review.

The first contains character sketches of a number of important personalities figuring in the Mahābhārata. The comprehensive work is in two Volumes The first deals with Arjuna, Bhīma, Droṇa, Aśvatthāmā, Abhimanyu, Bhīma and Karṇa while the second covers Yudhisṭhīra, Nakula, Sahadeva, Sātyaki, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Ghaṭotkaca, Duryodhana, Kṛpa, Śalya Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vidura, Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Draupadi, Kunti, Gāndhāri, Subhadrā and Uttarā. The list is fairly exhaustive and covers almost all important characters of the Great Epic.

As claimed in the blurb the author has presented a comprehensive and authentic analysis of the character of the Epic personalities on the basis of the original text from which a good number of quotations have been produced wherever necessary. The treatment is balanced and free from prejudice. One notices however that sufficient importance has not been attached to the philosophy pronounced by Śrīkṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā. This appears to be due to the author’s emphasis on personality rather than philosophy of his subjects.

The work will be undoubtedly of value for scholars and students alike.
The second work is a collection of eight articles on a wide range of topics from the pen of well known scholars of different fields. It has been edited by the late Shri Sachchidananda Vatsyayana the renowned Hindi poet, novelist and thinker.

The first essay of Shri Narayana Chaturvedi deals with the versatile learning of Ray Krishna Das and his services in the cause of Hindi language and in the process takes note of the work of several noted personalities of the Hindi world including Bharatendu Harishchandra. In the second article the well known critic Vidya Niwas Mishra examines "Koomaraswami's Thought on India". The third by Ranga Nath Roy relates to the "Indus Civilization, Its Script and Language". In the fourth Anand Krishna writes on "Early Mughal Painting Style". The next article on "Music and Rasa Theory: A Problem" comes from Mukunda Lath. The sixth deals with "Modern Hindi Poetry and Music" while the seventh by Nirmal Verma examines "Indian Tradition and Contemporary Life". The last contains the thoughts of Sachchidananda Vatsyayana on "Language, Art and Colonial Mind". There are two appendices at the end, the first presenting the inaugural address of the late lamented Hindi Poetess Mahadevi Verma and the second the presidential remarks of Dr. Prem Lata Sharma on the paper of Mukund Lath already mentioned.

At a function held in Varanasi in 1981 on the occasion of the first death anniversary of Ray Krishna Das it was decided to arrange a lecture series every year in his memory. Accordingly the first, second and third lecture series were arranged at Patna, Allahabad and Lucknow respectively with the objective of cultivating and encouraging public interest in the culture, literature and arts of India. The present collection contains selected lectures delivered in these three series.

All the lectures reveal deep study and a refreshing approach of the concerned scholars who are not only well known in Hindi circles but to the scholars of Indology as a whole. The articles are well documented and references to relevant sources have been made in several cases. There is material in the book which will cater to a wide range of interests. The student of ancient Indian History will find the article on Indus Valley Civilization as valuable as the student of Sanskrit language. In short, there is material of interest for the scholars and the students of Indian history and art as well as languages.

The printing and get up of the two books are attractive and the price
reasonable. The Publishers deserve to be congratulated for making these two interesting works available to the world of scholars.

S. Prabha

The Advaitic Theism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Daniel P. Sheridan, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Rs. 75/-.

The book "Advaitic Theism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa" is divided into nine chapters, each dealing with one aspect of the topic. The first chapter introduces the subject with brief analysis of the date, authorship, Purānic genre, contents, method of redaction and criticism of the text Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The 'Supreme Person', the 'Absolute' 'with' and 'without' qualities, Illusion and Bondage, Non-dualism and Pluralism etc., have been discussed in the second chapter. The Śāṅkhyas of the Bhāgavata has found expression in the third. The 'Identity' of Bhagavān, under the sub-heads, Kṛṣṇa over Viṣṇu, the four ages, Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa, Avatāra, Gagāvatāra, Vyāha, Līlāvatāra etc., form the subject matter of the fourth chapter whereas the various forms of devotion have been presented in the fifth. Further, the devotion, devotee with reference to Ecstatic Play (rāsa-līlā), separation etc., together with the interpretation of the Bhāgavata by different schools have been presented and analysed in the sixth and seventh chapters respectively. The religious structure of the Bhāgavata examining the problems like 'Non-Dualism' and 'Difference in Identity' in general and the Bhāgavata's 'Difference in Identity' in particular, appear in the eighth chapter. Chapter nine presents the conclusion with valuable academic informations providing sufficient indication for further enquiry.

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa is one of the finest creations, of the great seer Vyāsa in bringing down the divinity within humanity with harmonious access to all interested in relishing the sublime devotional flavour. The charming description of the 'Plays' of the 'Descent' (Avatāra) with his divine associates ever increases the urge for spiritual gain through the devotional practices in its various forms. The present book is an authentic record of beautiful presentation of 'Advaitic Theism' mainly based on the materials of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and analysed in the background of ancillary literature and modern researches. The 'premise' appears to be pre-determined as 'Advaitic Theism' of the text and the entire attention is focussed on highlighting and establishing the same with full magnanimity of celestial grandeur. All the arguments as well as the expositions centre around it. In doing so, many important religio-philosophical concepts of the text have not received proper attention, which would
have been the items for enhancing the academic merit of the book. The expressions, in some places, are more emotional than factual, perhaps due to the magnitude of devotional waves. However, the presentation of the facts is orthodox with the true spirit of the text, put in the frame work of modern researches, for which the author deserves commendation. The book is well printed and reasonably priced.

Mahesh Tiwary

Laments in Sanskrit Literature, Sures Chandra Banerji, Chaukhamba Orientalia, Varanasi 1985, pp. 237, Rs. 125/-.

The work under review was inspired by the similarity which struck the author during his study of Laments in Sanskrit Literature with the plaintive wails and loud lamentations, particularly of rustic women, which he had heard in his childhood.

The collection draws its contents from Vedic, Epic, Purānic and classical Sanskrit Literature and is supposed to give the reader a glimpse of an aspect of Indian life through different ages. The period covered is from circa 1500 B.C. to 1100 A.D. which according to the author includes the literature from the Ṛgveda to the Naiṣadha Carita. Besides the Ṛgveda, the Epic and the Purānas, the reader will come across great writers like Ṛṣabha, Kālidāsa, Bāna Bhaṭṭa, Śūdraka, Bhavabhūti and Śrī Harṣa in the pages of this work.

In an introduction of about thirty pages, the author-compiler gives general remarks on the Kāruṇa Rasa and Laments in Sanskrit Literature following it up with classification and characteristics of laments and their literary estimate. It is interesting to note the author’s observation that the poets, while composing laments, have not indulged in showing off their literary skill and double entendres, long compounds, pedantic language and other kinds of tour de force do not mar these compositions although at times the picture might appear to be overdrawn to modern taste. But then society was perhaps more emotional and less materialistic in olden days than it is now.

The method adopted by author-compiler is of presenting the Sanskrit text of each lament with English translation preceded by a brief introduction to provide the necessary background. Three appendices are added at the end, first giving the glossary of technical terms and difficult words, the second containing unparāśinian forms and third offering brief notes on myths and legends.
The author has tapped an untouched area in Sanskrit literature and the material presented will be of interest not only for the Sanskritists but also for students of comparative literature and social history.

The printing, binding and get up are of a much better quality than the paper and the price a little excessive.

O.P. Bharadwaj

_Hindu Philosophy—The Orthodox Systems_, Ram Chandra Bose, Asian Education Services, Delhi 1986, pp. 420, Rs. 135/-. 

Hindu Philosophy is a reprint of its earlier edition published as far back as 1884 by the Punjab Religious Book Society of Lahore. It contains twelve chapters and a supplement.

The first two chapters deal with the sources of Hindu Philosophy, the third with the age of Hindu Philosophy and fourth and fifth with the Sāṅkhya Philosophy. The sixth is devoted to Yoga Philosophy, seventh to the Nyāya system, eighth to the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy and the ninth to Pūrva Mīmāṃsā. The last three chapters respectively cover the Vedānta system, the māyā and a contrast between the Hindu and Christian Philosophy. The supplement is an essay on Hindu Eclecticism.

As the author says in his preface some of these chapters present the substance of lectures delivered by him at various places in India as part of his missionary activities. The two chapters on Sāṅkhya Philosophy appeared as articles in the Calcutta Review and the one on Yoga Philosophy in the Indian Evangelical Review. The contrast between Hindu and Christian Philosophy was the subject of his lecture at Key East in America while the Supplement contains the article published in the Methodist Quarterly.

The lectures are admittedly based on translations of original works and attempt to present the leading principles of the schools in the words of their celebrated founders and champions. The author was also motivated by a desire to bring out the similarity between the broad principles of Hindu philosophical systems and those which modern philosophers are prone to represent as original.

The work apparently presents a missionary’s point of view and need not be compared with recent standard works on the subject. The treatment is quite comprehensive although the absence of the use of diacritical marks would be irksome to modern readers. This however does not apply to the layman who will find it easy to go through a work which is not burdened by quotations in original Sanskrit.
The printing, binding and general get up are very satisfactory although the price might appear to be slightly high.

O.P. Bharadwaj

**Magadhan Literature, Hara Prasad Sastry**, Sri Satguru Publications, second edition, Delhi 1986, pp. 133, Rs. 100/-.

This reprint of a collection of six lectures delivered by the Late reputed Indologist Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastry will be warmly welcomed by students of Sanskrit literature. The first lecture deals with the original inhabitants of Magadhā, the second with Pāñali-putra—the intellectual capital of India, the third with historical lessons from the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, the fourth with Vātsyāyana’s Kāma-sūtra, the fifth with Vātsyāyana’s Nyāya Bhāṣya and the last with Bāna Bhaṭṭa and Āryabhaṭṭa.

The blurb rightly informs the reader that the first lecture brings out the salient features of the land and its association with Vedic literature. In the second the seven great writers Upavaṭsa, Varṣa, Pāñini, Piṅgala, Vyādi, Vararuci and Patañjali traces their association with the land of Magadha. In the remaining lectures a detailed study of the Arthaśāstra, Kāmasūtra, Nyāya Bhāṣya and of the writers Bāna Bhaṭṭa and Āryabhaṭṭa is undertaken.

The lectures reflect the deep erudition, extensive study and penetrating insight of the learned author and deserve to be studied with care even after seventy years of their first publication. The publishers deserve appreciation for bringing out this reprint.

The printing, binding and general get up are well done although the price is slightly on the high side.

O.P. Bharadwaj

**An Indian Ephemeris—A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000, L.D. Swamikanṭu Pillai** Reprint, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 1987, pp. 20+433, Rs. 295/-.

This is a reprint of Dewan Bahadur Pillai’s Indian Ephemeris which was first published in 1915.

The work is based on the author’s previous work Indian Chronology (1911) and shows for everyday in the year for two hundred years from.
A.D. 1800 to A.D. 2000, the ending moments of tithis and nakṣatras with the English, Tamil, Malayalam and Mohammedan equivalents: and for every ten days, from A.D. 1910 to A.D. 2000, the geocentric longitudes of planets, mainly according to the Sūrya Siddhānta, the years in different Eras, A.D., Hijra, Saka, Vikrama, Kaliyuga, Kollam, etc. and tables for ascertaining local time, with full instructions for casting lagna and horoscope, and tables of Hindu fasts, feasts and festivals and solar and lunar eclipses.

The Ephemeris proper covers four hundred thirty three pages. Of the preceding two chapters, the first describes the methodology employed by the author and the earlier works on which it is based. The second chapter contains notes on tithis in relation to festivals, ending with a table of Hindu fasts, feasts and festivals. Although the work was originally prepared for the use of epigraphists with the financial help of the Madras Government, it has been constantly used by historians, geographers, astrologers and others who will be undoubtedly pleased to possess it in a presentable volume which is well printed, handsomely bound and, considering the limited potential for sale, reasonably priced.

The publishers deserve appreciation for bringing out this reprint of a valuable reference work.

O.P. Bharadwaj


After the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas have a particularly important place in Vedic literature. Apart from liturgical details and philological and metaphysical conceptions of rare value they are also supposed to contain many legends and narratives which are forerunners of the Epic and numerous rules of conduct out of which finally arose the Hindu Dharma.

The Jaiminīya belonging to the Sāmaveda is one of the oldest and most voluminous of the Brāhmaṇas. It is now considered as important as the Śatapatha belonging to the Yajurveda. As O’Flaherty (1985) has shown the Jaimintya is a store house of folklore and often supplies the missing link between many stories told first in the Ṛgveda and later in the Mahābhārata. These stories conceal much material of great importance awaiting the attention of scholars of ancient Indian history and culture.
The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa had become rare during the last one thousand years and the preparation of a critical edition of this great work was once considered almost impossible since the manuscript material was very fragmentary. The noted Indologist Dr. Raghuvira and his illustrious son Lokesh Chandra therefore did a great job in bringing out the first complete text of the Jaiminiya in 1955 which soon went out of print. It carried a foreword by Louis Renou and preface by Lokesh Chandra. The present edition is a faithful reproduction of the first edition with the addition of a brief introduction containing a description of the contents by J.L. Shastri and about seven pages of valuable notes at the end.

In the preface to the first edition a promise was held out by the learned editors that a second volume containing a description of manuscript material, corrections in previously edited portions, exegetical notes, grammatical and lexical peculiarities, a synoptic survey of the contents, new words not recorded from elsewhere in literature; indexes of etymological observations; mantras, yajuṣeṣ, sāmans, geographical and personal names; conspectus of parallels from other texts, the relationship of the Jaiminiya to other Vedic texts and an index verborum was under preparation. Vedic scholars would be eagerly waiting for its publication. The Editors hope that the Jaiminiya will lighten up some of the dark corners of Vedic studies in general, and Brāhmaṇa literature in particular is fully justified from its contents.

The publishers have therefore earned the gratitude of Sanskritists by bringing out this long awaited new edition of the Jaiminiya. The binding, printing and general get up of the book are commendable and the price reasonable.

O.P. Bharadwaj

Theatre of the Hindus, Translated from Original Sanskrit, H.H. Wilson, Two Volumes, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 1984, pp. 27+71+384+415, Rs. 195/- (Set).

This reprint of the pioneering work of the great Indologist H.H. Wilson on Sanskrit drama is a collectors' item. The first edition was brought out in 1827 under the title "Specimen of the Theatre of the Hindus", mainly on the basis of manuscripts available to the author and with the ambitious objective to secure to the Hindu theatre a place in English Literature.

The modern reader will find even the author's dedication of his work of special interest. It reads "To His Most Gracious Majesty George,
The Fourth as the Patron of Oriental Literature, This attempt to familiarize, His British subjects with the manners and feelings of their Fellow, Subjects in the East is most respectfully inscribed by the Translator, Calcutta, 16th May, 1827. How gratifying it is to note that an English Emperor was actively patronising the study of Sanskrit 160 years ago. The second edition came out in 1834 and the third followed in 1871. It is therefore erroneous to say that the work was published in 1871 as indicated on the page facing the dedication in the first volume.

The first volume contains the English translation of the three plays Mīchhakāṭika, Vikramorvaśiyā and Uttarāmacarita apart from an Errata for both the volumes followed by a preface and an elaborate Introduction. The second volume presents English translation of the three plays Mālatīmādhava, Mudrārākṣasa and Raṅgāvalī and adds short accounts of twenty three more Sanskrit plays in a very comprehensive appendix. Although these twenty three plays are of lesser importance they do include some well known names like the Mahāvīracarita, Venaṃśa, Mālavikāgnimitra, Viddhasālabhaṇjikā and Anargharāghava.

Each play is preceded by a Preface or an Introduction and Dramatis Personae and followed with remarks on its story, peculiarities and characterisation. The Preface is often very comprehensive. In case of the Mudrārākṣasa, for instance, it deals exhaustively not only with the author and the story but also presents Paurāṇic accounts of Candragupta, story of Nanda as related in the Brhatkathā, story of Nanda and Candragupta from a manuscript in the collection of Lt. Col. Mackenzie and extracts from classical writers relating to the History of Sandracottus.

The general Preface in the first volume gives the object which inspired the author to undertake this great work. He considered it necessary that the western writers should know the peculiarities of the Hindu Theatre before they could safely delineate the history, purpose or the theory of the Drama. He finds in Hindu Theatre examples of the drama of domestic as well as of heroic life; of original invention as well as of legendary tradition. He finds the Hindu plays exceedingly deficient in theatrical effect and observes that they were only occasionally enacted. One might not agree with these last remarks and in any case they were made many centuries after the composition of most of these plays. The critic’s outlook is unavoidably influenced by the age to which he belongs and as he himself reminds us the nations of Europe possessed no dramatic literature before the 14th or 15th century at which period the Hindu drama had already passed into its decline.
The elaborate Introduction deals with the dramatic system of the Hindus under several sections like the authorities of the Hindu dramatic system, different kinds of dramatic entertainments, dramatic arrangement, conduct of the plot, characters of the drama, objects of dramatic representation, diction and scenic apparatus. In short, nothing of relevance to the subject has been left out.

The English translation is often accompanied by extensive notes and the work reflects the authors’ deep erudition, extensive study and penetrating observation. The system of transliteration used in the book is naturally outdated but it need not discourage the reader who wants to enjoy Sanskrit dramas without possessing adequate knowledge of the language. Printing, binding and general get up of the two volumes leave nothing to be desired and the price is quite reasonable.

O.P. Bharadwaj

_The Rāmāyaṇa in Historical Perspective, H.D. Sankalia_, Macmillan India Limited, Delhi 1982, pp. 14+203, Rs. 80/-.

More than two years back I sent offprints of some of my articles on the Geography of Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa to Prof. H.D. Sankalia asking for his views on the identification of geographical names relating to the tract between the rivers Gaṅgā and Beas (Vipāśā). Instead of expressing any opinion Prof. Sankalia invited me to review his present work a copy of which was later forwarded to me by the publishers. This is the background of these few lines, in token of the suggested review.

As the title of the book indicates the learned author has undertaken in it an examination of Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa in historical perspective, in the light of what is called hypercriticism or higher criticism. The work is divided into ten chapters out of which seven, from second to the eighth are devoted one each to the seven Kāndas of the Rāmāyaṇa. The first contains the Introduction, the ninth examines the location of Laṅka and the tenth deals with the Rāmāyaṇa age. There is a Preface of three pages in the beginning and a List of Illustrations after the Contents followed by the Abbreviations used in the work and a Sketch Map showing the three probable sites of Laṅka in Madhya Pradesh. At the end appear four appendices followed with a Bibliography and an Index. The first of the appendices relates to Rāmāyaṇa panels in temples, the second describes in a paragraph the stadium at Nagarjunakonda, the third contains a brief account of the palaces at Taxila and the fourth notes the date of appearance of the finger-rings in the light of archaeological discoveries and the fifth passes the final verdict on the date of the
Rāmāyaṇa in the light of interpolations. The plates have been added between pages sixty four and sixty five.

In the Preface the author describes how he was struck by the description of Gajalakṣmi in the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa and Sir Mortimer Wheeler's observations that Charsada's early history ran parallel to that of Taxila (Bhir Mound) in the Punjab and the assertion of the Rāmāyaṇa that Taxila and Puskalāvati were founded at the same time accords with the archaeological evidence. The author's archaeological studies convinced him that "our ancient literature should not be used for dating monuments and sites but it should not be just the reverse. For clearly, we have much better evidence to date our monuments than to date our literature". The work under review is in the author's own words "perhaps the last major study of this nature that he had undertaken and completed". Again, the author declares that "The illustrations in this book have been chosen only to illustrate and prove his point of view." Hence he has included the sculptures that draw their inspiration from Rome, the Gajalakṣmi as well as the Ihaṁṛga, the signining motif, the stadium with its wrestlers, the revelry scenes from the excavation at Nagarjunakonda, and lastly the weapons and musical instruments which are relevant to the period from Gandharas as well as from Andhra Pradesh. He also notes that the area around Sonpur in Madhya Pradesh was known as Western Laṅkā and a site named Asurgad in the middle of a river might be the original Laṅkā if its antiquity could be traced back by at least two thousand years.

In the beginning of the Introduction the author accuses the long legacy of belief in the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Rāma and the conception of Rāmarājya as the ideal state which was nourished by saints and leaders from Tulsīdāsa to Gandhi for what he describes as the absence of an attempt to question the historicity of Rāma or his times or the various incidents in the Rāmāyaṇa or to regard Rāma as less than a God. This thought process runs through every line of the study of the seven Kāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa as presented by Prof. Sankalia.

The main thrust of the authors' study is evidently on challenging the historicity of the Rāmāyaṇa account and the location of the Laṅkā as placed in it. He therefore finds almost all those portions of the Rāmāyaṇa which point towards its identification with Ceylon or Śrī Laṅkā and carry back its composition five six centuries before Christ as spurious or later additions. This is not surprising because his aim is to collect "visible archaeological proofs" of existence of Rāma and discuss their bearing on the date of Rāma and the Rāmāyaṇa.
Let it be noted straightaway that Prof. Sankalia is not the first to challenge the historicity of the Rāmāyaṇa story or even to place the location of Laṅkā in the Madhya Pradesh. Similar ideas have been expressed since long ago by scholars like T. Paramasiva Iyer. G. Ramadas, M.V. Kibe, G.N. Hiralal, U.P. Shah and others. Scholars like C.V. Vaidya who have undertaken a detailed study of the Rāmāyaṇa do not subscribe to this view and many others including S.N. Vyas, A.K. Chatterjee and Bhagawan Singh Suryavanshi have refuted this view with copious references from the Rāmāyaṇa. But then as already noted Prof. Sankalia believes that our ancient literature should be dated with the help of what he calls applied archaeology. Obviously he does not subscribe to the view that archaeological evidence is only as important as the testimony of a literary source and often less than that since, as observed by John E. Yellen, "archaeological interpretation is anything but an exact science, and the value and correctness of any particular analytical method can be evaluated only in a most subjective fashion. Because the requisite control is lacking one can not refine technique through recourse to archaeological data alone."

It soon becomes clear from a study of Prof. Sankalia's work that his approach is deeply coloured by his archaeological outlook. He has mostly relied on the argumentum ex-silentio which according to the time honoured maxim is not to be given too much importance. It leads him to doubt the authenticity of many passages in the text on the sole consideration that they mention a motif which was discovered by archaeologists only at a much later date. Ignored is the fact that the emergence of a particular motif under the spade of the archaeologist at any time cannot preclude the possibility of its existence or prevalence at a much earlier date. The line of approach adopted by the author thus makes it possible for him to assign most of the text of the Rāmāyaṇa to a much later date and ignore descriptions squarely placing the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa in the Dakshina Samudra full of timis and timiṅgalas which could not be equated with a large tank by any stretch of imagination.

Although the author frequently shows his consciousness towards a poet's tendency for indulging in hyperbole he often insists in taking him literary for his word. Thus he accepts as a fact an army of one lakh horse-riders accompanying Bharata and twenty thousand horses in the forces of Rāvaṇa and wonders why they did not participate in the actual war and where on the small island of Laṅkā they could be accommodated (Page 113).

Nor does this work suggest a deep study of the text even from the geographical point of view. In fact the treatment of this aspect by the
author betrays a lack of effort to take note of the latest researches. To take only one instance his examination of the routes followed by the messengers while going from Ayodhya to Kekaya and by Bharata during his return journey from Kekaya is most perfunctory as a perusal of pages thirty one to thirty five shows. It is also not understandable why one should be surprised that the names Daśaratha and Rāma are not connected with the Ikṣvāku Dynasty or with Kosala in the Rgveda (Page 5) unless one wrongly believes that this mention was being made specifically to describe their family and kingdom.

It is not the purpose of this review to controvert the thesis propounded in the book. These few instances have been cited only to illustrate the approach adopted by the author in his study. Essentially this is a study of a celebrated literary composition from an archaeologist’s restricted point of view and one need not be surprised if the result fails to come up to the expectations that the reader would have from a scholar of the stature of Prof. Sankalia.

The paper printing, binding and general get up of the book are flawless and the price reasonable.

O.P. Bharadwaj

Nature of Indian Aesthetics (With special reference to Śilpa)
Balram Srivastava, Chaukhambha Orientalia, Varanasi, 1985, pp. v+194, Rs. 100/-

Many scholars have been investigating into searching question whether there was ever an autonomous discipline called Aesthetics in India, particularly in ancient times. From whatever evidential materials they could utilise and from the relevant interpretations and arguments, it appears that Aesthetics as an autonomous discipline is of comparatively recent growth in India. The ancient Indians, as A.K. Coomaraswamy rightly pointed out, could not think of “art without industry or industry without art.” Thus the speculation about art and beauty was homolo-guous to the philosophy of life based on the Caturvarga principle of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa. With the passing of time, however, the situation gradually changed and apparently independent questions on art and beauty emerged in the mind of the people, both at the grass-root level and at the higher ranks. The compilation of the resultant thoughts and counter-thoughts in the form of Śāstras like Nātyaśāstra, Vāstuśāstra, or Śilpaśāstra was a development that came still later. The entire gamut of the thought-content, thus obtained, is
taken to be the Indian notion of aesthetics by some scholars who are very fond of discovering everything of the west in the ancient Indian repertory. That Indian approach to art was something distinctive and fundamental, and not a replica of western intellectualism, is the crucial point that these scholars seem to miss lamentably. The author of the book under review, unfortunately, is no exception.

The author claims to have accomplished the task of relating the theories of Indian artistic principles contained in the literary texts, both technical and non-technical, to the actual objects of art executed through the centuries in India. It is a pity that this claim remained as a proposition only. The discussion throughout has been of the theoretical aspects of Indian art drawn only from textual sources. That not a single example of Indian art has been included in the book by means of visual documentation betrays the fact that the author's claim is only a cliche. It is possible to treat an inadvertent omission with indulgence but hardly when it goes counter to a commitment.

The book has eight chapters devoted to the discussion of the following topics in the order they are given: Religion as a determinant of Indian Aesthetics, Role of poetics in Indian Aesthetics, Metaphysical concepts of Indian Aesthetics, Nature of Aesthetics in Non-Canonical Literature, Nature of Aesthetics in Canonical Literature, Theories of Painting, Form and Similitude, Concept of Beauty and Aesthetic Experience. As it is evident, the chapter divisions do not project a well-knit scheme for an integrated and cohesive discussion on the topic concerned. Moreover, as has already been pointed out above, the discussions in most of the chapters relate to the technical theories of Indian art gleaned from literary extracts, often drawn out the contexts, and these discussions are of peripheral relevance, if at all, to the notion of Aesthetics. The author seems to have the misconception that anything related to arts can be given the label of Aesthetics. One should not project a title on Indian Aesthetics and then stuff the presentation with miscellaneous information about art that comes handy. This is a sheer way of misleading the readers.

The discussions in most of the chapters are rudimentary in nature. Appropriate source-materials have not often been used. The omissions and commissions are galore. Buddhist and Jain sources have hardly been utilised, although they could throw a flood of light on many points taken up for the discussion. For example, the well-known observation of Advayavajra that rūpe na vidyate rūpam, contained in his celebrated Advayavajrasyaśāṅgraha, could have explained the points better, particularly the Indian view of them, than what has been done in chapter VII.
of the book. The preceding chapter on Theories of Painting is perhaps the poorest one. Two or three useful scholarly publications on this topic have recently come out. One of them is from the authority of the great art-historian, the late C. Sivaramamurti. It seems that the author of the book under review either did not consult these important contributions or he failed to measure the quality of his own contribution in the same direction even after going through them. Either way, the chapter concerned has assumed the example of a levity.

It seems that the author has not carefully gone through the writings of Abanindranath Tagore, A.K. Coomaraswamy, Stella Kramrisch, Nihar Ranjan Ray and V.S. Agrawala. Even in the book by P.K. Agrawala, some of these authorities have been reasonably consulted. But I feel that without consulting the well known book entitled Bāgeśvārī Śīlpa Prabandhāvalī by Abanindranath Tagore, one should not venture to write anything worthwhile pertaining to Indian aesthetics. Of course, there is some difficulty in utilising the thoughts contained in this book, since it is written in Bengali. It is a pity that nobody as yet thought of translating the book in English in order to provide wider accessibility.

The book under review, however, is an useful addition to the existing literature on Indian art theories. It will be of some help to the students of Indian art at the post-graduate level. But there is a major problem in recommending it to the students without any reservations. The book is amazingly full of printing mistakes. It will be an useless exercise to point out all of them. But, just as an example, we may point out that throughout in the book, the citation of the work entitled "Comparative Aesthetics" has been given with the spelling "Competative"! In addition, there are several cases of careless construction of sentences. Since the book is supposedly meant for students, more care should have been taken before offering the book for publication.

D C. Bhattacharyya
BOOKS RECEIVED

M/s Moti Lal Banarsidass, Bungalow Road, Delhi-110007:

The concept of Rudra Śiva through the Ages, Mahadev Chakravarti, 1986, Rs. 150/-.

An Outline of History of Śaiva Philosophy, Prof. K.C. Pandey, Gen. Ed. Prof. R.C. Dwivedi, 1986, 80/-.  

Hymns from the Golden Age, David Frawley, 1986, Rs. 125/-.  

Hermeneutical Essays on Vedāntic Topics, J.G. Arapura, Rs. 100/-.  

Cultural Relations between India and Southeast Asian Countries, H.B. Sarkar, 1985, Rs. 400/-.  

Vāstuśūtra Upaniṣad (The Essence of Form in Sacred Art), Sanskrit Text, Eng. Tr. and Notes, Alice Boner, Sadāśiva Rath Sarmā and Bettina Baumer, 1982, Rs. 150/-.  

Devi Māhātmya (The Crystallization of the Goddess Tradition), Thomas B. Coburn, 1984, Rs. 125/-.  


The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology, Binoy Kumar Sarkar, Reprint 1985, Rs. 200/-.  

Asura in Early Vedic Religion, Wash Edward Hale, 1986, Rs. 85/-.  

Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda, Cr. ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra (2nd Revised edition), 1986, Rs. 150/-.  

The Advaitic Theism of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Daniel P. Sheridan, Rs. 75/-.  

Minor Buddhist Texts, Parts I & II, Giuseppe Tucci, Rs. 150/-.  

M/s Sri Satguru Publications, 40/5, Shakti Nagar, Delhi-110007:

The Vedānta Doctrine of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, A. Mahadeva Sastri, Rs. 90/-.  

The Vākyārtha Mātrkā of Śālikanātha Miśra with his own Vṛtti, Translated into English by Rajendranatha Sarma, 1987.  

Kātyāyana Mata Saṅgraha or A Collection of the Legal Fragments of Kātyāyana, Narayana Chandra Banerjee (2nd ed.), 1986.  

Magadhan Literature, Hara Prasad Sastry (second ed), 1986, Rs. 100/-.  

The Mīmāṃsā Nyāya Prakāśa or Āpadevi; A treatise on the Mīmāṃsā System by Āpadeva, Eng. Tr. with an Introduction,
Transliterated Sanskrit text and Glossorial Index, Franklin Edgerton, 1986, Rs. 120/-.  

Aksara—A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy, P.M. Modi, Price not stated.  

A Comparative Study of Jainism and Buddhism, Sital Prasad, Rs. 80/-.  

M/s Prabhat Prakashan, Chaudi Bazar, Delhi-110006:  

Pāṇinīya Vyākaraṇa Kī Bhūmikā (Hindi), V. Krishna Swamy Ayangara, 1983, Rs. 40/-.  

Bhārata Mahān (Hindi), Acharya Chaturse, Rs. 50/-.  

Mahābhārata ke Pātra, 2 Vols. (Hindi), Jagata Narayana Dube, 1986, Rs. 60/-.  

Bhārattya Kalā Drṣṭi (Hindi), Sachchidananda Vatsayana, 1985, Rs. 50/-.  

M/s Chaukhambha Orientalia, Post Box No. 1032, Varanasi-221001:  

Reflections on Indian Philosophy, K.P. Sinha, Rs. 100/-.  

Laments in Sanskrit Literature, Sures Chandra Banerji, 1985, Rs. 125/-.  

Vaiyākaraṇa Bhūṣaṇasāra by M.M. Śrī Kauṇḍa Bhāṭṭa (With Darpaṇa Hindi Commentary), Brahma Datta Dwivedi, 1985, Rs. 75/-.  

Indian Theories of Creation : A Synthesis, K.P. Sinha, Rs. 85/-.  

Nature of Indian Aesthetics (with special reference to Śilpa), Balram Srivastava, Rs. 100/-.  

M/s Asian Educational Services, C-2/15, SDA P.B. No. 4534, New Delhi-110016:  

An Indian Ephemeris (A.D. 1800 to 2000), L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, 1987, Rs. 295/-.  

Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, Translated from Original Sanskrit, 2 Vols., H.H. Wilson, 1984, Rs. 195/-.  

Hindu Philosophy (The Orthodox Systems), Ram Chandra Bose, Reprint 1986, Rs. 135/-.  

M/s Indological Book House, B.H U, Road, Lanka, Varanasi:  

Mediaeval Trends in Indian Paintings, R.C. Srivastava, 1985, Rs. 50/-.  

M/s Macmillan India Ltd., 4 Community Centre, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase-1, New Delhi 110028:
The Rāmāyaṇa in Historical Perspective, H.D. Sankalia, 1982, Rs. 80/-.

M/s Harman Publishing House, A-23, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase-II, New Delhi-110028:
A Graphic Representation of Vedānta Sāra, P.M. Pattanayak, Rs. 150/-.

M/s J & K Akademi of Art, Culture & Language, Canal Road, Jammu:
Kāshmir kā Sanskrit Sāhitya ko Yogadāna, (Hindi), Ved Kumari, 1987, Rs. 32/-.

M/s Sahitya Bhandar, Meerut:
Vajdika Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa, Dr. Karn Singh, 1986-87, Rs. 10/-.
OBITUARIES

DHARMENDRA NATH SHAstri
1897-1986

Dr. Dharmendra Nath Shastri was born on 14th November, 1897 at village Ater Chandi in Bareilly District of U.P. in an orthodox Arya Samajist family. His father Dr. Kedar Nath, wished fervently that his son should receive education on the ancient Indian pattern of the Gurukula system. Accordingly, he was sent to the Gurukula at Sikandarabad in 1905 where he received his education in Sanskrit language and literature. The Gurukula was shifted from Sikandarabad to Farrukhabad and from there to Vrindavan where Dr. Dharmendra Nath completed his Sanskrit studies in 1918 and obtained the degree of Tarkashiromani in the first class with first position. Amongst his classfellows were Dr. Mangal Dev who later on became the Vice-Chancellor of the Varanasi Sanskrit University and Pandit Uday Vir who distinguished himself in the Darśana Śāstra.

Dr. Dharmendra Nath was appointed as Acharya at Gurukula Vrindavan in 1919. After this he passed the Shastri and B.A. English only examinations of the Panjab University, Lahore, and joined the M.A. Sanskrit course at D.A.V. College, Lahore and passed the M.A. Examination in 1923 in the First Class, with first position amongst the Sanskrit candidates in M.A. examination of that year. He was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at the Meerut College, Meerut in 1924 and held this post till 1958. During this period he obtained two academic distinctions (a) the degree of D. Litt. from the University of Agra in 1958, and the degree of Vidyamartand (Honoris Causa) from Gurukula Kangri, Hardwar. In 1961, he was appointed Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department as well as the Dean of the Faculty of Indic Studies, at the Kurukshetra University. He held these posts upto 1964.

Dr. Dharmendra Nath was a very energetic academician, who trained a large number of students in Sanskrit research work and guided them for the Ph.D. and D. Litt. degrees. In 1958 he founded an Institute of Indology at Delhi, where several students worked for the Ph.D. degree of the Panjab and Delhi Universities.

He has to his credit a number of outstanding research publications. His magnum opus is the ‘Critique of Indian Realism’ which was first published by the Agra University in 1964. It is a study of the conflict between the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika School, and Diṇṇāga School of Buddhist
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Philosophy. Another of his original works is 'Sanskrit in Thirty Lectures' which is very useful for a self-study of the Sanskrit language. Mention must also be made of his Nyāya-Siddhānta-Muktāvarti with an exhaustive commentary and the Bhāratiya Darśana in Hindi, for which he was awarded a prize of Rs. 11001. Besides these he also wrote several other works in Hindi relating to philosophy and moral instruction. During his headship of the Sanskrit Department at Kurukshetra University, he started the publication of Digest of Indological Studies all over the world named PRĀCHI JYOTI. This is a highly useful work, for the researchers in Indology.

Dr. Dharmendra Nath had a dynamic personality. He was associated with several Universities as a member of one or more of their academic bodies. He was an enthusiastic worker for the propagation of Sanskrit learning and was ever ready to lend his helping hand to fellow workers in the field. In recognition of his services to Sanskrit, the Government of U.P. awarded him a special prize of Rs. 15000/-.

This great scholar, an ardent admirer and active promoter of the cause of Sanskrit, passed away on the 9th October, 1986 to the great grief of a large number of his friends, pupils and co-workers in his field.

Jagannath Agrawal

SADHU RAM

Professor Sadhu Ram came of a well-to-do Agrawal family of Amritsar city. He had his early education at Amritsar. After passing his B.A. examination in 1922, he joined the D.A V. College, Lahore, and took up the subject of Sanskrit for M.A. course at the Panjab University. He studied Epigraphy as a special part of the M.A. course, Prof. Sadhu Ram had the good luck of receiving instruction in his M.A., from such stalwarts as Dr. A.C. Woolner, Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Prof. M.K. Sarkar and Principal Raghuvir Dayal. As a student he was very hard working and exceptionally intelligent. He passed the M.A. examination of the Panjab University, Lahore in 1925, getting a First Class and standing first amongst those who had offered Sanskrit for their M.A.

Prof. Sadhu Ram joined Law College at Lahore but before completing the course in Law, he got a job in the Archaeological Survey of India, which was to his liking, as he was a student of Epigraphy. However, he could not stick to his favourite subject for long. At
Mahatma Gandhi's call for non-cooperation with the then British government, he resigned from his job in '930 and wrote such a strongly worded letter of resignation that even after Mahatma Gandhi's understanding with the government popularly known as Gandhi-Irwin Pact, he was not taken into government service. Then followed a period of continuous ups and downs in his life, as he could not stick to one thing for long.

After the partition of the Panjab in 1947, he shifted to Delhi and here he took up service as Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Kirori Mal College. It was now that he was in his element. Studious as he was, this job suited him. On account of his intelligent hard work he was invited to participate in M.A. teaching at the University of Delhi and was assigned the subject of Epigraphy which he made very popular amongst the students. He wrote a number of research papers in Epigraphy which were published in research journals of repute. After retirement he got a U.G.C. assignment at the University of Kurukshetra where he participated in the preparation of Prāct Jyoti, a Digest of Indological Research and did commendable work. Prof. Sadhu Ram was an unflinching worker who could stand both mental and physical strain. He was busy with his researches in Epigraphy when one day, out cycling he was knocked down by a speeding vehicle. Thus ended the life of a very brilliant Sanskrit Scholar, under tragic circumstances.

Jagannath Agrawal

CHARU DEV SHASTRI
1896-1987

Professor Charu Dev an eminent scholar of Sanskrit language, and renowned for his mastery over Sanskrit grammar, was born at village Abhayapur, in Dasuya Tehsil of Hoshiarpur District in Panjab, on 8th May, 1896. He received his early education at the Anglo-Vernacular middle school at Tanda, a village near his home, and then joined the Sain Dass Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Jullundur City from where he passed the Matriculation examination of the Panjab University, Lahore. For higher studies he had to go to Lahore where he did his F.A., B.A. and Master of Arts at the D.A.V. College, Lahore. He obtained a First Class and First position in Sanskrit in all the three examinations for which he was awarded scholarships and Gold Medals.
Obituaries

Even before the declaration of his result of the M.A. Sanskrit examination, he was offered the job of Lecturer in Sanskrit in the newly started D.A.V. College at Jullundur in 1921. However, after the declaration of his result which was very brilliant, he was appointed Lecturer in Sanskrit at the D.A.V. College, Lahore in 1921 which post he held up to the tragic partition of the Panjab in 1947. When the D.A.V. College, uprooted from Lahore, was again established at Ambala City in 1948, Prof. Charu Dev joined in his old post from which he retired in 1951 at the age of 55. After retirement he served for two years at the Gandhi National Memorial College and for one year at the Panjab University Camp College, at New Delhi.

Prof. Charudev was an excellent teacher. His forte, however, was research in Sanskrit Grammar and original writing in Sanskrit in very elegant and chaste language, as is evidenced by his epic work on the life of Mahâtmâ Gândhâ—The Gândhicaritam. In the field of Sanskrit Grammar, his contribution is a landmark in the modern Sanskrit studies. To him belongs the credit of first spotting the Manuscript of Bhartrihari's Vākyapadīya a grammatics-philosophical work—its first Kāṇḍa and a part of the second and he contributed a learned paper on this subject which was published in the proceedings of the Fifth All India Oriental Conference Lahore, 1928. The critically edited text of this MS together with the commentary of Bhartrihari himself and of Vṛṣabhadeva was published in 1934. A work on the proper and wrong use of words 'Śabdāpasābda-viveka' was published in 1954 followed by its enlarged edition in 1982. Patañjali's Mahâbhâṣya—the first three Āhnikas were published in 1962 and the first nine Āhnikas came out in 1968. In 1976 was published the 'Vāgyavahārādarā'. A collection of one thousand selected didactic verses from the Mahâbhârata was published under the 'Mahâbhâratavacanâmṛtam' in 1983 Another collection of verses from the Râmâyana of Vâlmiki, bearing on the character of Śrī Râmacandra was published by the Râṣṭrya Sanskrit Sanstha in 1984. He has presented a complete linguistic appraisal of Śrîmadbhâgavatapurāṇa in his 'Śrîmadbhâgavata-bhâga-pariccheda' which has been published by the V.V.R.I. Hoshiarpur. He has also written erudite introductions in Sanskrit to the Padma, Nârâdya and the Vîṣṇudharmottara Purânas.

Besides these research publications of a very high standard he also brought out annotated editions of three Sanskrit dramas for the use of students and wrote for their benefit, 'A Manual of Sanskrit Translation' in 1939, a Hindi version of which also came out under the title 'Anuvâdakalâ' in 1950. A work of far reaching importance for the study of
Sanskrit Grammar, in several volumes, was planned by him under the title ‘Vyākaraṇacandrodaya’ and five volumes of this have been published from 1969 to 1973. He was very much interested in the exposition of the importance of Upasargas in Sanskrit language. On this topic has been published a work named ‘Upasargārthacandrika’ in five parts. The last two publications will have a prominent and permanent value in the study of Sanskrit. He was also the author of 18 research papers in English, Sanskrit and Hindi.

Prof. Charudev had a flair for the study of languages. He also knew Persian, French, Russian and German, in the last of which he passed the B.A. examination in 1957. He was also deeply interested in classical Indian music.

He was keen for the promotion of education and contributed a lot to this noble cause, both financially and by active personal service. In his life time he created an endowment of ten thousand rupees at the Panjab University, Chandigarh, for the award of stipends to the best pass girl students in B.A. who went up to M.A. for the study of Sanskrit. An equal amount was donated by him to the University of Delhi for the publication of research work in Sanskrit. The Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute where he taught the M.A. Sanskrit class for sometime as a purely honorary lecturer, was also the recipient of a handsome amount for the construction of a guest room in the Sadhu Ashram. In his native village he established a D.A.V. Middle School in 1925 which was made a High School in 1944. A Model School for children and a High School for girls were the result of his exertions.

Prof. Charudev was an unassuming and quiet scholar to whom honour came unsolicited through the sheer recognition of his scholarship. The All India Sanskrit Sāhitya Sammelana awarded him the title of Vidyāvācaspati in 1965. The President of India awarded him the certificate of Honour in 1971. This also carries with it a life pension of Rs. 3600 per annum. The Benares Hindu University conferred on him the degree of D. Litt. (Honoris Causa) in 1981. The Sanskrit Academy of Uttar Pradesh gave him a cash award of Rs. 15,000/- for his contribution to Sanskrit learning. The Panjab Government conferred on him the title of Śiromaṇi Sanskrit Sāhityakāra in 1983 and also presented to him a gold medal and a cash award of Rs. 5100/.-.

Prof. Charudev took his age in a stride and only four months before his death, the writer of these lines saw him at work in his study, preparing an English version of his Vyākaraṇacandrodaya. But alas
this great light of Sanskrit Grammatical studies in modern Panjab, was extinguished all of a sudden on 9th April, 1987.

Jagannath Agrawal

KAILASH CHANDRA VARMA
1907-1986

The year 1986 has been particularly unlucky for Indology. Among the several scholars who left us for their heavenly abode during this year was Shri K.C. Varma who provided in his personality a unique combination of a Scientist, Administrator and Indologist.

Born on September 11, 1907 in Allahabad to a distinguished father Shri S.P. Varma, CSI, CIE, he graduated with Agriculture in 1928 and joined the Remington Rand Co. (India) Ltd. in 1933. The same year he got married to Sumitrā Śrīvāstava. It is a tribute to his efficiency that he rose to be their General Manager (Sales) for India before he retired in 1967 from this Company. The same year he came to settle at Ghaziabad.

Shri Varma’s exacting duties as Sales Manager could not repress his ingrained love for Ancient Indian History and Culture which was most probably a gift of his up-bringing which had already instilled in him a deep interest in works like the Epics, the Gita and Tulasi Ramayana. Shri Varma’s interest in Indian History and Civilization was particularly directed towards topics which were material to the fixation of its early chronology. In this regard he brought to bear upon his researches in the antiquities of Vedic Literature and the Epics his knowledge of astronomy and the antiquity of other ancient civilisations of the Middle East. He was a voracious reader and made a very deep study of the Ancient History of Egypt and Asia Minor. He wrote extensively and published a large number of well documented articles in various journals of Indology quoting profusely from sources which are not easily accessible even to teachers and scholars working at Universities.

Shri Varma was a member of various organisations like the All India Oriental Society and the Indian History Congress and made it a point to attend their sessions regularly. Members of these societies will remember having always found him present usually with his inseparable friend Shri S.B. Rao, another administrator Indologist. He had built up a very good library of his own and collected many rare works on Ancient History. In spite of his old age and failing health he did not
hesitate to undertake long journeys to meet his friends and scholars to discuss with them points of common interest. Our last meeting with him took place on the occasion of the session of Indian History Congress at the Kurukshetra University when he took an opportunity to pay a visit to Chandigarh.

He had a very deep respect and affection for scholars and his wide circle of friends included Sanskritists like Professors Jagannath Agrawal, Ram Gopal and Acharya Udaivir Shastri. Publication of a Felicitation Volume in honour of Acharya Ji entitled “Rtambhara-Studies in Indology” was Shri Varma’s last major achievement and he accomplished this task in record time in the beginning of 1986. The labour, perhaps, proved too much for his indifferent health and he passed away after a brief illness on the 31st of August the same year.

Shri Varma will always be remembered for his warmth of affection, unsparing industriousness and depth of scholarship.

O.P. Bharadwaj

D.P. SINGHAL
1925-1986

The dedication in Professor Hugh Tinker’s book “The Banyan Tree” aptly describes Professor D.P. Singhal as “A true son of India and a citizen of the world.” Its truth is reflected not only by the wide sweep of Professor D.P. Singhal’s scholarly pursuits but also by the international character of his professional activities.

Born at Khair near Aligarh, Damodar Prasad Singhal graduated from Panjab University, Lahore in 1946 and after the partition of India did his M.A. in Political Science in 1949 at the East Panjab University. He obtained his Ph.D. degree in History from the University of London in 1955 having already married Devahuti in 1950 who also likewise did her Ph.D. from London in 1956. While pursuing his researches at London University, Professor Singhal also worked as Political Commentator for the B.B.C.

Professor Singhal joined as a Lecturer at the University of Malaya at Singapore in 1956 and five years later in 1961 moved over to the University of Queensland, Brisbane in Australia where he rose to the position of a Reader in 1964 and became a Professor in 1969. The works to the credit of Professor Singhal reflect his deep erudition and versatile scholarship in the fields of History and Political Science. His books include the Annexation of Upper Burma (1960), India and Afghanistan: A Study in Diplomatic Relations-1897-1907 (1963),

Professor Singhal's work "India and World Civilization" became particularly popular and earned him the degree of Doctor of Letters from the University of Queensland where he served for long holding additional charge of various academic and administrative offices. He travelled widely and personally visited most of the countries known as seats of early civilizations including Egypt, Greece, Rome, China and Peru. He was a frequent visitor to his motherland and attended sessions of various Cultural and Historical Societies.

As a befitting tribute to his scholarship, the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Asiatic Society elected him as their fellow. In 1981 he came to Delhi as a Visiting Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. He was also elected the Chairman of the Indian History and Cultural Society from 1982-1985. In 1986 he laid the foundation stone of the Centre for Research and Training in History, Archaeology and Palaeo-environment in New Delhi and was honoured with its Presidentship. The same year he died.

It is really sad that the world of Indology should have been deprived of Professor D.P. Singhal at a time which could have been the most fruitful period of his life.

O.P. Bharadwaj
G.R. SHARMA
1919-1986

With the sad demise of Dr. Goverdhan Rai Sharma on November 11, 1986 Indian Archaeology lost one of its eminent devotees.

An erudite scholar, indefatigable field worker and a devoted teacher, Professor Sharma built up the Department of Archaeology at the Allahabad University and raised it to its present enviable position. He came here well equipped for his job after assisting Sir Mortimer Wheeler in the excavations at Harappa and soon took up excavation at Kausambhi and accomplished it most creditably. His field of archaeological activities gradually came to cover the whole of the Gangetic Basin and the adjoining areas of the Vindhyaya region. His efforts led to the establishment of a full-fledged Department of Ancient Indian History,
Obituaries

Culture and Archaeology at the Allahabad University with its own museum. He virtually nourished this department all his life and ultimately organised its Silver Jubilee on the eve of his superannuation.

Professor Sharma believed in simple living and high thinking and combined his deep scholarship with his love for Khadi. His works include "Excavation of Kausambi (1959)" and "Kushana Studies" apart from many reports on the excavations undertaken during his distinguished career. He had the gift of making archaeology interesting even for the layman. A special exhibition arranged by him on the excavations at Kausambi was honoured by a visit by no less a personality than our late beloved Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself.

Professor Sharma will be missed not only by his students who are scattered all over the country, but also by scholars and students of Archaeology and Ancient Indian History.

O.P. Bharadwaj

GANDA SINGH
1900-1987

In the death of Dr. Ganda Singh, the Panjab has lost a historian of great eminence who not only engaged himself in historical research, but also laid the foundations of further researches by formulating a number of projects for the active pursuit of investigations into the history of the Panjab and also by helping and inspiring younger workers in the field. I vividly recollect his active participation in many a session of the Indian History Congress, not only in the academic discussions but also in administrative problems. His deep learning, congenial nature and above all his vivacity added a rare charm in all academic gatherings. He enjoyed wide popularity coupled with respect. He occupied the exalted position of the General President of the Indian History Congress, at its 35th session, held in 1975 at the Jadavpur (Calcutta) University.

Dr. Ganda Singh came of a well-to-do family of landlords of village Purhiran, in the District of Hoshiarpur. He received his early education in the Primary School at the small town of Haryana, near Hoshiarpur, and acquired a good grounding in the Persian language. In those days, teaching of Persian commenced from the third Primary class. From Haryana he shifted to Government High School Hoshiarpur which was nearer to his native village, and passed the Matriculation examination of the Panjab University, Lahore, from that school. Dr. Ganda Singh then joined the Forman Christian College, at Lahore for his higher education but his innate spirit of adventure lured him to join the Indian army during the third Afghan war. His first posting in 1919 was at Rawalpindi,
in the Supply and Transport Corps. In 1920-21 he shifted to the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force, and then joined the Royal Army Pay Corps at Basra in 1921. In the same year he left the army to join the Anglo Persian Oil Company, where he served for ten years, 1921 to 1930. It was here that his latent interest in historical studies and research was aroused by his contact with Sir Arnold Tomlinson. Dr. Ganda Singh returned to India in 1930 and joined the Khalsa College, Amritsar, where his real talent found scope for blossoming fully. Besides doing some teaching at the College, he was primarily given the charge of the Sikh History Department, to which he devoted his entire energy and whole-hearted attention. He was most in his element and built this Department with meticulous care. He not only secured rare books but also collected manuscripts in Gurumukhi and Persian. Where originals were hard to get, he got transcripts, and thus built up a very rich research library. Besides producing innumerable pamphlets on burning topics, he produced biographies of eminent men in Sikh history like Maharaja Kaura Mall, Sardar Shan Singh Attariwala, and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. He next took up the study of the life and work of the Afghan warrior King Ahmad Shah Durrani, and produced a fine thesis on which the Panjab University Chandigarh, awarded him the degree of Ph.D.

He had left the Khalsa College, Amritsar, to join the post of Director of Archives in the newly created Union of Patiala and East Panjab States, which post he held till his retirement in 1956, and where he performed very commendable work in collecting the records from the various princely states of the Union and arranging them properly.

After his retirement he worked for the establishment of the Khalsa College of Patiala, at which he became the first Principal. But his greatest contribution to history was the setting up, at his initiative, of the Department of Panjab Historical Studies in the Punjabi University at Patiala. Under the auspices of this Department he organised in 1965 the holding of annual sessions of the Panjab History Conference with substantial financial assistance from the University Grants Commission. He chalked out a scheme for the preparation of a comprehensive history of the Punjab in several volumes, some of which have already been published. Another important project initiated by him was the publication of a journal known as 'Panjab Past and Present.' In this series a number of historical works have already come out.

Besides his monumental work on Ahmad Shah Durrani, he brought out a number of works of great importance and use in historical research.
Amongst these mention must be made of his, ‘Bibliography of the Panjab’, ‘The Private Correspondence of Sir Fredric Currie’, ‘A Diary of the Partition Days’. He contributed a large number of research papers to various research journals. It may, indeed be said that Dr. Ganda Singh, gave his best to the study of history in general and to the history of Panjab in particular.

Jagannath Agrawal
ABOUT THE JOURNAL

The Haryana Sahitya Akademi Journal of Indological Studies is an yearly Journal brought out by the Haryana Sahitya Akademi in fulfilment of one of its functions. The Journal will have all the features of standard research journals being published in the field of Indology. It will carry articles on topics relating to the history, geography, art, archaeology, religion, philosophy, language and literature of India in general and Haryana in particular, reviews of books, notices of manuscripts and also text of rare manuscripts relating to history and culture of Haryana.

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......this is a very good contribution to Indology. I hope the further issues will also keep the same standard.

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