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Editor
O.P. BHARADWAJ

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160018

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**ABOUT THE JOURNAL**
WHAT DOES THE ASURAS’ PERFORMANCE OF SACRIFICES ALLUDE TO IN VEDIC LITERATURE

By

B.B. CHAUBEY

In the later Vedic literature specially in the Brāhmaṇas the Asuras are described as performing sacrifices. Sometimes individual Asuras are referred to as such and sometimes the Asuras collectively are mentioned as performing sacrifices. The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa and the Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa clearly mention that the whole sacrifices were in the possession of the Asuras. Individual sacrifices like Sautrāṇa, Viddavyasu, Uktīya, etc., are said to have been possessed by them. They are also said as to have attained the Iṣṭa. The Taittiriya Sanhitā says that the Asuras were in the possession of Brahma like the gods. The Jāmniya Brāhmaṇa says that they came to this world with Rcəs. The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa says that Vṛtra, one of the Asuras, had everything Rk, Yajus, and Śāman. The Asuras had the knowledge of metres also. The Taittiriya Sanhitāy says that the Asuras and the gods had different metres; large metres were among the Asuras and the small ones among the gods.

In the Sanhitās of the Black Yajurveda and almost in all the Brāhmaṇas many stories about the Asuras’ performance of Vedic sacrifices have been narrated. The Maitreyaṇi Sanhitā narrates a story which runs as follows: ‘Kālakaṇja Asuras established a fire altar with a view to attaining the heaven. Indra, assuming the form of a Brāhmaṇa, also put a brick on it. After the completion of the fire-altar when the Asuras began to ascend the heaven Indra pulled back his brick secretly causing thereby the Asuras to be weakened and destroyed’. This story with some improvement in detail is found also in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to the Uktīya sacrifice performed by them. It is to be pointed out that in the Brāhmaṇas the Asuras are described as performing their sacrifices following the Devas and most of the stories narrated in this regard start with the statement that whatever the Devas did in the sacrifice the Asuras also did the same. Sometimes they are described as keeping their men

* Paper read in the Vedic section of the 33rd session of AIOC, held at Calcutta, October, 24-26, 1986.
secretly amidst the Devas with a view to knowing how the sacrifices should be performed.\textsuperscript{11} After knowing the method they tried to perform the sacrifices in the same manner as those were performed by the Devas.

In the Vedic texts we find mentioned the names of the priests such as Śaṅḍha and Marka, Uṣānas Kavi, Parāvasu, Kīlāta, Ākuli and so forth who performed sacrifices for the Asuras. The ŚB refers to Kīlāta and Ākuli as performing sacrifices for the welfare of the Asuras.\textsuperscript{13}

The Brāhmaṇas also mention that the Asuras' method of performing sacrifices was quite different from that of the Devas. Curiously enough, they are nowhere depicted as gaining fruit of their performing sacrifices. They are shown as being defeated by the Devas. One of the reasons of their defeat has been mentioned as their inadequate method of performing sacrifices. They are shown as performing sacrifices not in the usual manner as the Devas did. Consequently, the Devas milked the fruit of sacrifice whereas the sacrifice itself milked the Asuras.\textsuperscript{12} In connection with the calling of Īdā the TS says that Manu called upon Īdā after the offering was made ready while the Asuras called Īdā without preparing offering. As a result of this, Īdā went to the Devas not to the Asuras.\textsuperscript{14} The ŚB and the TB mention the setting up of the fires by the Asuras and the Devas. According to the ŚB the Devas, establishing the fire in their innermost soul, attained immortality while the Asuras, establishing the ordinary fire wherewith men prepare food, could not attain immortality.\textsuperscript{15} According to the TB the Devas, setting up the Anvāhāryapacana, Gārhapatya and Āhavaniya fires in this very order, attained the fruit of Agnyādhana while the Asuras, setting up the Āhavaniya, Gārhapatya and Anvāhāryapacana fires in different order, could not become prosperous for a long time.\textsuperscript{16} The Asuras' method of offering the oblations was also quite different from that of the Devas. They offered the sacrificial oblations in one another's mouth while the Devas offered the oblations to Prajāpati.\textsuperscript{17} The ŚB says that the Asuras through arrogance, thinking unto whom forsooth should they make offering, went on offering into their own mouths while the Devas offered for one another.\textsuperscript{18} Another difference between Asuras' and Devas' performance of sacrifices was this that the former did not follow the text or śāstras, while the latter followed the texts.\textsuperscript{19} The times of Devas' and Asuras' performance of sacrifices are also said to be different. The Asuras performed their sacrifices in the dark half of the lunar month when the moon was not fully grown, while the Devas performed it in the bright half of the lunar month when the moon was fully grown.\textsuperscript{20}

The perusal of the above references reveals that the Asuras like Devas were also associated with the performance of sacrifices, notwithstanding the fact that they never attained the desired fruit. Now the
question is who are these Asuras who have been mentioned as performing the sacrifices even with bad results therefrom.

In the \textit{RV}, the most ancient literature of the world, the word Asura, with all its derivatives, occurs 136 times in all. Out of this 121 times it occurs as an appellative of Vedic gods. In the singular form it occurs as an epithet of Agni\textsuperscript{21}, Indra\textsuperscript{22}, Varuna\textsuperscript{23}, Savi\textsuperscript{24}, Surya\textsuperscript{25}, P\textsuperscript{26}us\textsuperscript{26}, Dyau\textsuperscript{27}, Soma\textsuperscript{28}, Parjanya\textsuperscript{29}, and Rudra\textsuperscript{30}, while in dual form it has been used as an epithet of Mitrayura\textsuperscript{31}, and in plural as epithet of Maruts.\textsuperscript{32} It is to be pointed out that in all cases it denotes power, might, vigour and wisdom of individual gods with whom it is associated.\textsuperscript{33} Hardly 15 times in the \textit{RV} the word Asura seems to have been used as referring to the evildoers hostile to the gods.\textsuperscript{34} The gods, who are called Asuras themselves, have been mentioned as the slayers of the Asuras and as such they have been shown as bearing the epithets \textit{Asura}ha\textsuperscript{35} and \textit{Asuraghna}.\textsuperscript{36} They are said to have killed the Asuras with a view to keeping safe their godly nature.\textsuperscript{37} From such references it is obvious that in the \textit{RV} the word Asura was used in both the senses godly and demoniac. It appears that in the time of the \textit{RV} the word Asura had not been confined exclusively to a class of beings opposed to the divine or human beings. It only conveyed the meaning of ‘vigorous’ and ‘mighty’. This could become appellative of gods such as Agni, Indra, etc., as well as that of V\textsuperscript{38}tra, Namuci etc., who were also thought to be vigorous and powerful. The word Asura in the sense of powerful was also used as an epithet of kings. In \textit{RV} V.27.1, king Trayyaruna is said to be an Asura. In \textit{RV} I.126.2 seer Kak\textsuperscript{39}yvan is described as receiving hundreds of cows from king Svanaya for whom the epithet Asura has been used. In \textit{RV} X.93.14 praises have been sung for Asura R\textsuperscript{40}ama.

From the very beginning the institution of sacrifice has been one of the most distinguishing features of Vedic culture. In the hymns of the \textit{RV} we find references to the existence of two classes of people, one having firm faith in the cult of sacrifice and the other having no faith in it at all. The former class bore the appellatives such as \textit{Yajam\textsuperscript{40}na},\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Yaja},\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{43}na},\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{45}na\textsuperscript{46}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{47}na\textsuperscript{48}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{49}na\textsuperscript{50}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{51}na\textsuperscript{52}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{53}na\textsuperscript{54}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{55}na\textsuperscript{56}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{57}na\textsuperscript{58}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{59}na\textsuperscript{60}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{61}na\textsuperscript{62}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{63}na\textsuperscript{64}}, \textit{Yaj\textsuperscript{65}na\textsuperscript{66}}, and so on. The latter class bore the appellatives \textit{Ayaj\textsuperscript{67}na\textsuperscript{68}}, \textit{Ayaj\textsuperscript{69}na\textsuperscript{70}}, \textit{Ayaj\textsuperscript{71}na\textsuperscript{72}}, \textit{Ayaj\textsuperscript{73}na\textsuperscript{74}}, and so on. The words like \textit{Astraddh\textsuperscript{75}a}, \textit{Adev\textsuperscript{76}a}, \textit{Aryay\textsuperscript{77}a}, etc., have also been used for them. The struggle between the adherents of sacrificing and non-sacrificing cultures continued for a long time. Ultimately the former class succeeded in defeating the latter with the help of gods whom they worshipped by offering prayers and oblations. The victory of sacrificing class over the non-sacrificing one has been referred to in a large number of verses in the \textit{RV}. In \textit{RV} I.131.4 Indra is said to have conquered the land and rivers from the non-
sacrificing people. In another verse (RV I.121.13) Indra is said to have thrown away the non-sacrificing people across the ninety rivers. In RV I.33.5 it is said that the non-sacrificing people, who were jealous of sacrificing Aryan people, were crushed down by Indra. In RV VII.6.3 Agni is said to have destroyed those people who did not perform sacrifice. In RV X.49.1 Indra himself speaks to the worshipper that he always brings wealth and victory to the sacrificer and misfortune and defeat to the non-sacrificer. From all these references it is obvious that the institution of sacrifice was the main factor distinguishing Aryan from the non-Aryan people.

In the early Vedic period the word Asura does not appear to be associated with the non-sacrificing people. Vedic gods bearing the epithet Asura were the object of worship and as such they are referred to as granting wealth, health, progeny, cattle etc., to their worshippers. They were the protectors of the sacrifices. They always desired that their worshippers should offer oblations to them. The institution of sacrifice being the distinguishing feature of Aryan culture it was imperative for every Aryan to perform it. To give due importance to this cult they depicted their gods also as performing sacrifices. In the Puruṣa-Sūkta it has been clearly stated that the gods worshipped the Puruṣa with sacrifice and these were the ancient Dharmas.⁶³ Agni as the performer of sacrifices has been called Rtvik⁶⁴ Purohita,⁶⁵ Hotā,⁶⁶ Potā,⁶⁷ Neśṭā,⁶⁸ Adhvaryu⁶⁹ and so on. A simple logic before the adherents of the sacrificial cult was that since the gods performed the sacrifices in the beginning, they, too, must perform it. Asuras as an independent class of beings, separate from gods, are nowhere mentioned in the RV, either performing or not performing sacrifices. In the later Rgvedic period prior to the composition of the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda the early Rgvedic concept of Asura gradually underwent a change. Now the word Asura began to be used as an appellative of a separate class of beings quite opposed to the Devas leaving aside its original meaning. In the early Rgvedic period 'a' of the Asura was not regarded as a prohibitive particle. It formed a part of the stem Asu from the root ṣas. When the word Asura began to be thought as forming a separate class of beings quite opposed to the Devas 'a' lost its previous position and began to be thought as a prohibitive particle giving birth to a new word Sura from Asura. Thus two words Asura and Sura connoting demons and gods respectively became prevalent. The Brāhmaṇa texts giving etymologies of the word Asura seem to have kept this difference before them. A later etymologist like Yāska is fully aware of this development.⁷⁰ This invention firmly fixed the word Asura in the sense of demons hostile to gods for ever, completely vanishing the early conception of Asura as powerful or divine.

In the Brāhmaṇa period when the Asuras formed a separate class
all activities of the Rgvedic non-sacrificing people were transferred to them. On the other side the Devas, too, did not remain the same. They also lost their Rgvedic nature and absorbed the activities of the Rgvedic sacrificing people. Thus, the battle between the Devas and the Asuras in the Brāhmaṇas was not like the battle between Indra and Vṛtra. There is a vast difference between the Rgvedic Indra-Vṛtra fight and the Brāhmaṇic Devāsura-Saṅgrāma. The former is a mythologization of the natural phenomenon of struggle between the light and the cloud, whereas the latter is a mythologization of the historical struggle between the sacrificing Aryan people and the non-sacrificing Anārya or Dasyu people. In the mythologization of the struggle between light and cloud, the religio-poetic imagination of the seers is active while in the mythologization of the struggle between the sacrificing and non-sacrificing people, the ritualistic imagination of the priestly class is active. The clash between the sacrificing and non-sacrificing people of the Rgvedic period, ultimately leading to the victory of the former, is the main theme of the Brāhmaṇic description of the Devāsura-Saṅgrāma. As a matter of fact, the worship of gods through sacrifice was the distinguished feature of Aryan culture. It was imperative for every Aryan to perform it. It is to be pointed out that when the Aryans conquered the non-Aryans, the latter were made to leave the country as it is evident from the statement of the RV. that the non-sacrificing people were thrown away across the ninety rivers by Indra. Those who remained there accepted the Aryan culture and began to perform the sacrifices. But since they had never performed sacrifices in their previous cultures it became very difficult for them to adjust themselves in the new sacrificial culture. But having once accepted the Aryan fold they had no alternative. Under this circumstance they started performing sacrifices but they committed many mistakes which were thought to be very dangerous in the life of the performer. In my opinion, the Asuras described in the Brāhmaṇas as performing sacrifices but not getting their desired fruits due to their committing mistakes in the performance of the rituals allude to the new entrants into the sacrificial cult who for a long time could not get absorbed in the new Aryan environment. Though we cannot avoid the possibility of Arthavāda, this view has its weight and I believe that the perusal of all Brāhmaṇic passages in this light would certainly help us in solving many socio-religious problems relating to customs and beliefs of ancient India.

REFERENCES

1. TS. VI. 3.7.2; cf. Mait. S. VIII. 3; Kāṭh. S. XIX. 11.
3. TS. VI. 4.10.1.
5. ŚB. V. 5.5.1-5.
6. TS. VI. 6.11.6; Mait. S. IV. 7.5.
7a. ŚB. II. 1.2.13-16.
8. Tait. Br. I. 1.2.4-6.
10. TS. I. 7.3.1; II. 5.4.1; III. 2.2.2; III. 4.6.1; V. 3.3.1; VI. 6.9.1.
14. TS. I. 7.1.3.
15. ŚB. II. 2.2.8-14.
18. ŚB. V. 1.1.1-2; XI. 1.8.1-2.
20. Tait. Br. II. 2.3.1.
21. RV. II. 1.6; III. 3.4; IV. 2.5; V. 12.1; 15.1; 27.1; VII. 2.3; 6.1; 30.3; X. 11.6.
22. RV. I. 54.3; 174.1; III. 38.3; X. 96.11; 99.2.
23. RV. I. 24.14; 151.4; II. 27.10; 28.7; X. 132.4.
24. RV. I. 35.7; 10; IV. 53.4; V. 49.2.
25. RV. X. 56.6.
26. RV. V. 51.11.
27. RV. I. 131.1; V. 41.3; X. 124.3.
28. RV. IX. 73.1; 99.1.
29. RV. V. 83.6; X. 92.6.
30. RV. I. 64.2; V. 42.11.
31. RV. I. 151.4; VII. 36.2.
32. RV. I. 64.2.
34. RV. II. 30.4; V. 40.5; 9; VI. 22.4; VII. 13.1; 99.5; VIII. 96.9; 97.1; X. 53.4; 131.4; 138.3; 157.4; 170.2; RV. Khil. II. 4.1; 14.11.
35. RV. X. 170.2.
36. RV. VI. 22.4; VII. 13.1.
37. RV. X. 157.4.
38. RV. I. 24.11; 51.8; 127.2; 130.8; II. 18.3, etc.
39. RV. I. 34.7; II. 16.4; VI. 15.13; V. 44.10, etc.
40. RV. I. 36.10; 77.1; II. 6.6; 9.6, etc.
41. RV. VII. 83.3.
42. RV. I. 166.8.
43. RV. I. 15.12; X. 88.17; 107.6.
44. RV. X. 170.1.
45. RV. X. 122.6.
46. RV. IV. 1.9.
47. RV. VII. 61.4.
48. RV. IV. 1.2; X. 50.5.
49. RV. III. 27.6.
50. RV. I. 15.11; 86.2; III. 8.3; 24.1; IV. 47.4; VIII. 1.2-20.
51. RV. I. 4.7.
52. RV. I. 31.13; 55.6; V. 41.3; VII. 63.5; IX. 61.12; 86.26; X. 61.15, etc.
53. RV. I. 13.12; 33.5; VI. 28.2; 4; VIII. 32.18; X. 96.5.
54. RV. I. 13.6; II. 9.6; IV. 37.7; IV. 52.1; X. 61.17.
55. RV. I. 121.13; 131.4; II. 26.1; VII. 6.3; 87.7.
56. RV. VII. 6.3; X. 138.6.
57. RV. X. 124.3.
58. RV. I. 33.4.5; 103.6; VII. 61.4; VIII. 31.15-18; 70; XII. 49.1.
59. RV. VI. 67.9.
60. RV. VII. 6.3.
61. RV. I. 150.2; II. 26.1; VII. 93.5; VIII. 70.11; 97.3; IX. 63.24; X. 27.2.
62. RV. V. 20.2; VIII. 70.11; X. 22.8.
63. RV. X. 90.16.
64. RV. I. 1.1.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. RV. I. 15.3; II. 5.5.
68. RV. II. 5.6. etc.
69. Nirukta, III. 8.
MYTH OF WAR BETWEEN INDRA AND VRTRA—A SPEECH SYMBOLISM

By

SUDHI KANT BHARADWAJ

The Vedic seers had a highly developed sense about speech. A close examination of the Rgvedic passages will reveal that Vedic seers had a great love for speech and had developed highly philosophical notions about it. Such notions are described sometimes expressly and sometimes through symbolism, which later developed into famous legends. Such legends allowed scope for various interpretations in course of time as a result of which the true meaning of symbolism was lost into confusion and gradually became obscure.

One of the famous legends of the Rgveda is the great myth of the war of the god Indra and demon Vṛtra. Indra is stated to have killed Vṛtra and released cows. Indra performed his heroic deeds under the intoxication of Soma juice. At several places Maruts are stated to be faithful associates of Indra. Soma is also quite often stated to be helping Indra in the release of cows. The cows are always stated to be making sounds. Sometimes Bṛhaspati is stated to be killing Vṛtra or Vala and releasing the bellowing cows.

This so called legend is interwoven in the whole texture of the Rgveda and is repeated again and again in one way or the other. All such allusions in the Rgveda have been interpreted variously by scholars right from very early periods. Yāska informs us about the two schools of interpretation—the school of etymologists and the school of historians. The etymologists held a naturalistic view and interpreted the word vṛtra as cloud whereas the historians considered Vṛtra as a historical character. He was a demon, the son of Tvaśṭā. Even the modern scholars are still maintaining the above two views. According to the naturalistic view, Indra is a rain god representing thunderstorm. Lightening is his famous weapon known as vajra by which he rent asunder clouds and releases water. According to the historical view Indra was a powerful leader of the Aryan people who migrated to India and fought with the aborigines.
On the close examination of the Rgvedic passages, it is observed that the above theories or any others put forth so far do not hold good everywhere in the Rgveda and fail in removing several inconsistencies.

The passages in the Rgveda which deal with the so called story of the extraction of cows virtually deal with speech. The word ‘go’ has been used quite often in the Rgveda and in most of the places it means articulate speech. All the synonyms of cow are used in the sense of speech but according to their difference in the meaning in the context of cow they show some differences in the context of speech also. For example the word ‘go’ represents speech generally but the word ‘dhenu’ represents a ‘meaningful speech’, because the word ‘dhenu’ means a milking cow. All the words related to the cow family have definite meanings in the context of speech. The word ‘vatsa’ stands for the word element or more appropriately to say the sense element in speech. The word ‘ṛṣabhā’ generally stands for the Supreme Word which virtually is the seed or the motive force of the entire speech. The Vedic seers had identified the Supreme Word with the Supreme God. They believed that the Supreme Word is an eternal force and is free from all transformations. The word is manifested by articulate speech. The word in its manifested form is that which is produced and hence transient. The word ‘vatsa’ perhaps represents that expressed form of the word which remains inherent in the speech in an inseparable manner and the relation of speech with its meaning is rightly expressed by the relation of cow and its calf. As the cow always follows its calf and vice versa similarly the meaning follows speech and the speech follows meaning. In other words, both are inseparable.

The above speculations, though logical and based on the actual occurrences in the Rgveda, need to be further examined separately. What can be said with certainty here is the fact that the word ‘go’ has occurred in the Rgveda in the sense of speech quite a number of times. Yāska clearly accepts ‘speech’ as the meaning of this word while explaining a mantra of the Rgveda (RV 1.164.29). In the Nighaṇṭu the word ‘gauḥ’ and its synonyms ‘dhenā’ and ‘dhenuḥ’ are enumerated as synonyms of speech. Sāyaṇa also clearly renders ‘gauḥ’ and its synonyms as speech at several places.

In the passages alluding to the episode of extracting cows, the sense of speech is so clear and logical that it does not admit of any doubt. Almost everywhere the cows are stated to be making sounds (literally bellowing). There are seven chief phenomenal elements described in these passages involved in the process of production of articulate speech: (i) the Supreme Word, (ii) the desire to speak, (iii) the thought, (iv) the breath, (v) the articulatory organs, (vi) the articulatory obstructions and (vii) the articulate sounds. There is a
set terminology to describe the process. However, the language in which this process is described is such as gives a semblance of war.

The Vedic seers considered the process of evolution of the cosmos and speech simultaneous and often identified both of them as one. The cause of the universe is in fact the cause of speech. According to this equation, the Supreme Reality is the causal force of both viz. the universe and the speech. The words used for the Supreme God are thus applicable to the Supreme Word also. It is this word element which is the motive force of all the speech behaviour.

The word ‘Indra’ is the most commonly used in the Rgveda in the sense of Supreme God, undoubtedly tracing its etymology to the root ‘ind’ (Pāṇinian ‘idā’) meaning ‘to be supremely powerful’ (paramat-ivarye). Whatever the later character of the god ‘Indra’ would have been, in the beginning it was undoubtedly used in the sense of the Supreme Power. The entire Sūkta 2.12 is dedicated to the description of Indra’s supreme powers who spread heaven and earth and stabilised the sky and the mountains (RV 2.12.1-2). Indra is stated to be the lord of the universe and he attained ‘go’ first of all for the purpose of Brahma (knowledge or later, Vedas).

Here the word ‘gāh’ is used as the accusative plural of the word ‘go’. The sense of attaining cows appears quite illogical and unconvincing. The sense of speech of the word ‘gāh’, sounds quite logical i.e. ‘the one who is the lord of the entire world, moving and breathing, was the first to get speech for knowledge’.

As a matter of fact, Indra is the creator of the whole universe. He is the supreme cosmic power. There are three distinct phenomena associated with the story of killing Vṛtra which have obviously been confused by the scholars to be the one as a result of which misinterpretations have arisen. The first phenomenon represents the evolution of the cosmos itself. Indra is the great cosmic power and Vṛtra is the outer cover which keeps the cosmic powers wrapped in its fold. When the cosmic power comes out in the form of creation, the outer cover is broken. This outer cover is in a way the illusion surrounding the pure Brahmā. In one of the mantras of the Sūkta I.80 which deals with the cosmic evolution, Vṛtra is clearly stated as māyin and Indra is clearly stated to be killing this illusion by his own power, that, too is nothing else than the illusion:

इन्द्र तुष्मिद्रव्रतेऽजुः विज्ञातिविर्भयं ।
वद्ध हः मात्रिनेऽगुणं तदु तथ भवयविदीर्वन्नुर्मु व्यर्ज्ञायम् ॥

10
"Oh Indra, the bearer of the bolt, the lord of clouds, your might is unvanquished, because you killed the animal of illusion by illusion taking recourse to your own power."

It is clearly stated that Indra killed Vṛtra and created himself:

महात्मदशूमि वृउन्न जवनवा असु जवित्वनानु स्वराज्यम्.\(^{13}\)

In this mantra Vṛtra is stated to be the great power (*mahat paurīṣyam*) of Indra himself. It seems to be the germ of the later Vedantic theory of Brahman and Māyā. The words ‘arcannanu svārājyam’ occur at the end of each mantra of this Sūkta signifying that Indra created himself by his own powers. Indra is clearly stated as Brahма, the god of creation:

इस्त्रा हि सोम हमरे ब्रह्मा च कार वर्णनम्.\(^{13}\)

He is explicitly stated as having killed Vṛtra and created the universe:

आद्रेकृत्वमकङ्कोदु लोक ससाहे शक: पृतना अभिविष्ट: \(^{13}\)

The second phenomenon, the description of which runs forth in the Rgveda is the release of waters. In this case Vṛtra perhaps refers to the cloud as mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu\(^{14}\) also and unanimously accepted by almost all the commentators and modern scholars.

The third phenomenon which has not so far been noticed by anybody is the production of articulate speech. In this case the word Vṛtra signifies the articulatory obstruction and ‘go’ signifies the articulatory speech. On a close observation of all the Rgvedic passages mentioning the ‘extraction of cow’ these three phenomena are clearly discernible. In the Sūktas 1.32 and 1.80 the process of evolution of the cosmos or waters is described but at no place the reference to the release of cows is given. Instead, while referring to the release of waters, cows are made the object of comparison:

दासवंती रहिमोपा अतिधमनीस्वा आप: पणिने गावः।
अरं विनामसंहितं यदाभुवं अपि सत्वाः।\(^{15}\)

The similar idea occurs in 1.32.9.

The distinctness of the two phenomena is clear from several other evidences. In the Sūkta 5.29 the two phenomena are distinctly mentioned in the two different consecutive mantras:
In this mantra the phenomenon of releasing the waters is described. In the following mantra the phenomenon of speech is described:

उत्र बद्धाणो मस्तीम अस्येत्रः सोमस्य सुभुवस्य पेयः।
तत्र धन्यं मनुष्ये गा अग्निदहनाह्निं पवित्रं हृदयो अस्य। ॥ ३७

"Oh growing Maruts, You and Indra drink the Soma, squeezed nicely. Because it is such an oblation by drinking a part of which Indra killed Ahi and produced articulate speech in the man."

In the above mantra the use of the word manushya is very significant. It is the locative singular form of the word manushya which clearly means that the ‘gaufi’ (the articulate speech) was obtained in man. The articulate speech is the exclusive characteristic of man. The phenomenon of obtaining cows in man can refer to nothing but speech. It is the symbolic expression. Indra stands for the Supreme Word, Ahi for the obstructions in the mouth breaking which the speech comes out. Soma stands for the breath.

While describing the heroic deeds of Indra the act of motivating the waters and obtaining the cows are mentioned as two different deeds in the same mantra:

स माहित इत्येको अर्थो अर्थं शैशवमहाप्प्रायो समुद्रसः।
अग्निनयं विद्रश अस्मुनाद्व विद्रशति साधव। ॥ ३८

In this mantra the phrases ‘apāṁ praitrayat’ and ‘vidarga’ indicate two different actions.

There are several other evidences in support of the theory that wherever the incident of the killing of the Vṛtra, Ahi or Vala followed by the release of cows is mentioned, the production of articulate speech is meant. The greatest evidence in support of this theory is the connection of Brhaspati with this episode. Brhaspati is quite frequently stated to have released the cows. All the epithets used with regard to Indra in connection with his heroic act of releasing the cows are used with regard to Brhaspati also with this phenomenon. The entire two Sūktas viz. 10.67 and 10.68 are exclusively devoted to
Bṛhaspati describing his action as mentioned above. Had this narration had any legendary significance or a historical basis, the two persons could not have been mentioned as the doers of the same action viz. the killing of Vṛtra and the release of cows. Unfortunately this fact has been ignored by the scholars while postulating any theory. In the same Śūkta both Indra and Bṛhaspati are simultaneously stated as having released the cows:

(i) इत्येक रविन्द्रार्ग दुष्मान्त वर्षेता वि चक्रति रवेण ।
    स्वेतमकात्रिश्रीराविलक्ष्मानोिरबल्किप्य गा अनुयागात ।
(ii) हृदैर्घ विश्वनिदिही शरमन्मयानि नहनत् व्यस्थन् ।
    बुधस्तिरिक्तकिनिददृश उत प्राक्तीरुप विष्राहि अगमयतु ॥

It is to be noted that in the former mantra Indra is said to have made the Pani to cry which simply means that by removing the obstruction the sound was produced and the articulate sounds came out. Similarly in the latter mantra Bṛhaspati is stated to have made the cows to speak or has himself spoken in them. At several places even the glossary used in both the cases is almost the same. ¹² Like Indra, Bṛhaspati is also stated to have extracted cows from Vala. ¹³

It follows from the above that both Indra and Bṛhaspati are identical gods as far as their relation with the above narration is concerned. Though the entity of Indra as a separate god is well recognised in the Rgveda, yet the word was used in its etymological sense also. It could be used with any god as an adjective. For example Indra is used as an adjective of Indu in the following mantras:

(i) इहुहुत्रत्रो वृः धृत: पवमान: प्रजापति: ।
(ii) श्री व्य चन्द्र मदमन्त्रिन इति श्राधु ॥

Similarly Indra is used as an adjective to Bṛhaspati also:

इत्र आसा नेता बुधस्तिरिक्तनिब वज: पुर एतु सोम: ॥

Thus Indra as a god represents the Supreme God and Indra as a word means 'supremely powerful' and could be used as an adjective to any god signifying that sense.

The natural inference from the above and from various other evidences available in the Rgveda is that Bṛhaspati stands for the supreme word and Indra stands for the Supreme God. Both are identical in real sense though sometimes their separate entities have also been mentioned as will be clear from the following examples:
(i) इन्द्र परस्पर विषयते ।
(ii) वृहस्पति इन्द्र वर्णते ॥

In both these examples, the dual forms *pibatam* and *vardhatam* speak of their duality but this duality is only outer and subject to their functions. Brhaspati is associated with speech only whereas Indra's connection is established with all the activities of the universe and consequently the Brahman. The identity of the two gods can be seen in the following mantra:

इन्द्रो हरी युयुजे अविवना रवि वृहस्पतिविषयते सप्ताः सुकृतः ॥

"Indra yoked to the chariot the two horses named Aśvins; Brhaspati spread the speech which adopts various forms."

In this mantra Indra and Brhaspati appear to be separate gods but they are identical. Indra here represents the Supreme God in its unmanifested form. The two horses here perhaps refer to the two forms of the words viz. intransient and transient. Brhaspati represents that form of the word which manifests and expands itself in the form of speech. The word *viśvarūpa* undoubtedly stands for the speech. In the mantra immediately preceding there is a reference to a young damsel who spread the objects by means of different names:

अन्या नामानि वृहस्पति सुते सर्वां अभ्येन नामनक्या ॥ नामास्त्रतलः ॥

Kanyā here obviously means speech. It is quite usual in the Rgveda to compare speech with a woman. It is in the sequential context that the word *viśvarūpa* has been used. Sāyaṇa construes *viśvarūpam* with *gām* which he thinks is understood here. The basis of his doing so is the use of the adjective *viśvarūpa* used elsewhere in the Rgveda in construction with *dhenu*:

रथ ये चक्रु मुख्यं नरेष्ठं ये ग्रेनु विश्वजुबं विश्वरुपम् ॥

The word *dhenu* undoubtedly stands here for speech and the adjective *nareśṭha* (residing in man) for *dhenu* is very significant and certainly establishes that *dhenu* here means speech and nothing else.

The position of Brhaspati or sometimes called as Brhmaṇaspati is well established in the Indian pantheon as a god of speech. It traces its origin to the root *bṛhi*—to expand (*vṛddhatu*). The word *brahma* thus applies to the cosmos or the speech because both extend to the infinite dimensions. That is why the word *brahma* came to mean the supreme being as well as Vedas or the supreme knowledge. It is on

this basis that the grammarians developed the theory of tabdabrahma identifying the supreme being with the Supreme Word.

In the Rgveda also Bṛhaspati has been accepted quite explicitly as the god of speech. He is stated as having bestowed speech upon the Vedic seers:

देवतुं बृहद्वनि राणो बृहस्पतियांभमं अववेश्त ॥

He is prayed by Vedic seers to give them beautiful and faultless speech:

अस्मे श्रेष्ठ युवातिन बाल्मीकियां मुनीवामिषियां ॥

The famous Sūkta 10.71 dealing with speech is addressed to Bṛhaspati:

बृहस्पते प्रविष्य बालिः अर्थं इत्तरसु नामचेन्य द्रवणा: ॥

The use of the word ‘go’ and its synonyms in the sense of speech is so evident and so frequent that it does not require any further elaboration. The adjectives like nareṣṭha used for dhenu and the fact that the ‘go’ was obtained in man make our point amply strong. A few more points substantiating the above fact are noteworthy:

(a) The word ‘dhenu’ or ‘aghnya’ (an adjective frequently used for dhenu) is stated to have twenty one (three multiplied by seven) names:

(i) ते मन्त्रम् प्रविष्य नाम ये गोतिष्ठः सप्त मात्रं परमाणः विभवत्
(ii) उवाच ते कहो भग्नराय निः सप्त नामध्या विभवत्

The number twenty-one has virtually no sense as far as its connection with cow is concerned. However, in relation to speech this number is very significant and meaningful. This number stands for twenty one declensional suffixes. The mention of this number in the form tirh-sapta i.e. three times seven is still more significant as it indicates seven case endings inflected in three numbers viz. singular, dual and plural. This number in this manner has been mentioned several times in the Rgveda in the context of speech.

(b) In the Sūkta 1.164 which deals exclusively with speech the word ‘go’ or its synonyms have been used several times and the sense there is obviously speech. Sāyaṇa also accepts the word ‘gauḥ’ in the sense of speech in this Sūkta.

(c) Almost invariably, the cow is stated to be lowing which indicates the sounding character of speech.
(d) ‘go’ is pictured as having a great relation with mind:

(i) हिंदुकृष्टी वसुपली वसुना वतसिमष्टी मनसाभयागत्
(ii) सा जितिनिम हि चकार मर्य विद्वृध्वजती प्रति व्रतिमौहत्

In the latter mantra the process of production of individual or mortal sounds is described. Thought is the basis of the production of such sounds.

(iii) उत्त नो धियो गोमन्नः पूविन्नणवेववायः

Here thoughts are stated to be preceding the cows. Thoughts have great relation with speech. Therefore ‘go’ here unmistakably means speech.

(iv) इन्द्र देनांलिङ्ग मांदस्व दीपिविश्वाभिः श्रजया पूणानः

The word दहेना a synonym of cow is used here in the sense of speech as rendered by Sāyana also. At other places also दहेना has been used as speech:

वीरेन्द्रः कन्यरित्रु मुंगस्तिस्तम्य चेना पुष्ठपमीटेत्

Here दहेना is stated to be praying to Indra. Here also Sāyana renders दहेना as speech.

It is thus established unequivocally that the word ‘go’ and its synonyms as also its adjectives have been used in the Rgveda most of the times in the sense of speech. Hence the story of the extraction of cows by Indra or Brhaspati applies more plausibly to nothing than the speech.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Nirukta 2.16—
   तत् को बृहः ? मेष इति नैस्कतः । त्वात्स्योत्सरे इत्यैविताहिष्रकः
3. The author has examined all such passages and is working separately on them.
4. Nirukta 2.9—
   अयं स श्रव्यस्ते येन गौरिलिप्रत्यया मिमातति । मायूयं शब्दं करोति । मायूयिरिवद्विभिमिति
   वा वानेषा भाष्यामिकाः
5. Nighantu 1.11.
6. Cf. Sāyana on 1.164.29—
   गौरिति वाङ्माय । भाष्यामिक वादृ ।
7. RV. 10.114.8—
सहस्यां पद्मार्किकः याब्दुदारापापिष्की तांखिितः।
सहस्यां महिमान: सहस्य याब्दुद्वह्व; विदिंщение ताहोति वाह्यः।
8. It is on this principle that the theory of *stabdakrama* of Bhartṛhari has developed.
9. RV. 1.101.5.
10. RV. 1.80.7.
11. RV. 1.80.10.
12. RV. 1.80.1.
13. RV. 10.105.10.
15. RV. 1.32.11.
16. RV. 5.29.2.
17. RV. 5.29.3.
18. Soma's connection with speech is expressed several times in the Rgveda. Its connection with the Maruts and Vayu is also expressed. The author has separately examined and concluded that Soma, while in connection with speech represents breath by the force of which the speech is produced.
19. RV. 2.19.3.
20. RV. 10.67.6.
21. RV. 10.67.3.
22. Cf. RV. 1.62.4 and 4.50.5.
23. RV. 10.68.9.
24. RV. 9.5.9.
25. RV. 9.6.2.
26. RV. 10.103.8.
27. RV. 4.50.10.
28. RV. 4.50.11.
29. RV. 10.125.
30. RV. 1.161.6.
31. RV. 1.161.5.
32. Cf. RV. 10.71.4; 10.114.3.
33. Śāyaṇa on 1.161.6—
तथा वृहुस्ति: वृहुस्ति सन्तस्त पालिवता एतनं ज्ञानं देवः विश्वरूपाः नातास्मोपेताः
गां उपात्तं उपायमेव स्वीकेर्तववानिनियमः।
34. RV. 4.33.8.
35. RV. 10.98.7.
36. RV. 10.98.3.
37. RV. 10.71.1.
38. RV. 4.33.8.
39. RV. 5.29.3. See supra.
40. RV. 4.1.16.
41. RV. 7.87.4.
42. Cf. RV. 1.164. 7.9, 26, 27, 28 and 29.
43. Śāyaṇa on 1.164.29—
गौरिति वाङ्ग नाम। माध्यमिका वाढः यथापिशुद्धा
अभितो भावः अभिभिहितोऽधिभिहितवप्रयः।
44. RV. 1.164.27.
45. RV. 1.164.29.
46. RV. 1.90.5.
47. RV. 10.104.3.
48. Śāyaṇa on RV. 10.104.3—
   धनान्यः स्तुतिवामिन्: ।
49. RV. 10.104.10.
50. Śāyaṇa on 10.104.10—
   धेना वाङ्ग्नामेतत् ।
AGNYAVABHRTHA

By

GANESH THITE

In this paper it is intended to discuss the meaning of the word agnyavabhrtha.

In Āpastambaśrautasūtra XIV. 21.8 the context is that of the expiations in a sacrificial session (sattrā). When a person who has undergone the initiation for a sacrificial session dies, the other performers have to perform an expiatory ritual. In this connection we read in ĀPŚS XIV. 21.8 yadi marīyeta prāgavabhṛthād agnyavabhṛthin Kurūran. W. Caland (Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, Wiesbaden 1969, reprint, p. 400, Vol. 2) translates this Sūtra as follows: Wenn er stirbt, so sollen sie (nl. die andere Teilnehmer am Sattrā) vor dem Schlussbad, das Schlussbad des Feur zustande bringen. On this Sūtra he remarks that the meaning is not certain. He proposes an hypothesis that by this Sūtra it is meant that before the other utensils are thrown in water, the fires of the dead person should be thrown in water. Thus by the word agnyavabhṛtha he understands throwing of the fires in the water.

In An Encyclopaedical Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles (ed. A.M. Ghatage, I. 1, Pune 1977, p. 427) the meaning of this word is given as follows: “The Avabhṛtha-rite performed with the sacred fires (?)”. It is worthy to be noted that a question-mark is put after the meaning. So this meaning also appears to be rather tentative.

At this stage attention may be drawn to the expiative character of the Avabhṛtha-rite. In this rite a prayer is made to be free from sin (see e.g. Taîtiriya Sanhitā I.4.45.2, see also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 5. 2.47 etc.). In this rite Soma-husks are thrown in water (e.g. Āpśs XIII. 22.10). The utensils used in sacrifice are also to be thrown in water Āpśs XIII. 22.12 etc.). An offering of sacrificial cake to Varuṇa is also offered to Varuṇa (Āpśs XIII. 20.7 etc.). The sacrificer and his wife take bath in that water (Āpśs XIII. 21.1 f). All these details have a distinct bearing upon the expiative function of the Avabhṛtha-rite.

It should be noted that while most of the other expiation-rites are performed in fire the Avabhṛtha-rite is to be performed in water.
In the case of the Agnyavabhrtha, however, it seems that all the rites are to be performed in fire, and that seems to be the meaning of the word. Since the initiated person is dead, there is no question of taking his bath here. The other performers have to perform the Agnyavabhrtha-rite and they have to perform it in the fire instead of water.

In the Satyasadha-Srautasutra XV. 5.29 also this word occurs. The commentary named Prayogacandrika on this Sutra is not very clear and the printing of it (Anandashrama edition, Pune 1927, p. 319) also seems to be not free from mistakes. It reads there as follows: yadi yajamano mriyetakrtyamane tu naimittike pragavabhsthadagni tareva (sic) dahanam. The word agnitareva seems to be a printing mistake. It is likely to be agnibhireva. In that case the meaning will be that the sacrificer’s body is to be burnt with the sacred fires. The commentator further quotes an opinion of some ritualists according to whom the body is to be thrown in the fires.

In the next Sutra (Satyas Samoa XV. 5.30) it is said that as an alternative the body of the dead performer is be carried to the water at the time of the Avabhrtha-rite and then having taken it out from the water, it should be burnt by means of the sacred fires after they have been brought together.

Thus there appear to be two alternatives: (i) to burn the dead body immediately after the death of the performer and to perform the Avabhrtha-rite in the fire itself (and then to continue the sacrificial performance up to its normal end when the normal Avabhrtha-rite will have to be performed in water. Or (ii) to perform the Avabhrtha-rite in water as usual and then to burn the body and then to continue the sacrifice.

In Vaikhnasasrautasutra XXI. 7 also we read these same alternatives. The only addition there is that of the words puvena sadod (gnya-vabhrtham Kuryuh). This indicates that the Agnyavabhrtha is to be performed to the east of the sadas.

In conclusion then we can say that the word Agnyavabhrtha means an Avabhrtha-rite performed in fire (instead of water).
THE HYMNS TO THE VIŚVE DEVĀH

By

UMA CHAKRAVARTY

About seventy hymns\(^1\) of the Rgveda have been dedicated to the Viśve Devāh by Sarvānukramaṇī. There lies a vast difference between the two expressions—'Viśve Devāh' and 'the hymns to the Viśve Devāh'. All the hymns devoted to the Viśve Devāh are also not of uniform character. About forty-eight hymns dedicated to them are more or less uniform in form and theme. We shall call these hymns in this essay, the authentic hymns to the Viśve Devāh.\(^2\) In these hymns many deities are, mostly very mechanically, invoked. Among the gods invoked the group of gods Viśve Devāh is also there but the invocation of the Viśve Devāh in each and every hymn is not essential. Another different type of hymns are also dedicated to the Viśve Devāh. These hymns are enigmatic and full of mystic ideas, some of these narrate mythical and historical events. Viśve Devāh are also invoked in some of these hymns but definitely not in all. They are about twenty-three\(^3\) in number. Regarding deity the rule of Kātyāyana: 'ya ienocyate sā devatā'—is not apparently applicable in these hymns. We shall call these hymns, hymns to the Viśve Devāh in name but not in substance. Then there are about twenty\(^4\) other hymns which resemble very much the authentic hymns to the Viśve Devāh but the Sarvānukramaṇī instead of dedicating them to the Viśve Devāh gives a list of gods invoked in such hymns. The three hymns\(^5\) dedicated to the seasonal gods (ṛuduvaṭāka) resemble, to some extent, the hymns to the Viśve Devāh but the gods invoked in them are more or less fixed, though not so fixed as in the Āpri-hymns. Probably because the hymns to the Viśve Devāh do not represent a uniform character, because they do not characterise any particular deity or group of deities, scholars have not yet taken much interest in these hymns. In this connection we may remember Louis Renou who also thinks that the authors on Vedic Mythology have not elaborated on the Viśve Devāh, undoubtedly because of the tacit consideration that these hymns do not add to our knowledge of the individual deities, for the Viśve Devāh are nothing but a sum total of gods, a plural pantheon denuded of specific traits. But the truth is quite otherwise.\(^6\)

The authentic hymns to the Viśve Devāh, mostly without much literary beauty, go on mechanically invoking the deities. Sometimes
many gods in one verse, sometimes a group of three verses (trī) to one or a group of gods, in others each verse to one deity so on. Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, the Maruts are the most popular gods in these hymns. Then follow Mitra, Devāḥ (all the gods), Aditi, Bhaga, Aryaman, Ādityas, the Āśvins, Viśve Devaḥ, (the all-gods), Pūṣan, Dyāvaprthivyau, Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Vāta. In these hymns Savitṛ is more popular than Sūrya and Bṛhaspati occurs more frequently than Brahmaṇaspati. The Parvatas (mountains) possess equal status with Mitra-varuṇau and Tvaṣṭṛ, Rudra, Aḥirbudhnya, Āpaḥ, Ṛbhus, Soma and Sarasvatī hold more or less the same position. Compared to Indra Soma is much less prominent. Sarasvatī is invoked once (X.66.5); this god might be an improvised masculine form of the goddess Sarasvatī. A few more deities, the fore-fathers (pitarāḥ) and some natural phenomena, are also invoked though not so frequently. Among them are Apāṇa Napāt, Uśasāṅkta, Āyuṣ (according to Sāyaṇa Vāyu), Purandhri, Āramati, Ratiścāha, Ganāḥ, Devī, Bṛhaddevī, Paṇcachotṛ, Rākā, Sīnivālī, Urjām patiḥ, Tārkṣya, Svastī, Vastospati, Vanaspati, Śeṣṭasya pati, Trīta, Dharat, Dharat, Uruci, Nirṛti, Yama, Dādhiṅkravān, Bṛhma, Prasva, Varutrī, Bhavītra, Abhiścāha, Parjanya, Parjanya-Vātāḥ, sacrifice itself and some materials essential in a sacrifice like Yūpa Vedi and Grāvāṅgaḥ (pressing stores). The abstract ideas like Satyasya Patayāḥ, Devanāṛi Suhavāṇi are also among those invoked. Indrā-Puṣanāḥ, Indrā-parvataḥ, Indra-Vayū, IndrāVaruṇa, Indrāṅgṛt, Indrāsomaḥ are also invoked. Some natural phenomena are quite prominent in these hymns; these are—Oṣadhi, Vanaspati, Forests (Vana), Samudra, Aṛṇava, Sindhu, the Seven Rivers, Āpaḥ, Nakṣatra, Sūryamas, Candramas etc. In this connection reference may be made to X.66.11 which mainly invokes natural phenomena along with Aja Ekapāt, Aḥirbudhnya and Viśve Devaḥ. The tria—Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryamaṇḥ deserves special mention. Many traces are solely dedicated to them. X.126 devotes five of its eight verses to this triad only. The wives of the gods who are otherwise quite neglected in the Rgveda hold a good position in these hymns. They are invoked as ‘Pamhit’ (X.141.6; VII.34.20), ‘Devapatniḥ’ (VI. 46.8), ‘Gnāḥ’ (V.43.6; 46.2; 8; X.92.14). V.46.7 and 8 invoke only the wives of the gods—Devapatniḥ, Gnāḥ, Indrāṇi, Āśvini, Rodaṭi and Varuṇaṇānt. Iīḥa (I.31.4; V.41.19) Devi, Uṣasāḥ are also among the goddesses invoked. The term ‘Aramati’ has been taken by Geldner in his German translation of the Rgveda as the name of a goddess but Sāyaṇa interprets it as an adjective. But, he gives different interpretations in different places (cf. VII.42.3; X.64.15; 92.4; 5) for the same word.

A few places from the authentic hymns to the Viśve Devaḥ, are intended to be referred to here. They introduce topics which are not typical of this class of hymns.

The first three verses of the VI.52 narrate the keen rivalry between
Rjävan the scribe of the hymn and Atiyäja. These hymns are otherwise very terse, but one enjoys the pleasure of reading a poem in the first verses of VI.51 which starts with the description of the early morning. VIII.29 consisting of eight verses put forward a puzzle to its readers. In each verse a clue word is given and one is to infer the god with the help of it. In VII.35.11\textsuperscript{8} we read about the gods of heaven, earth and waters. VIII.28.1 tells us about the thirty three gods (trimśati trayaśparo devāsāḥ). VIII.30 which practically devotes all its four verses to the Viśve Devāḥ, speaks about the thirty-three gods in the second verse. In the verse:

\begin{verse}
\textit{dhātā dhārito bhuvanasya yah pathā} \\
\textit{devam tritiyam abhimātsāham} \textit{X.128.7}
\end{verse}

one infers a belief in the existence of the highest god. X.157 hints at the creation myth, though literally it speaks about the resettling of the sacrifice.

Viśve Devāḥ seem to be the special favourites of the Bharadvājas. VI.52.7-10 all the four verses are solely dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ. Then they are also invoked in the 13th, 14th and the 17th verses of the same hymn. This is a unique phenomenon in the whole of the Rgveda.

About twentythree hymns may be categorized as the hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ in name but not in substance.\textsuperscript{9} I.105 narrates the story of Trita who was thrown into a well and who for rescue prayed to the Viśve Devāḥ, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Śatākratu and mainly to Rodasi. The refrain ‘Vitaṁ me asya Rodasī’ follows from the first to the eighteenth verse. The hymn consists of nineteen verses. The ‘Asyavāmiya’—hymn (I. 164) has no particular deity to be attributed to; so probably tradition has dedicated this hymn, of course in a greater sense, to the Viśve Devāḥ. The refrain, ‘mahad devānām asuratvam ekam’ in III. 55 probably led Kātyāyana to call this hymn a Vaiśvadeva. The mystic poet Viśvāmitra is full of philosophical ideas in this and the next hymn. The gods are to be inferred. The poet singer becomes more difficult in III. 56 in which number three (‘triḥ’) is specially glorified. K.F. Geldner comments on this hymn, “auch dieses Lied gehört zu den dunklen Viśvadeva-Liedern”.\textsuperscript{10} One comes across some of the most difficult hymns among the eleven dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ in the fifth book (41-51). Geldner considers the fortyfourth hymn as the most difficult hymn of the Rgveda\textsuperscript{11}. It is not easy to make out what the poet is speaking about in the verses in the majority of which no god is invoked. V.45 describes the early morning and also the release of the cows from the enclosure of Vala. V.47 speaks about the movement of the sun round the year. V.48 and 50; X. 31; 61; 114 and 118 are all very much enigmatic. According
to Sāyāna X.56 is the utterance of Brhaduktha towards his dead son Vājin. But Geldner thinks that these are the words towards a horse killed in a race\(^\text{12}\). X.57 is the first of the four hymns which narrates the interesting story of Asamāti and his priests. Though tradition dedicates X.62 to the Viśve Devāḥ it is in fact a Dānastuti. X.101 speaks about the preparation of sacrifice by the priests. This hymn would contribute much towards the study of cultural history of India. X.61.5-7. speaks about the incest between the father and the daughter. X.109 narrates the story of Soma’s giving back the wife of Brhaspati whom he had kidnapped. Many gods were present on this occasion. And, the moral in the hymn goes thus that, a king should also give back the Brahmin’s wife whom he has kidnapped. Hymn X.137 consisting of seven verses has seven different seers, one for each verse; X. 181 is full of mystic ideas and has three different seers for its three verses; X. 165 which is to be uttered in order to drive away the ominous pigeon considered to be the messenger of the Nirṛti, also falls under the hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ.

There occur about twenty hymns\(^\text{13}\) in the Rgveda which by the Sarvāṅkramaṇa have not been dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ, but we find instead a list of gods invoked in these hymns. In fact, in form and subject-matter these hymns do not differ from the authentic hymns Sāyāna in places calls these hymns—‘bahudevatāka’, and also adds a list of the deities invoked in each of these hymns. The question arises why this differences is made in indicating the deities in the same type of hymns, whereas the hymns dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ in name but not in subject-matter though they do not resemble the authentic hymns, have been assigned to the Viśve Devāḥ.

Along with the other characteristics of the authentic hymns these hymns maintain the same position of the triad Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman (cf. I.41.1-3; 7-9; VIII.31.13). The goddesses also are here, as prominent as in the authentic hymns. II.32 invokes goddesses only, they are Rākā, Sinivālī, Guṇgu, Sarasvātī, Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī; Dyāvāprāthivyau also come along with them. Hymn I. 191, and VII. 50 and 104 are very much of Atharvaveda type. The sage Agastya in I.191 invokes, mainly, water, grass and Śūrya for relief from the pain caused by snake-bite or some poisonous insects. Vasiṣṭha in VII.50 invokes Mitrā-Varuṇāu, Agni, Viśve Devāḥ, and the river-goddesses to relieve him from the pains caused by snake-bite. VII.104 invokes the gods, mainly Indra and Soma, to drive away demons.

This discourse makes it clear that the hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ are not of uniform character as the hymns dedicated to the other deities. They have presented multifarious themes.

A scrutiny of the ‘Vinijoga’ also does not throw much light on this
matter. For the majority of these hymns the indication about the application is ‘gata’ or ‘laṅgika’, which does not give us any specific information. Quite a few of course are to be applied in the Vaiśvādeva-Sastra. Jan Gonda has given his opinion regarding these hymns:

"We would probably not be wrong if we regarded these sāktas as originating in enumerations composed for liturgical purposes comparable to the nīvīs which in course of time were amplified and remodelled upon the majority of the hymns. While they exhibit a preference for speculation rather than mythology, their more or less enumerative' structure in most cases is very clear."15

Two categories of deities are invoked in the hymns of the Rgveda: Devāḥ and Viśve Devāḥ. From the hymns it appears that the former indicated all the gods in general and the latter a specific group of gods like, Rudras, Vasus, Ādityas etc. Louis Renou opines that the Viśve Devāḥ are a distinct category. Sri Aurobindo sees in them the universal collectivity of the divine powers:

"It has been disputed whether these Vishwadevas form a class of themselves or are simply gods in their generality. I take it that the phrase means the universal collectivity of the divine powers for this sense seems to me best to correspond to the actual expressions of the hymn in which they are expressed"17.

Various forms the subject-matter of the hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ. In the first place we shall name the authentic hymns in which the deities are very mechanically invoked. Then come those hymns which though by tradition have been devoted to the Viśve Devāḥ, actually contain philosophical, mythical, and historical themes; we have named these hymns, the hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ in name but not in substance. We would also like to include in the authentic hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ, those hymns which in character represent the authentic hymns but which have not been dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ by Kātyāyana. There lies a vast difference between the two phrases—‘Viśve Devāḥ’ and the hymns to the ‘Viśve Devāḥ’. Further studies on this subject which has so far been rather neglected by scholars, probably because these hymns lack in uniformity of character and mythological elements, would reveal more truths.

REFERENCES

1. A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith have said that at least forty hymns have been dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ, but my finding is that there are no fewer than seventy hymns in the Rgveda dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ by Sarvāṅkura-маṇि.
“All gods who occupy an important position in the sacrifice, for at least forty entire hymns of the RV are devoted to their praise. It is a factious sacrificial group meant to represent all the gods in order that none should be excluded in the laudation intended to be addressed to all”: Vedic Mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 130.

A.B. Keith says,

“It is a characteristic trait of the Rgveda that some forty hymns are devoted to the group of gods called all the gods, Viśve Devāḥ, and the impression given by the Rgveda is borne out by the ritual in which All-gods receive frequent attention. By inventing a comprehensive group no deity at any rate could justify complaint that it has been passed over altogether”: The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads, Reprint, Delhi 1970, p. 221.

James Darmesteter also expressed similar opinion while discussing on the Iranian Vispo Daevop.

“Vispo Daevvo, a curious expression which comes from the time when Daeva still meant a god. In the time of Indo-Iranian, nay, as early as the time of the Indo-European religion, it was the custom, beside special invocations to several gods, to address one to all the gods, for fear of resentment of those who might have been forgotten or ignored; thus the Greeks never failed to invoke all gods and goddesses in the same way the Indians invoked Viśve Devas, “All the gods” which in course of time gave rise to a special group”: Zend Avesta, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. IV, p. 102 fn.

The opinion of Macdonell, Keith and Darmesteter is not applicable to all the hymns dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ, as a few of these hymns are rather connected with mental sacrifice and some of them do not mention Viśve Devāḥ at all.

2. I. 89; 90; 106; 107; 122; 139; 186;
   II. 29; 31;
   III. 20; 1—5; 54;
   IV. 55;
   V. 41; 42; 43; 46; 49; 51;
   VI. 49; 51; 52;
   VII. 34—37; 39; 40; 42; 43;
   VIII. 27; 28; 29; 30; 83;
   X. 35; 36; 63; 64; 65; 66; 92; 93; 100; 126; 128; 141; 157.

3. I. 105; 164;
   III. 55; 56; 57;
   V. 44; 45; 47; 48; 50;
   X. 31; 33; 52; 56; 57; 61; 62; 101; 109; 114; 137; 165; 181;

4. I. 2; 3; 14; 18; 22; 23; 136; 191;
   II. 30; 32; 41;
   III. 62;
   VI. 48; 50;
   VII. 50; 104;
   VIII. 31; 54; 101;
   X. 17; 59; 124;

5. I. 15;
   II. 36; 37.

7. I.186.2 ; IV.55.10 ; V. 41.2;46.5 ; VI.51.3 ; VII. 40.4 ; VIII. 27.17 ; 28.2 ; 83.2; IX.36.1; 65.1 ; 93.4 ; X.126.2 ; 3 ; 4 ; 26.7.

8. VII. 35 is the hymn with ‘Sam’. Each verse of the hymn consisting of fifteen verses, but the last two repeat the same vocabulary except the names of the gods. The first verse is quoted below:

Šam na indrāgni bhavatam avobhiḥ
Šam na indrāvaruṇā rāṭahavyā /
Šamindrāsomā suvitāya šam yoh
Šam na indrāpūṣaṅi vājasātau //

9. I.105 ; 164 ; III.55 ; 56 ; V. 44 ; 45 ; 47 ; 48 ; 50 ; X. 31 ; 33 ; 52 ; 56 ; 57 ; 61 ; 62 ; 72 ; 101 ; 109 ; 114 ; 137 ; 165 ; 181.


11. Ibid.,—Das Schwierigste hymn des Rigveda, p. 44.


13. I.2 ; 3 ; 14 ; 18 ; 22 ; 23 ; 136 ; 191 ; II. 30 ; 32 ; 41 (1—5) ; III. 62 ; VI. 48 ; 50 ; 62 ; VII. 50 ; 104 ; VIII. 31 ; X. 17 ; 59 ; 124.

14. Cf. I.14 ; 89 ; II. 32 ; V. 48 ; VI. 49 ; VII. 34 ; VIII. 29 ; 83 ; X. 17 ; 61 ; 63 ; 92.


16. Ibid., p. 181.

17. Śri Aurobindo : The Secret of the Veda, Pondicherry 1971, pp. 81-82.
LAMP AS A SYMBOL OF LUSTRE IN RITUAL

By

KALA DHANANJAY ACHARYA

In ancient times devayajña was performed by offering fuel sticks into the fire as found in Tai. Ār. Offerings into the fire in the name of deity were made by uttering the word svāhā. The deities are mentioned in the grhya and the dharmaśūtras. In the smṛti period devayajña and the worship of gods (devapūjā) are mentioned separately. The term devapūjā is used for the worship of the images in the house in the later period. Hence it is used in a limited span.

In the procedure of the worship of gods a certain system is adopted with certain phases in it. The phases are mentioned in Viṣṇudharmaśūtra (chap. 65) and The Baud. gr Pariṣeṣaśūtra (II. 14).

They are invitation (āvāhana), offering a seat (āsana), respectful offering of water for washing feet (pāḍya), respectful offering (arghya), offering of water for sipping (ācamiṇa), bath (snāna), garment (vastra), sacred thread (yajnopavita), anointing sandalwood pigment (gandha), flowers (puṣpa), lamp (dīpa), offering of eatables (nalvedya), respectful obeisance (namaskāra), circumabulation (pradakṣiṇā), immersion (visarjana or udvāsana). Ornament (bhūṣaṇa) and tambūla being added by some the upacāras become eighteen in all. Usually sixteen-fold worship (ṣoḍaśopacāra pūjā) is mentioned. One may perform even ten upacāras viz. from pāḍya to nalvedya. Only five upacāras are also allowed starting from gandha to nalvedya. The worship is called pāṇcopacāra pūjā.

Offering a lamp is a must in the above types of worship. It is stated in Viṣṇudharmaśūtra that the lamp should be offered by uttering the sacred prayer, ‘You are lustre, you are bright’ occurring in Vāj. S. In the Baud. gr Pariṣeṣaśūtra it is stated that the lamp should be offered by uttering the sacred prayer ‘Uddīpysva’ from Tai. Ār.

It is stated in the Br. P. that one who worships the sun with a lamp containing ghee or sesame oil does not become blind. He becomes a learned person too. The giver of a lamp becomes a learned person. It is further stated that one who gives a lamp in a temple or at a place where the four roads meet becomes handsome and lucky. Brahmā has narrated
the sages that the lamp should preferably contain clarified butter. It should contain the liquid of herbs, but it must not contain marrow of the flesh (vasā), fat (medas) bones or flesh. The lamp should be placed in such a way that the direction of the wick should be upwards and not downwards. The giver of the lamp does not get the birth of an animal. The lamp must not be extinguished. It has been stated that one who blows off a burning lamp destroys himself. The giver of the lamp is illuminated in the heaven.

The rational thinking behind the gift of the lamp to the sun and the fruit to be gained by offering it is obvious. The lamp is a symbol of lustre. It is advised to be given to the sun who is the greatest deity of light and lustre. So, the gift of the lamp to the sun bears certain significance. The fruit again is related to the lustre. By giving the lamp, one gets faultless eyesight. Eyesight is really light for a living being. The giver gets lustre, according to Var. P.6

According to the Sk. P., the lamp should be given to Āditya, Gāṇanātha, Devī, Rudra and Kēśava. It is stated in the same P. that the lamp is favourite to Viṣṇu. It always destroys sins. If given in the Cāturmāsya, it fulfils the wishes of the giver and burns heap of sins. One gets success even at the sight of a lamp. Viṣṇu is more happy by giving him the lamp than by performing a thousand sacrifices. It is advised that in the month of Kārttika, lamp should be given to Viṣṇu. One who gives it in Cāturmāsa, goes to the Viṣṇuloka and one who gives it in the Kārttika-month goes to the heaven. Those who want to get relieved from the worldly course of life are advised to give the lamp on the twelfth lunar day. The giver of lamp gets a long life, sharp eyesight, wealth, sons and good luck. One who extinguishes lamp becomes dumb and dull.

According to the Sk. P. before beginning any auspicious ritual the lamp should be lit. It is a treasure of lustre. It destroys darkness, and gives lustre to the donor. It should be uttered that Viṣṇu should be pleased with the giver of lamp.

The lamps should be given to destroy the ignorance. It has been stated in the Sk. P. that one who places lamps in front of Rāmanātha destroys his spiritual ignorance and goes to the Brahman.

The giver of a lamp becomes a learned person. Giver of a lamp to Śiva gets enjoyment and gets relieved from the worldly course of life, according to the Agni. P.

So to be precise it can be stated that the lamp is used as a symbol of lustre in worship as well as in other rituals such as making a gift. The lamp is full of lustre and light and the fruit by offering it is attainment
of lustre, sharp eyesight and memory. The giver becomes a learned person and destroys his spiritual ignorance. Thus the link between the offering of lamp and the fruit to be gained by offering it is rational.

Sk. P. puts forth a very interesting legend about the origin and importance of lamp.\(^{18}\) The legend contains poetic conversation between Śiva and Pārvati. In KṛtyaKṛtya Pārvati once told Śaṅkara that she thought that she was not beautiful to look at because of her dark complexion. Śaṅkara tried to persuade her by telling that she did look beautiful but Pārvati got angry and warned Śaṅkara that she would meditate hard to get fair complexion. She decided to go to the forest on the Vindhyā mountain for the penance and told Śaṅkara that she would return only when she got golden complexion.

Śaṅkara was unable to bear the agony of separation. He disappeared suddenly. All the world became fearful as the three eyes of Śaṅkara—the sun, the moon and the fire did not glitter over the world. The whole world began to appear as a dark forest. The gods worried. “Only the light protects one, when one is afraid”, they remarked. Keśava suggested the remedy. He advised the gods to give the lamps. “The lamp”, he said, “was still, clean, beautiful, not very hot, not so cold. It bore the lustre of the sun”. “The sun-light is scorching and the moonlight consists of biting cold”, he pointed out. He also narrated to the gods the way of preparing the lamps and advised them to offer the lamps to Śiva. The gods pleased Śiva by doing so. The demons, the yakṣas, the ghosts, the vidyādharas and the siddhas also gave a thousand of lamps. The ghosts had to fetch fire from the cānddālas to make lamps. The darkness went into the world of dead.

Another legend narrating the importance of the gift of lamp occurs in the Agni P. which narrates how queen Lalitā won love of her husband Cārudharma more than the co-wives as she had tried to light a lamp in a temple in one of her previous births in which she was a female rat.

In fine the lamp as a symbol of lustre is extolled in the religious literature. In the terminology of cultural anthropology the lamp can be treated as a device of sympathetic magic.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. Baud. gr — Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra
2. Br. P. — Brahma Purāṇa
3. P. — Purāṇa
4. Sk. P. — Skanda Purāṇa
5. Tai. Ār. — Taittiriya Āraṇyaka
6. Vāj. S. — Vājasaneyya Samhitā
7. Var. P. — Varāha Purāṇa

NOTES

1. Ṛg. Dh. S. I.4.13.1,
   Baud. Dh. S. II.6.4,
   Dharmasūtra of Gautama V. 8-9.
2. Br. P. 29.35 cd - 36
   पूजन दीपय खर्चाय तिलतैलेन वा पुनः
   आदिद्वय पूजयेदात्तु चद्युष्ण न स हीयते
   दीपवता नरो निब्यं श्रात्यदीपेन दीयते
3. Ib. 39.
4. Ib. 40.
6. Var. P. 207. 53 cd
   दीपश्रवानादु बुद्धमार्गविनि
7. Sk. P. Pūrvabhāga 7.81.
8. Agni P. 200.3
   दीपेनायुधष्ममुद्वानु दीपालकमिनुमातिदिकमु
   सोभास्य दीपय: प्राय्य स्वप्नोकरे महीयते
9. Ib.11 ab
   जायते दीपधर्म यु प्रको वा एव च
10. Sk. P. III Brahmkhaṇḍa 7.50 cd
    दीपसंभवायाय दीप: कार्याय प्रभुष्चति
11. Ib. 43. 111 cd - 112 ab
    रामनायाय युतो दीपानारोपयेनमुः
    अविक्षपलं भित्तवा वाति ब्रह्मसंतनसः
CONCEPTS OF THE SELF IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA TRADITION

By

J. L. BROCKINGTON

Despite their obvious connection by title with the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa are more commonly treated as part of the Advaita Vedāntin literature. Yet it is surely not coincidental or meaningless that the Rāma story was used as the basis for both. While in no way disputing that their philosophical position is generally idealist, I believe that there is room for a reassessment both of their precise relationship to the Advaita system, or perhaps more particularly to Saṅkara’s thought, and of the extent of their indebtedness to the Rāmāyaṇa tradition as a whole. In this relatively brief treatment I intend to concentrate on the latter aspect, although this may well have implications for the former. In this way we can better understand the actual religious and philosophical position of both texts, as well as possibly seeing more fully how they interpreted Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha has of course been a very popular text and has been translated into many of the vernacular languages of India. Thus, although it is a sophisticated Sanskrit literary work, it also has elements with a wider appeal, for it represents a unique blend of abstract philosophy and vivid narrative, linked with—if not drawn from—Indian folklore. In that respect it is performing for the philosophical side of Hinduism what the developed form of Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa does for the religious, devotional aspect. Presumably it was actually intended as a means of bringing more abstract philosophical ideas before an audience which was sufficiently educated to read or listen to Sanskrit but was not familiar with philosophy. Thus it expounds the doctrine of salvation through knowledge of the identity of the self with the absolute largely by means of the fifty or more stories—some relatively brief, but others extremely long and complex—with which Vasiṣṭha punctuates his narrative.

The main framework of the Yogavāsiṣṭha derives from an incident which, though absent from the original Rāmāyaṇa, would find its place in the Bālakāṇḍa, for it consists of a long conversation of the young Rāma with Vasiṣṭha. The occasion for the discussion is Rāma’s return from a pilgrimage in a state of apathy or even madness, as it seems to those around him, for he has realised that everything is unreal, that it is
misguided to believe in the reality of the world and that everything is just the imagination of the mind. Viśvāmitra, while acknowledging the correctness of Rāma’s view, first narrates the story of Śuka and then asks Vasiṣṭha to instruct Rāma. The suggestion that enlightenment has come to Rāma in the wake of a pilgrimage seems vaguely reminiscent of the chariot drives undertaken by Siddhārtha Gautama, which form the starting point of his dissatisfaction with the world and thus of his becoming the Buddha. Quite clearly too, Vasiṣṭha expounds a philosophical viewpoint, which, though basically Vedāntin, is also deeply influenced by Buddhist idealism. Yet even this Buddhist tendency does not necessarily set it apart from the original Rāmāyaṇa, for, as I have noted elsewhere, the figure of Rāma could easily be accepted within the Buddhist tradition as a Bodhisattva, with Buddhist versions of the story spreading as far as Japan. Nonetheless, it could be argued that the Yogavāśiṣṭha has no organic connection with the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa.

We may note, however, not only that the name Rāmāyaṇa is incorporated into most forms of the title of this work but also that the author was thoroughly familiar with the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki. Individually the instances which can be cited do not conclusively establish this, since they belong to the field of proverbial literature, but collectively they strongly support it. One which is particularly basic to the text’s understanding of the origin of the world is the kākatalīya maxim, much loved by the author and found in other contexts too; in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki it occurs in Mārica’s final attempt to dissuade Rāvaṇa from seizing Sītā (3.39.16a). Similarly the aphorism about only a snake seeing another snake’s feet, used as a simile for the self alone knowing the self in the Yogavāśiṣṭha (6a.83.14), is used by Sītā disclaiming knowledge of Hanumān to the Rākṣasīs (Rām. 5.40.9ed). Most interesting, perhaps, is the complicated reworking—almost one might say demythologising—of the story of Indra’s adultery with Ahalyā at YV 3.89-90; though found as early as the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, one of the fullest tellings of the original story is in the Bālakāṇḍa of the original Rāmāyaṇa (1.47-48), which is particularly relevant as there Rāma releases Ahalyā from the curse.

The Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, on the other hand, though also employing the same emboxing technique whereby Brahmā expounds to Nārada Śiva’s discourse to Pārvatī, is a retelling of the story, which is, however, substantially abridged and often interrupted by philosophical passages; its various divergences from the original Rāmāyaṇa are not such as to cast any serious doubt on its indebtedness to the Rāmāyaṇa tradition. The narrative is the vehicle of a definite philosophical or theological standpoint, since it teaches that the world is an illusion imposed on the eternally blissful Absolute, thus combining a form of Advaita Vedānta with belief in Rāma’s saving grace. The stress, indeed, is on bhakti rather
than knowledge, with meditation on Rāma’s name as a means to salvation.

At first sight the teachings of either text on the nature of the individual self have little to do with either Vālmiki’s Rāmāyana or the tradition of devotion to Rāma, Rāmabhakti, to which it ultimately gave rise. The Yogavāsishtha is not entirely consistent or systematic in its terminology but it does affirm emphatically that the world as such does not exist and that the state of mokṣa is the cessation of this world-appearance; this state of pure quiescence (sānta) is what is meant by Brahman. The emergence of the seemingly objective world occurs through stirrings of consciousness in Brahman at the end of a pralaya (according to YV 3.12-13). As it abandons the original unity of subject and object and apprehends the idea of concepts other than itself and of an ego, there arise on the one hand the apparent individual (jīva) and on the other the experienced world, which presupposes the existence of space, time and individuality. In reality, however, the jīvas have no other existence than the conceptualising activity producing them—they are mere flashes of thought (citacamatkāra).

Elsewhere (e.g., YV 3.1), the jīva is identified with the manas, which is essentially dynamic by nature and continually induces being from non-being. It is by the activity of manas that pure consciousness (cit) assumes the form of a self-conscious ego. The activity of manas leads to buddhi and ahamkāra, and thus to karma. Thus there is no real distinction between jīva, manas, citta and buddhi (cf. 3.96.34). Alternatively, there is a principle of pure consciousness which is also the vital principle (jivadhātu) and, when associated with manas, inhabits the body and produces the illusion of world-appearance. Indeed, Brahmā as the creator deity is a form of manas (3.3.34), distinguished from all karma-controlled beings by the fact that he exists simply through his own thought (svacittsaikkārapa, 3.3.5). The ordinary individual is bound by karma because his ego (ahamkāra) brings about an unreal identification between self (jīva) and body (deha); the embodied self is then inevitably enmeshed by the consequences of its deeds (jīvaḥ karoṭi karmāṇi tatphalatār badhyate ‘vasaḥ’ 4.8.17).

When the pure consciousness begins to entertain desire (ṣaṅkalpa) and from itself constructs a self, then it becomes obscured and is called a self (jīva). Through the deceptiveness of desire the jīva perceives distorted entities, but when the lamp of knowledge brings enlightenment, the illusions of desire disappear for the jīva. As, when his sleep is over, a man no longer dreams, so the jīva, as soon as reality is visualised, no longer perceives any body (6a.82.16-20). As Čuḍālā explains to Śikhidhvaja (6a.85.111-12), psycho-cosmic existence, the appearance as a bodily individual in a surrounding world, occurs when the true self for-
gets itself but, when it remembers again its own nature (sva\=r\=upa), all this disappears. Earlier, C\=ud\=al\=a gives her husband a seven-stage analysis of the self in which the body (which is inert, jada) and its physical organs are below the sense organs, which are animated by manas, itself activated by buddhi; buddhi is dependent on ah\=amk\=\=ara, which again is dependent on the jiva; jiva is not directly subordinate to pure consciousness (cit); but there is interposed as the subject of the self (\=a\=imat\=ar\=up\=in) a higher entity of the form of consciousness (ct\=dr\=upa), which nevertheless has no reality of its own but is illuminated by cit, by consciousness itself (6a.78.14-34).  

The emphasis on the ultimacy of cit is obviously close to the Advaita of S\=a\=nkara and his followers, with which however there is no evidence of interaction until the fourteenth century, when Vidy\=ar\=anya quotes the Yogav\^ais\=i\=gha in his Pa\=nc\=ada\=\=i and apparently bases his Jivanmuktiv\=iveka mainly on it. On the other hand the stress on mental activity rather than m\=a\=ya or avidy\=a as the cause of the world's appearance and in particular of the jiva suggests links with the Buddhist Yog\=ac\=\=ara school. The Yogav\=ais\=i\=gha devotes much space to exploring the twin questions of how our minds affect the world and how the world exists in our minds through the medium of stories about dreams. A particularly noteworthy example is the story of the monk who imagines himself to be an ordinary man, Jiva\=\=a, who then dreams that he is a br\=a\=h\=ma\=n, and so on through to a hamsa, which recognises itself as being Rudra, who then looks back over this series of a hundred dreams and successively raises up these individuals so that they are all "awakened by Rudra" and see illusion for what it is (6a.62-64). The figures at the beginning and end of the chain of dreams (excluding the monk and Rudra) are obviously symbolic, for Jiva\=\=a's name is a derivative of jiva, the individual self, and the hamsa has been used since the Upani\=sads to denote the transmigrating soul. Thus our successive lives are simply the dream of the deity—although the ontological status of the characters in the narrative is contentious, this is the overall message—and m\=oka consists in awakening from the dream. Paradoxically, elsewhere (5.77), it is said that the jivanmukt\=a who has ceased to have any desires is as though in a state of deep sleep (su\=m\=uptav\=a\=t), and that, though sleeping, he is awake and, though awake, he is asleep.  

If then, we examine the doctrinal aspects of the Yogav\=ais\=i\=gha, the impression given is that of a thoroughgoing idealism. But is this the entire picture? There is also its insistence on worship of the self (\=a\=imat\=ar\=cana), or contemplation, as an indispensable part of spiritual life (6a.127.33), as well as discussion of the b\=a\=hya and m\=a\=nasa forms of p\=a\=j\=a. The lengthy episode of C\=ud\=al\=a's instruction of her husband \=Si\=khi\=d\=h\=va\=ja includes not only her coming to her husband disguised as the young br\=a\=h\=ma\=n Kumbha to provide him with companionship, but also later
her changing into a woman by night so that they can enjoy again the intimacy of marriage (6a.85-106). The implication of all this seems to be that attachment is not a hindrance to the pursuit of mokṣa and almost indeed that Śikhidhvaja's progress is related to the strength of his wife's affection for him. This brings us much nearer to ideas of bhakti than of ascetic renunciation, despite the context of these events.

Again, one of the noteworthy features of the Yogavāsiṣṭha is the emphasis on pauruṣa, human endeavour, which can even override the limitations of past karma (cf. 2.4.11-12). Pauruṣa, mental and physical exertions in a properly appointed way (śādhyapadistamārgena), is seen as effective in accordance with the degree of effort made, and thus any too ready acceptance of past karma is combatted. Here too there are analogies with the bhakti standpoint: there is the same possibility of overriding the operation of karma—here by pauruṣa rather than the deity's grace—and a stress on positive effort. These are, moreover, emphases which it is not easy to reconcile with the text's distinctly mentalist and idealist position overall, although it is significant that in the outermost framework of the work Sūtikṣṇa's question whether karma or jāma leads to liberation is answered by Agastya with the statement that both together lead to the highest state just as a bird needs two wings to fly aloft (1.1.6, cf. 3.95.17).

In the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa the question in the outer framework which sets the tone of the whole work is Pārvati's question to Śiva how it was that Rāma, influenced by his own māyā, did not know his own self as the supreme deity. Śiva's narration of the work then explains how Rāma as a human being had limited intelligence, while as the supreme deity his intelligence is absolute. Although the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa contains not so much a single philosophical system as a blending of more or less compatible views, its basic philosophical premise is that the Absolute, Brahman or paramātman, alone exists, without duality but consisting of saccdananda, the self of all and self-illuminating. Rāma as supreme deity is identical with this Absolute and acts not of himself but through his citta-jakti, who is personified as Sītā (e.g. 2.5.22-3); there is thus a definite Śākta strand blending with the Advaitin one. Since in reality only the eternally quiescent Brahman exists, from the ultimate standpoint the world does not exist and so there is no creation or dissolution of it. However, the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, like the Advaita Vedānta, sees its evolution in practical terms as occurring under the influence of māyā according to the Śāmkhya model (e.g. 4.3.14-20, 5.4.17-20, 6.6.49-57, 7.5.30-41 and 7.6.40-49).

The individual self, jīva, in its true nature is the absolute self, paramātman or sākṣīn, but limited, obscured and individualised through the veil of māyā (e.g. 1.7.33-35, 3.4.30-31, 6.10.37-40 and 7.5.30). It falsely
identifies itself through *ahamkāra* with a body, so the two from a unity like fire and a ball of iron (4.8.14, cf. 7.6.41-3), and so is compelled to undergo repeated rebirth in accordance with its *karma* (e.g. 2.7.103-5). But the notions alike of agent (*karyā*) and self (*jīva*) are erroneously superimposed on the witness consciousness (*sākṣin, caitya*) by reflection in the *buddhi* (1.1.46-8); indeed, the *jīva* is defined at one point as the unity of the *buddhi* and the reflection in it of the *ātman* (3.9.32). Consequently, the goal can be declared in the Rāmagītā to be the realisation of the non-difference of one’s self from Rāma, the supreme self, and the merging of the self with him (7.5.55-6). As long, however, as the *ahamkāra* and the rest are connected with the body and the senses, *samsāra* would indeed exist for the undiscerning *ātman* (4.3.18), which is like someone dreaming (4.3.19). Rāma goes on to declare that *manas* is indeed the world (*mano eva hi samsāraḥ*) and its identification with the *ātman* is the cause of bondage (4.3.21).

The Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is, however, Primarily a *bhakti* work and stresses overall the cult of Rāma through devotion, worship and pilgrimage. Rāma gives the forms of devotion as the company of his devotees, constant service to him and his devotees, Ekādaśī fasts and the like, observance of festivals, perpetual delight in hearing, reading and expounding stories about him, constancy in worship of him and recitation of his name (3.4.48-9). The meeting with Śabari is made the vehicle for emphasising the all-embracing grace of Rāma, who discourses to her on the nine aspects or stages of *bhakti* (3.10.17-33), while both Svanaprabhā and Vibhiṣaṇa, for example, on meeting Rāma receive the gift of *bhakti* (4.6.59-84 and 6.3.1-48). The most explicit and detailed account of the due forms of worship is given by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa and covers purely mental worship, worship of images or *tāḷagrāmas* with offerings, *nyāsa*, and *homa* in accordance with the *āgamas* (4.4.11-40). As virtually the conclusion to the whole work, indeed, Rāma declares to his mother Kausalyā the way to release through devotion to him (7.7.59-81). It is therefore natural that the Rāmagītā energetically opposes the *jñānakarma-samuccaya* theory espoused by the Yogavāṣiṣṭha (Adhy. Rām. 7.5.8-23).

Nevertheless, just previously the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa records Agastya’s encomium of Rāma in pantheistic terms, concluding with the declaration that Rāma is no different from the devotee’s own self (7.2.77). Again, it declares elsewhere that just as for a man asleep the entire multiplicity of *samsāra* disappears, so the whole empirical world disappears for the man of knowledge (6.12.19), and one should therefore fix one’s mind on Rāma (*rāmabhadre bhagavatī mano dheya ātmanīśvare*, 6.12.20c). It also invokes the traditional analysis into waking, dreaming and dreamless states along with the transcendental fourth, *turiya* (e.g. 2.1.23-4 and 3.9.33, cf. 6.1.50-4 and 6.12.19). The multi-layered character of reality is even
incorporated into its own narrative with the creation of the counterfeit Sītā before her abduction and the entry into fire of the real Sītā (3.7.1-4). This is clearly a theologically motivated development in order to preserve Sītā’s purity and so it is interesting that the bhakti-derived need is answered from the philosophical, idealist viewpoint. This is not of course peculiar to the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, since it occurs in the Kūrma and Brahma vaivarta Purāṇas and is taken further in the Adhuta Rāmāyaṇa, where when Rāma explains to Hanumān that Rāvana has carried off Sītā, Hanumān replies that, just as the whole world is an illusion, so the abduction of Sītā has been illusory.11 Thus the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa makes a determined endeavour to bring together in a synthesis its overall bhakti commitment to Rāma and its philosophical commitment to an idealist position. Yet, this emphasis on illusion in a bhakti context can hardly be considered exceptional when we find it echoed by Tulsidās, who makes Śiva say: “To him who knows not Rāma the false appears the true, as a rope is mistaken for a snake. To him who knows Rāma the world is naught, as the illusion of a dream vanishes on waking.”12

Tulsidās was, of course, eclectic in his use of sources and drew extensively on the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, as well as making use of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Bhūṣṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa, among other texts.13 I have already commented on the popularity of the Yogavāsiṣṭha as shown by translation of it. The Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is no less popular with, for example, versions of it in Malayālam by Eṣuttacan and in Marāṭhi by Mukteśvara, while Divākara Prakāśa Bhaṭṭa’s Kāśmīra version of the Rāmāyaṇa draws on the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and shares its theological outlook.14 On the basis of their influence on such writers, the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa are clearly significant for the bhakti tradition. Their respective blends of devotion and idealism, focused in the concept of the jīva, obviously held an appeal for Rāma devotees.

The line, then, from the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa to the later Rāma bhakti movement is continuous. But what of their antecedents in Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa? At first sight they have little in common with that heroic and romantic epic in the form that Vālmiki conceived. Its sturdily realistic outlook could well be said to be poles apart from their idealist position, while its portrayal of Rāma as the kṣatriya ideal of prince and warrior gave rise to the understanding of Rāma as an avatāra of Viṣṇu and eventually as supreme deity himself precisely through dharma, a concept definitely rooted in this world’s values. As I have argued elsewhere, although Rāma is clearly a martial hero in the earliest stages and the climax of the whole epic is his military defeat of Rāvana, from the beginning important issues of conduct are central to the plot.15 Thus the development from a heroic epic into a religious poem is implicit in the character of Rāma as first portrayed by Vālmiki
and made more explicit throughout the centuries. While I would definitely affirm its fundamentally heroic nature, the religious aspects are not just accidental accretions.

In the same way the basically realistic outlook of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa also incorporates within itself elements that can be seen as capable of interpretation more along the lines of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa. A case in point is the question of dreams, which we have seen forming a substantial theme in the Yogavāsiṣṭha’s interpretation of the world. Attention has recently been drawn to the function of dreams at several crucial points in the narrative of the Rāmāyaṇa, as well as the use of magic or illusion. The examples of such dreams given were Trijaṭa’s dream (5.25), Sītā thinking that the sight of Hanumān is a dream, “a mere fantasy” as the contents list of the Critical Edition glosses it (5.30, cf. 5.32.19-23), and Bharata’s dream the night before the messengers arrive (2.63). It would not in fact be difficult to think of further examples, such as Daśaratha’s terrible dreams and portents as he prepares to install Rāma (2.4.17) or his characterisation, according to the Southern recension, of Kaikeyi’s request as a divāsvapna (2.212* 2). While such belief in dreams as omens is widespread in Indian culture (and not only in Indian culture), these examples from the Rāmāyaṇa could provide a starting point for the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

Again, the natural hyperbole of much of the material in the Yuddhakāṇḍa provides scope for deceit and illusion among the techniques of battle. From the statement, for example, that in one battle the Rākṣasas could not see Rāma or else saw a thousand (6.81.20-5), which is little more than a metaphor for his agility, this passes on the Rākṣasa side to Rāvaṇa trying to browbeat Sītā with an illusory head of Rāma (6.22), to Indrajit similarly killing an illusory Sītā (6.68) and to Indrajit in the interval repeatedly making himself invisible (6.34.28-30, 60.20-44 and 67.2-42). More central to the narrative as a whole is Mārica assuming the form of a golden deer (3.40). If things are not always what they seem here in one of the most basic traits of life, human conflict, the authors of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa might well argue, how much less are they likely to be so in the more complex aspects of human existence.

Nevertheless, the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki is not primarily interested in these aspects, as emerges quite clearly from an examination of its use of the various terms. Thus, the term ātman is used almost entirely in the usual way as a reflexive pronoun and in senses which diverge very little from this or even approach its identification with the body. A striking example of the latter occurs when Śabarī goes to heaven by burning her self in the fire (hṛtvātmānātm hṛtātane, 3.70.26b), although in a similar context elsewhere the exact meaning is ambiguous (ātmānām mocayītvāthā,
6.64.21a). Other instances of this naive use of ātman include the
deliberate play on words in Daśaratha seeing his son (ātmaja) like his own
decorated self in a (mirror alamkāra itvātmānam ādārśatatalasampśhītam,
2.3.21cd) and such usages as Vāyu, when enamoured of Anjana, being
termed gatātmā (4.65.15d, cf. manasāsīl gato at 18a). In other cases, the
use of ātman was probably intended simply as reflexive but could be
interpreted technically, for example Sītā’s declaration tyakṣye viśame
deham ātmanah (3.44.33cd) or Rāma’s lament mokṣye jivitam ātmanah
(3.59.10d).

Instances of the use of ātman in a more technical sense belong to the
more developed parts of the narrative: a muni is described as bhāvayann
ātmanātmānam (2.61.18c); the sense of ātman is roughly that of “consci-
ence” in Rāma’s reply to Vālīn, hīdayasthāh sarvabhaṭānām ātmā veda
subhāsūbhām (4.18.15cd); Sambhu is termed viśvātmā (4.42.56a); and
bhātātmān occurs once in the sense of “life” (6.47.54d) and once in an
elaborate simile (6.81.20cd). The compound antarātmān is used
predominantly in the sense of “inner feelings, emotions, heart”, as in the
stereotyped pāda praḥṣṛṇantaratmanā and similar phrases, but it is signi-
ficantly more frequent in the Bālākāṇḍa than elsewhere. The nearest to
our present concerns is when Rāma once addresses Lakṣmāna as dvityāṁ
me ‘ntarātmānam (2.4.43c).

Compounds with ātman of final member are frequent and applied
to many of the characters in Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa. Nevertheless, there
is a tendency for them to be applied most frequently to Rāma and occa-
sionally, as with vidītātmān, they are almost exclusively so used.Originally,
no doubt, their use highlighted the self-control which formed
a noteworthy aspect of Rāma’s character but it would have been readily
susceptible subsequently to a more religious interpretation. Indeed, the
initial definition of an ideal hero includes adinātmā (1.1.4d), which could
well be understood theologically, although it is interesting to note the
contrast with Rāma as initially portrayed in the Yogavāsīṣṭha. Similarly,
the term ātmavān is most often applied to Rāma, though also to Viṣṇu
(1.15.7b), Lakṣmāṇa (2.46.63d) and others, and again can sustain a more
theological interpretation in the description of Rāma as na smaraty
apakāraṇām satam apy ātmavataya (2.1.16cd), as well as in the simile
vītamoḥa itvātmavān (5.1.187d).

The term jīva is a actually rather rare in the Rāmāyaṇa, where it is
in fact an infrequent synonym for jīvita, except for its use in the com-
ound jīvaloka, “the world of living beings”. But significantly it occurs
in the pāda applied to Rāma rakṣṭā jīvalokasya (1.1.13a, 5.29.6c and
33.10a, also 2 App. I.14.64pr.), which already presages the more religious
view of Rāma. Other possible terms for the embodied self, such as
prāśīn and dehiṇ, are even rarer and seem nonetheless to lack any
specifically religious connotation, despite the fact that they occur predo-
mminantly in the Uttarakāṇḍa.

It is therefore a matter of looking at the individual characters and
particular episodes of Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa, and here we find various
features which by their nature were likely to be taken up by more devo-
tionally oriented poets. As already indicated, the ethical polarities
implicit in the plot from the beginning lead naturally to a stress on
Rāma’s activity on behalf of dharma and his defeat of evil in the person
of Rāvaṇa. Nevertheless, in Vālmiki’s work the emphasis on Rāma’s ideal
character is not unmoderated. One of his most frequent attributes is
indeed his self-control, yet even this can be subordinated to the artistic
desire to present him as subject to normal human feelings, and he ex-
presses his grief at the loss of Sītā in a series of emotional outbursts.
from which Lakṣmana has to calm him down (3.58-62). He is regularly
described as sarvarāthāh righteously ruled, which with its hint of universal
compassion is obviously one of the elements which enabled Rāma to be
accepted not only among Hindus as an avatāra of Viṣṇu but also among
Buddhists as a Bodhisattva; yet he could also act questionably towards
Vālin.

Some minor incidents were specifically taken up by later devotional
tradition, such as those of Ahalyā and Śabarī already mentioned. Another
example is the story of the crow which molested Sītā and, when shot by
Rāma, eventually sought refuge with him (5.36.28-32 and 65.14-17);
especially a minor portrayal of submission to a superior power, it could
easily develop devotional overtones. The same applies to Vibhīṣaṇa
coming to Rāma’s camp (rāghavaṁ ṣaṅgaṁ gataḥ, 6.11.14d, cf. 15ab,
17d and 13.4cd) and to the Vānaras seeking Rāma’s protection in battle
(for example, ṣaraṇyaṁ ṣaṅgaṁ yātā rāmaṁ daśaratāḥmaṇam, 6.81.14cd).
Occasional statements may be more specific in describing Rāma as divine,
as when his companions say:

aṁānaṁ nāsti te kṣīṇaṁ trīṣau lokeṣu rāghava|
āṁānaṁ pūjayaṁ rāmaṁ prcyashy asmān suḥśrutatāḥ||

6.11.26.

Again we notice a certain ambiguity in the interpretation of ātman,
while when Rāma discounts the disclosure of his divinity at the end of
the Yuddhakāṇḍa, he must be using it reflexively: ātmanāṁ mānuṣaṁ manye
rāmaṁ daśaratāḥmaṇam (6.105.10ab). It may nevertheless be said
that the latter is in effect the starting point for the Adhyātma Rāma-
yaṇa’s treatment of Rāma’s earthly existence, the question how Rāma
through māyā did not know his own self as the supreme deity.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki is thus clearly not a devotional work in
origin—it is indeed quite unmistakably a heroic and romantic epic—but
yet it contains within itself the seeds for the growth of the Rāma bhakti tradition. Though basically realistic, it is not oblivious of the complexities of existence which the later Rāmāyaṇas were to explore from an idealist position. It is perhaps precisely in the nature of the self that the link is least obvious. Nevertheless, I have given, I hope, sufficient illustration of the point that the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa in particular do possess a very real relationship to the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki, and, once the shift to a more devotional attitude has taken place, the question of the jīva, of the relationship between the individual and his deity, must become central. Indeed, it is just the centrality of this issue, as well as the links forward to Tulsīdās and other bhakti poets, which shows that the idealism of both the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is not as basic as it is often presented as being. Rather, they are bhakti texts, seeking to place the individual jīva in a setting where the power (māyā) and grace (prasadā) of his deity, Rāma as paramātman, can most freely operate.

REFERENCES

1. This is not of course to suggest that within Vaiṣṇavism this phenomenon is exclusively linked with Rāma, for it does sometimes occur with Krṣṇa. cf. Peter Schreiner, "Zum Verhältnis von bhakti und advaita im Bhāgavata-Purāṇa", ZDMG Supplement III. 2 (XIX, DOT, 1975, Freiburg im Breisgau), 1977, pp. 941-54.

2. Indeed, its popularity was such in Mughal times that Akbar commissioned a Persian translation of it, the Bāshishṭ Ḩājgār, made by Abū'l Fazl in 1597 A.D., as well as one of Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa, made by Ṭabdulqādir Badāʾūnī in 1585-6 A.D., while Dārā Shukoh is held to have commissioned one of the Lakhuyogavāsiṣṭha.

3. Because of the elaborate embossing technique employed (itself perhaps derived from more popular sources), the narrative in fact begins with Sūṭika asking Agastya whether karma or jīva or both lead to mokṣa and Agastya then embarks on the story of Aṅgīveśya, who tells his son Kāruṇya the story of Ariṣṭanemi, to whom Vālmiki recounts to conversation between Rāma and Vasīṣṭha.

4. S. N. Dasgupta’s remarks to this effect (A History of Indian Philosophy, vol. 2, Cambridge 1932, chapter 12) have generally been taken for granted rather than subjected to further examination; however, this is not the place in which to take up that point. There is some discussion of the point in R. D. Karmarkar, "Mutual Relation of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, the Lāṅkāvaiṣṭārasūtra and the Gauḍapāda-kārikās" ABORI 36 (1955), pp. 298-305. An excellent study of both the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa is contained in H. von Glasenapp, Zwei philosophische Rāmāyaṇas (Ak. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit., Abb. d. geistes—und sozialwissenschaftlichen Kl., Jahrgang 1951, Nr. 6), Wiesbaden, 1951. Other works include B.L. Atreya, The Philosophy of the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha (Adyar, 1936), Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, "The Emergence of an Adhyātma-Śāstra of the Birth of the Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa" (HQ 24, 1948, pp. 201-2) and "The cardinal tenets of the Yoga-Vasiṣṭha and their relation to the Trika system of Kāśmira" (ABORI 32, 1951, pp. 130-45), T.G.

5. See my *Righteous Rāma: The Evolution of an Epic* (Delhi, 1984), pp. 260-6, 289-94, etc.

6. It occurs at YV 3.96.22, 3.121.21, 4.56.8, 5.49, 7.10, 6a.41.7, 6a.62.6, 6a.126.38, 6b.19.14, 6b.34.24, 6b.85.18, 6b.148.25, 6b.188.19, 6b.190.88 and 6b.191.3. The major study of this maxim is Maurice Bloomfield’s “The Fable of the Crow and the Palm Tree” (A.J.Phil. 40, pp. 1-36). Particular treatment of it in relation to the Yogavāsishtha may be found in von Glasenapp, op. cit., pp. 70-72 and W.D. O’Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusion and other Realities* (Chicago, 1984), pp. 265-7.

7. These divergences are noted in my *Righteous Rāma*, pp. 252-4; cf. also von Glasenapp, op. cit., p. 76-80.


9. Dreaming as an analogy for the illusoriness of the phenomenal world is of course a very old theme in Indian religious thought. It is nevertheless interesting that W.D. O’Flaherty’s recent treatment of it (*Dreams, Illusion and other Realities*, Chicago, 1984) draws heavily on the Yogavāsishtha; she discusses the above example on pp. 206-216.

10. Similarly, the Bhuṣudī Rāmāyaṇa shows an integration of Advaita Vedānta with fervent bhakti (in its case of the erotic type) and some tāṇtric influence in the way that Sitā is regarded as Rāma’s ṣakti and termed Sahajā or Sahajānandinī.


17. The frequent repetition of svapna in all of them is particularly striking; it occurs at 2.63.1d, 2b, 8a, 11a, 16a, 5.25.6a, 8b, 9d, 11a, 29a, 5.30.2d, 4a, 5a and 5.32.20ad, 21ab.

18. All these instances occur in sargas which I have identified as later than the core of the work in my *Righteous Rāma* (cf Appendix). Even later, from passages excluded from the text of the Critical Edition, come references to a wife as a second self (2 App. 1.15.19-20 and 4 App. 1.26.143-4). The first instance is a more developed form of the stereotyped pādas ṭīṭhām bhāvītātmānāṁ (1.4.13b, 4 13.24b, 5.1.26b and 7.1.23b), mahārāj bhāvītātmānāḥ (1.53.4b, 3.10. 76d, 7.2.18b and 21b) and muṇimāṁ bhāvītātmānāṁ (3.5.15b and 14.12b), found also in the Mahābhārata.
19. The pāda *prahīṣenāntartmanaḥ* occurs at 1.10.7d, 16d, 27.10b, 30.1d, 7.2 28b and 10.15b, and also ten times in the Mahābhārata. There is also something of a cluster of occurrences at the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa of *antaratman* (6.92.28d, 95.20f, 96.1d, 101.6d, 104.25d and 106.8d).

20. The stereotyped pāda *rāmasya vidītātmah* occurs at 2.2.30b, 3.19.5b, 32.11d, 5.2.36b, 40b, 14.10d, 18b, 17.6b, 23.17b, 24.49b, 28.42b, 34.9d and 6.24.7b; the term *vidītātmah* is also used of Rāma at 6.92.25b and of others at 1.41.71 and 5.19.16d.

21. The term jīvaloka occurs also at 2.10.36a, 36.6b, 68.6c, 3.14.42c, 60.47b, 4.41.44a, 5.1.163c, 26.11c and 6.103.14a, while jīva occurs otherwise, often compounded at 2.60.8b, 86.24b, 98.7ac, 4.19.11a, 21.4b, 7.7.3c, 60.12c and 67.5b.

22. As noted earlier, the Yogavāsiṣṭha is apparently indebted to Buddhist thought, which here is indebted to the Rāmāyaṇa; thus in the long run the borrowing is mutual. On the pāda *sarvabhūtahite rataḥ* see my “Stereotyped Expressions in the Rāmāyaṇa” (JAOS 90, 1970, pp. 210-37) p. 219. Norvin Hein, in his “Epic *sarvabhūtahite rataḥ*: A Byword of non-Bhārgava Editors” (ABORI 67, 1986, pp. 17-34), notes that it was not commonly used of either the gods of brāhmaṇas but was used especially of kings and other kṣatriyās, and sometimes of yogins and munis, in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.

23. Rāma’s response is of course to the gods’ declaration of his divinity, which includes *kathāṃ devagnātreṣṭham ātmānāṃ nāvabuddhyage* (6.105.5ce), where presumably the original sense was reflexive but other interpretations are possible.
MODERN POLITICS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

K.V. SARMA

It is an interesting exercise to pick precious nuggets from the Mahābhārata, nuggets, which standard dictionaries explain as rough lumps of precious metal strewn around in mines. The bare story of the Mahābhārata is only too well known to any Indian or student of Indian literature and culture. The impress would naturally be deeper as one gets benefitted by perusing the longer redactions of the work in Sanskrit or in the other Indian languages or, ultimately, the original Sanskrit text itself in more than one laksh of verses, which is eight times as long as the long Greek epics Iliad and Odyssey put together.

From among the main characters, one cannot fail to be impressed by the righteous king Yudhiṣṭhira, the rough and ready Bhīma of generous bodily proportions, the valorous Arjuna, the handsome twins Nakula and Sahadeva, Draupadī, the warrior queen, Lord Kṛṣṇa, the grand strategist and practical philosopher, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the blind old monarch doting over his sons, Duryodhana and Duśśāsana, the villains of the piece, Śakuni, the crafty and cunning uncle, and Bhīṣma, the grand wise grandfather, to mention only a few.

From among the incidents and postures of personalities which would arrest one’s attention might be mentioned:

The height of eminence reached by Yudhiṣṭhira when he refused to board the chariot to heaven unless the faithful dog which followed him was also taken in;

Lovely Kṛṣṇa with the whip in hand and a benign smile, instructing Arjuna on the subtleties of dharma and adharma, and life and death, as the two mighty armies looked on from either side;

The unparalleled valour of Bhīṣma as he raced across the battle front in a frighteningly fighting mood;

The fearsome evil of Gāndhāri’s gaze which turned the toe-nails of Yudhiṣṭhira rotten;
The heroic fight put up by Arjuna against Lord Śiva to win the Pāṣupata missile;

The age-old grandsire Bhīṣma lying on the bed of arrows rolling out discourse after discourse on all topics that one could conceive of;

The serene Yudhiṣṭhira standing on the shore of the Yakṣa’s lake, where his brothers lay dead, answering the abstruse queries that were put to him, as if from the sky;

The pinnacles of valour reached by the lone prince Abhimanyu, braving single-handed, the horde of war veterans who had cornered him treacherously;

The intensely emotive scenes in the gambling hall of the Kauravas when Draupadi was dragged in and abused, with the elders looking on unable to answer her questions, and the miraculous manner in which she was saved from dishonour;

The stoicism displayed by Gāndhāri who remained blindfolded all through life in deference to her blind husband;

The Machiavellian politics advocated by Kañika and the atheist tenets preached by Jābali;

The funny picture cut by Duryodhana hopping about and fumbling across the deceptive corridors of the Pāṇḍava palace;

The terrible infanticide perpetrated by the angered Āśvatthāman;

The heights of liberality exhibited by Karna as he gifted away his ear-rings and armour, knowing only too well that he was being robbed of his life-saving devices; and

The villany of Duryodhana and Duṣśāsana in their hatred of the Pāṇḍavas in attempting to poison, burn and destroy them.

These and many more pen-pictures and portrayals from the Mahābhārata would stand out prominently and flit across the mental screen as one broods over the varying vicissitudes in the story of the epic.

However, while the plot of a literary work is, naturally, its prime concern, there can be and there are other aspects which are highly significant. This is especially the case in an ancient work, such as, for instance, their social values and cultural contents. This is very much
the case with the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Mahābhārata* is an extensive literary mine, the like of which the world has never seen, either in extent or in the matter of contents. This vast mine has its own straight avenues and side avenues, roomy halls, arcades, curves, loops, circuitous paths and passages and even deep caverns which are inaccessible. Everywhere are strewn nuggets, valuable nuggets, even as of gold and silver, for the explorer to pick. On every page of the *Mahābhārata* are to be found valuable data on the historical, social, literary, political, linguistic, artistic and scientific acumen of the times. The richness of the data would indeed justify the claim made by the *Mahābhārata* itself that it contains all knowledge that was known then in all walks of life:

\[
\begin{align*}
dharme cārthe ca kāme ca mokṣe ca bharatārsabhā\| 
yad ihāsti tadbhāva yah nehāstī na tat kvacī\| 
\end{align*}
\]

(MBh., Ādi 1.56.53, Cr. edition)

It is literally impossible to pick, arrange and classify the data contained herein even in one of the disciplines mentioned above. What is intended here, therefore, is to nibble, from here and there, representative pieces dealing with certain aspects of *dharma*, if only to from a picture of the full and purposeful political life envisaged by Vyāsa. In other words, I have confined myself, to such of the political moralities from which today’s world at the fag end of the 20th century has a point or two to learn, imbibe and follow.

We shall commence with a few common sense propositions, which, though intended in the *Mahābhārata* for kings, are really universal in character and can advantageously be applied in our own daily life.

Take, for instance, the expression: *iṣṭaḥ pratīvikṣeta* (Śānti, 67.38) which enjoins you to greet another only if he greets you or you have the confidence that he will greet you. In other words, cultivate self-respect and ignore those who are puffed up and defiant, and thus counter any inferiority complex you might have.

We have the proverb in English, ‘Strike when the iron is hot’. You cannot beat the iron flat when it has grown cold. Thus, for any act to be effective it, has to be done at an opportune time and at a suitable place. Vyāsa puts this in the words:

\[
\begin{align*}
dētām kālam samāśādyā vikrameta vicakṣaṇaḥ 
dēṣakālābhyatam hi vikramaṇo niśphalo bhavet\| 
\end{align*}
\]

Śānti., 138.28
Here is another adage to the effect ‘Bite only what you can chew’, or ‘Eat only what you can digest’, or still better, ‘Promise only what you can perform’. Vyāsa puts it in a slightly different form:

\[na cāpyālābdham lipṣeta māle nātiddhe sati]\
Śānti., 95.2

Thus, when the base is not firm, one is cautioned against wishing for more, which one cannot support or contain. This is something which we mostly forget; we make promises which we cannot fulfil.

Here is still another piece of advice. Let none know your weakness, but you should ascertain the weaknesses of others. Even as a tortoise, keep your limbs drawn into your shell, lest somebody literally pull your leg. And, always keep your secrets with you, do not divulge them:

\[nāṣya chīḍram paro vidyāt, vidyāt chīḍram parasya tu|\n\quad gūhet kūraṁ ivāṅgānti, rakṣed vivaram ātmānah\|\]
Śānti., 138.24

Then again, one should not keep as a personal aide one who is not straightforward, not learned and not rich, for, when the time comes each one of these will ditch you:

\[nāvatsyo nā ‘ntjuḥ pārśve nāvidyo nā mahādhanah\|\n\quad saṅgrāhyo vasuḥpalaṁ bhrīyo bhṛtyavatāṁ vara\|\]
Śānti., 111.14

Here is an advice to a king, but really universal. It behoves us not to ignore potential dangers even if they be apparently trivial. For apt examples, Vyāsa refers to the spark of fire which will burn down everything if one ignores it and the drop of poison which will kill. It is for this very reason that. In modern times, when our doctors want to annihilate cancer and T.B., they advise us not merely to act when symptoms do appear, but even to look for symptoms periodically.

\[na ca satur avajñeyo durbalo ‘pi baltyasā|\n\quad alpōpīhi dahaty aṅgṛi vīṣam alpāṁ hi nāsti ca\|\]
Śānti., 58.17

We shall now turn to certain matters which can be applied by extension to present-day rulers and governments.

The *Mahābhārata* declares that the prime charge of one, if he is to be called a ruler, or, in modern terms, the head of a political institution, department, college, or school, one should be capable of pleasing all, all under him.
However, Vyāsa also knew too well that the ‘pleased’ people should not be allowed to do things as they ‘pleased’ : there have to be rules and restrictions which they have to observe. As Vyāsa puts it, if left alone, people will eat each other, the big the weak, and that they do not do so, merely out of fear of law :

praJA raJabhayād eva ṃA khādanti parasparam

Sānti., 68.8

A government has, therefore, to be firm while enforcing the law. But in order that things are got done, it has also to be lenient as time demands. Hence Vyāsa prescribes :

kāle mdur yo bhavati kāle bhavati darunāḥ sa/
sādhayati kāryāṇi tatrāṁ caiva dhitiṣṭhati||

Sānti., 128.66

Elsewhere, Vyāsa elaborates that only if firmness and leniency are effective in those against whom they are applied, can one achieve the result ; then alone will vasundhāra, the earth, will be vasun dharā for you, and be your source of wealth. Thus he says :

amoghakrodhaharṣasya svayaṁ kṛtyāṇy averkṣinaḥ/
ātmapratyayakoLatasya vasudhalva vasundharā||

Udyoga., 38.23

Finances, it is well known, form the backbone of a State. A deficit State cannot survive. Knowing this well, Vyāsa asserts :

raJēḥ koṭabalam mūlaṁ, koṭamūlaṁ punar balam/
tanmūlaṁ sarvadharmāṇāṁ, dharmanūlāḥ punah prajāḥ||

Sānti., 128.35

Vyāsa adds that a country will be looked down upon even by its own people if its treasury is depleted and a government has to devalue its currency :

hinakoLaṁ hi raJānam avajānantī mānavāḥ

Sānti., 131.6

Therefore he enjoins governments thus :
Here the question of taxes crops up. Vyāsa says that the finances of a State have to be maintained high by levying additional taxes, even if it is going to be a costly exercise. In fact, increasing taxes is a necessary evil to be inflicted upon even at the cost of initial dissatisfaction of the people. The Railway Board can take umbrage under the following teaching of Vyāsa while increasing railway fares in spite of public remonstration:

\[
\text{nānyān api dayātveha kośah takyaḥ, kuto balam/}
\text{tadartham pi dayātva vā doṣam na prāptum arhati}\
\]

Śānti., 128.36

Vyāsa, however, cautions that the increase should not be sudden nor too much at a time. It should be made gradually, a little now, a little later, till ultimately the whole of the intended tax is levied.

\[
\text{alpenālpena deyena vardhamaṇam pradāpayet/}
\text{tato bhūyas tato bhūyaḥ kāmaṁ vṛddhim samācāreṇ}\
\]

Śānti., 89.6

Elsewhere, Vyāsa exemplifies his taxation policy by apt illustrations. He says that the government should suck the State unstostensibly like a leech, without the tax-payer realising that he is being taxed, or in such a manner that he feels it a pleasure to pay the tax. Vyāsa says:

\[
\text{jalaukāvad pibed rāṣṭram mṛdhamaṇa narādhīpa}\
\]

Śānti., 89.5

At the same time, care has to be taken that the duck is not killed for the egg. Squeeze out the honey, but leave the combs and the bees free:

\[
\text{madhudoḥam duḥed rāṣṭram bhramarāṇa nā vipātayet}\
\]

Śānti., 89.4

Vyāsa adds that taxes should not be allowed to accumulate, and that they should be collected promptly and at specified times. And, he gives an example mentioning the daily milking of the cow. He says:

\[
\text{ahany ahanti sandhuhyān mahim gām iṣv buddhiman}\
\]

Śānti., 120.31

Vyāsa has no compunction in approving one's aspiring to become
more and more rich and increasing what has been acquired. The only condition is that one should be prepared to spend the earnings on deserving causes.

\[\text{alabdhalips\={a}}, \text{labdhasya tathalya ca vivardhanam/}
\text{prada\{am ca vividdhasya p\={a}trebhyo vidhivat tath\={a}/}
\]  
\text{\textit{S\={a}nti.}, 59.57}

In fact, it is the duty of the State to foster industries and productive projects in the land. Thus Vy\={a}sa says that anybody who strives to increase the wealth of the land deserves special protection and encouragement:

\[\text{yah kata\{id janayed artham r\={a}\j{n}\={a} rak\=sy\={a}h sa m\={a}nava\{h/}
\]  
\text{\textit{S\={a}nti.}, 83.1}

Here, \textit{yah kata\{id janayed artham}, ‘one who produces wealth’, might be an industrialist, a trader or an agriculturist.

Vy\={a}sa warns that if a cow is milked too much, with no milk remaining for the calf, the calf will not be able to do its normal work. Thus, industrialists should be taxed only to that extent that enough remains for the factory to function and continue production. See what Vy\={a}sa says:

\[\text{na karma kurute vatsa bh\={i}\{am dugdho Yudhi\={s}hi\{ira/}
\text{ra\{stram ap\={y} atidugdham \=ht na karma kurute mahat/}
\]  
\text{\textit{S\={a}nti.}, 88.19}

According to Vy\={a}sa, the tax structure should be so devised that the government and the industry are partners, both benefiting from the projects.

\[\text{yath\={a} r\={a}\j{n}a ca kart\={a} ca sy\={a}\{om karman\={i} bh\=agtnau/}
\text{samave\{ksya tath\={a} r\={a}\j{n}a pr\=oney\={a}h satatam kar\={a}h/}
\]  
\text{\textit{S\={a}nti.}, 88.15}

Now, black money and concealed wealth would impair the economy of a country and Vy\={a}sa is dead against \textit{g\={u}\={d}ha-vibhava}, ‘concealed wealth’. So he recommends the protection only of \textit{ag\={u}\={d}ha-vibhava-s}, ‘people with correctly accounted wealth’, indicating, as a corollary, that the people who amass black money are liable for punishment.

\[\text{ag\={u}\={d}havibhava yasya parur r\={a}\j{itra}ntv\={a}stn\={a}h/}
\text{nay\={a}panayavett\={a}ra\{h sa r\={a}\j{n}a r\={a}jasattama\{h/}
\]  
\text{\textit{S\={a}nti.}, 57.34}
The Head of the State, the Ministers and the Officers of a modern State correspond, more or less, to the same categories conceived by Vyāsa, so that one can advantageously connect one with the other and look for similar qualities and qualifications for them.

Vyāsa wants the Head of the State to be:

\[ dhītro marṣi śucīḥ śighrāh kāle puruṣakāravīt \]
\[ śuirūṣuḥ śrutāvān śrotā uhāpohaviśāradah ]

Śānti., 118.17

‘Firm, forgiving, pure, prompt of action, knowing the effect of effort at the proper time, eager to listen, a learner and a good balancer of pros and cons’.—These are all unexceptional qualities of head and heart which we expect in our Presidents and Prime Ministers. Still another set of qualities is also prescribed which too are unexceptional:

\[ yuktadānto na nirdānto dharmakāryanūcāsakaḥ \]
\[ cāraṇeśtarah parāvekṣī dharmaṁ thakāsālaḥ sadāḥ ]

Śānti., 118.22

‘Dealing out proper punishment, not un-punishing, issuing charity charters, having spies as his eyes, observant of the opposition and skilled in the acts of dharma and artha, righteousness and acquirement.’

Then again, if the ruler be inert and inactive, though learned, in other words, he knows his power but does not exercise it, he would be assaulted by the opposition as if he is a freshwater snake which has no fangs:

\[ uṭṭhānāhino rājā hi buddhimān api nityāsah \]
\[ dharṣaṇīya ṛṣipāṁ sam syād bhujanga iva nirūṣah ]

Śānti., 58.16

Our Presidents and Prime Ministers have a message in this: ‘Unless you are watchful and act in time, the ever watchful opposition would make mince-meat of you’—So goes the message of Vyāsa.

Here is a gibe against ministers and leaders who lay foundation stones but do not care to see that the building also comes up in due course. Listen to Vyāsa:

\[ ārādhiṁy eva kāryāṇi, na paryavastīṁ ca \]
\[ yasya rājāh pradṛṣṭyante sa rājā rājasattamaḥ ]

Śānti., 57.32
We hope that our leaders, every one of us, for that matter, understand the sting herein.

One Minister, Government Secretary and Company Manager Vyāsa says:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{astabdham} & \text{ praśitaṁ śaktam mṛdu-vādinam eva ca} \\
\text{dhīram īlakṣṇām maharddhim ca deśakalopapādakam} \\
\text{Śānti, 118.14}
\end{align*}
\]

‘One who is free from stupidity, courteous, able, soft-spoken, steady, polished, wealthy and acting in a manner befitting place and time.’ More qualities are mentioned elsewhere in the Mahābhārata:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kulinaṁ śıkṣitaṁ prājñāṁ jñānavijñānakovidam} \\
\text{sarvasāstrādhiṣṭattvajjñam sahiṁśam Deśaṁ tathā} \\
\text{kṛtaṁ balavantam ca kṣāntam Dāntam iṣṭendriyam} \\
\text{alubdhaham labdhasantuṣṭam svāmiṁitrabhubhāṣakam} \\
\text{Śānti, 118.7-8}
\end{align*}
\]

‘High-born, well-educated, wise, proficient in general and specialised knowledge, knower of the śāstras, patient, bright, grateful, strong, forgiving, liberal having control of the senses, not greedy, contented, and solicitous of the wealth of his master and his friends.’ Some of the qualifications here like ‘patient’, ‘grateful’, ‘forgiving’, and ‘liberal’ are particularly significant.

While what has been stated above is the positive side of the qualifications, Vyāsa declares that four types of people should not be made ministers; this is for our Prime Minister and Chief Ministers to note. Thus, Vyāsa says:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{caturī rāja tu mahābalena varjyāṁ āhuḥ paṇḍitas tānti vidyāṁ} \\
\text{alaprapajñāth saha manram na kuryāṁ na dirghaśūrād alasaṁ} \\
\text{cāraṇaṁ ca} \\
\text{Udyoga, 33.58}
\end{align*}
\]

The types that should not be selected are alpa-prajña-s, those with little learning, dirghaśūtra-s, the procrastinators, alasa-s, the never-moving idle, and the cāraṇa-s, bards who move from master to master eulogising each. The idea is that a government should have ministers who act and progress, and not who preach and rest on their oars.

Now, let us see as to who would make a high officer, who, in today’s parlance might be the Head of a Department or the General Manager of a Company, who has to manage a large number of subordinates. Vyāsa sets out the qualifications thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{casvari rāja tu mahābalena varjyāṁ āhuḥ paṇḍitaṁ tānti vidyāṁ} \\
\text{alaprapajñāth saha manram na kuryāṁ na dirghaśūrād alasaṁ} \\
\text{Udyoga, 33.58}
\end{align*}
\]
They should be courageous, loyal, not seducible, of distinguished families, free from disease, of good conduct, related to well-placed people, having self-respect, and not given to insulting others. If we analyse these qualifications, it will be found that each of these qualifications has a special significance in governance. Therefore, here is a tip for Committees constituted for the selection of I.A.S. officers and Company Managers.

Hernow-an admonition to corrupt officers. Vyāsa warns rulers to the effect that if they nurtured corrupt officers, the said officers will pull down the government along with the king himself.

\[ kāryesvadhikṛtāh samyag akurvanto nrṇāgūhāḥ \]
\[ ātmānāṃ purataḥ k. tvā yānty adhah sahāpārthīvāḥ \]
Śānti., 86.16

Here is still another adage for the modern officer—‘Do not support the corrupt, though he be your friend’, for, then, you will be taken as ‘an abetter. Says Vyāsa:

\[ nahi rājā pramādō vai kartavyo mitraraksāṇe \]
\[ pramādānāṃ hi rājānām lokāḥ paribhāvanāt utaḥ \]
Śānti., 81.7

Here is a piece for the Corporation engineers:

\[ vīśālān rājamārgāṁs ca kārayeta narādhipah \]
\[ prupāsi ca vipāṅś caiva yathodāesam samādītāḥ \]
Śānti., 69.51

Vyāsa wants the ruler to lay broad roads, wayside water-houses and market places, as extensively as possible. Our city fathers could take a cue from this to construct six-lane roads, syntex water drums and super markets.

Vyāsa spells out two important rules with regard to national and international conflicts. First, no war, if possible, and even if one has to wage a war, never be at war with many at the same time. Thus he says:

\[ samālpāto na gantavyah sakye satī kathācanaśa\]
\[ na bahūn abhiṣyijita yaugapadyena āśtravān \]
Śānti., 103.22, Śānti., 104.35
Ambassadors, diplomats and envoys were the order of the day even during the days of Vyāsa. Their characteristics and functions have been stated in the Mahābhārata. It would seem that Committees for the selection of I.F.S. candidates for today’s Foreign Service might find something to their liking in Vyāsa’s prescriptions and possibly something which they would like to borrow and adapt to present-day conditions. Vyāsa requires his ambassadors to be:

\[
\text{astabdham akātham adirghasātram sanukrōtam ślakṣṇam akāryam|anyathā arogajāttiyam udāravōkyaṁ dātāṁ vadamty aśṭagunyopapannam|} \\
\text{Udyoga., 37.25}
\]

Thus, they should be free from obstinacy, weakness and procrastination; should be compassionate and polished; should not be amenable for being seduced by others; free from chronic diseases and also be eloquent in proclaiming the country’s position and potentialities at proper forums.

Espionage is highly organised and developed in the modern era, especially during and after the Second World War. Vyāsa has this to say on the spots for conducting espionage:

\[
\text{ārāmeṣu tathodyāne paṇḍītāṁ samāgane|} \\
\text{veśu caiva caiva sabhāsv āvasateṣu ca} \\
\text{Śānti., 69.12}
\]

Places for passing or exchanging secret documents and conveying messages without rousing suspicion which are suggested in the above verses are groves, gardens, clubs courtyards, council halls and private dwellings, as suited to individual cases. Here is a piece in tune with spying in modern times. Towards obtaining independant news and observations, often more than one spy was deputed, each without knowing the identity of the others.

\[
pure janapade caiva tathā sāmantarājasu| \\
yathā na vidyur anyonyaṁ praṇīṭheyaś tathā hi te| \\
\text{Śānti., 69.10}
\]

Elsewhere, Vyāsa indicates what types of people would make the best spies. He says:

\[
\text{praṇīṭhéni ca tataḥ kuryāj jadāndhabadhirakītin|} \\
puṁsāk parikītān prajñān kṣutpiśātapakṣamān| \\
\text{Śānti., 69.8}
\]

Thus, they should be highly intelligent, and tested for their
intelligence and adaptability. Persons could be disguised as idiots, blind and deaf; and they should also be able to withstand hunger, thirst and strain.

When it came to war, strategy and stealth were not eschewed by Vyāsa. He advocates assault without being perceived by the enemy or when the enemy was otherwise engaged, indifferent or weak. He says:

\[
yātrām yāyād avijñātam anākrandam anantarām
vyāsaktam ca pramattam ca durbālam ca vicakṣaṇāḥ\]
Śānti., 69.19

History has numerous instances of this type of assault. Even Roma was taken when the citizens were having their midday nap.

Dānda or punishment for offences finds mention at several places in the Mahābhārata. Some of the views and prescriptions of Vyāsa are parallel to modern views and some others are such as could lend a cue to modern administraters for its development. A few instances of the kind might be cited here.

Vyāsa knew only too well that, man being what he is, it is fear of punishment alone that restrains him from eating another man:

\[
\text{dāṇḍasya} \text{yā} \text{bhay} \text{a} \text{e} \text{ke} \text{na} \text{kha} \text{dante} \text{parasparam}\]
Śānti., 15.7

Vyāsa reinforces the point by saying that, had alone the concept of punishment been not there, the weak in the society would have just been exterminated by the strong like fish in a pond:

\[
\text{dāṇḍat c} \text{e} \text{n na} \text{bhavel loke vyana} \text{s} \text{ṣya} \text{yam tmūḥ prajāḥ}
\text{sūle mattyān ivāpakṣyam durbalāṁ balanattarāḥ}\]
Śānti., 15.30

Therefore has been established, adds Vyāsa, the rule of law, and punishment has been instituted to remove from the wrong-doer the feeling that he can go scot-free and to reassure the law-abiding citizen that his rights will be protected:

\[
\text{asaṃmohāya mar} \text{tyānāṁ arthasaṃrakṣaṇāya ca}
maryūṭā sthāpiṇā loke dāṇḍasamjñā vistāṃpate\]
Śānti., 15.10

But, how to deal with punishment, lest it might miscarry. Here the Mahābhārata has this to say:
na parasya irovad eva paresam danadam arpayet |
agamunugamaṃ krtva badhniyan moksayeta va ||
Śānti., 86.24

‘Do not bestow punishment on anybody just for the reason that he has been accused by another. Documentary evidence should be examined before he is shut up or set free.’

The gravity of the crime should determine the extent of the punishment. So also the fact whether the crime has been committed on the spur of the moment or whether there has been a secret plot, which latter, Vyāsa says, is deeper and is of different types:

partimānam vidivyā ca danḍam danḍyeṣu Bhārata/ 
pranayeṣu yathānyaṣam puruṣas te Yudhiṣṭhira/ 
Śānti., 59.40

prakāśaḥ ca prakāśaḥ ca danḍo'tha partisabdītaḥ/ 
prakāśo stāvidhas tatra guhyas tu bahuvistarah/ 
Āśvamedha., 10.2

A pointer to a good government, which has to be ensured by today’s governments, seems to be hinted at by Vyāsa when he says that the indication of security offered by a government could judged by the fact that people would, then, sleep outside their houses with doors open, and women decked with ornaments would walk along the streets, unaccompanied and without fear:

vivṛtya hi yathākāmaṃ gṛhadvārāṇi śe rate |
manusya rakṣītā rājā samantād akutobhayāḥ ||
Śānti., 68.30

strīyaḥ ca prapuruṣā mārgaṃ sarvālaṅkārābhūṣṭāḥ |
nirbhayaḥ pratipadyante yadā rakṣati bhūmilpaḥ ||
Śānti., 68.32

Not only that. In courts of law, decisions will be quick and perfectly logical, which Vyāsa describes by the expression, vyavahāreṇa suddhena (Śānti., 86.2).

While giving instructions and injunctions for right living, Vyāsa adds an escape clause, useful for us all. He says:

asambhave to sarvasya yathāmukhyena nispatet | 
Āśramavāsika., 11.19
‘When adherence to everything is not possible, one has to be satisfied with the fundamentals and the main, leaving out the subsidiaries.’

Right to work, old age pension and famine relief, three of the supposedly modern concepts of a Social State, find mention as compulsory commitments stipulated in the Mahābhārata. Modern promoters of these causes can take a cue from Vyāsa’s coverage therefor. Vyāsa asserts that provisions should be made for the poverty-sticken, the helpless, the aged and the widows, and the responsibility rests on the State to see that their welfare is provided for and that work or pension given should not be temporary, but for life.

krpaṇāṇāvṛttaddhānām vidhayonām ca yoṣṭām|
yogakṣemaṁ ca vṛttīṁ ca nityam eva prakalpayet/|
Śānti., 87.24

Here, three words are particularly noteworthy, viz., yogakṣema or welfare, vṛttī, work or pension, and nityam, for all times, which means, in the case of individuals, through their life.

All-out famine relief has been provided for when it is said:

kośam daṇḍam balam mitram yad anyad api saṅcitam/|
na kuruvinīrāmin rāṣṭre rājā parīgate kṣudhā/|
Śānti., 128.32

That is: ‘The kingdom being in the grip of hunger, the king should not keep away the treasury, army, forces, friends or whatever grains that have been stored. All these should be put to full and immediate use for the relief of the people’.

Vyāsa has a word of caution to Dictators as well. He says:

yataḥ iṃkā bhavec cāpi bhṛtyato vāpi manāritah/|
paurebhyaḥ nṛpater vāpi svādhīnān kārayeta tān/|
Śānti., 69.59

Thus, if a Dictator has any apprehension from a minister etc., let that person be kept by the king under his own eye. In other words, let not the Dictator go abroad leaving the minister back, lest he be deposed during his absence from the country. If the Dictator has the least doubt, let that minister be made the Minister-in-attendance of the king.

Vyāsa seems to accept the right to work as a fundamental right, the ideal of a Social State. When somebody who is really qualified does not
get a suitable employment, Vyāsa would ask the king to sustain him:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{avṛttya yo bhavet stenaḥ vedavit snātakas tathā|} \\
\text{rājan sa rājā bhartavya iti dharmavido viduh|} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Śānti., 77.13

In other words, if a graduate, (snātaka) to use Vyāsa’s own expression, were even to become a thief, having no other go, even then, the king should sustain him and provide him with a suitable employment, appropriate to his qualifications.

As you know, the Government of India has, of late, changed the name of the Ministry of Education as the Ministry of Human Resources Development, and has, accordingly, made minor modifications in the objectives of the Ministry. To be sure, the change in the nomenclature has a significance, for it is not merely education but the all-round development of the human potential that is the objective of the Ministry. Somehow, Vyāsa seems to have an inkling of the same and has recorded it in the Mahābhārata, centuries back. He says: ‘No treasury is more valuable to a ruler than the human potential he can develop.‘

\[
\text{na koto paramo hy anyo rājām puruṣasaṁcayā}|
\]

Śānti., 56.34

Dealing with law and justice, Vyāsa has some interesting points to offer. The line-of justice that a Cola emperor, later called Maunu-nīti-Cola, followed in driving his chariot over the body of his own son for the reason that the prince ran his chariot over a calf and the mother-cow complained to the king, follows from the Mahābhārata dictum:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{trāyate hi yadā sarvam vācā kāyena karaṇā|} \\
\text{putrasyāpi na mṛṣyet ca sa rājāno dharma ucyate|} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Śānti., 92.31

Note the stress: In dealing justice, the ruler should not excuse even his own son, putrasyāpi na mṛṣyet.

Here is line for a ‘Division Bench’ in a court of justice, for, as Vyāsa says, a single judge might not be able to see all the sides in a case:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vyavahāreśu dharmyeśu nīyojyāś ca bahuśrutāḥ|} \\
\text{guṇayukte 'pi naikasmin viśavyāc ca vicakṣaṇāḥ|} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Śānti., 25.17

Thus, not only should each judge be a bahuśruta, learned in different disciplines, there should also be more than one judge in a ‘Bench’ so that
the case in hand could be viewed from different angles and justice dealt out properly.

Vyāsa was obviously against strikes by the peoples, by Government employees or by any other. But what is surprising is the identity of his observations with a recent judgment of the Madras High Court against striking unions.

A passage might be quoted from the said judgment to show how it compares with the views of Vyāsa. The judgment reads at one place: ‘No citizen is ever compelled to take public service. If he opts for it, he should always unfinchingy report to duty, whether it rains or shines. From the day he enters service till he is relieved, his sole aim should be to discharge his public duties with devotion and dedication.’ Let us now see what Vyāsa says:

svakarmaniratā yasya janā viṣayavāsināḥ
asaṅghātaraṇa dāntāh pālyamāna yathāvidhiḥ

Śānti. 57.35

Vyāsa wants employees to be svakarma-niratā, corresponding to the discharge of public duties with devotion and dedication, asaṅghātaraṇa, not engaged in saṅghāta-s or unions, and dāntā, self-restrained and not drawn to unlawful activities. We cannot, be sure, accuse the judges of the High Court to have borrowed their views from Vyāsa. The fact is that there is a strong undercurrent of common truths, of ideas and ideals, of right and wrong, and of justice and propriety which runs right through Indian culture. It is that finds expression here, vindicating the statement, ‘The world had never been what it is not now’, or in other words, the world had always been only like this, na kaḍācit anūḍrām jagat, of course, with minor modifications as necessary for the changed clime and time.

This should make us turn to the moot point: ‘Why go back to the apparently antiquated and outmoded Mahābhārata, in the modern age?’ The answer is clear and simple. The vast worldly wisdom of Vyāsa which has been recorded in the Mahābhārata, especially in the Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans of the work, has so much material, is so full of nuggets, which can be beneficially adopted and adopted towards the betterment of today’s morals. And, there lies the relevancy of Mahābhārata today.
KANE’S HISTORY OF DHARMAŚĀTRA
(NEED FOR A REAL EDITION)

By

SADASHIV A. DANGE

M.M. Kane’s History of Dharmashastra is a veritable mine of information; and its second impression came out as far back as 1973, the second edition of the Vol. V being in 1977. However, on close scrutiny, it becomes obvious that it is not a second “Edition” in reality. It is only a second impression of the First Edition. Close scrutiny also makes it clear that in a number of places information given by Kane has to be verified before it could be taken as correct. A few examples would show the correctness of the statement made above. It is clear that Kane could not go deep in certain topics, nor is the information collected perfectly authentic in certain places. A second edition is expected to be a verified presentation, with additions and explanations (wherever, they are necessary) and even on corrections. However, the “editon” (i.e. the Second one) brought out by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute does not come upto this very natural expectation. One feels that this magnum opus of a great savant has to be re-edited, with the help of discerning scholars who would be able to do justice to this great work, by clearing blemishes that have remained in the very first impression. A “History” is expected to show a gradual evolution of ideas and events. This expectation is belied in some important cases here. What we have here is a sort of accumulation of information, arranged under suitable topics; but, the expected historical evolution is absent in certain cases. We take only two topics for the scope of this paper: The Vedic context; and (Puranic) Vows. The information, even if corrected, would come close to the concept of an encyclopaedia, rather than “History”. For qualifying to be “history” it has to be re-arranged, showing an evolution of ritual and concept.

Vedic Context

Before we proceed to take certain examples from this context, it is necessary to note what M.M. Kane has himself said: “The treat-

* Paper read at the Kane-Institute, The Asiatic Society of Bombay, on the occasion of the seminar on Dharmashastra.
ment is mainly based on the Śrautasūtras of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba, Kātyāyana, Baudhāyana, Satyārādhva, with occasional reference to the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas (Hist. Dh. Vol. II—ii, P. 980). As such, in many cases earlier ritual is not only missing; but also, we do not have the steady evolution of a particular ritual. In certain cases, one observes inaccuracies. Let us take some examples to show the line where corrections are necessary.

1. In the context of the Dārśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice (iṣṭi) which entails a ritual on the New-moon and Full-moon days, when the grains for preparing the offering are separately taken (nirvāpa), there is a call to the person who is to prepare the offering... “O preparer of the offering! come along (haviṣkṛd ehi)”. The call is to be given thrice (or, four times according to another tradition; cf. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Śat. Br. for short, I, 1.4.13). This call shows variations according to the varna of the sacrificer; and in the system of this call being uttered four times, it is believed that the sacrificer could be even the Śūdra, while in the case of the call being uttered thrice, there was no possibility of the Śūdra being the sacrificer. According to the Śat. Br. (loc. cit), the call in the case of the Brāhmaṇa sacrificer was, haviṣkṛd ehi; that in the case of the Kṣatriya sacrificer was, haviṣkṛd ādrava (O Haviṣkṛt! hasten up here); in the case of the Vaiśya it was, haviṣkṛd ā-gaḥi (come hither; ā-gaḥ being only a different form, the meaning being the same); and in the case of the Śūdra sacrificer, it was haviṣkṛd ā-dhāva (ā-dhāva) having the same meaning as ā-drava above, only the form being different. It is clear that the different forms for conveying the same sense are in view of different varṇas of the sacrificer a motif (like the colour) that is common to the Vedic and even the post-Vedic religion.¹ The Taitt. Br. (III. 2.5.7) has the call thrice. Now, specifically referring to the Śat. Br. (loc. cit.) Kane says, “The wife formerly rose to call but in its time either the wife or the Āgnidhra priest rose” (Vol.I-ii, P. 1027, n. 2311, bottom). However, this statement is not corroborated by the Śat. Br. (which Kane specifically mentions). Here, the wife is the wife of the sacrificer. The words of the Śat. Br. are very clear, “Now, the former times it was the wife who rose to this call” (loc. cit.).² The Āgnidhra is not mentioned. Actually, no priest is mentioned here. Obviously, Kane’s source is something different from the Śat. Br., and, it has to be hunted out. On scrutiny, it becomes clear, that it is not even the Kātyāyana Śrauta sūtra (=K.S.S., hereafter), which he says he has relied on (as noted above). The K.S.S., which does not follow its Brāhmaṇa text (Śat. Br., which has four calls, as noted above), nor its Saṃhitā (=Vaj. Saṃ. I. 15, which has only two calls, haviṣkṛd ehi haviṣkṛd ehi-iti) has simply haviṣkṛd ehiḥ trīt āhavayati (which is in line with the Taittirīya tradition). It has, further, simply, “hence, the wife pounds (the grains, barley), or some one else” (K.S.S., II, 4. 13 and 14, atāḥ patni-avahatī-anīyā vā). This will make it clear that even this text does
not refer to the Āgnidhra priest in this context. It is the commentary (of Karka) that explains, *anyo va as ‘anya iti-āgnidhrak*). This would show that the evolution in the case of the detail of the call for the *haviṣṭṛī* is as follows:

(i) The "wife" alone formerly (Ṣat. Br., loc. cit. *purā jāyatva") ; then, later, as in the period of the Ṣat. Br. somebody else (*BF. etarhi ya eva katacana") ; then, still later, the Āgnidhra priest, which came after the period of the Ṣat. Br. and, with the influence, not of the old Taittirīya school, but, of a later adjunct.

(ii) There were only two calls earlier (cf. Vāj. Saṁ.) ; then three (in view of the three *varna* being allowed to sacrifice ; and yet later (at the period of the Ṣat. Br.) four, with a clear mention of the Śūdra (cf. I. 1.4.12,........... *adhāveti ca śūdrasya*). However the four-call method was not accepted by all ; and where it was accepted, Śūdra was understood as the Śthapati, which would indicate a Śūdrā who has acquired some important administrative post (cf. Niśādasthapati8, which goes even beyond the Śūdra ; for, the Niśāda was supposed to be out of the four *varna*).9

Kane changes the order for the four calls, when he says, "......for a Kṣatriya sacrificer *haviṣṭṛī aghaḥ*, for a Vaiśya *haviṣṭṛī aḍrava*" while at the Ṣat. Br. it is, *etiti brāhmaṇasya, aghaḥ aḍrava-iti vaiśasya ca rājanyabandhoḥ ca, adhya-iti śūdrasya* (ib. loc. cit. 12), where, respectively, *āghaḥ* is for the Vaiśya ; and for the Rājanyabandhu it is *aḍrava*.

2. We, now, take an example from the context of the Caturmāsya sacrifices (*iśīl-s*). The statement of Kane, that "Jai. VII. 3.23-25 declares that the carrying forward of the fire is done only in the Varuṇa-praghaṇas and Śaṅkedha’s" (op. cit., P. 1097) has to be emended as, 'Jaimini follows a long tradition of the Vedic ritual already mentioned in the Ṣat. Br. (XI. 5.2.2ff-7), which would give the history of the ritual from the Vedic text itself. In the context of the Varuṇapravhaṇas, there is a rite of preparing some *karambha-pātras*, which are later offered into the fire as an escape for the members of the sacrificer’s family from Varuṇa’s wrath. Kane renders the word *karambha-pātraṇi* as pots "full of karambha" (P. 1095). *Karambha* is rough malt to which curd is added (K.S.S., V. 3.2, and comm. *dadhī samyuktāḥ saktavaḥ*). As the *pātraṇi* are to be finally offered into the fire, the rendering "pots full of karambha" is not only totally unhappy, but it is also against the tradition. Actually, the dough of *karambha*, mixed with curd, is to be itself shaped into tiny pots. Obviously, Kane takes the suffix *mayat* in the sense of *prācurya* in place of *vīkāra*, which is the intended sense in the tradition, when the word is explained as *karambhāmayāni pātraṇi* (K.S.S., V. 3.2,....... *tāmayaṇāṁ pātraṇāṁ*).
3. To take an example from the Vājapeya context. Here Kane makes a categorical statement: ‘The yūpa has four angles (and not eight as elsewhere)’ (loc. cit., P 1207; the brackets are his). This is difficult to accept for want of any authority, which is very much needed, as the statement is totally against the main texts. The Śat. Br. clearly states that it should have eight corners (V. 2.1.5. aṣṭāśrīr yūpo bhavati; the context is of the Vājapeya itself); and it is explained that, it is so, as the metre Gāyatri has eight syllables. The explanation fixes the number as eight only, and not four, as to the corners of this yūpa. The same is the case with the yūpa of the Agniṣoma (lb. III. 7.1.28). The Ai. Br. also states that the Vājapeya yūpa has to be eight-cornered (II. 1=1.28 vajro vā eṣa yūpaḥ so-aṣṭāśrīḥ kartavyah).

4. In the same context (Vājapeya), cups of soma and those of wine are filled, and they are placed on two separate mounds (kharā-s), respectively, to the east of the axle of the havirdhāna-śakata and to its west. Here, Kane mentions that, in the midst of the wine cups a golden cup filled with honey is to be placed; and, for this he refers to the Taitt. Saṁ. (I. 3.3.), and also K.Ś.S. (XIV. 2.9). Actually, the K.Ś.S. (referred to by Kane) does not mention so. It simply says, ‘He places the golden honey cup on the mound’ (hiraṇmayam madhugraham gṛhitvā kharāmadhye sādayati) without specific mention of the exact mound (kharā), whether it is for the wine or for soma. As a matter of fact, the K.Ś.S. follows here the Śat. Br. (its own Brāhmaṇa), which mentions that the golden cup filled with honey should be taken up by the Adhvaryu, and that he should place it in the midst of the soma-cups (Śat. Br. V. 1.2.19 athādhvaryuḥ hiraṇmayena pātreṇa madhu-graham gṛhitāti, tam madhye soma-grahānāma sādayati). The Taitt. Br. also does not mention what Kane ascribes to it. It only says, that golden cup of honey is given as fees (dakṣinā) (Taitt. Br. I. 3.3. hiraṇyapātraṁ madhyoḥ pūrṇam dadāti).

5. There are cases where the words of the commentary are taken to be from the text. Thus, ‘Vide Taitt. Br. I. 1.7. for the mantra prācīm anu pra dīṣam and the words prāṇco ṣva-prathamā anuvrajantī’ (Kane, P.995, n. 2251; the words quoted by Kane are in the Devanāgri script; I have put them in the Italics for easy mention). Now, prāṇco ṣva etc. cannot form part of the Vedic text, on the basis of the very style. And they do not so from part thereof! They appear in the commentary. In another such instance (P. 996, n. 5252), ‘Taitt. Br. I. 1.7. has the words yajamānāḥ ṣvā jāpati’ has to be corrected as, ‘the commentary on Taitt. I. 1.7 has the words......’

These examples would suffice. However, one more example for the correction of rendering, due to not paying attention to the accent may be mentioned; it is of a quotation from the Rgveda (I. 51.13). The
mantra reads, \textit{ménābhavo vr̥tānaśaśya} etc. Kane says, "Indra is spoken of as born of Menā" (P. 1145, n.). The acute (udātta) on the first syllable (me) of \textit{menā} would show, that \textit{menābhavaḥ} is not a Tatpuruṣa compound, as Kane has taken it; for, in that case, the accent would have been on the last syllable of the whole word (thus, on-vaḥ). This means, the words have to be split as \textit{menā-abhavaḥ}, the first having its natural accent, and the second losing its accent (as it is the verb of the main clause).

From the Puranic records we take note of the vows, which Kane has collected in Vol. V-i. Though the information is criptic, for want of sufficient time (and age), the references have to be carefully checked, as they have been gathered from secondary sources. Information collected here has to be full and could be elaborated, keeping within the limits that Kane has worked in. Plainly speaking, incorrect references have to be corrected; also half-correct information has to be made right. Thus, for example, in the case of the yearly vows in connection with a \textit{vrata} concerning Viṣṇu, the Matsya P. (54.7-30) mentions that a golden image of Viṣṇu studded with gems and pearls is to be placed in a jar filled with water; and it is to be given to a worthy brahmin, along with certain objects. Kane (op. cit.) who refers to the same text, through the Kṛtyakalpataru (=KKU for short), says that the jar is to be filled with jaggery. This would show that the KKU has a variation; and it was necessary to check the original text (Matsya P.).

At the Purāṇa proper the reading is clearly \textit{jalasya pūrne kalaśe nivīśām arcām} (54.22). The Maṅgalāgaurī \textit{vrata} is mentioned by him from the Vratārka (VR) with a note in the bracket simply as "from Bhav." (i.e. Bhaviṣya P.), without any details of reference. This \textit{vrata}, he says, is to be practised by married girls for five years after marriage; and it is right, as far as Maharashtra is concerned. But, the Skanda P. (IV. 49.80-90) mentions another vow of the same name to be practised even by unmarried girls with the desire for a good husband, and with slightly different details.

Following the Vratārka, Kane says (P. 261) that the observer is to drink from "a cup made of the leaves of the arka plant" in the vow named Arkasaptami; and he refers to the Padma P. (75.86-106). But, the detail of drinking "from a cup made of the arka" is not corroborated from the said Purāṇa; and Kane also does not show this difference of the Purāṇa from the Vratārka. What the Purāṇa says is, the observer should eat the tips of tender leaves of the arka tree, along with fresh cow-dung and pepper; but, first the tips of the leaves should be swallowed with water in such a way that teeth do not touch them. It is obvious that the Vratārka records the changed custom of its time (if, now, the record of that text by Kane is correct!). We may take the example of the vow of Mandāra-saptami. Kane's information from the Vratārka, referring also to the Matsya P. (79.1-5), which he says
to be the same as Padma P. (V.21.292-306), is that the observer has to partake of the flowers of the Mandāra at night on the sixth, having fasted for the whole day. This is corroborated from the Purāṇa; but, Kane’s statement that, the next day, the observer is to “make the brāhmaṇas partake of eight Mandāra flowers” (P. 371) is not corroborated. The Matsya P. (78.2 has mandārakusumāṣṭakam kuryāt; also the chapter is not 79). Kane refers to Viṣoka-dvādaśi vrata, from the secondary source (P. 410); but, in addition, refers to the Padma (V. 21.22-80). He states that the observer has to drink water in which the blades of the darbha grass are placed; and that he has to drink it “on all nights” (i.e. 10th, 11th and 12th). We leave away other details of the vow, and take detail of drinking water “on all nights”. The text (v. 40) is rājatṣu ca sārvāṣu nyased darbhodakam budhah (i.e. the wise man, the observer, should keep the darbhodaka in silver vessels). Even if there be the possibility of the word being rajanīṣu, the question of the change from nyaset to pibet (?) remains.

There is no point in multiplying examples. Many points remain unclear even in the context of the division of property (dāyabhāga), including the “Woman’s Property”. A thorough check of the whole material, with corrections and additions where necessary would be not only welcome, but is a must, if this tremendous mine of information is to be put in order. Stray papers on various topics would not serve the purpose, as they would be read in the absence of the main bulk. A new edition, on the lines mentioned above, would place the information collected by Kane, along with the corrections and additions, before the inquisitive reader, whereby he is bound to have a real and clearer picture. A detailed scheme could be worked out, once it is decided that such an edition has to be taken out. This is bound to be a great and right homage to the great Indologist, who worked single-handedly and had to work in somewhat hurry, to collect for the benefit of the readers, from various fields, unmindful of his health.

NOTES

1. Thus, in respect of the wearing of gems it is said that a Brāhmaṇa should wear a gem of white colour; a Kṣatriya that of red colour (indicating blood and bravery); a Vaishya that of a yellowish green colour (indicating the colour of the ghee from a cow, and greenish that of corn-stalk); and the Śādra of the colour of the shining sword (i.e. bluish black); see Garuḍa P.I. 68.22; the same arrangement appears in the cloak of the initiate; see Dange, Sadashiv A., *Encyclopaedia of Purānic Beliefs and Practices*, New Delhi, under “Initiation” (Vol. III), and “Varṇa” (Vol. V), 1987, 1989 respectively.

2. tad ha sma etat purā jāyaiva havishkiḥ upottīṣhati, tadidamapyetarhi ya eva kat ca upottīṣhati.
3. The change from the Śūdra to the Sthapati was late. The commentary on the Āpastamba Ś.Ś. (1.19.9-10) explains thus, according to Kane.

4. This is clear from such expressions as niśādapaṭhecāmāḥ as an explanation of the term paṭeca-janāḥ, cf. Sāyana on Rgveda III. 59.8; cf. Yāska Nirukta III. 8. The term niśāda-sthapati occurs at the Laṭāyāna Ś.Ś. VIII. 2.8, and also K.Ś.Ś., I. 1.12. This would indicate that, even a Niśāda, if he is a sthapati could be a sacrificer. The Niśāda is known to the Saṁhitās later than the Rgveda and the Atharvaveda; also the word sthapati. So are they known to the Brāhmaṇas; and so is the Śūdra, who is known even to the Rgveda (X. 90.12). When all the three words (Niśāda, Sthapati and Śūdra) are well known to the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇa texts (including the Śat. Br.) it does not seem probable that the Śat. Br. uses the word Śūdra in place of Niśāda, who is a sthapati. There is no word as Śūdra-sthapati. But, on the analogy of the word Niśāda-sthapati (the latter part indicating status), it is probable that a Śūdra came to be taken here as a Śūdra sthapati, suggesting that such a Śūdra could sacrifice. But, the reference from the Śat. Br. is plain and simple, which would indicate that a Śūdra (even not a sthapati) could perform some iṣṭi like the Niśāda-sthapati who could perform the iṣṭi to Rudra.
SOUL IN THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA

By

S.G. KANTAWALA

Introduction

Purāṇas form a rich bulk of Sanskrit literature dealing with diverse topics, such as creation, re-creation, geneologies of gods, dynastic accounts, cycles of Manus, Highest Reality, means, individual soul, liberation, four human goals, vows, gifts, art, architecture, iconography, iconometry, political theories, literary topics etc. They are rooted in Vedic literature.\(^1\) In a hyperbolical expression they claim priority to the Vedas in time-scale.\(^8\)

They consider the Vedas not only as authoritative, but follow them, of course, with modifications necessitated by the exigencies of times and climes. It is said that Purāṇas were composed for benefitting women, Śūdras and Brahmins-in-name, as the vedāśravāṇa was tabooed to them.\(^3\) It may be no led that they are styled as the pāñcamaveda\(^4\) and contain the quintessence of the Veda, Vedāṅgas and Śāstras.\(^6\) All this brings out the close relationship between Vedas and Purāṇas.

The Mahābhārata expounds the principle of upabrīṃhaṇa which lays down that Vedas are to be interpreted with the help of the Itihāsa and Purāṇa, \(i.e.\) to say in other words, Itihāsa and Purāṇas explicate, explain and elaborate the Vedic doctrines. They are aids to Vedic interpretation. Of course, this principle of upabrīṃhaṇa is to be applied very carefully and cautiously.\(^6\)

Amongst the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas (Major Purāṇas) the Matsya-Purāṇa is not only “one of the older works of the Purāṇa literature,”\(^7\) but it is also one of the older mahāpurāṇas, the other two being the Vayu-Purāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa.\(^8\) It is one of the most valuable documents of the Purāṇa-literature\(^9\) and it is “at least one of those which have preserved most of the ancient text.”\(^10\) It is datable between 200 A.D. and 400 A.D. according to P.V. Kane\(^11\) who observes also that “it may be said without fear of contradiction that long before 1000 A.D. the Matsyapurāṇa had the same arrangements and presented almost the same appearance as at present”.\(^12\)
The Purānic tradition, i.e. Vāyu-Purāṇa 104.3 and the Devī-Purāṇa 1.3.3, assigns it the first place and the Vāmana Purāṇa 12.48 goes on to declare it to be the chief Purāṇa. In view of the antiquity and the prime position that the MP has in the Purāṇa-literature it is proposed to evaluate in this paper the observations of the Mātsya-Purāṇa on the concept of jīva.

Exposition and Discussion

A person, who is born in this transitory mundane world, is subject to death. It is the body that perishes and there is no destruction of Ātman (154.182). This implies that Ātman is immortal and this is quite in consonance with the Upaniṣadic teaching. The Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad 6.13 declares that it is eternal of the eternals. The Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad 2.2.11 declares also that it is immortal. In another place it is said that Ātman produces Atman (175.47) and the Upaniṣads declare that ‘the individual selves spring from the supreme spirit’.

It is well-known that life is transient (274.24) and every man is mortal. This idea finds an expression in the Tāraka-episode. Tāraka practised very severe penance and Brahmā was pleased with him to grant him a boon. Tāraka wished that he should not be vulnerable by any missile, weapon or being and to this Brahmā pointed out that ‘no bodied one is free from death’ (148.22), i.e. to bodied one death is inevitable.

In the Ādi-episode it is told that when Brahmā was pleased with Ādi’s penance, he granted him a boon and he chose freedom from death and thereupon Brahmā succinctly pointed out to him that no man is immune from death and it is reached by every bodied one (156.17). It is to be noted that the vocable used in this context (i.e. in 156.17) is satrīṇa, whereas in 154.182 the vocables used are deha and dehin.

This idea of the inevitability of death for those who are born is traceable to the Atharvaveda, when it declares that death rules over bipeds and quadrupeds. The Bhagavadgītā also says that “certain unto the born is death”.

This leads us to the question as to what it is that leaves the body, when one dies. In this context the episode of Vasiṣṭha and Nimi attempts to throw some light on this vital problem. Once for some reason Vasiṣṭha and Nimi happened to curse each other to death and as a consequence thereof the jīva of Nimi and of Vasiṣṭha went to Brahmā and the MP describes them as being without a body. Brahmana assigned Nimi’s jīva a place on men’s eyelashes and asked Vasiṣṭha’s jīva to be reborn as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (201.21-22). This tends to suggest the
relation between *jīva* and body, viz. *jīva* is distinct from body and it can exist without a body. It would migrate to any stratum for rest or it would be reborn. In the latter context the MP implies the theory of re-birth.

The Satyavat-Sāvitrī episode (to be referred to below) also indicates that the body becomes motionless, without the *jīva* or *prāṇa* therein. And this important idea that the body becomes stationary without *jīva* is reminiscent of the Mātrī_UPANIṣAD (2.3), which says that “the body...is verily like unmoving cart”.

This problem of the relation between *jīva* and body leads us to a question whether the *jīva* has a spatial dimension or not and the MP answers this question in the Satyavat-Sāvitrī episode. It is said that when once Satyavat was cutting the woods in a jungle, he had a strong and unbearable ache in his head and a very strong reeling sensation. At this he placed his head on his wife Sāvitrī’s lap and fell into a deep slumber. It was at this critical moment that the *pativrata* Sāvitrī saw Yama accompanied by Kāla and Mrtyu. Yama, then, extracted the *aṅgusṭhamātrapurusa* from Satyavat’s body. He tied it up in a noose and departed to the southern direction (210.1 ff). She followed Yama leaving Satyavat’s lifeless body there, she had a brilliant dialogue with Yama during the course of which Yama requested Sāvitrī not to beseech for the return of Satyavat’s *prāṇa* (211.12; 212.28). It is significant to note that the colophon of the chapter reads as *Satyavat-jīvita-lābhaḥ*. From the episode emerge two important points: (1) distinction of the soul from the body and its possibility of independent existence from the body, when it (*i.e.* jīva) leaves the body and (2) the spatial dimension of the soul *i.e.* it has dimension of the thumb. The UPAŅIṢADIC seers have diverse views regarding the spatial aspect of the soul, but the seer of the Kaṭha-UPANIṢAD (2.3.17) and of the Śvetāśvatarā-UPANIṢAD (3.13; 5.8) declare that the soul is *aṅgusṭhamātra*. It is significant to note that the MP uses this very UPAŅIṢADIC phrase. This philosophic concept of *aṅgusṭhamātrapurusa*-dimension has penetrated into the iconographical concept and dimension. It is laid down in the Agastiotappattipūjāvīdhāna that the concerned image to be placed for worship has to be of the *aṅgusṭhamātra*-dimension (61.46). In the Rasakalyāṇinivrata-chapter it is laid down that the concerned image is to be of the *aṅgusṭha-mātra* dimension (63.24). In the chapter on the Āgārakavrata it is also prescribed that the concerned image is to be of the said dimension (73.34).

From the aforegoing discussion it is clear that the *Matsyapurāṇakāra* follows the UPAŅIṢADIC reflections on *jīva* and elaborates and explains them in a vivid, graphic and illustrative manner and thus there is the *U pārṇaṇha* of the Vedic thoughts and thus fulfils the statement that the Purāṇas are the epitome of the Vedas. *En passant* from the
methodological point of view it may be noted that in this expounding of the philosophical thoughts the MP follows the sahṛdayavat-method from the literary-critical point of view.²²

REFERENCE

N.B.: Unspecified references in this paper are to the Matsya-Purāṇa, Anandashram Sanskrit Series edition No. 54; Poona 1907 A.D., MP-Matsya-Purāṇa.

Cf. also, Hazra R.C., “The only species of Indian literature, which can claim next to the Vedas, to reach back to antiquity is the ‘Purāṇa’” (Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Delhi 1975, p. 1).

2. Cf. Purāṇaḥ sarvāśatraṃ prathamaḥ Brahmanā śrītānām
amantaranaḥ ca vaktrebhyo vedāḥ toṣya vinirgataḥ|| MP 2.3.4.
It may be noted here that Banka Behari Chakravorty holds that the Vedas and Purāṇas developed simultaneously (The Rgveda is not the Earliest Document, Folklore Vol. 26, No. 2, Whole No. 296, February 1985, pp. 1 ff; Vol. 26, No. 3, Whole No. 297, March 1985, pp. 45 ff.)

3. Cf. strīādāvadījābandhānāṁ na Vedeśāvagatiṣaḥ mataṁ /
tēṣaṁ eva hitārthaya purāṇāṁ kṛtāṁ ca|| Devīhāgavata 1.3.21.

4. Cf. itihāsa-purāṇāṁ pañcamaṁ vedamb eśvaral /
purāṇaṁ pañcamo veda itī Brahmanāśasananah
Skanda purāṇa, Revākhaṇḍa, 1.18.

5. sarvavedavedāṅgāśastraṃ sārahbhūtām / Nārādatyapurāṇa 1.1.21.
sarvavedarūthuśāṅgā purāṇānī || ibid., 1.1.61.

6. Cf. itihāsa-purāṇāḥ bhūyam vedāṁ samupabhinayet Mahābhārata Cr. ed. 1.1.204;
Vide Kane P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V, Part II, p. 914; Upadhyaya Baladeva, Purāṇavimarśi (Hindi), Banaras 1965, pp. 247 ff; Kantawala S.G., Two Legends from the Purāṇas: A Study in Upabhinaya, Ludwicd Sternbach Commemoration Volume, Indologica Tavrineia, Vols. VIII-IX, 1980-81, pp. 215 ff. It may be noted here that in this paper the term upabhinaya is not understood as a sacred obligation of authorship to keep the text up-to-date by revising its contents as often as necessary...
(V.S. Agrawala, Matsya-Purāṇa—A Study, Varanasi 1963, Preface, p. iii, Vide ibid., p. iv ff.)

7. Winternitz M., op. cit., p. 575. According to Kane P.V., it is the earliest of, the eighteen Purāṇas and it is best preserved (op. cit., p. 899).

8 Vide Kane P.V., op. cit., p. 899; Agrawala V.S., op. cit., Preface, p. iii.


12. Kane P.V., ibid., p. 899.
15. Vide Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad 1.11.3; 4.4.25; 4.5.14; Katha Upaniṣad 2.18.
17. Cf. mātyur āye dvipadōṁ mātyur āye catuṣpadōṁ/ Atharvaveda 2.8.23.
18. jatasya hi dhravo mātyuḥ/ Bhagavadgītā 2.27.
   Cf. jatasya hi labdhajanmam dhravo avyabhicāri mātyuh maraṇam/ Śaṅkarācārya on the Bhagavadgītā 2.27
19. Cf. evam ukte tu tau jātāu videhau dvijāpārthivau |
   dekáhitau tayor jivau Brahmāyaṁ upajāgmatuḥ/ MP 201.17
PRATISARGA IN THE PURĀNAS

By

S. JENA

As pointed out by Hacker, the original sense of ‘pratīṣarga’ is “continuation of creation by the mental offspring of the Creator,” but in course of time there is change in meaning and it comes to convey just the opposite sense of sarga. When the word sarga stands for creation in general and it includes different kinds of creation like “navarāgas,” “Rudra-sarga” and “mānasī strṣṭi” etc., the term pratīṣarga denotes dissolution. In the Purāṇa literature quite a few terms are used to denote pratīṣarga. Brahma ch. 233.11 speaks of it as ‘antara pralaya’ and ‘kalpasaṁkāra’, in Viṣṇu (I.2.25) and Kārma (II.43.5) it is pratīṣāṅca, the Bhāgavata speaks of it as ‘udāpluta’ (III.8.10), ‘sāṁsthā’ (XII.7.17), pratīṣāṅkrama (III.10.14), and ‘sāṁplava’ (XII.4.34); in Vāyu (II.40.47) it is referred to as ‘tattva-praṣaṁyana’. Agni (368.1-2), Kārma (II.43.5), Viṣṇu (I.7.41) and Bhāgavata (XII.7.17) speak of four kinds of dissolution namely Naṁśītika, Prāṅkṣītika, Ātyantika and Nitya.³

Naṁśītika Pralaya

When a day of Brahmā (a day of Brahmā is equivalent to a Kalpa which consists of one thousand Caturyugas) ends, there occurs the night of same duration (brāhma rātri) and during this night the dissolution of the earth takes place. At that time, of the seven lokas Bhū, Bhuvah and Svah—these three lokas get submerged in the waters and the rest four lokas—Maha, Jana, Tapa and Satya remain unaffected. During the period of dissolution Lord Brahmā withdraws the whole universe into Himself and for the whole night measuring a Kalpa. He goes to sleep on the bed of serpent Ananta. In justifying the term ‘Naṁśītika’ pralaya both Viṣṇu (VI.4.7) and Brahma (Ch.233.7) say: when Viṣṇu in the form of Brahmā goes to sleep on the serpent Ananta, this dissolution takes place. Viṣṇu becomes a ‘nimitta’ of this pralaya and that is why it is called Naṁśītika.⁴

Prāṅkṣītika Pralaya

The ‘Prāṅkṣītika’ pralaya differs from ‘Naṁśītika’ pralaya on the point that the latter occurs when Brahmā goes to sleep and the former
takes place when the span of life of Brahman is over. The span of life of Brahman continues for two 'parārdhas'. At the end of two parārdhas all the seven causal principles viz., Mahat, Ahamkāra and the five tanmātras are dissolved in Prakṛti. It is said to be the 'Prakṛtika' pralaya as in it all the twentythree fundamental principles really get finally dissolved. For one hundred years (constituting the life-span of Brahman) the Parjanya does not rain; afflicted with hunger and thirst all creatures begin to devour one another; with rays scorching to the extreme the Sun sucks up all the water in the seas, on the earth and in human bodies; Fire burns furiously and burns down the whole creation; a strong and violent wind blows so vehemently that the sky gets enveloped in dust and assumes a smoky appearance. And the universe gets into a state of deluge.

With the entire universe lying submerged, the waters absorb smell, the distinctive quality of earth, and the earth is dissolved into waters. Fire absorbs the moisture of waters which dry up and disappear in it. The air absorbs the colour of fire which thus merges in the air itself. Ether absorbs the distinctive property of air which then merges in ether. Then 'tāmasa Ahamkāra' absorbs sound, the characteristic of ether whereupon ether is merged in it. Tatjasya Ahamkāra absorbs the sense organs and the 'Vākārīka Ahamkāra' the gods and their functions. The Mahat absorbs Ahamkāra and the three guṇas—'sattva', 'rajas' and 'tamas' absorb the Mahat. At last Prakṛti impelled by time absorbs the guṇas. Thus when everything dissolves into Prakṛti, there is 'Prakṛtika pralaya'.

Ātyantika Pralaya

Liberation of the soul due to the right knowledge and absorption into the Brahman is called Ātyantika pralaya. Whatever is perceived as a cause or an effect is an illusion because a cause and an effect depend upon the existence of the other. Therefore, all that has a beginning and an end is unreal. The man who differentiates between the individual self and Supreme Self is ignorant and his self is not illuminated by the light of knowledge. The individual soul is but identical with the Supreme Soul; because of its ignorance (avidyā) the individual soul identifies itself with the physical body etc. He who realises this eternal truth, his 'avidyā' is destroyed and he is liberated. With liberation there is an end to all his misery i.e., ādhisthitikā, ādhībhautikā and ādhyātmikā. In justifying the term Ātyantika (pralaya Bhāgavata XII. 4.34 says: “By rending with the weapon of wisdom (vivekāhētā) the fetters of the self caused by 'māya', when a man realises the Supreme Self, he achieves the ‘ātyantika laya’ (liberation)."
Nitya Pralaya

The destruction of beings which is constantly going on in this world is regarded as Nitya pralaya (Agni, Kūrma and Viṣṇu).7

Every minute the objects here on this earth undergo constant change and modification. Kāla is manifestation of the Almighty (Īvara-mūrti). And impelled by this Kāla there occur the successive stages of growth and decay of created beings. The stream flows by, though apparently it is the same stream, the waters flowing in it are not the same. Likewise the flame of a lamp though apparently steady and unchanging, changes every moment. As this change in the stream or the flame is not noticeable to the naked eye, the growth and decay going on every minute in this world is not noticed by us. Like the stream or the flame of a lamp, there is constant appearance and dissolution of the created beings (Bhāgavata XII.4.35-37).8

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2. (a) *Nava sarga* refers to nine-fold creation in the Purāṇas like Agni (20.1-6), Gāruḍa (4.13 b-18), Kārma (1.7.1-18), Mārkaṇḍeya (47.14 b-36), Paḍma, part I, śṛṣṭi khaṇḍa (3.60b-82), Varāha (2.25-39) and Viṣṇu (1.5.1-26). First is the creation of Mahat, next comes the creation of five subtle elements (originating from Āhāṃkāra predominated by tamas) which is also called bhūtasarga. The third is the creation of five sense-organs, five motor organs, and the mind arising from Āhāṃkāra predominated by sattra (vaikārika). These three creations are termed as prākṣṭa sarga.

The World of vegetation consisting of vīkṣa, guila, latā, virudh, tṛṇa known as mukhya sarga is the fourth in order. The creation of animal world is the fifth whereas the devasarga, the creation of divinities is the sixth. The creation of human beings known as "arvāksrotas" is the seventh in order. The eighth creation is anugraha consisting of Viparyaya, sakti, siddhi and tuṣṭi. The Kaumāra creation is the ninth. This creation is so called because Saṅkatumāra declines to create progeny, remains as a kaumāra. And this birth of Saṅkatumāra is termed as Kaumāra creation.

(b) There is detailed treatment of Rudra-sarga in the Purāṇas such as Mārkaṇḍeya (50.6b-12), Paḍma, part I, śṛṣṭi khaṇḍa (3.169-176b) and Viṣṇu (1.7.8b-15). According to these texts when Saṅkatumāra and other sages decline to create progeny, Brahmā becomes extremely wrathful and from his forehead radiant like the sun there appears Rudra, half-male and half-female. After commanding Rudra to divide himself into two-half male and half female, Brahmā disappears. In obedience to the order of Brahmā Rudra becomes two-fold disjoining his male and female parts. Rudra further divides his male part into eleven different persons, some of which are agreeable, some hideous, some fierce and others mild. Likewise he divides his female part into different persons of whom some are of dark complexion and some are of wheatish complexion.

(c) Mānasī śṛṣṭi is the doctrine of mental creation by Brahmā. Generally it refers to the creation of seven or nine mind-born sons of Lord Brahmā, the progenitor of the world. As depicted in the different Purāṇa texts like Mārkaṇḍeya (50.1-6a, 22-25b), Paḍma, part I, śṛṣṭi khaṇḍa (3.163b-168, 184b-187), and Viṣṇu (1.7.1a, 24b-27), the nine mind-born sons of Brahmā are: Kratu, Pulaha, Pulastya, Atri, Āṅgiras, Vasiṣṭha, Marici, Dakṣa and Bṛṛgu. In power and wisdom they are exactly alike Brahmā. So the Purāṇa texts designate them as nine Brahmās (*nava brahmāsakha*). They get married to Khyati, Sati, Sambhāti etc., the daughters of Praśūti and are interested in creation.


nityo naimittikācāva prākṣṭayantikāu tatha/ caturdhā 'yaṁ purāṇe 'smin procaye pratisaṅkara|| Kārma Purāṇa, II. 43.5.
naimittikāḥ prākṣṭikāḥ tathāvāyantikaḥ dvijā/ nityaśce sarvabāhātānaḥ pralayo 'yaṁ caturvīdhaḥ|| Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I. 74.1.
naimittikāḥ prākṣṭikāḥ nitya āyatantikaḥ layah/ saṁstheti kavihīh prakṛtē caturdhā 'syā svabhāvataḥ||

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XII. 7.17.
4. eṣā naimittika nāma maitreya pratisaṅkarahā
nimittah tatra yat ēte Brahmārāpaḥ ēdaro Hariḥ||Viṣṇu Purāṇa, VI. 4.7.
eṣā naimittika nāma viprendraḥ pratisaṅkarahā
nimittah tatra yat ēte Brahmārāpaḥ ēdaro Hariḥ|| Brahma Purāṇa, Ch. 233.7

5. By the standard of his own measurement one hundred years of Brahmā constitute his life and this period is called a ‘Parā’ and the half of it is known as ‘Parārdha’. So the life-span of Brahmā is two ‘parārdhas’. A day of Brahmā is equivalent to one Kalpa which consists of 1000 Caturyugas. A year of Brahmā is equal to 360 Kalpas; hence the life-span of Brahmā is equal to 36,000 Kalpas (360 x 100). In terms of human years it is 311040, 000,000,000 years. Vide Kane, P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V. Part I, P. 690.

6. yadaivāmetena vivekahetinā, māyāmayaḥ karaṇātmabandhanāh/
chittvācyutāmānvibhavo ‘vatiṣṭhate, tamāhurātyantikamanāhga sampavah||
Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XII. 4.34.

7. nityaḥ prāṇināṁ layakh sadāvināśo jātānām|| Agni, 368.1.
yo’yaṁ saṁhitvāya nityam loke bhūtakāyastviha||
nityaḥ saṁkriyate nāma munibhiḥ pratisaṅkarah|| Kārma, II. 43.6.
nityaḥ sadaiva bhūtānāṁ yo vināśo divāntiha|| Viṣṇu, I. 7.43b.

8. nityadā sarvabhūtānāṁ Brahmādīnāṁ paramaṁpa/
upattipralayāveke sūkṣmaṁhā sampraccakṣate||
kālasrotojavenāṁ hriyāmaśaḥya nityadā||
pariṇāmāṁ navasthaṁ jñānapralayāhetuvaṁ||
ānādyantvataṃṇaṁ Kālecīśvaramūrtinī||
avasthaṁ naiva đāryante vijyati jyotiṣāmiva|| Bhāgavata Purāṇa, XII. 4.35-37.
THE CULT OF DĀRU-BRAHMA-PURUŚOTTAMA
IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION
AND ITS HISTORY

By

GOPINATH MOHAPATRA

The temple of Jagannātha at Puri is one of the greatest monuments in India. Amongst the four sacred places in the country, Puri or Purusottama Ksetra is counted to be one of the best on account of its sanctity for the perpetual abode of Lord Jagannātha the manifestation of the supreme being in the form of Dāru Brahma. Jagannātha occupies a pivotal position in the culture of Orissa. The cult stands in a top position for the Hindu community particularly with Kṛṣṇa consciousness. But, it is interesting enough to note that Jagannātha does not look like Śrīkṛṣṇa, but a quite different symbolic image. The icons of Jagannātha and his associates Balabhadra, Subhadra and Sudarśana do not correspond to the scriptures of Hindu iconography. These images are the special creations of the ancient intellectuals of the country and therefore looking very original in their own way. That is why it is not easy to know the philosophy of the cult.

The Philosophy

According to the Hindu tradition the word Purusottama means Śrīkṛṣṇa of Śrimad Bhagavad Gitā.¹ The Purāṇas and Kāvyā literatures also accept this. Kāliḍāsa in his Rāghuvamśa' clearly points out that the word ‘Purusottama’ signifies only the god Hari and Mahēśvara is none but Śiva alone. Therefore, as such, Purusottama-Jagannātha is accepted to be Śrīkṛṣṇa only. In other words, he is not only considered to be Gopāla Kṛṣṇa of Bṛndāvana, but Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, the holder of ten incarnations ‘Daśākṛtikṛt’. Such an image has been preserved in the State Museum, Orissa; where the image is represented in standing position in the ‘Tribhāṅga’ style with four arms, out of which he holds Śaṅkha and Cakra with the upper two hands, and the rest two hands are engaged in playing the flute. This tradition of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa cult ultimately transformed to the cult of Jagannātha being amalgamated with the Brahma concept of Vedānta. Therefore, Jagannātha has been called as Dāru Brahma in the Purāṇa literature. Brahma Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa (Pātala khaṇḍa and Uṭtara khaṇḍa), Nārada Purāṇa, Garuḍa Purāṇa,
Skanda Purāṇa (Vaishnava khaṇḍa) used to propagate this concept throughout India since a long past. The cult in a philosophical and religious point of view looks like a religious synthesis.

A Religious Synthesis

It is remarkable to note that the cult of Jagannātha is a synthesis of the most active three religious sects of the Hindu culture; viz. the Vaishnavism, Saivism and Śakti cult. The devotees of these three communities have been shaking their hands in the temple premises of Jagannātha and taking the sacred food, Mahāprasāda together. Here they forget their deep rooted difference of opinions, because, Balabhadra is represented as Śiva, Jagannātha as Viṣṇu and Subhadrā as the Śakti of these two, being worshipped as Durgā Bhuvaneśvari and also in representing Lakṣmī.

Brother and Sister as they are

It is unique to note that the brother and sister together to be worshipped in a temple as Rāgāra devatās are very rare in the tradition of India. Almost it is found that the gods are worshipped with their consorts. But, here Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa is adorned with Balabhadra—Balarāma, his elder brother, and Subhadrā, his dear sister. Whereas Lakṣmī does not have a seat on the pedestal to be worshipped with Jagannātha. Of course, Lakṣmī has a separate temple in the Jagannātha temple compound.

The concept of Śūnya and Śūnya Puruṣa

The most characteristic ideology behind the image of Lord Jagannātha formulated by the Pāṇcasakhaś is the predominance of the concept of Śūnya blended with the Vedāntic ideal of Nirguṇa Brahma. Balarāma Dās in the first chapter of his Sārasvata Gītā declares that Śūnya and Brahma are identical. In his ‘Siddhānta ādambaru’ he presents a Bija mantra which reads thus: ‘Om namaḥ śūnya-Brahmāṇe’. It may be pointed out here that Brahma in its Saguna aspect is perceived in the world-manifestations, while in its Nirguṇa form it is conceived as the prime source behind all such manifestations. But, its association with the conception of vacuity gives rise to a new ideology which appears to be the same as that of the ‘Abhūta parikalpa’ of Viṇānāvāda, where the world manifestations become unrecognisably unified with Śūnya. Like Balarāma Dās, the other associates of Pāṇcasakhaś also perceive Jagannātha to be a Śūnya Puruṣa and Nirguṇa Brahma at the same time. Some scholars maintain to say that the Śūnya Puruṣa concept of the Orissan Vaishnavas must have got the traditional impact from the ancient Vajrayānists who conceive Vajrasattva to be the supreme. Being and
simultaneously a śūnya Puruṣa. But this statement may not be accepted because the time of 'popularity of 'Vajra yāna' in Orissa is the eighth century, whereas the Pañcasakhaśas flourished in the sixteenth century. They had no opportunity to come in contact with the Vajrayānists. Hence it is certain that the concepts, they hold on, are not borrowed from Vajrayānists, but those are their own feelings. They felt the Nitya Rāsa is going on in the Jagannātha image itself between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa who continue to embrace each other.¹⁰

A careful study reveals that the religious thinkers in different times conceive Jagannātha to be the symbolic form of Nirākāra, Śūnyapuruṣa, Alekha and Anākāra. Thus the cult is a mystic and idealistic one although it contains in itself the originality of its own as representing the Mahāviṣṇu of the Purāṇas saturated with the concept of Dāru-Brahma.

**Dāru Brahma-Puruṣottama**

The image of Jagannātha is no doubt a synthesis of the thoughts of the Indian Philosophy. It is the symbolic form of the absolute reality or the very spirit which is inaccessible to the mind and speech; ‘Avātmānasagocara’. He carries the contradictory epithets in himself which are resolved only in a higher plane of consciousness. In order to visualise this, the whole Upanisadic concepts of Brahma has been materialised in the image of Jagannātha.

The main three images of Jagannātha temple symbolise the Sat, Cit, and Ānanda’ aspects of the ultimate reality. Puruṣottama comprehends both Śuddha Puruṣa and Śuddhā Prakṛti, and at the same time goes beyond the two. Thus it attains the status of Absolute Puruṣa. It is superior to the Kṣara Puruṣa and Akṣara Puruṣa as advocated in the Puruṣottama yoga of Gitā. The Absolute Puruṣa is considered to be different from the pure Puruṣa which is the logical opposit of Prakṛti. Here then is transcended Sāmkhya dualism between Puruṣa and Prakṛti. Subhadrā has been conceived as the Prakṛti in the Purāṇas whereas Jagannātha and Balabhadra are covering the dual aspects of Puruṣa. According to Skanda Puruṣa, Vaiṣṇava khaṇḍa, Balabhadra and Jagannātha are in one sense a symbolical unity and there is no difference between the two.¹¹ As such, the thought corresponds to the theory of Yoga which conceives the lord or Īśvara as a ‘Puruṣa-Viśeṣa’ or a superior Puruṣa.¹² Here the remarkable aspect to note is that the spirit of a philosophical synthesis of all rival contradictory forms has been conglomorated in these images. Even the followers of Advaita, Dvaita and Viśiṣṭadvaita schools join their hands together in the composite cult of Jagannātha. It is because the four images (Caturdhā mūrti) when considered in revealing the four aspects of one god Jagannātha, they are connected with each other as the limbs of a body and hence as a
whole are conceived to be the supreme Being. Thus in one sense they are one and the same and in the other, they are two separate gods with independent aspects of plural sense. This inclusive and exclusive process satisfies all the branches of Indian philosophy including in itself the Puruṣottama concept of Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā. The legend, narrated in the Purāṇas can very well testify this.

The Legend behind the cult of Jagannātha

The anecdote of king Indradyumna, the founder of the cult of Jagannātha at Puruṣottama Kṣetra as described in Skanda Purāṇa in the 8th century, needs to be presented here. This tactful attempt was a grand success in popularising the cult all over India. As, a result, the religious personalities like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Mādhava, Nimbārka, Vallabha, and Caitanya came over here and established their monasteries at Puruṣottama Kṣetra.

‘Once being asked about the salvation of all the beings, god Viṣṇu replied to Brahmā,—‘He (Viṣṇu) himself is worshipped in the form of Nilamādhava on the top of Nilādri at Puruṣottama Kṣetra of Oḍra country. One can attain immediate salvation simply by a visit to this god. But this announcement disturbed very much the god of death, Yama who lost his importance at his office without punishing the sinners since in this process every body can get salvation. Then on the request of Yama, Lord Viṣṇu assured him that he would disappear from that place within a short period.

Puruṣottama Kṣetra in those days was densely forested. No body knew the importance of this sacred place. Only a Śavara king Viśvāvasu was worshipping the god Nilamādhava in a shrine situated towards the north of Rohiṇī Kuṇḍa on the top of Nilagiri. The gods from the heaven came there every day to offer oblations to Nilamādhava.

During that time, Indradyumna, a Vaiṣṇava king was ruling in Malava. One day he asked his members of the learned council to know the exact place where lord Viṣṇu is worshipped. To his good luck, a Sannyāśī at once appeared there and said, ‘Viṣṇu himself is visible in his perfect form on the Nilagiri of Oḍra deśa. The emancipation of the soul can be possible through a visit to this god.’

Indradyumna was happy at this. He appointed the brother of his priest, Vidyāpati in order to locate the abode of Lord Puruṣottama. Gradually Vidyāpati reached Oḍra country and took refuge in a Śavara village at night. There he won the friendship of the Śavara chief Viśvāvasu. Taking the advantage of friendship Vidyāpati requested the Śavara chief to show him the god Nilamādhava of Nilagiri. Out
of compassion Viśvāvasu agreed to it and through a narrow track showed him the shrine of the god Nilaṃadhava.

After locating the place Vidyāpati left for Avanti to inform this to the king Indradyumna. In the meantime Lord Viṣṇu in order to fulfil the promise that he had made to Yama, disappeared from there through a sand storm. When after a few days Indradyumna arrived there with his men along with the sage Nārada he was informed by the king of Oḍra that the god Nilaṃadhava had already disappeared. At this unexpected news, Indradyumna was upset. However, he was consoled by Nārada, who said, “the lord would appear again in the form of wooden figure (Dāru vigraha)”. For that the king should have to perform horse sacrifice.

Accordingly the horse sacrifice was performed. On the closing day the king was advised by the god through a dream that he should bring the tree ‘Nyagrodha’ floating in the sea and place in the sacrificial altar under a cover of cloth. The king did so and the images appeared on the altar automatically after the cover was taken off on the fifteenth day. The image-making was done by the god himself who had approached the king in the guise of an old carpenter.

The king however was very glad to find the four images like Jagannātha, Balabhadra, Subhadrā, and Sudarśana. He worshipped Jagannātha in Aṣṭākṣara Mantra,16 Balabhadra in Purusā sūkta and Subhadrā in Devī sūkta. Then he listened to a heavenly voice advising him to build a great temple for the lords and inaugurate it properly. Indradyumna honoured this voice. Before the final touch of the construction of the temple, he went to Brahmaloka to invite Brahmā, the creator god, for the consecration of the temple of Jagannātha.

In the meantime when Indradyumna was out for Brahmaloka for some days, the time of some generations passed in the world. A king belonging to another dynasty, Gāla by name, was ruling Utkal. He was claiming that the shrine was built by his ancestors.

Indradyumna and Brahmā when arrived at Purusottama Kṣetra, the conflict began between Indradyumna and Gāla on the claim of the issue of the temple. However, Brahmā intervened and the temple was restored to its original builder, Indradyumna. Then Brahmā prayed to the lords and consecrated the temple.

This story of Skanda Purāṇa later on was magnified with some alterations in the Sāralā Mahābhārata17 (15th century) with the inclusion of the episode of the love of the tribal lady Lalitā. In the 18th century Śīśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsa wrote his book on the construction of this huge temple of Lord Jagannātha, entitled ‘Deulatolia’ where he elaborated the
love of Lalita, the daughter of the Savara chief Visvavasu, with the Brahmana Vidyapati. Here only it is advocated that the temple servants 'Daitas' are the people of the tribal origin. This book is very popular in Orissa and attempts have been made here to coordinate the anecdotes of Skanda Purana and Surala Mahabharata.

The Antiquity of the cult of Purusottama-Jagannatha

To determine the antiquity of Jagannatha or Purusottama of Puri is certainly a difficult task, since the paucity of proper evidences. In Rg Veda we find a reference to Daru. Sayanacarya (1300-1380 A.D.) interpreted for the first time this Stotra referring it to Purusottama-Jagannatha, of Puri. He says; 'there exists on the sea shore in a far off place the image of a deity, Purusottama, which is made of wood (Daru) floating as it were, in the sea. 'O devotees, by worshipping the very (god) wood, not perishable at all, attain the eternal abode of Visnu.' But after his own interpretation as such, he himself was not satisfied with it. Then he gave another interpretation referring it to Alakshmi. The scholars are of unanimous opinion in favour of the second one. Thus the Vedic origin of Jagannatha cult has not been accepted.

It is found from Ramayana, that the family deity of Ikshvakus is called Jagannatha. Some scholars advocate that Jagannatha was there during the age of Ramayana. But this simple reference is not enough to draw such a conclusion. It is a fact that since the age of Ramayana and Mahabharata Jagannatha as an epithet of Visnu has been used very often. This Jagannatha therefore does not necessarily mean the Jagannatha of Puri.

Srimal Bhagavadgita proclaims Purusottama to be the same as Sri Krishna. In Visnu Purana Krishna is addressed as Purusottama and Jagannatha. In Vaman Purana Aditya prayed Visnu as Jagannatha. In Matsya Purana Purusottama Keśtra has also been referred to. In the 'Trikāṇḍa Śiva' (9th century) the word Jagannatha has been used as a synonym of Visnu. Murari kavi, the author of Anarhagharahavam clearly mentioned about Purusottama Keśtra in 8th century. Skanda Purana, Utkalakhaṇḍa gives a clear picture of Purusottama Keśtra also in 8th century. Thus, we are sure of this much that this Keśtra, had its existence since the days of Matsya Purana and had become considerably popular by the time of 8th century as a Vaisnava Keśtra. Therefore Yayati keśari, the first distinguished king of Somavamśi dynasty, though a staunch Saiva, was inspired to construct a small temple for Jagannatha at Puri in the 10th century. After that in the 12th century the Ganga king Colaganja Deva (1076-1147) built the present Jagannatha temple which was fully completed towards the end of the same century by Aniyaṅka Bhima Deva, a powerful king of the same dynasty. After 12th
century, the literary and epigraphical references are plentifully available to find a clear history of Jagannātha.34

The Epigraphical Reference

Epigraphical references are considered to be more reliable to draw a final conclusion on the antiquity of the cult of Jagannātha. However, due to the paucity of such evidences the picture of this cult prior to the 7th or 8th century is found to be a little faint. To our anterior proof on epigraphic basis the Šāradā Devī temple inscription of Maihār35 of Satna district of Madhya Pradesh offers a valuable evidence in this regard. Dr. D.C. Sircar dates this inscription to the middle of the 10th century on palaeographical ground.36 In this inscription it is stated that a boy named Damodara, the son of a Brahmin Devadhara, drowned in the sea at Purī (Oḍra country) after having seen the god Puruṣottama. On the basis of this we can very well conclude Puruṣottama of Orissa was already famous by the 10th century. Therefore, the pilgrims from all over India were coming here. This inscription is the earliest one amongst those available to us.

Next, the copper plates of eastern Chalukyas are of our use in this regard. Rājarāja I, (11th century A.D.) had in copper plate,37 found from Korumeli of Rajmahendri district and the Kalindi grant38 (Kaikalur-Krishna district) in 11th century gives us a direct reference to Puruṣottama Kṣetra, by saying, ‘Śrīdhamnāḥ Puruṣottamasya’. In the same 11th century the Pūjāripāli inscription of king Gopāl39 mentions the Puruṣottama Kṣetra as an important Tīrtha in India.

In the middle of the 12th century Puruṣottama Kṣetra reached the top of its glory, as a result the present temple was built.40 There after a number of Jagannātha temples were started to be constructed in various parts of the country. Festivals were celebrated with pompous pleasures more than before. These celebrations made the sacred place more popular in India.

The festivals of Jagannātha

According to tradition twelve main festivals are celebrated at Purī every year. In addition to that a lot of sub-festivals also function in the temple compound. Thus almost every day we find certain festival in the temple atmosphere. To all festive occasions the devotees from all over the country come to witness in a large number. However, the number of the pilgrims becomes very high during the car festival of the Lords. From the beginning of the year to the end the important festivals celebrated for the lords are as follows:
Snāna yātrā

The word Jyeṣṭha, means one who comes to the light first. Therefore, the month of Jyeṣṭha was the first month of the year. In ancient India the year calculation was starting from the autumn. (Jīvema Saradaḥ śatam, etc.). Then the calculation changed its course. From the third season (autumn) the start came back to the second season (Varṣā), the rainy season. Therefore, the year is known as ‘Varṣa’ because it starts in ‘Varṣā’. In corroboration with this view in the lunar month calculation the first festival of the Lords comes in the month of Jyeṣṭha. This is known as Snāna yātrā or the ‘Bathing festival’ and is celebrated on the Full moon day of Jyeṣṭha. Śrīharṣa in his work ‘Naiṣadhiya’ has referred to this festival in the 12th century.41 During this festival, the four images of Jagannātha are brought to the Snāna Vedi ‘through Pahanḍi’ where the lords take their bath. They are decorated here in the form of Gaṇeśa which is known as ‘Gaṇeśa Veṣa’. The attempt of this ‘Gajānana Veṣa’ very well attracts the Gaṇapatyas particularly from the south India, to their best satisfaction.

Anavasara

After the Snāna yātrā, the lords are presumed to fall ill. This is known as Anavasara. For fifteen days the Lords are kept away from public view during this period. They remain under treatment of the Royal Physician (Rāja Vaidya) by taking suitable medicines. The Daitās (a class of temple servants) take care of the gods for these days. Within this period the repainting of the Lords is done. The eye paintings of the Lords are the final items to make the images complete. On the sixteenth day the final touch is over and the Lords are again fit for the public view. On this day large number of visitors come to see the Lords and this is known as ‘Netrotsava-Navyāuvana darśana’.

The car festival

Next comes the Car festival of the Lords. This festival is celebrated on the Aṣāḍha śukla dvitiyā i.e. the second day of the bright fortnight of the lunar month of Aṣāḍha. Here the Lords are to sit on their respective chariots for visiting their birth place known as Guṇḍicā gharā. Jagannātha’s chariot is called Nandighoṣa. It consists of sixteen wheels. The name of the chariot of Balabhadra is Tāladhvaja which moves with fourteen wheels. Deviratha is the chariot of Subhadrā and Sudarṣana. It is a car of twelve wheels.

These huge chariots are dragged by the devotees and smoothly they reach at Guṇḍicā house. The Lords are taken into the temple ‘through Pahanḍi’ (jumping). After seven days the ‘Bāhuḍā yātrā’ or the return
journey is performed. On the 11th day the Lords are decorated with gold ornaments on the chariot for public view which is known as Sunāveśa.

When Jagannātha returns to the main temple after enjoying the car festival, Mahā Lakṣmī, his wife closes the door of entrance. She is annoyed with her husband for not joining the journey. However, the people of Lakṣmī are pacified by the worshippers of Jagannātha. Lakṣmī then allows Jagannātha to get into the temple and thus the drama is over.

Sayanotsava

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āśādha, this sleeping ceremony of Viṣṇu-Jagannātha is observed in the temple. At night the representative images (small golden images) like Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Ananta-Vāsudeva and Bhuvanesvari\(^\text{12}\) representing Jagannātha Balabhadra and Subhadra respectively are brought to the well-decorated sleeping chamber where they are placed on their beds.

Dakṣīṇāyanotsava

On the day the sun starts to move to the equinox, this festival is observed.

Dhulaṇa yātrā

This festival is celebrated from the 10th day up to the full moon day in the month of Śrāvaṇa. The representative image Madanamohana is placed on the decorated swinging chariot.

Pārśva Parivartana

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada this turning-sides-festival is performed. The sleeping gods turn their sides in this celebration.

Prabodhana yātrā

On the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārtika the rising ceremony of Viṣṇu Jagannātha is performed where the images are awakened from the slumber.

Prāvarana Utsava

On the sixth day of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra the deities are dressed with winter garments.
Puṣyāḥṣēka

On the full moon day of the month of Pauṣa this celebration is performed.

Uttarāyāna Utsava

On the day, Makara saṁkrānti when the Sun starts to move towards the south equinox, this function is celebrated for the Lords of the temple.

Dola yātṛā

On the full moon day of the month of Phālguna, the representative images of the Lords are brought to ‘Dola Vedi’ (Swing altar) where this swing festival is performed. This is also called Vasantotsava.

Damana Bhaṅjīkā yātṛā

In the month of Caitra, this celebration takes place. During this time a plant, known as ‘Damanaka’, is offered to the Lords.

Candana Yātṛā

This is the last important yātṛā. Madana Mohana (Jagannātha-Kṛṣṇa), Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī play boating in Narendra tank sitting on a white boat and Rāma-Kṛṣṇa with five Śiva images ride the red boat in the round trips. This festival continues for 21 days (from the third day of bright fortnight of Vaiśākha to the 8th day of the dark part of Jyeṣṭha). The closing day is a grand function known as Bhaunri, derived from the Sanskrit word ‘Bhramari’. On this occasion, the Lords make the round trip in the tank for twenty one times. The visitors in large number enjoy the scene from the embankment. Both the boats are well decorated with lights and the music and dancing continue in the boat enchanting the entire atmosphere.

These are some of the notable festivals of Lord Jagannātha. Another rare and important one is ‘Navakalevara’. This is celebrated once in twelve to nineteen years interval. In this function the wooden images of the Lords are replaced and renewed by the suitable neem wood. The ‘Nābhi-Brahma-paḍārtha’ of the Lords are also transferred from the old images to the new ones. This is done in a very secret way. After this process is over Jagannātha becomes Dāru-Brahma in the true sense.

Dāru-Brahma Jagannātha thus enjoys the festivals being daily worshipped in the Vedic rites. The Mantras used for his worship are always to begin with the Praṇava or Oṃ kāra. Three ‘Dūpas’ (meals)
and five Avakāsas' are performed in the temple every day. The Lords in a royal style go to the bed after Baḍasamhāra 'Dhūpa' with music and dancing performed by the Devadāsis which may lead to our further discussion in a separate article in detail.

REFERENCES

1. Bh. Gītā. 15/18. 
   \[Yasmāt kṣaramatitohamokṣarādapī cottamah\]/
   \[Atosmi loke vede ca prathitah Puruṣottamah\]/

2. Raghuvamsam. 111/49. 
   \[Hari yathaikāh Puruṣottamah smṛtaḥ\]/
   \[Mahēśvarastryambaka eva nāparah\]/

   \[Tasya saktisvarāpeyam bhagīni śrīḥ prakṛtitā\].

   See also Niladri Mahodaya, pp. 533.


   “Abhāta partikalposti dvayamatra na vidyate
   Śaṁyata vidyate tatra tasyāmapi sa vidyate.”


    \[Jagannātha śarīreṇa Rādhā tiṣṭhati sarvadā\]...
    See also ; Jagannātha Gītā. 12/82. 
    \[Śrīkṛṣṇa paśicmanukhe\]
    \[Rādhā-mukham ca pārvake\].
    \[Parasparam kṛṣṇa-rādhā-\]
    \[Vilāsah nīlakandore\].

    \[Na bheda 'stī ha ko vipraḥ kṛṣṇasya ca Balaśya ca\].


16. “Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya”.
17. Śāralā Mahābhārata, Vana Parva and Mausala Parva.
18. See, Deula Tolā, Śiśu Kṛṣṇa Dāsā. (18th century work).
21. Rg Veda. x, 153. 3.
   "Ado yadvārṇavat śindhoḥ pīre aparūṣyaṃ
   Tadāro bhāvasa durkṣāto tena gaccha parastarān"
   Śāyāṇa Bhāṣya, pp. 841.
   "Ārādhaya Jagannātham Iṣyāku-kuladaivataṃ”.
   "Tasya loka-pradhānasya Jagannāthasya bhūpate.
   Viśnunāma-sahasraṃ me śṛṇu pāpabhāyāpahāṃ.”
   "Kṛṣṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātham jāne tvām Puruṣottamaḥ”.
27. Vāmana Purāṇa (Ed. A.S. Gupta), Ch. 50/35.
30. Murāri’s Anarṣhārāhaṃ, Prastāvana.
   “Bho bho, laṇaḍodavela-vanāli-tamāla-taru-kundalasya tribhuvana-maṇḍana-mahānilamaṇeḥ......Puruṣottamasya yātrāyaḥ upasthāniyāḥ
   sabhāsadaḥ.”
31. Land of Viṣṇu. G. Mohapatra, last chapter for the date of Puruṣottama Mahāmyam.
   “Prāśidad Puruṣottamasya nyapatiḥ ko nāma karittam kṣāmaḥ,
   Tasyāryādyāpratābaṃ upakṣitamayāṃ cakretha Gaṅgavāraḥ.”
   ‘Samudraṇāmjanānānānāmadṛṣṭu puruṣottamaḥ,
   Dṛṣṭvā tavanite bhūyāḥ puruṣagacchātayāṃ itīvāḥ’ (35).
41. Naiṣadhiya Caritaṃ. xv. 89.
Mahā-jyaiśhī-mahe manmahe...Puruṣottamaḥ...prāñ mañca mañcan kṛtaḥ......
42. This is also important to note that these composite cults are also connected for the origin and development of the cult of Jagannātha.
43. Please see 'Land of Viṣṇu,' where a chanter has been provided for the festivals of the Lords.
SATI—HOW OLD? HOW INDIAN?

By

ASHVINI AGRAWAL

On the 4th of December 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor General of the British India, abolished the practice of Suttee (Sati) by promulgation of an ordinance, declaring it as an act of culpable homicide, thus legally bringing an end to this so-called ancient religious custom of the Indians. The section I of the regulation XVII of 1829 contains expressions like “the practice of Suttee or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindoos is revolting to the feelings of human nature.” It reflects the general belief of the Western writers and most of the Indians that this custom was unique to the Hindus of India, which they practised as a part of their religious life. However, a fresh examination of the antiquity and characteristics of this custom may lead us to discard some of the nations wrongly attached with it.

As to the antiquity and the scriptural sanction to the custom of Sati, we can divide it broadly into three different phases. In the earliest period i.e. from the time of the Rgveda down to the beginning of the Christian era, Sati was practically unknown, much less practised. We have only one controversial verse in the Rgveda, which has sometimes been taken to refer to the existence of Sati during this period. But as pointed out by competent authorities, it certainly does not refer to the actual burning of the widow who lies by the body of her husband.

The Atharva-veda also refers to the lying of widow by the dead husband on funeral pyre as an ancient custom, but in the very next verse (XVIII. 3.2), which is the same as the verse X. 18.8 of the Rgveda, she is asked to get up and come to this world. It says,” O Woman! raise yourself towards the world of the living; you lie down near this departed (husband); come this your wifehood of the husband who (formerly) held your hand and who loved you has (now) been fulfilled.”

The vast literature comprising the Brähmanas, Āranyakas and Upaniṣads contains no reference to the prevalence of Sati during this period. Even the Sūtras which provide the minute details of all the rituals, maintain complete silence to the knowledge of this custom.
Not only this, but the secular literature like the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya also do not mention it. It is not surprising that the early Buddhist literature does not show any knowledge of this custom, simply because it was not prevalent at that time. Otherwise the Buddha was certain to denounce it and would have started a crusade against it, as he was vehemently opposed even to the idea of animal sacrifice not to talk of the immolation of human beings. On the top of it all, had it been there, an orthodox writer like Manu, who lays down the detailed rules about the duties of the widows was not likely to omit any reference to this custom. The enumeration of the duties of the widows in the *Śṛṅgis* of Manu and Yājñavalkya shows the absence of the ideas of Sati during this period. It is clear therefore that the custom was not at all prevalent till the beginning of the Christian era and the verses in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Athravaveda* are merely reminiscent of some obsolete custom of by-gone times, prevalent among the Indo-Europeans, which was discarded by the Aryans with the passing of time.

We can not afford to ignore much quoted and much stressed references of the classical writers like Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, as historical instances of Sati in India in the 4th century B.C. The latter cites the story of the younger wife of a general named Keteus, becoming Sati in 316 B.C., when her husband died fighting against the Greeks. Strabo also refers to the custom of Sati amongst some frontier tribes like the Cathaeans (Kaṭhas) on the authority of Onesicritus and Aristobulus who had accompanied Alexander on his Indian campaign. Here it is to be noted that the custom mentioned by these writers is said to be prevalent amongst some frontier tribes and is mentioned along with the stories which are otherwise not corroborated in Indian history. We must not lose sight of the fact that both Diodorus and Strabo wrote around the beginning of the Christian era drawing their information from the writings of two generals who had accompanied Alexander to India for the purpose of conquest more than three centuries earlier. On the other hand the contemporary writer like Megasthenes who spent so many years in the Mauryan court and was a keen observer of Indian life is absolutely silent on this point. Does it not stand to reason not to take the stories of Strabo and Diodorus for granted unless corroborated by some independent evidence? At best we may give them credit of noting a custom which was prevalent amongst certain tribes on the extreme north-western frontier of India.

The second phase may be counted from the beginning of the Christian era roughly up to the 9th century A.D., when we start getting piecemeal references to Sati. The *Viṣṇudharmasūtra* which is assigned to c.A.D. 100 mentions the custom as not illogical but does not regard it as a religious duty. As pointed out by Prof. Altekar, "Viṣṇu
does not recommend it, he merely mentions it. He is in fact one of the earliest writers to recognise widow as an heir to her husband. He allows her to remarry also. (17,43)”. Bhaskari also refers to this custom but does not make it binding. He says, “A wife is considered half the body (of her husband), equally sharing the result of his good or wicked deeds; whether she ascends the pile after him, or chooses to survive him leading a virtuous life, she promotes the welfare of her husband.” Thus Bhaskari not only makes it optional but also does not attach any extra merit or religious sanction to the custom of Sati.

Of the two great epics, the Rāmāyaṇa, which is a work of pre-Christian era, contains a single reference to the immolation of Vedavati’s mother,10 which is more legendary than historical. The Mahābhārata knows of Madri becoming Sati along with her husband Paṇḍu and Sairandhri being forcibly burnt alongwith Kīcaka. However, these are exceptional instances as we find none of the widows of the Kaurava heroes becoming Sati. Rather they are shown performing the last rites of their dead husbands. Keeping in view the fact that the Mahābhārata took its final shape sometime before the Gupta period it should not be surprising if some of these references were added at a later stage. The reference to the eight wives of Kṛṣṇa becoming Sati is conspicuously absent from the Mahābhārata but finds mention in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa11 and the Padma Purāṇa.12 The Bhāgavata and the Brahma Purāṇa also cite instances of Sati, thus indicating that the institution was slowly emerging in our society between A.D. 400 and 600 as it is referred to by some Smṛti writers of this period. Besides Bhaskari, whom we have already referred to, the custom is praised by Parākara13 and Aṅgis quoted by Aparāśka14 and Medhātithi Hārīta15, Āpastamba16 etc.

The only epigraphical evidence of the performance of Sati during this period comes from the Eran Pillar inscription dated 1917 (A.D. 510). A Nepalese inscription of somewhat later period (A.D. 705) refers to queen Rājyavati, the widow of Dharmadeva following her husband to the funeral pyre.18 In the non-religious literature of this period the poet-dramatists like Bhāsa (Urubhānga), Kālidāsa (Ṛtusainhāra), Śūdraka (Mṛcchakatuka) and celebrated writers like Vatsyāyana, Varāhamihira and Bāṇabhaṭṭa mention instances of the practice of Sati, but none of them mentions of any religious sanction behind this custom. On the contrary Bāṇa dubs it as an act of suicide in the following words, “To die after one’s beloved is most fruitless. It is a custom followed by the foolish. It is a mistake committed under infatuation. It is a reckless course followed only on account of hot haste. It does no good what so ever to the dead person. It does not help him in ascending to heaven; it does not prevent him from sinking into hell. It does not at all ensure union after death; the person who has died goes to the place
determined by his own karman, the person who accompanies him on the funeral pyre goes to the hell reserved for those who are guilty of the sin of suicide. On the other hand, by surviving the deceased, one can do much good both to oneself and to the departed by offering prescribed oblations for his happiness in the other world. By dying with him one can do good to neither." 'The most vehement, determined and rational opposition to this new inhuman practice does not come from Bāna alone but his views were shared by others like Medhatithi (c.A.D. 900) the commentator on Manu, who does not mince words in calling Sati as a form of suicide; Virā, who positively prohibits it and Devanābhaṇa (12th century A.D.) who calls it an inferior variety of dharma not to be recommended at all. Medhatithi clearly says that though anumaraṇa is allowed by Āṅgiras, it is adharma like senayoga. Thus one can clearly make out that the custom of Sati, though introduced and practised during this period, completely lacked the religious sanction and was vehemently opposed by a strong section of intellectuals.

The third phase, which started sometime between the period of Medhatithi (A.D. 900) and Aparārka (A.D. 1125) gained full force in giving sanction to this custom and painting it in the religious colours. Numerous epigraphic and literary references to the practice of Sati hardly need any elaboration here, as most of them are well-known. Now we find commentators of the Sūtras like Aparārka, Vijnāneshvara and Madhavacarya not only praising the custom of Sati but also calling it as the only dharma for the widows. It is therefore not surprising that the Rājaśarangī of Kalhana is full of instances of Sati, and in the stories of the Kathāsaritsāgara it is a common feature. Rajastān which became the stronghold of this custom in the medieval period has the earliest epigraphic evidence of Sati in V.S. 803, only, which continued to increase with the passage of time. Whatever led to this gradual introduction and popularity of the practice of Sati in India, it is clear from the above discussion that it is neither an ancient custom of the Indians nor it had any religious sanction in the Vedic times.

The second question that now comes to the fore is, Whether this custom was practised by the Indians alone and how did it gain a foothold in the Indian society after the early disapproval. There is hardly any doubt about the fact that it was prevalent amongst many civilizations of the early historic times. In the Encyclopaedia Britannica it is stated that, "This institution (Suttee) is found not only in India, from where we have borrowed its name, but also among Comanche, Cree and certain Californian tribes of North America, in Dahomy and among the Ba Fioite of Africa; in the New Hebrides, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Pentecost Island and New Zealand of Oceania." These names are just a few amongst a very large number of countries and people who practised the custom of burning or burying the widows with their dead husbands,
not only in the pre-historic times but also in the historic and recent times. A brief survey of the prevalence of this custom amongst the various nations of the world will show that it was not peculiar to India alone, but was widely followed in different parts of the world from very early times, almost up to the present century. The Scythian origin of the custom of Sati in India has been pointed out by many scholars, where it was a custom to slay the wives and attendants of deceased chieftains and others high in rank or social position.

The mountainous region lying to the north of Greece, which represents modern Balkan peninsula was known as Thrace in ancient times. Amongst the tribes of this land the custom of Sati was well-known. Herodotus tells us that, “The Thracians who live above the Crestoneaens observe the following customs. Each man among them has several wives; and no sooner does a man die than a sharp contest ensues among the wives upon the question, which of them all the husband loved most tenderly; the friends of each eagerly plead on her behalf, and she to whom the honour is adjudged, after receiving the praises both of men and women, is slain over the grave by the hand of her next of kin, and then buried with her husband. The others are sorely grieved, for nothing is considered such a disgrace.” Penzer has compared this account of Herodotus with the one given by Diodorus Siculus, both being strikingly similar. But what has not been pointed out is the fact that Thracian troops actually accompanied Alexander on his march to India in the 4th century B.C., so an incident of Sati should not have been strange to the Greeks.

Heruli, a Teutonic tribe belonging to Jutish peninsula retained many striking primitive customs according to Procopious (6th century A.D.) among which was the suicide of the widows on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands. Penzer says, that, “between the third and sixth centuries of our era this Teutonic tribe had migrated to many parts of Europe, from Sweden to the Black Sea, so that their customs must have been familiar over a wide area.” This is the clear evidence of the prevalence of Sati amongst certain European people as late as the 6th century A.D., when it was still rare in India. Likewise Ralston tells us of the Slavs, “The fact that in Slavonic lands, a thousand years ago, widows used to destroy themselves, in order to accompany their dead husbands to the world of spirits, seems to rest on incontestable evidence.”

From the West we may shift our survey to the Far Eastern lands of China, Japan and Korea. The ancient Scythian custom referred to above, was in vogue in ancient China. We are informed by James Hastings, that closely akin to the sacrifice of the living to the dead is a species of Sati, sometimes practised in China, when the widow publicly
commits suicide to follow her husband to the grave. It has been pointed out that the custom of Sati was indigenous to the Chinese, because we have instances of the same as early as 620 B.C. At the death of Ts’ in Shi Huang, the builder of the Great Wall of China, in 209 B.C., all the women in his harem who had borne him no sons were shut up in his tomb. This practice continued through the medieval period to the modern times. Thus we find women being buried with their dead husbands during the rule of Yuan dynasty from A.D. 1280 to 1367 and was extensively practised in the time of their successors—the Ming dynasty, which ruled from A.D. 1368 to 1644. Though its emperor Ying Tsung (A.D. 1464) abolished it for his own funeral, yet he sacrificed several women at the death of his brother. The Late Manchu dynasty (A.D. 1644 to 1911) also practised it. Emperor Shun Chi (A.D. 1644 to 1661) was buried along with his widows. Though the practice died soon afterwards, but random cases of this custom in China can be traced right up to the 20th century.

The case of Japan and Korea has been no different, where the custom was practised from very early times. In Japan we find that clay images began to be substituted for human victims about the time of the Christian era, but the custom did not die completely. We may note an interesting incident of an late date as 1895 A.D. The wife of an officer, Lieutenant Asade, hearing of her husband’s death in Sino-Japanese war, made the grim resolve of cutting her throat in cold blood, before her husband’s portrait, with a dagger which, in anticipation of some such situations as this, had been presented to her along with other wedding presents. The modern Japanese admired this suicide, exactly in the same manner as the ancients did that of the imperial princess Yamanobe, who committed suicide in 686 A.D., when her young husband was executed.  

This survey we think is a pointer to the fact that India alone has not been guilty of practising this barbarous custom which was prevalent all over the world. It is wrong to stamp it as an ancient Hindu religious practice. We must not forget that Indian intellectuals were opposed to this idea from very old time and the enlightened ones continued to raise their voice against it through the ages, whenever it raised its ugly head.
NOTES

1. Rg. X. 18.7-8.

इन्हा नारीरिविध्या: शुढ़ीतीराज्ञजनेन संविधा सं विविश्नु ।
अत्यन्तरूपोविदीया: शुढ़ीता आराहोनुयं जनयो योनिमया ॥
उदौर्ध्वं नार्यमेव जीवनोऽन्तं सतासुभेदमुरु शेषं एहि ।
हृत्यश्रापरस्य दिनिहितोर्तवेव पतलुपने नित्यमभिः सं वशुभु ॥


3. XVIII. 3.1.

इन्हा नारी पति-पत्नी भण्या निपितत उप त्वा मर्त्य प्रेतस्म ।
विविध पुराणमनुपालमती तथो ब्रजो श्रवित चेत्त छाति ॥

"Oh (dead) man! This woman choosing the world of the husband lies down by thee, the deceased, observing the old universal custom; bestow on her in this world offspring and wealth." Kane, P.V., op. cit., 618.

4. Kane, P.V., Op. cit., 617. He also points out that a passage attributed to the Taittiriya Saṃhitā of the Yajurveda quoted in the Nārāyaṇiya Upāntaṇḍ is of doubtful authenticity. Ibid., 625.

5. Viṣṇudharmāsūtra which mentions it vide 25.14 is a late work and is assigned to the period c. A.D. 100-300. Winternitz, M., History of Indian Literature, Vol. III. 579.

6. Majumdar, R.C., Classical Accounts of India, 240-41.

7. 25.14.


11. V. 38.2.


14. "For all women there is no other duty except falling into the funeral pyre, when the husband dies". Kane, P.V., Op. cit., 633.


16. He prescribes Prājñāpatya penance for a woman who having first resolved to burn herself on the funeral pyre turns back from it at the last moment.


18. IA, IX. 164.


22. Cf. Monier Williams, who refers to the description of the burial of Scythian kings, given by Herodotus, where a concubine was strangulated and placed on a pyre together with servants and horses: the necessities for the next life. Indian Wisdom, 258 n.; V.A. Smith also holds the same view. Cf. Oxford History of India, 665.
29  Hastings, James (Ed.), Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics, VI, 847
30  Ibid., 857.
THE AGE OF THE CAKRAS

By

ALEX WAYMAN

The present essay does not intend to criticize other particular writings on Tantra, although my back-dating of the cakra theory is at variance with the usual writing on the topic. While I have written in the past various works dealing with Tantra—and which of course contained numerous references of the cakras in the way they are treated in the Buddhist Tantras—the particular issue of how far back goes the cakra theory was not my special concern until authoring a work which is now in press of Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. This is entitled The Enlightenment of Vairocana which contains two books—my own study on the Indo-Tibetan theory of the scripture Vairocanãbhidhismambodhitantra; and my editing of R. Tajima’s Sino-Japanese theory of the same scripture but called Mahãvairocanaãstra (in Japanese, the Dalmitkâyô). The second book is a translation from the French of a study where Tajima makes the challenging remarks that his school (the Shingon of Japan) goes back to the Buddha, while Tibetan tantrism does not. In an appendix I have discussed his claim, and my discussion involves the age of the cakras.

Of course, any claim that the cakra theory can go back to the time of the Buddha is startlingly in contrast with the write-up in a recently published essay by Levitt, who states, “The cakras, therefore, cannot date from before the 5th c. A.D.” Since his essay is without bibliography it can be assumed that this author expresses the general attitude of the literature he has persued and with a sober evaluation that seems to make sense to him as it has done to others.

Before going to Tajima’s claim it is well to point out that much of ‘scholarly’ writing about the cakras emphasizes the differences of the Hindu accounts as well as the Buddhist ones. Such writings have naturally observed that one book will place such and such deities on ‘petals’ or ‘veins’ of centers, while some other tantra has other deities or even differences in the number of ‘petals’ at a certain place, such as crown of the head. But when the purpose of such teachings is taken into account, such differences do not really matter. This is because the practitioners of such cults must follow the precepts of their own gurus
and use the particular system such gurus stipulate. The laid-down procedures involve contemplations with a strength of samādhi. It is easier if the deities imagined at those 'centers' are those in one's own lineage and independently followed, or involve matra syllables previously imagined in their given shapes. Thus it really does not matter whether such cakras are actually there, presumably in a 'subtle body': following the procedure is the main thing.

The important features of the cakras are not the differences between various systems, but what they have in common. We here insist that such 'centers' (whether or not, corporeal) depend on ancient observations or theories that various functions are attributed to centers of the body. It is obvious to everyone that speech goes with the throat, digestion with the belly, and sex relations with organs near the base of the spine. But where put mental functions, or consciousness itself? Do these go in the heart or the head? We notice that a vijñānamayapurusā was placed in the heart cavern by a famous Upaniṣad, the Chāndogya. The Greeks put the psyche in the head. Now-a-days we would admit that the disposing mind (dhātṛ) is in the head. This agrees with a tantric association I presented long ago in my book The Buddhist Tantras, namely, that the rūpa-skandha (personal aggregate of formations) goes with the head. Thus this tantric current associates what might be called the head cakra with the formative kind of mind, while the heart got the perceiving kind, also popularly the 'feelings'.

Now, such associations of bodily places with functions could have happened at any time, even ages ago. The attributions take on more tantric character when the centers are respectively associated with elements. The Tantras do interpret these centers with one or another of the four or five elements, earth, etc.; so the historical problem is when such element associations were imposed on these 'centers' or places of the body. But we do not need to go directly to the Tantras for such element associations, since we find these in the grammatical theories. For example, the Paññīyatīkṣa refers to a bodily fire, so: "The mind strikes the bodily fire. The bodily fire urges the wind deities" (6B); "The winds, roaming in the chest, engender the svara in the rumbling tone" (7A). The commentary on this has: jātharam agnīṃ (belly fire), so this theory associates fire with the belly. Long ago I cited a Buddhist Tantra with somewhat consistent attributions, namely, that at the navel is a wind-maṇḍala along with the fire of the sleeping goddess Cāndāli. The evidence from the Paññīyatīkṣa seems to suggest that theories about the stages of speech until it becomes the audible kind, had something to do with the gradual association of elements with places of the body.

But the association of elements with bodily places, so characteristic
of the Buddhist Tantras, can be traced back all the way to the "Miracle of Śrāvasti" in the traditional life of Gautama Buddha. This is my rendition from the version in the Mahāvastu.

Then you should know, the Bhagavat, when in the Banyan Grove, stood in the air at a palm-tree’s height in the intermediate realm (antarikṣa) and performed various kinds of miraculous pairs. While the lower part of his body was in flames, from the upper part 500 torrents of cold water streamed forth. While the upper part of his body was in flames, from the lower part 500 torrents of cold water streamed forth.

I cited this passage and discussed it in my appendix essay to the Tajima book included in the work The Enlightenment of Vairocana while evaluating Tajima’s claim that the esoterism of his Shingon school went back to the Buddha, Granted that the term cakra was not employed in the write-up of the “Miracle of Śrāvasti”. But, then, the term cakra even in the Tantras is not the exclusive word used for those centers of the body. For example, ‘veins’ (nāḍi) is another term employed. It seems that to treat the problem of the age of the cakras, we may have to recognize the equivalent idea even if the term cakra is not employed. The theory may have gone back a long time, but not using the term cakra.

The question we should answer is: how old are the Upaniṣads that have been published as The Yoga Upaniṣads, especially the one entitled Śrīśikhibrahmanopaniṣad which speaks of a twelve-spoked cakra at the navel, exhibiting (in its middle?) a triangular fire center, in the case of humans, claiming that it has other shapes in the case of other creatures? This particular Upaniṣad also locates the Kuṇḍalini just above the navel, whereas in the later Hindu Tantra it is located at the base of the spine. This Upaniṣad agrees with the Buddhist Tantra in locating the lowest of the cakras at the navel; thus in the set of four cakras—navel, heart, neck (or throat), and forehead. Indeed, a later Upaniṣad in the same collection, called the Yogasūkhopaniṣad places the Kuṇḍalini in the Mūlādhāra, triangular in shape, and at the base of the spine. Thus, the later Hindu Tantra agrees with this Upaniṣad rather than with the previously mentioned one. It is clear that the Upaniṣads in this collection are of different ages, yet I have always regarded the collection as a whole as pertaining to the early centuries, A.D., granting of course that some may be later. It seems that these works represent an esoteric tradition prior to the works called Tantra. If it be true that the Tantras began in the Gupta period, but in small secretive circles, it may well be that this period, saw the last of the kind of Upaniṣads in the Yoga-Upaniṣad collection. Therefore, I may tentatively place the early mention of the cakra doctrine in the Gupta Dynasty, while the ideas themselves—not using the term cakra—may be far older. The actual use of the term cakra in the
sense well-known from later Tantras may have been the case even as early as the 3rd cent. A.D., although this will require a thorough study of the respective ages of the sectarian Upaniṣads for a finer determination.

NOTES


PAÑCÄYUDHAPRAPAÑCA-BHÄNA
(Manuscripts and Edition)

By

SINDHU S. DANGE

The generic term of the Sanskrit drama is Rūpaka, which is explained as denoting any visible representation. The Sanskrit dramatic theory has recognised ten chief types of the Sanskrit drama (Rūpaka) viz. Nāṭaka, Prakaraṇa, Bhāṇa, Prahasana, Dīma, Vyāyoga, Samavakāra, Vithi, Anka and Īṭhāmṛga. Out of these, Bhāṇa as is well known is a one-act play, erotic in character, having only one actor namely the Viṣṇa. It is in monologue, the theme progressing by a chain of answers given by him to imaginary words spoken in the air, usually describing the love-adventures of the hero. Out of the four modes stated by Bharata, the Bhāṇa has Bhāratī as the chief mode, since this mode is verbal and Bhāṇa being a monologue has to survive by the verbal mode. The word Bhāṇa is self-eloquent, as it can be traced to the root ś/han—to speak.

The tradition of Bhāṇas in Sanskrit has come down to the eighteenth century of the Christian era. Krishnamachariar M. has mentioned the Pañcāyudhaprapaṇca Bhāṇa and has also given a list of the works bearing the name Trivikrama or Simhāditya. He has stated that Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the Pañcāyudhaprapaṇca belongs to the Puṇeyagrāma (modern Pune in the Maharashtra State).

There is a good number of manuscripts of the said Bhāṇa. The information regarding the Bhāṇa and some of its manuscripts could be acquired from the Catalogus Catalogorum (Pts. I and II) of Aufrecht T. The lithographed edition of the Bhāṇa by Viṣṇu Vasudeva Godbole (dt. the first day in the bright half of the Kṛttika month, Śaka year 1786 i.e. 1864 A.D.) is in the Manuscripts-section of the Nagpur University, Library. It contains 42 and half folios. Another manuscript having 63 and half folios is in the Central Library—Oriental Institute, Baroda. The colophon gives the date of its composition in the words—ṛṣīnāyaṇa-calastālmīṭa-lakavarge, which comes to 1727 A.D. The date of copying the manuscript may be later, which is not given. The manuscript in the Library of the Maharaja of Alwar at Alwar in Rajasthan has 79 and half folios. The date of preparing the manuscript is given as Saṃvat 1812 (i.e. 1890 A.D.), in its colophon. Mohandas Vaiṣṇava wrote it in Mathura.
on Sunday, the ninth day in the bright half of the Kārttika month. The manuscript in the Sanskrit College, Banaras (i.e. Sarasvati-Bhavan of the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Banaras) contains 51 and half folios.

In addition to these manuscripts which are seen, read and verified by the present writer, the present writer is in possession of one manuscript of the said Bhāṇa, made available to her by Smt. Asha Gadre, Bombay. This manuscript contains 76 and half folios. Though the date of composition of the said Bhāṇa can be counted as Śaka 1727 from the words in the colophon (ṛṣṭnavaṇācaityaiśmataikavārṣe), the date of copying the mss. is given as Śaka 1792 (i.e. 1870 A.D.). It is also stated at the end that the said copying was done by Kṛṣṇa, the son of Pāṇḍuṛāṇa. Some of the folios of the mss. bear the stamp as 1869 (A.D.) inlaid on the papers. This was obviously incorporated while the paper was being manufactured. All the manuscripts mentioned above (including the one in the possession of the writer) are in the Devanāgarī script. In the list of Sanskrit manuscripts from Mysore and Coorg, published from Bangalore in 1884 A.D., under No. 2387, meagre information of the Paṇcāyudhaprapaṇca-Bhāṇa is given. It is also stated that it is written in Telugu script. Since it is in the Telugu script, its reliability may stand doubtful. Bhandarkar R.G. had prepared a list of Sanskrit manuscripts available in the private libraries of the then Bombay Presidency. The first part of the list contains information of the said Bhāṇa on p.31 under no. 68. The mss. seen by Bhandarkar is of 57 folios and the date of its copying is given as Śaka 1777 (i.e. 1855 A.D.). The date of composition is given as Śaka 1727.

Recently the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Prayag has published the said Bhāṇa in the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth Text Series, as its publication No. 20. The said published edition contains very succinct information regarding the Bhāṇa in the Foreword and the Preface. The edition is based on the lithographed edition of the said Bhāṇa. The edition published by the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth has taken help of only two other manuscripts—one from the manuscripts Library of their institute and the other from the Sarasvati Bhavan Library of Varanasi. The variant readings from a printed edition of the Bhāṇa prepared by Abaji Ramachandra Savant in the Śaka year 1814 from Belgaum are given in an appendix.

One feels that the Paṇcāyudhaprapaṇca-Bhāṇa stands in need of greater attention. From the various manuscripts of the Bhāṇa recorded in different parts of India (which have been mentioned above), it is obvious that the said Bhāṇa must have been very popular in the nineteenth century. The date of its composition is Śaka 1727 (1805 A.D.). The manuscript recorded by Bhandarkar R.G. seems to be the oldest of
all the known manuscripts. Its copying was done in 1855 A.D. Prior to that time, the Bhāṇa must have been well-known.

Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the Bhāṇa was from the Puṇyapura (modern Pune in the Maharashtra State). He gives information about his elder brother and father in the Prologue. Both of them were well-versed in the traditional lores and the various tāstra-s. The Stage-manager (Śūtradrāhāra states that he received the said Bhāṇa from Makarandakandala, when he had gone to Ujjayini in the autumnal festival to worship the revered goddess Katyāyanī. The Śūtradrāhāra, who enters after the Nāndī-verse (in which Viṣṇu is invoked), says that the people in the Puṇyapura are celebrating the festival of Spring-season (Vasantapūrjāmahotsava) in honour of Madana (Cupid) in the garden and are demanding staging of a new Rūpaka (drama) from him. He suddenly remembers of the Bhāṇa Paṇcāyudhaprapaṇca, received by him at Ujjayini from his friend the earlier year.

After the prologue, there enters Kandarpavilāsa and the proper Bhāṇa begins. The Bhāṇa records the incidents and describes the persons, met by Kandarpavilāsa from the early morning to the night time. He meets Mañḍaraśekhara, whose friend in his early years, Kāmāgamaṇjarī, even though married to some other person, has become successful in uniting with him. This girl, having won the confidence of all persons in her husband’s house, pretends one day that she is haunted by a Yakṣa and compels them to take her to a secluded place to meet the Yakṣa (i.e. her lover Mañḍaraśekhara).

To take a note of only some striking scenes from the Bhāṇa, visualised by the one-act monologue actor (i.e. Kandarpavilāsa). Here is Rasormikā, Lilādhara’s wife, circumambulating the Pippala-tree, with a desire to get a son. There is seen the locality of the prostitutes. Further is a fat-bodied sannyāsī (mendicant), chewing betel-leaf and obliging all women, who are bereft of sexual happiness. We find a couple playing the game of dice. When Kandarpavilāsa goes further, he seizes Prabhāsa-Kaumudī making fun of a brahmin initiate (brahma-cārī). She not only takes away his girdle, sacred thread and staff but also his Kaupina. On his way he meets a woman managing a booth, for serving water (prapiṭha). He sees further some women, who having adorned themselves with rich garments and ornaments, have come to worship Sāvirī at the foot of a big banyan tree. Further is seen by him a brahmin beating his wife, since she does not bear a child to him. The wife tells Kandarpavilāsa that inspite of her committing adultery several times, she has remained issueless and thus barren. She relates how Yājnavaśrāva Subodhaśārya—the purāṇika explaining the purāṇa accounts, tells a certain gāthā from the Purāṇa in the open assembly, which describes the punishments meted out to a woman for he adul-
tery but instigates her to commit adultery by playing upon the words of the same gāthā. To climax all these incidents, there is the account of Kalahamsalīṣa, the beloved of Kandarpavilāśa. Though she is married, at her own desire and consent, she is carried away by the Yogiṇī Bhadrājaṇī, to Kandarpavilāśa. Bhadrājaṇī makes Kalahamsalīṣa’s father-in-law stay for three months in the temple of the goddess Kāṭāyāṇī, when he comes there to worship the goddess. This she accomplishes by making the father-in-law feel that the words uttered by her (as she has hidden herself in the temple) are the words of the very goddess. The father-in-law, thus being made a fool stays there and here is united the hero of the Bhāṇa with his beloved (married to another person) at least for three months. The Bhāṇa has the Bharatavākyā. At the end, the Bhāṇa is praised in one verse and the last verse expresses a wish that Trivikrama (Vīṣṇu) may protect the composition of Trivikrama from destruction.

The composition of the type of Bhāṇa has two Sandhis-Mukhasandhi and Nirvahaṇa-sandhi. Kandarpavilāśa, the Viṭa is seen at the beginning wishing to meet his beloved Kalahamsalīṣa. But inspite of his wandering for the whole day, he is not seen undertaking any special effort to meet her. Hence the Mukhasandhi seems to be incomplete. However the Nirvahaṇa-sandhi is complete in all aspects. This Bhāṇa is perhaps the largest of the hitherto known Bhāṇas in Sanskrit literature. Having an interesting plot it is written in chaste Sanskrit. From the point of view of the dramatic art also the Bhāṇa is perfect.

In this one-act monologue play, the Viṭa meets several types of persons, in one single day. There is description of the spring-festival in honour of Madana. There is reference to the belief of the people in Yakṣas, ghosts etc. There is seen a woman circumambulating the Pippala-tree. There comes a mention of women worshipping Savitri at the foot of the banyan tree. We see a Paurāṇika, playing on the words of the Purānic verses and alluring and compelling women to commit adultery. Here is seen the degenerate condition of a Sannyāsin, and Brahmacārin. The language of the Bhāṇa is full of prasāda, mādhurya and saukumarīya as far as verses are concerned, while the prose-passages are simple and straight-forward, hardly containing any difficult words. The descriptions are erotic suiting to the Bhāṇa-type of literatur. But through these descriptions and comic situations, the writer of the Bhāṇa has very ably used the whip of mild satire against the so-called high-browed persons in the society. It is gratifying to note that as later as the beginning of the 19th century (1805 A.D.), such a work could be written and enjoyed by the people in Maharashtra, when the last of the Maratha Peshavas was ruling at Pune. The Bhāṇa must have been very popular throughout the whole country. The rich people belonging
to different parts of India must have employed persons to copy it and hence the manuscripts are found at different places.

It will be worthwhile to see the reflections of the then or modern language of the Maharashtra (Marathi) in the prose sections of the Bhāṣa.8 Again the glimpses of society seen in the Bhāṣa tally with some details noted in the Records kept in the court of the Maratha Peshavas. Thus in a letter sent by Malharrao Bhosle to Trimbakji Dengale, we find how the festival of Vasanta-pañcami (5th day in the Māgha month in the Spring-season) was celebrated with great pomp by the Peshava II and his brother7. The wife of Bajirao-II used to be haunted by the ghost of Gāndhārashastri and it used to cry out that it would take the revenge of his murder.8 There was a belief that if the Pippala-tree was circumambulated one lakh times, one would get a son.9 The description of richly dressed and well-ornamental married women, going to worship Śāvitri at the foot of the Banyan tree reminds one, of the current similar practice in Maharashtra.

A reference in the Prologue to the city of Ujjayini indicates that the author must have gone to Ujjayini and in this tour must have composed or at least completed the work there. It is to be noted that cordial relations existed between the Holkars of Indore and the Maratha Peshavas of Pune and there must have been constant coming and going of people to these places. In order to win over the audience by referring to Ujjayini or in order to record the sweet memory of his tour to Ujjayini, the author must have mentioned Ujjayini in the prologue.

That the people in Pune at that time liked to enjoy and appreciate such an erotic piece of drama becomes all the more convincing when we read in the Peshava Records that one work called Kāmasamuhā (dealing with erotic literature) was ordered to be copied and the copyist was paid sumptuously.10

Even after going through the printed edition of the Bhāṣa published by the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sa: skrit Vidyapeetha, one feels that due notice has not been taken of the various manuscripts of this Bhāṣa and the tradition of its contents. Hence the publication of the press-copy prepared by the present writer, of the Bombay manuscript (in her possession) with an exhaustive introduction and notes, still stands as a need for the Sanskrit-knowing people and is to be published shortly.

NOTES

1. Dātarāpaka I.8—

\[नाथेन सप्तकश्प भाषण: प्रहसन डिमः II \]

\[ब्यायोगसमवकारी वीयद्वृङ्ग हामुगाहे इति II \]
2. Nāṭyadṛṣṭra XVIII. 152-154 Kāvyamālā (No. 42), Nirmayasagar, Bombay 1894.


6. Some expressions, which can be noted, are—

   सबै कर्ष तां वर्णायामि, न खलु मे जियासहस्मु।

   Also

   किम् वै व्यायीकृते कृतस्तम्यट्टमो वैदम्भयितम्?

   Also

   अष्टर्वस्त्र द्रिप्तिनीद्वैयथलाभ इव मद्गुणामः कन्दर्वविलाससंस्य।

7. Peshave Dapatarstuna Nivaḍalele Kāgada. ed. Sardesai, G.S., Bombay 1934, Pt. 41 No. 54. Letter dt. 6-2-1813. This letter is of the sixth day of the bright half in the Māgha month.

   Also Chapekar, N. G., Peshavaichya Savalit: Text Series sponsored by the Bharat Itihās Samshodhak Mandal, No. 34 Pune, Śaka 1859, pp. 302-5 under “vasantapājyecha Kharcha” i.e. Expenditure incurred on account of celebrating the Vasanta-pāñcami.

   Also Bhave, V.K.,—Peshavekālīna Maharashtra, Pune, 1935. “Samajachi Manorachana”, pp. 268-270.


A BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION OF ĀŚOKA FROM THE NORTH-WEST

By

B.N. MUKHERJEE

M. Taddei has recently noticed an inscribed fragment of stone, which, according to him, bears a part of the Major Rock Edict VI of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (3rd century B.C.). The slab of stone measures 26 x 14 cms. Its thickness is 3 cms. It is said to have been found in the Buner area in N.W.F.P. of Pakistan. It is now included in a private collection in Karachi (in Pakistan).¹

The fragment of a block of stone displays certain Brāhmī letters in three lines. Palaeographically these characters are comparable with the forms of corresponding Brāhmī letters in Aśokan edicts.² The surviving characters in the inscription concerned can be read as follows (Fig. 1).

L 1—naṁ pl ye pl ya
L 2—(bht) st te na me
L 3—ye se taṁ a

As pointed out by M. Taddei,³ these letters can fit into a part of the text of the sixth pillar edict of Aśoka. The relevant portion of the text is quoted below with the letters not occurring on the extant slab in question printed here within brackets.

[Devā] naṁpīye plya [daśi laja hevaṁ ahā dvaśāsat] vasa a bhīṣtena me [dhammaṁpi ṭhikhipitā lokasaḥ hitasukhā] ye se taṁ a [paḥaṭa taṁ taṁ dhaṁmavadhī papovā]⁴

This portion can be translated as follows:

"Thus says king Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods: Having been consecrated for twelve years I (began) to cause the edict of the Law of
Piety to be written for the welfare and happiness of the people, so that they after discarding [the sinful way of life] might attain the increase of dhamma, in various respects.

It appears that the slab formed a part of a portion of a pillar bearing the pillar edicts of Aśoka. Similar fragments of Aśokan edicts have already been found. For example we can refer to the fragments of Prakrit rock, edicts VIII and IX of Aśoka found at Sopara or a part of an Aramaic inscription of the same monarch procured in the neighbourhood of Pul-i-Darunta. However, the present slab, carrying a part of an Aśokan edict written in Brāhmī characters has been discovered in a Kharoshṭhī using zone. Herein lies its importance.

So, if the inscribed slab has really been found in the Buner area and if it is not a modern forgery, its evidence may allude to the employment of Brāhmī by the officials of Aśoka in north-western part of the Indian subcontinent, where Kharoṣṭhī or Kharoshṭhī was the predominant script in the period concerned. In fact, two versions of the major rock edicts of Aśoka have been found in that region.

Since Aśoka issued his edicts for communicating his views to the subjects, he caused for writing an edict or a version of it the employment of the language and script of the locality where the document was to be issued. This would mean that Brāhmī was continued to be in use in at least certain districts in the north-west even after the introduction of Kharosti or Kharoshṭhī (not Kharoṣṭhī) in the Achaemenid period. It is well-known that though Kharoṣṭhī was based mainly on the Aramaic script, the forms of some letters and signs of medial vowels and subscript ṛ were influenced by Brāhmī. So Brāhmī was already current in the north-west when Karoṣṭhī was artificially devised to facilitate the work of the administrators of an empire, where the Aramaic was an official script. The “new” script was put in the service of the empire [Kṣathra > Kṣahara > Khara, “empire” + oṣ < oṣṭāt, “placed”, “put” + i].

The knowledge of two scripts in a single zone in the Aśokan empire is indicated by the evidence of the his bilingual and bисcriptual (Aramaic and Greek) document inscribed on a rock near Kandahar. The occurrence of legends in Brāhmī or in Brāhmī as well as Kharoṣṭhī on the local coins of Taxila indicates the employment of both the scripts in at least certain areas of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent during the early period of the use of Kharoṣṭhī. We may also point out that though the vast majority of the Indo-Greek coins struck in the north-west bear legends in Kharoṣṭhī as well as Greek characters, a few varieties of them, datable to c. 2nd century B.C., bear Brāhmī, and not Kharoṣṭhī, inscriptions.
Fig. 1, Brāhmi Inscription of Aśoka
1988]  

A Brāhmi Inscription of Aśoka from the North-West

All these data indicate that the users of Kharoshṭī could not altogether obliterate the use of Brāhmi in the north-west. Later on Brāhmi reasserted itself with its driving force coming from the east. But it lingered in pockets in the north-west during the age of the regular use of Kharoshṭī.

So, we need not be surprised at the discovery of a Brāhmi inscription of Aśoka in the north-west. If the inscribed slab in question really belonged to an edict issued during reign of Aśoka it should allude to the continuity of Brāhmi in the zone concerned.

NOTES

7. The sites are near Shahbazgarhi (Peshawar district, N.W.F.P.) and Mansehra (Hazara district, N.W.F.P.) (E. Hultszch, op cit., p. xii).
11. SAMES, pp. 32f.
13. Ibid., p. CXXVII.
14. We can refer to one variety of coins of Pantaleon and two varieties of specie of Agathocles. We do not know whether the class of coins of Agathocles displaying Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa along with Brāhmi and Greek legends were of Mathuran origin.
15. In this connection we can refer to two bimultipal (Brāhmi and Kharoshṭi) inscriptions, one from Kanhiara and the other from Pathyar. Both the sites, belonging to the Kangra region are situated in the easternmost section of the north-western part of the subcontinent.

16. A thorough survey should be done of the locality where the stone block in question is claimed to have been found. As in the case of the discovery of a second fragment of a set of rock-edicts at Sopara (D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 42), some other fragments of the sixth and other pillar edicts are likely to be found in the Buner area if the record under discussion is a genuine one and has actually been found there.
THE GRECO-ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF KANDAHÄR
SOME SECOND THOUGHTS ON ITS INTERPRETATION
Aśoka and "Greek Kings"

By
K.D. SETHNA

We have done all that was directly necessary in connection with Kandahär's bilingual epigraph to show on various grounds that the Avesta-coloured Aramaic text was meant for the Yonas of Aśoka's empire and that this text is much older than the Greek. The corollary of this thesis is the non-application of the name "Yona" or "Yavana" to the Greeks where Aśoka was concerned and the greater antiquity of Aśoka than the time when the Greek paraphrase from the Aramaic was added by the Hellenic colony in Arachosia consequent to the invasion of India by Alexander, an invasion which led to an immense interest in things Indian on the part of the Greeks.

Face to face with our conclusions a hue and cry is likely to go up: "However inevitable your conclusions may look, you have to meet the objection that Aśoka's R.E. XIII as well as his R.E. II clearly mentions the Yona rājā Amātyōka who has to be identified with the Greek king Antiochus II Theos of Syria who reigned in 261-246 B.C., a period overlapping with the date usually assigned to Aśoka's reign: 269-232 B.C. Can you get round this fact? Besides, R.E. XIII enumerates after Amātyōka four other kings whose names—Turamāya, Amātikini, Maga and Alikasudara—have been confidently matched with those of four Greek kings contemporaneous with Antiochus II Theos: Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (278-239 B.C.), Magas of Cyrene (300-258 B.C.) and Alexander of Epirus (272-255 B.C.) or else Alexander of Corinth (252-244 B.C.). Here is a colossal fivefold obstacle in your way. Unless you can surmount it, will not all your detailed heterodox work on the Kandahär inscription go in vain?"

If that work can indeed be considered irrefutable in its own field and if equal certainty can be attached to the Greek identifications originally made by Lassen of Aśoka's five rājās, the true situation is one in which suspension of judgment would be called for rather than giving up of one or the other. But such a situation is hardly possible in so crucial an area of
history as the time of Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya whom both Sir William Jones and de Guignes simultaneously felt inspired to equate with the Indian king named Sandrocottus by the historians of Alexander and by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at that king’s court for several years. With Aśoka dislodged from his currently accepted place, the question of Sandrocottus gets reopened and another Chandragupta starting a royal dynasty at Pāīliputtra (Palibothros in Greek) has to be sought out and legitimized in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. We must come to a decision on Aśokan chronology at all costs. So let us inquire whether the task of demonstrating satisfactorily that those five rājās of Aśoka need not be Greek is really as impossible as it appears at first.

Both in R.E. XIII where, before the other names occur, we read of “the Yona king called Aṃtiyoka and, beyond this Aṃtiyoka, the four kings.....” and in R.E. II which tells us of “the Yona king called Aṃtiyaka and also those who are the neighbours of Aṃtiyaka.....”, we may note that Aṃtiyoka (or Aṃtiyaka) alone is designated “Yona”. The rest are mentioned merely as “kings”. Their nationality remains unspecified. If Aśoka had wanted to term them “Yona”, he could easily have done it: or else he could have used just as easily a word like “similar”. Hence it is not very convincing to hold that the absence of any pointer to nationality is a dittoing of the nationality already accorded to Aṃtiyaka. Moreover, with as many as four kings concerned, this absence looks rather significant: it is as though Aśoka cared little for their great number and would have omitted to specify their nationality even if it had been something else than Yona. We may mark that in R.E. II he does not only omit to record their number and names: he also omits to call them kings. In addition, in all the recensions except the one at Gīrṇār he employs a word, sāmanta, which in the light of the exception, sāmipān, is translated “neighbour” but which independently could denote as Bhandarkar reports from Bühler, a shade of inferiority. Bühler renders it “vasaal-kings”. And in R.E. XIII as well as E.R. II Aśoka names Aṃtiyoka twice in the same phrase, as if to give him a special, a central importance in relation to them. So we may legitimately ask whether anything in the more elaborate of the two edicts could provide a clue to a difference of status between them and Aṃtiyaka.

We do not have to go far to strike upon what may be such a clue. Immediately after the mention of Alikasudara comes a peculiar word. It is at Shāhbażgarhī, nīche; at Mānsehra and Kālsī, nīchānī. Literally meaning “below, down, downwards”, it has been understood here as connoting “southwards” because the Chodas and the Pāṇḍyas and the Tāmraparṇīyas who are next mentioned were in South India. But in R.E. II Aśoka shows no geographical concern and blandly brings in “Aṃtiyaka”, without any preparation, on the heels of “Tāmraparṇī” as if
he stood still more to the south. And, although "southwards" is not impossible for *nichām* on the analogy of *uttara* which means higher as well as north, such a use is unknown anywhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit or Prākrit literature. R.K. Mookerji rightly remarks: "The meaning of the word does not seem to be satisfactorily settled."

The same word occurs in R.E. VII, where the form is *nicha* at Girnar and *niche* or *nichê* at five other places. Here D.R. Bhandarkar observes: "Nicha corresponds to Skt. *nichāh*, as suggested by Hultsch, which is often used adjectivally." Bhandarkar and Sircar take it in the sense of "worthless" Luders and Hultsch in that of "low" or "mean." This procedure may be followed in regard to R.E. XIII also. The form *nichām* is, like *niche*, adverbial and equivalent to *nichāh*. If *niche* can be used adjectively, why not *nicham*? As an adjective *nicham* could well connote in R.E. XIII "lower" or "inferior" and make all the four rājas listed after Aṇṭiyoka the subordinates of or satellites of Aṇṭiyoka, subordinates or satellites since otherwise there would be no point in stating their inferiority. Considering their lower and dependent position, Aśoka may not have felt that their nationality needed any mention: they are tagged on to Aṇṭiyoka and form one group with him as their head, so that his nationality alone is of the concern to Aśoka. In a situation like this, it would be a matter of indifference to Aśoka whether their nationality were the same as Aṇṭiyoka's or no. Consequently, there cannot be any implication for us that, just because he is called Yona, they must be Yona too if they are not distinguished as something else.

Our theory has not only the advantage of explaining Aśoka's omission: it has also the advantage of being consistent in word-interpretation and of avoiding for *nichām* a totally unsupported usage. But, if our theory is to be preferred, we have at once a state of affairs unhealthy for the assumption that Aśoka was listing a series of Greck kings. Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and the two Alexanders were not at all subordinate to Antiochus: they formed no group with him as their head. And if Aśoka lived in their epoch he would certainly know this through the diplomatic relations with them which our historians claim for him. The Greeks have left it on record that just as Seleucus Nicator sent Megasthenes as ambassador to Sandrocottus whom our historians identify with Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya, and just as Antiochus I Soter who succeeded Seleucus sent Deimachus to the son of Sandrocottus whom the Greeks named "Amitrychates" or "Amitrochades" and who is currently identified with Aśoka's father Bindusāra, so also Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent Dionysius to an Indian king who is left unnamed and who, on the accepted chronology, should be either Bindusāra or Aśoka. Hence, if Aśoka reigned in the third century B.C., he would not fail to be aware of Ptolemy's status and would not go out of his way to dub him a satellite of Antiochus II. The sole satisfactory interpretation of *nichām* disproves
the identification of Ptolemy, Antigonus and Magas and one of the two Alexanders with Turamāya, Avēntikī, Magā and Alīkasudāra; and, by the same token, of Antiochus could not have been Amātiyoka.

Further, when four out of five Greek-seeming names are shown creating no call for us in the least to understand the term “Yona” as silently dittoed for their bearers after Amātiyoka has been labelled with it, the chance of its connoting “Greek” in association with one such name is poor indeed. At least, no organic connection between “Greek and “Yona” suggests itself.

10

Need “Amātiyoka Yona rāja” be a Greek?

So much for our first reason to criticize the usual identification. Secondly, the phrase “Amātiyoka Yona rāja” which has come to us in connection with Aśoka from his own edicts may be matched with the one other phrase of a like order which has come to us in connection with him, the phrase in the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman I: “Yavana rāja Tuśāspaha.” The unmistakably non-Greek and, as Vincent Smith has observed Iranianized complexion of this king who is named Aśoka’s viceroy in Saurāstra may validly be used as a clue to the understanding of the Aśokan expression. Tuśāspaha is our link between the Yonas within Aśoka’s empire and the Yona rāja mentioned by Aśoka as outside it, because Tuśāspaha is a Yona who is not only within the empire but also a rāja. Upon those Yonas of Aśoka on the one hand and upon that Aśokan Yona rāja on the other he throws his non-Greek colour. And, when those Yonas within the empire have been seen on their own to have nothing Greek about them, this colour clings all the faster on either hand. What Tuśāspaha drives home to us vṛṣ-a-vṛṣ Amātiyoka is that we need not go abroad towards Greek countries at just the mention of a Yona rāja. An Iranianized Indian or an Indo-Iranian such as we have shown the Yonas within the empire to have been, is all that Amātiyoka may be.

Especially so may be the case since the form “Amātiyoka” has another reading in the edicts: Kālsī gives us “Amātiyoga” or, with one sound slurred, “Atiyoga” which may be read “A (m) tiyoga”. Seen as made up of the components “ānti” and “yoga”, this reading can be conjectured as an outlandish Indian name suggesting “he who gets close-joined” or “he who collaborates”, a name perhaps not far removed in its structure from a compound Indian appellation like “Antināra” found in the Purāṇas. No doubt, “Amātiyoka” occurs often in the various recensions of R.E.s II and XIII, but here is not merely a question of the alternative being a dialectal variation of it. True, on a few occasions the intervocal k becomes g at Kālsī: for instance, pasopagant in R.E. II.
But *pasopagan† occurs not only at Kālsī: it occurs also in the Dhauli and Jauguda recensions which have a dialectal affinity with the Kālsī and, by a rare influence, in even the Gīrṇār version. "Antiyoga", on the contrary, is only at Kālsī: Dhauli and Jauguda give "Antiyoka" and Gīrṇār "Āntyaka".15 Again, Kālsī’s "yoga"—ending is not only twice in R.E. XIII. It is a special persistent form which seems to have little to do with dialectal variations.

Its status appears to be akin in its own way to that of "Maga" at Gīrṇār in distinction from Shāhbazgarhi’s "Maka" and Kālsī’s "Makā".16 Gīrṇār has little dialectal tendency of its own to change the intervocal *k to g. A thing like *pasopagan† is not in the least characteristic of it. So its "Maga", when neither Kālsī nor Shāhbazgarhi corresponds to this form, is either a scribe’s mistake or a genuine alternative name. Historians who equate Aśoka’s "Maga" to the Greek king Magas take it evidently as a genuine alternative name and "Maka" as a derivation not by dialectal movement but by a Prākritization. Prākrit (which includes all the Aśokan dialects and several others) converts at times to *k what in Sanskrit would be *g. Thus the Sanskrit "Nabhāga"17 becomes "Nabhaka", a tribe-name, in all the recensions of R.E.XIII. In view of this and in view of the consistent character of the "yoga"—ending at Kālsī, we may opine that this ending, like "Maga", can have the status of an original form, a genuine alternative to "yoka" (or "yaka") and not a dialectal variation of it. "Antiyoka" could be a Prākritization of "Antiyoga" or "A (m) tiyoga,". It might even be an Iranianized aspect of the name of one who might have belonged to a group of Iranianized Indians or Indo-Irānians. In any case, a double form seems legitimate here as with the king commonly identified with Magas.

A name akin to our Yona rājā’s we may note in a Kharoshṭhī inscription from Taxila. F.W. Thomas18 reads the inscription: "In Śira, A (m) tiyoha, sister of Looda, daughter of a hamī mother and a hamīa father, deposits relics of the Bhagavat." Thomas marks what strikes him as "the non-Indian aspects of the two names Looda and A (m) tiyoha", and writes: "Are they perhaps distorted Greek, Leontes and Antioche? If so, the allusion to the hamīa testifies to a rather thorough acclimatization." This means that, although an Indian connection is definitely and strongly there in general, we are uncertain about it in the details of the two names and that a Greek connection in these details is imaginable yet in a rather vague and devious manner so that it would be difficult to decide for Greek equivalents. According to D.C. Sircar,19 "no Indian approximations of the names of the Taxila inscription were proposed" but "it is difficult to say whether the names in question are really Greek as F.W. Thomas suggests." The ties with India are not only in the rich multiple relevance of the hamī and hamīa (Thomas observes a fusion of no less than three suggestions) over and
above the reference to the Bhagavat: they are also in the precedence given to "mother" instead of to "father". Such precedence is everywhere in Aśoka's own edicts and we find it even in the Aramaic part of the Kandahār bilingual. E. Benveniste\(^8\) has commented on these facts as well as on the reversal of the mother-father order in the Greek part. All in all, the Kharoshṭhī inscription from Taxila seems to present neither a thoroughly Indian nor a thoroughly non-Indian nor yet a Greek nomenclature. "A (m) tiyoga", appearing to echo "Antioche", is ailed to "A (m) tiyoga" and both could be ancient appellations from the country between India and Irān.

11

*Can *"Aṁṭikīni"* be a Non-Greek Name?*

What would apply to "A (m) tiyoga" and to its alternative could apply to "Aṁṭikīni". "Aṁṭikīni" actually finds a curious approximation in the name of an Indian tribe given by Pliny, after Megasthenes, among those on the east side of the Indus: Antiken.\(^3\) The Girnār form "Aṁṭekina"\(^4\) which is not so much a dialectal variation as a vocal modification, has an ending reminding us of that in the name: "Airikina" by which the city of Erān was known in antiquity.\(^5\) As for the equation to a Greek name, we have an interesting note by Bhandarkar:\(^6\) "Aṁṭekina or Aṁṭikīni, as Bühler has remarked, corresponds to the Greek Antigenes rather than to Antigonus. But, as no king named Antigenes is known, Aṁṭikīni has been identified with Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia." Have we not here a bit of a hurry to suit preconceived theory? Why not admit straight away that the name of no Greek king in the third century B.C. answers to Aṁṭekina or Aṁṭikīni?

12

*Is *"Turamāya"* Identifiable with *"Ptolemy"*?*

A much more serious fault of procedure—sheer wishful thinking—may be shown in the matter of "Turamāya" and "Ptolemy". The former name is the reading at both Shāhbāzgarhī and Girnār, while Mānsēhra has a gap and Kālsī reads "Tulamāya".\(^7\) Kālsī is known to exhibit everywhere the dialectal change of *r* to *l*, among other changes that are all termed Māgadhisms. Thus Shāhbāzgarhī's "Alikasudara" becomes "Alikyasudala" at Kālsī. So the question must be put: "Out of the two forms—'Turamāya' and 'Tulamāya'—which is the basic one and which the dialectal variation?" In the case of the fifth king's name just mentioned, we should note that the latter *l* appears in the first part of it in both the versions "Alikasudara" and "Alikyasudala". The Girnār version is missing, but at Mānsēhra we have the fragmentary "Alikasu." Thus the *l* concerned is found to have remained intact everywhere, while the *r* of the second part of the name at Shāhbāzgarhī
and Gīr nār appears as l at Kālsi. Our conclusion must be that where there is an original l in a name it does not change anywhere and that “Alikasudara” is the basic form and “Alikyaṣudala” merely a dialectal variation. Those who make Alexander, either of Epirus or of Corinth, correspond to the king named here by Aśoka will certainly concur with our choice of “Alikasudara”. But what will they have to say about “Turamāya” and “Tulamāya” which occur so close to the alleged Aśoka kan equivalent of “Alexander”?

If the original name had an l in the first part, the l would not change to r at both Gīr nār and Shāḥbāzgarhī. All the less can we believe it to have done so when Shāḥbāzgarhī and Gīr nār are places considerably distant from each other and either of them had its own distinct scribe as well as peculiar diversities of dialect in the midst of a general resemblance. A change of l to r, under such conditions, at these two places is unthinkable. So the original name must be having an r and not an l in it: it must be “Turamāya” and not “Tulamāya”. If Ptolemy had been intended, the original form would have been “Tulamāya”, and both Gīr nār and Shāḥbāzgarhī would have retained it. With “Turamāya” as basic, the equation with “Ptolemy” is impossible and irrational.

Perhaps we shall be queried: “Has not J. Filliozat written, ‘The relations between Indians and Greeks were managed through Persian interpreters’? And has not P. Giles told us that in the Old Persian inscriptions l is found only in two foreign words, and has otherwise been entirely replaced by r? So may we not suppose that a Persian interpreter conveyed ‘Ptolemy’ to Aśoka with an r instead of an l?”

Our answer is: “It would be highly odd that a Persian interpreter should turn a Greek l into an r when conveying names from the Greeks to the Indians and yet correctly conveyed from the Indians to the Greeks the Indian l by mentioning such names as the Greeks wrote down as Peukelactis, Sangala, Patala, Mallci, Glaukanikci, Phegelas, Kalanos. It is most enlightening to read what Curtius (XII) records about the meeting between Alexander and the Indian prince Omphis (=Āṃbhi): “An interpreter was therefore procured and then the barbarian prince explained...”. Now Curtius further says: “Omphis, under Alexander’s permission, and according the usage of the realm, assumed the ensigns of royalty along with the name his father had borne. His people called him Taxiles, for such was the name which accompanied his sovereignty, on whomever it devolved.” The name “Taxiles”, for the Indian “Takshaśīla”, came to the Greeks with the original l unaltered to r in spite of the interpreter, who may have been Irānian. There is even a case in which an r seems to come out as l instead of vice versa: the Indian “Kṛipa” appears to have been the original of “Cleophas”, the Greeks’ name for the queen of the Assakenci (Aśvakayana).
Among the Persians themselves a name with an \( l \) was not impossible: Arrian, in a roll of the Persian dead at the battle of Gaugamela, has left us the same “Arbupales” of the son of Darius III in the midst of the name “Mithridates” of Darius’s son-in-law, “Pharnaces” of the brother of Darius’s wife, and “Omares” of the commander of the foreign contingent. Where so many \( r \)’s have been correctly kept, including one in “Arbupales” itself, the \( l \) in this name is not likely to have been an error. In another place Arrian reports how the Macedonians resented Alexander’s growing orientalism, his increasing partiality for Persian customs and people. Among the causes of resentment was the posting of Persian officers to the Guard. The command was given to Hystaspes, a Bactrian, and the other officers included not only Cophes, son of Artabazus, Sisines and Phradasmenes sons of Phrataphernes, the satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, Histanes son of Oxyartes and brother of Alexander’s Bactrian wife Roxane, Autobares and his brother Mithrobæus, but also the two sons of Mæacles: Hydarnes and Artiboles. Again, Arrian mentions Alexander’s Persian governor of Susa, Abulites, father of Oxathres. Finally, in Giles’s own statement we find mention of two foreign words which, having \( l \) in them, preserve it in Old Persian. Would we not expect the foreign word “Ptolemy” to keep its \( l \) in the mouth of a Persian interpreter to Asoka—particularly when we assume that the foreign word “Alexander” where both \( l \) and \( r \) are concerned was properly interpreted so as to result in “Alikasudara”? 

Besides, with two generations of Greek settlement in Arachas and with the Indian interior open to the settlers in consequence of the friendly relations between Sandrocozus and Seleucus, why should we not think of either a Prakrit-knowing Greek or a Greek-knowing Indian as an interpreter? And we may remember again that Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent to India his own representative Dionysius who surely would at least see to the correct communication of his master’s name. The presence of Dionysius must make “Ptolemy” the one name which ran no risk at all of being miscommunicated.

Everything considered, it is indulgence in sheer imagination to suggest that somehow the Greek sovereign involved was wrongly named to Asoka.

A less trivial argument against us would be; “In R.E. XIII itself there is an \( l \) to \( r \) change, a rhotacism, for ‘Pulinda’ in the form ‘Pāhinda’ which Gîrîr gives for Shâh-bâzgârî’s ‘Pālida’ and Kaîsî’s ‘Pâlada’. Why cannot ‘Turamaya’ be a similar rhotacism?”

Well, while Sanskrit “Pulinda, Paulinda” can equal, as Sircar has contended, Prakrit “Pālinda” or “Pālînda”, a rhotacistic conversion to
“Pārīṁda” in the Aśokan dielect of Gīrnār is hardly on the cards and we may with more reason postulate a pure slip on the scribe’s part like “Ketalaputo” in the Gīrnār R.E. II, which Mookerji calls a mistake for “Keralaputra”. Error at times in writing is admitted in general by Aśoka himself. In The Inscriptions of Aśoka, Sircar summarizing the Gīrnār R.E. XIV recounts Aśoka’s mention of the various reasons why some topics have been written incompletely in some places: Aśoka cites as one reason “a fault of the scribe”.

A Magadhist, on account of the royal source in Magadha of the edicts, is more possible at Gīrnār or Shāhbāzgarhi or Mānsehrā than the opposite: r may turn to l or even get left out but there is no tendency of l turning to r. Bhandarkar, studying “Pārīṁda”, adverts to the influence of the Magadha court language but categorically declares as a clear fact in the context of all the edicts of Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā before him that if the original has really an l we can never have an r in any version. “Puliṁda” may be accepted as the correct tribe-name provided we accept the r of “Pārīṁda” as “a fault of the scribe.”

Even otherwise, even granting “Pārīṁda” to be somehow a result of rhotacism, its occurrence at Gīrnār alone, with nothing analogous at Shāhbāzgarhi whose dialect differs more from Kāśli’s than does Gīrnār’s can supply no ground for any talk of a rhotacist tendency, however sporadic, in the Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā versions to balance in whatever degree the wholesale contrary trait in the Kāśli. Matching this Kāśli trait we have wholesale rhotacism in a fragmentary version of R.E. IX discovered at Sapāra. In Aśokan versions that use both r and l there is no proof of rhotacism. “Turamāya” cannot be denied its basic position—especially since, unlike “Pārīṁda”, it occurs not only at Gīrnār but also at Shāhbāzgarhi.

We may go still further and assert that when Sanskrit or else Prākrit of a type where both l and r occur transcribes a Greek or any foreign name a clearly audible l of the original as in “Ptolemy”—an l uncombined with a consonant—never changes to r in any instance known to history.

Take the Besnagar inscription of probably the last quarter of the second century B.C. Its author “Heliodorus, son of Dion” becomes only “Heliodora, son of Diya”. Or take the names of two Saka kings of a little earlier date, who use Greek on the obverse and Kharoshthi on the reverse of their coins. We see “Spalirises” of the Greek becoming “Spalirisha” or “Spalirisasa”, and “Asilises” becoming “Aylisha”. In the Besnagar inscription, even an l before a consonant retains its identity: the Prākrit corresponding to “Antialkidas”, the name of one of the Indo-Greek kings who ruled over a part of India and left us some coins, is
“Aṇṭalikita”. A coin that has come to light of the last of these kings, Heliocles, proves how clearly the audible l resists all pull towards rhotacism. The coin shows the l after a consonant turning into r and yet the clearly audible l remaining the same in the Pāṇḍit for Heliocles: “Heliakreyasā”. Against the background of all history, how shall we think of “Ptolemy” underlying the basic form “Turamāya”? 

Correspondence to “Turamāya” is not in “Ptolemy” but in Indian and Iranian or else Turkish names. “Tura” is the name of a Vedic seer, the son of Rishi Kavaṣa. According to the Nepalese Chronicle Aiokāvadāna, it is the initial component in the name of one of Aśoka’s own immediate ancestors: Turakuri, a partly dialectal variant of which is Tulakuchi, the name of the same ancestor in the other Nepalese Chronicle, Dhyāvadāna. “Māya” as a terminal is almost there in “Asuramaya”, a name well-known in Indian legendary history. As an appellation on its own, “Māya” occurs in the feminine form “Māyā” by which Buddha’s mother is designated.

In the Avesta, Tura is one of the three sons of Thraētōna, and a certain Tura is also cited in Yasht XIII. As for the terminal “Māya”, Benveniste in another article in the same issue of the Journal Asiatique where he discusses the Kandahār inscription writes apropos of the Elamite name u-ma-ya: “u-ma-ya...ought to be humāya, known as a proper noun from Av. Humayaka (cf. Arm. Hmayak) fem. Humāyā (Pers. Hmary).”

“Ptolemy” for “Turamāya” is not only impossible and irrational: it is also superfluous.

In passing, we may quote Zají Ferenc to the effect that, according to the interpretation of the Avesta, “Tura” and “Hūṇa” both mean “resistant” and indicate a strong and stubborn opponent. Ferenc traces to the former word the place-name “Turān”. We may, in addition, point to the name “Turfan” of a place in Chinese Turkestan: its Indian equivalent is “Turpaninī”. We may remark further that the name “Toramāna” of the foreign invader of India, whose coins and inscriptions have been found and who is generally taken to have been a Hūṇa chief, father of Mihirākula, is not unconnected with “Tura”. It has, no doubt, a Turkish ring, but even in the Turkish language it has the variant “Turaman” linking it to “Turamāya”. Wesendorf has tried to show that “Toramāna” as well as “Mihirākula” is an Iranian name. The Jain Kuhālayamāla (c. 778 A.D.) gives for “Toramāna” the form “Torarāya” which seems to stand midway between “Turamāya” and “Toramāna”.
We come now to “Magā”, “Maka” and “Makā”. The Irānian ring of the last two is clear. “Maka” occurs even as a place-name: a southeastern province of the Achaemenid empire was called “Maka” (modern Makrān). Again, everybody has heard the term “Magus” for a Persian priest: we read, in the Purāṇas, of the Sakadvipa where dwell the Maga dvijas who worship the sun-god: we have in India of later times the Maga-Brāhmaṇas, the Persian priests who migrated to India and contributed to the Ujjain school of astronomy. The Mahābhārata (VI. 12, 33) enumerates the people of Sakadvipa as Maga, Maśaka, Manaśa and Mandanga. And among the variants of “Magā” we find “Maka”. The form “Magā” is a component of the full designation of the son of a queen Khirbanis in Tibet in the period 635-43 A.D.: Maga Thegon Khagan. F.W. Thomas remarks that not only Khagan but also Maga is a Turkish title, apparently the same as the Moho which the Chinese apply to certain rulers of Chinese Turkestan round about 700 A.D. Going to more ancient times, we find in The Cambridge History of India that the inhabitants of the region making up Magadha in Buddha’s time used to call it Maga, a name doubtless derived from Magadha. And we hear even of a “Maga raja” from the Sāṅkicca Jātaka. The exact form “Maka” is a constituent of the Indian name “Sivamaka” which occurs in an Amarāvati inscription. After all this, do we require the Greek “Magas”? What about Alikasudara? Regarding the names “Alexander” and “Alexandria” S.N. Majumdar notes: “The hypothetical Sanskrit forms of Alexandros and Alexandreta are, according to the rules of Sanskrit phonetics, Alakshandhra and Alakshandra. In the vernacular, Alakhanda or Alashanda are the forms expected.” In Kauṣitāya’s Arthasastra we read, of a place famous for corals: Alakanda at the mouth of the river Sretasi in the land of the Barbaras. Majumdar finds little difficulty in equating it to Alakshandra and identifying it as the port known as Alexander’s Haven. In the Pali Mahāvamsa (XXIX, 30ff) and Milindapañho we have “Alasanda” in which we can easily recognize Alexandria. Such variations from the expected form are natural. But “Alikasudara” seems too great a departure: paradoxically, it is too close to the Greek “Alexander” to be an Indian equivalent of it. And there is no need to bring in “Alexander”, either. “Alikasudara” could be a perfectly Sanskrit name Prākritized. “Alika” seems a Prākritization of “Alaka” while “sudara” is easily the Prākrit for “sundara”. In Sanskrit “Alaka-sundara” would describe “one whose face is beautiful with forelocks”.

There is also the possibility of a queer nomenclature. "Alikan" as itself a Sanskrit term is attested as part of a compound word by what R.C. Majumdar writes by way of annotating the geographer Ptolemy's expression (VII, I, 8) "Pseudostomos" for an Indian river: "Pseudostomos' means false mouth. The Dravidian litetature has alemukham (Sanskrit alikamukham)." Combined with "sudara" (="sundara"), it may point in a semi-Sanskrit semi-Prakrit way to some such concept as "Beauty that deludes and is a snare". If we doubt whether a term pejorative in immediate suggestion could ever go into a man's name, we have only to look at "Alikayu" which is part of the name of a man mentioned twice as an authority in the Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa.

14

Are the Names Too Odd as Non-Greek Ones?

No doubt, if we take the Aśokan names to be non-Greek the four that out of the five make compounds have a certain oddness. But we encounter many odd names in old historical records, defying explanation. Atiyaha and Loodo of a Taxila inscription have already been pointed out: neither foreign nor Indian equivalents have been convincingly suggested. Richard N. Frye refers to the name of the first Kauśaṇa ruler in India: "Kujula Kadphises, the etymology of which is most uncertain." There are also names accepted as Indian and as belonging to historical persons but strangely built and some of them never repeated. Sircar says: "None of the suggestions regarding the etymology of Sātavahana and Satakarni is satisfactory." Again, he reports: "S.K. Chatterji and Przyluski have written on the etymology of the name Khāravela. Their views are not satisfactory." In Aśoka's R.E. II itself where the Yona rājā Aṃtiyoka figures we have the designation "Satiyaputra" to denote another frontager. Barua informed us in 1946: "The name Satiyaputra or Satiyapurases is nowhere met with in Indian literature." Only recently a Tamil-Brāhmī inscription was discovered in South Arcot District commemorating a gift by "Atiyah Naduman Anji, the Satiyaputra". The chieftain mentioned had been a subject of old Sangham poetry but in no poem distinguished by the title found in the epigraph.

If we deem all the unusual compound names which are still unexplained to be part of genuine history, why should we jib at Aṃtiyoka, Turāmāya, Aṃtikini and Alikasudara when presented as being non-Greek?

Possibly we shall be asked: "Can the historicity of these non-Greeks of yours and of the remaining member of the group, Magā, be confirmed by independent testimony outside Aśoka? If not, why go beyond Antiochus, Ptolemy, Magas, Antigonus and Alexander?"
answer should be: "Do we ask of outside confirmation of the historicity of the other Aśokan Yavana rāja, Tuṣāṣṭha, who requires no Greek correspondence but has left no evidence of his own and is mentioned only once in epigraphy and that, too, not by Aśoka himself? Again, did we not accept without outside confirmation Aśoka’s own Satiyaputra?"

A further argument may be set against us: "You cannot deny that some general echo of Greek names is in those listed by Aśoka. And there is the most impressive fact, in one and the same context, we have five general echoes and at least three names pretty close to the Greek: Aṃtiyoka, Magā and Alikasudara."

General echoes are not confined to Greek names. And several Indian or Persian or Perso-Indian names can accidentally echo Greek ones. We have dwelt sufficiently on such counterparts to Magas: we may mention a few more. The name "Puloma" which the Matsya Purāṇa twice gives in the list of theĀndhra kings corresponds closely to "Polemo", the name of a Greek writer subsequent to Megasthenes. Puliśa, an astronomer mentioned in Indian books, has been equated to Paulus of Alexandria, but "Puliśa" can be, as Majumdar avouches, an authentically Indian name and the equation may be quite erroneous. Then there is Dēvamitra, a king of Ayodhya, whose name looks like the Sanskrit for Dēmētrius.

As for the triad of pretty close echoes-Aṃtiyoka, Magā and Alikasudara—in one and the same context, let no one make a unique case out of the situation. In Indian history itself we have the case of the Mahānāman inscription at Bodh-Gayā and the report of the Chinese writer Wang-huen-t’s. In the former we have two monks, Mahānāman and Upasena, from Ceylon, dedicating "a mansion of Buddha" in the year 269 of an unspecified era; in the latter we have also a Mahānāman and his colleague Upa—, two Buddhist monks from Ceylon, building at Bodh-Gayā a monastery and stupas during the reign of an Indian king named San-miou-to-lo-kiu-to who has been identified with Samudragupta, one of the Imperial Guptas who had an era of their own to which they do not always give its proper title "Gupta". Sylvain Lévi observes that, if the same monks are not spoken of, it would be indeed a very odd coincidence. But Vincent Smith, who never doubts that Aṃtiyoka and Magā and Alikasudara are Antiochus and Magas and Alexander (of Epirus or Corinth), marshals a number of arguments against the identity alleged by Lévi. And many other historians, whether agreeing or not with him about the era to which the year 269 is to be referred, are at one with him in disagreeing with Lévi’s identification. The double resemblance in the monks’ names, the common country Ceylon from which they hailed, the common location Bodh-Gayā for a common reli-
igious purpose, not to mention the unspecified era, are not allowed to have any weight.

Perhaps the most famous case of multiple resemblance is from Persian history. The sacred book of the Parsis, the Avesta, tells us that the prophet Zarathustra preached his religion of Ahura Mazda at the court of Viśtasp. Now in Persia the name of Zarathustra’s God outside the Avesta is found for the first time in the inscriptions of Darius I, and it is found there frequently as if with the enthusiasm of a convert to a new cult. Darius I writes the name with a slight difference in the spelling and as a single word “Aramazda”; but these peculiarities may be no more than dialectal. And in one instance in the inscriptions of his successor, Xerxes, the name has two components, separately declined, as in the Avesta: so the knowledge of the Avestan form is directly proved. A connection for the first time between Zarathustra’s religion and the Persian monarchy in the reign of Darius I could reasonably be conjectured and the conjecture draws extraordinary strength from the fact that the father of this king is known to have been Hystaspes and this king is familiar to the Greeks as Darius Hystaspes. The Greek form “Hystaspes” is the precise equivalent of the Avestan “Viśtaspas”.

Impressed by these facts as well as several other features of the whole case, including a tradition in Persia about Zarathustra’s date, scholars like Jackson, Hertel and Herzfeld have placed the prophet in the sixth century B.C. But Haug, Geiger, Andreas, Meyer, Moulton, Keith, Söderblom, Charpentier, Geldner, Barthelomae, Mills and Bénéviste carry him to a fairly earlier date—scholars who yet would not think twice about the identification of Aśoka’s rajās with post-Alexandrine Greek kings.

Indian scholars too who accept that identification are seen disagreeing with Jackson, Hertel and Herzfeld. Thus B.K. Ghosh, in his article on Indo-Iranian relations in the compilation, The Vedic Age, writes about the Iranian tradition which put Zarathustra in the sixth century B.C.: “...according to Edouard Meyer (Geschichte des Altertums, second edition, third volume, p. 110, fn. 3) it is an inexplicable thing that anybody should think so. That Edouard Meyer was right can hardly be doubted, although weighty opinions have been raised against his view. The mention by Assurbanipal about 700 B.C. of Assara Mazaš along with seven good angels and seven bad spirits is a clear indication of acquaintance with the reformed Zarathustrian pantheon (see Cambridge History of India, I, p. 76). It is impossible therefore to suggest that Kavi Viśtasp mentioned in the Avesta as the patron of the prophet was no other than the father of Darius I (522-486 B.C.), for in that case the Zarathustrian pantheon could not have been known in Assyria in the days of Assurbanipal.” With Meyer, Ghosh carries the Gathas of
Zarathustra to c. 1000 B.C. Altekar is prepared to go even a little farther back, though still on the hither side of 1500 B.C. Parsi scholars are mostly disposed to agree in general with Herodotus and Aristotle and other Greek writers before Christ, who place the Persian prophet several thousands of years before their own time. All leave Darius Hystaspes centuries behind.

We also need to make no bones about disregarding the apparent correspondence on our hands and the "weighty opinions" in its favour. All we require is that genuine arguments should exist to render it accidental and induce us to take Aśoka centuries beyond the date fixed by it. Such arguments certainly exist. Let us briefly glance at them.

15

The Incongruity of the Greek Kings with the Aśokan Context

Not the least of the arguments is the fact that the five post-Alexandrine kings we are discussing were not the sole ones ruling at the time. The situation is not that Aśoka listed just five rājas who might be Greek and there were just five Greek kings in the period usually allotted to Aśoka. Mookerji has remarked after choosing on the ground of relative importance Alexander of Epirus and not Alexander of Corinth for Alikasudara: "There were several kings of Asia Minor of equal and higher status whom Aśoka should have mentioned such as Eumenes of Pergamon (262-240 B.C.) or, nearer home, Diodotus of Bactria."

Diodotus is often given c. 250 B.C. for his declaration of independence in Bactria; but A.K. Narain writes: "Newell has very ably shown from the numismatic evidence that the break away of Bactria from the Seleucids is to be placed in 256-255 B.C." Diodotus reigned up to 245 B.C. A glance at the series of the other kings' dates is enough to demonstrate that he and Eumenes fall within the time-span measured by this series. The omission of Eumenes and Diodotus confuses the whole situation, particularly as Bactria where Diodotus reigned is not only next door to India but also known to have been in close touch with things Indian. Indeed, in the very age to which Aśoka has been assigned, we have archaeological evidence of Indo-Bactrian contact. The Bhir mound the oldest part of the Taxila site, has yielded some fine jewellery, dating from 250 B.C. and associated with a gold coin of Diodotus. How could Aśoka, around that time, have slurred over Diodotus and his Bactria?

Eumenes too was already known in India from 326 B.C. Diodorus Siculus (XIX, 34) reports that in that year the leader of an Indian contingent which had gone to fight under Eumenes in Iran was killed in battle and his two wives competed as to which was to be the sati.
Nor will it do to build an objection on the fact that Eumenes did not officially declare himself king as did his successor Attalus. There was no question of his not being recognized as king. At any rate, the point is nominal, for Pergamon had been independent since 283 B.C. and whether self-titled king or no, Eumenes ruled his state like one and proved his power by defeating at Sardis in 262 B.C. the accredited king Antiochus I of Syria, the father of the Antiochus our historians have made Aśoka's frontager. His case may be compared with that of Pushyamitra, founder of the Sunga line who never took the title of King but retained his title of "Commander-in-chief" even when he had obtained imperial power. This power was sufficiently great for him to have been treated as a regular monarch and most historians do not even know that he called himself merely Senāni.

A legitimate query may also be provoked by the two Alexanders between whom we have to choose: "Why did Aśoka send his religious missions to only one of them rather than to both when Epirus and Corinth were neighbouring lands and neither was farther than Macedonia over which Antigonus ruled?"

There is something unnatural and fantastic about the exclusions with which we have to charge Aśoka—something inconsistent with his zeal for propagating the dharma and with his claim to have propagated it far and wide. The inconsistency could be removed on our taking his rājas to be non-Greek.

An even more glaring inconsistency crops up when we accept Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus or Corinth of the third century B.C. as the field of Aśoka's dharma—propaganda. In speaking of the Greeks settled in Arachosia after Alexander the Great we suggested the liveliness of Indo-Greek contacts in the fourth and third centuries B.C. Later we mentioned the sending of three ambassadors in close succession from Greek kingdoms to India; the intense concern of these kingdoms about matters Indian should be evident. And Greek historians have recorded in some detail the dealings of Alexander the Great with Indian monarchs and Seleucus Nicator with Sandrocottus. and both Hegasander and Athenaeus report that Amitrochates, the son of Sandrocottus, wrote "to Antiochus asking him to purchase and send him not only sweet wine and dried figs but a sophist, only to be reminded that it was not lawful in Greece to sell a sophist". Megasthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny, Curtius, Arrian and many others have left us histories chockful of facts and fables about India. But after Sandrocottus and Amitrochates we get no name of any king of their line. Such an omission is in itself a little hard to account for, but we can grant the possibility of some explanation or other if we do not identify, as our historians do, Sandrocottus with Chandragupta Maurya and Amitrochates with Bindusāra and take Aśoka.
to be the successor of Amitrochates—Aśoka who is supposed to have sent representatives of his dharma to five Greek kingdoms and thus to have established greater ties with the Hellenic world than either Sandrocottus or Amitrochates. With Aśoka put in the time of those kingdoms the omission becomes utterly unintelligible.

Dionysius, the envoy sent by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, must have come, as we said, to the court of either Amitrochates or his successor: he might even have lived at the court of both. And Ptolemy evinced interest in India in other ways too. In his kingdom everything connected with India was noted. We have observed how the Head of his Library at Alexandria was eager to translate Indian literature and how in his processions women and animals and commodities from India were to be seen. But if Ptolemy is Aśoka’s Turamāya and if, as R.E. II says, Aśoka set up institutions for merciful service to ailing men and animals in the domains of the neighbours of Anitiyoka, one of whom was Turamāya, no less than in that of Anitiyoka himself, and if, as R.E. XIII specifies, Turamāya was among the five rajās about whose realms no less than about Aśoka’s own empire and his other frontagers Aśoka says: Everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the Gods in respect of dharmam—well, the state of affairs is such that the absence of even the slightest hint of Aśoka’s own name and the lack of the tiniest notice of his activities in historical passages relating to Ptolemy in particular and to four other Greek kings in general are an argument from silence that is overwhelming.

Faced with this argument, Rhys Davids who believed these kings to be the ones named in R.E. XIII dubbed Aśoka’s declarations concerning the work in their countries “royal rhodomontade”. The conclusion which, however unconventional, would be more just, comprehensive and logical is: Aśoka had nothing to do with the Greek kingdoms of the third century B.C., but dealt only with non-Greek Yona and other countries adjacent to his empire at a date removed from that time.

This conclusion cannot be denied by asking: “What about the Buddha-head found in Memphis and dated by Sir Flinders Petrie as far back as the fifth century B.C. when that city was the capital of Egypt under the Persians? Does it not show sufficient Buddhist influence in the land of Ptolemy II Philadelphus?” If any influence is shown by the Buddha-head, it cannot be attributed to Aśoka’s activities or to any similar missionary work which might bring the dharma into prominence and keep it in the public eye until the middle of the third century B.C., when Ptolemy ruled over Egypt. If the head (with Gurkha features) is really of Buddha, the influence was not of the kind with which we are concerned but of an accidental, private and temporary nature, for this head is connected by Sir Flinders with members of a hypothetical Indian com-
ponent of the Memphis-garrison which, according to Herodotus, who visited the city in 453 B.C., consisted largely of Persians but also of "others"—a small component which T. Balakrishnan Nayar, discussing the find, considers to have left in 405 B.C. (long before the time of Philadelphus): "When the Persian occupation ceased, the Indian colony at Memphis also would have ceased."

The utmost that has been possible to say on the positive side for our period is communicated by R.A. Jairazbhoy. After mentioning the statement in R.E. XIII of Aśoka's victories of morality in foreign countries, Jairazbhoy writes: "There is no direct confirmation of this from western sources, but a wheel with triśūla upon it was found on a Ptolemaic gravestone in Egypt, and it is thought that the revolving wheels in Egyptian temples referred to by Horon of Alexandria (c. 250 B.C.) may be influences from Buddhist India." But what is thought of the revolving wheels is as good as nullified by Jairazbhoy's next sentence: "Horon (Pron. 31) says that these wheels were placed in the porticoes of Egyptian temples for those who enter to revolve, the belief being that bronze purifies." The whole emphasis shifts from wheels as such to their constituent material, bronze, which has nothing to do with Buddhism. And a little earlier in his book Jairazbhoy offers us information which makes it gratuitous to connect Buddhist influence with these wheels as well as that gravestone wheel with the triśūla upon it.

"The emblem of a sun disk carved in relief on Buddhist monuments, for example, at Amarāvatī ultimately originates in Assyria, and similarly the so-called Buddhist triśūla ornament is patterned on the winged solar disk of Assyria. Moreover Mesopotamian sun pillars surmounted by disks (surinna) which stood at entrances to temples, or were borne by priests of the sun god, are prototypes of sun wheels on pillars at the Buddhist stupas."

Whether or not we agree with Jairazbhoy on the origin of Buddhist symbols, it should be clear that even the signs picked out from Ptolemaic Egypt to show in an indirect manner Buddhist influence need have no relation with Buddhism. If they are at all derived and not independently developed, they may very well reflect Assyrian religious symbolism which is nearer home than the emblems of Buddhism from India.

All in all, there are no positives to go by. Not that the ancient Western world was quite unaffected by Buddhism. There appear to be subtle factors pointing towards Buddhism around the Christian era. What we are denying is any impress of Aśoka's missions on Greek dominions of the epoch currently held to be his.
Actually, Buddhism in any expressible form was an unknown quantity to the whole Greek world until we reach the second century A.D. "Greece" says Majumdar,96 "knew nothing of Buddhism previous to the rise of Alexandria in the Christian era. Buddha is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 150-218)." Can we imagine such ignorance if five Greek kingdoms received from Asoka missionaries who, for all the general humanitarian bearing of their message, were representatives of a great Buddhist emperor?

REFERENCES

1. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Aitoka* (Calcutta 1932), p. 331, except that I have restored the original "Yona" in place of Bhandarkar's Sanskrit "Yavana".
2. Ibid., p. 299.
3. Ibid., p. 301, n. 2.
5. Ibid., p. 4.
7. *The Inscriptions.....*, p. 27
9. Ibid., p. 319; Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aitoka*, pp. 45
13. E.g., Matsya, ch. XXiv.
15. Ibid., pp. 4, 5.
16. Ibid., p. 53.
17. *Aitoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta 1946), I, p. 92.

30. Ibid., p. 230 (Bk. VII, 6).
31. Ibid., p. 228 (Bk. VII, 3).
32. In Indian Culture, VIII, pp. 399-400
34. P. 56.

37. The idea is sometimes entertained that the word ārabh four times in the Shāhbazgarhi, Mansehra and Girnar versions of R.E. I and the word ārambha twice in these versions of R.E. IV and once there in R.E. XI are rotacisms from ālabh and ālambah found in the Kalsi versions. There is no justification for this idea. Of course, ālabh or ālambah in the sense of “slaughter for sacrifice” is a legitimate Sanskrit term. It has also the sense of “killing, slaughter” and M. Monier-Williams (A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 150) dubs ārambah erroneous for ālambah in such a sense. But, when ārabh and ārambah occur seven times between them at three distinct places and not at all sporadically and exceptionally but systematically and inevitably, the simplest and most rational hypothesis is surely the bonafide use of them as genuine forms by the scribes concerned and not a rotacist conversion from ālabh and ālambah in a manner which can never be expected in versions where both r and l have their own rights and where, as a rule, there is no change of r to l or vice versa.

38. Epigraphia Indica, XXXII, Part I.
41. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 127.
42. Ibid., p. 115.
44. Aitareya Brahmaṇa, VIII. 21 ; VII. 34 : IV. 27.
46. Ibid.
48. P. 52.
50. R.K. Mookerji, Ancient India (Allahabad 1956), Man facing p. 484.
51. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p. 398, fn. 4.
56. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 114, fn. 1.
60. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 205.
62. Notes to Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India (1924), pp. 692-93.
63. P. 86, fns. 7, 8.
64. I owe this information to a letter dated 11.11.1972 from my friend E. Vedavyasa, I.A.S., Special Officer at the time to the Government of Andhra Pradesh, Rajamundry.
66. XXV, 51 ; XXVIII, 4. See The Vedic Index, I, p. 39.
68. Select Inscriptions, p. 185, fn. 4.
69. Ibid., p. 206, fn. 1.
70. Asoka and His Inscriptions, I, p. 111.
71. “Asoka and the Tamil Country : A New Link” by Dr. R. Nagaswamy, The Sunday Express, Magazine Section, December 6, 1981, p. 6
72. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 706.
75. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 174.
76. The Indian Antiquary, 1902, pp. 192-97.
77. R. Ghirshman, in Iran (Pelican, Harmondsworth 1954), pp. 120-121, mentions a gold tablet found of Hamadan of Ariarmanes, the great grandfather of Darius I, which speaks of “the great god Ahuramazda”. But he adds: “... certain scholars have refused to accept it as a genuine document.” And there is the fact that another gold tablet, in which Arsames, son of Ariarames, declares himself, does not repeat the god’s name.”
78. The Indian Antiquary, 1902, p. 376.
79. P. 224, Note 18.
82. Chandragupta Maurya and His Times, p. 74.


96. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 616.
VARĀHAMIHIRA: FRESH LIGHT ON THE NAME

By

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

Varāhamihira, perhaps, commands the highest reputation in the field of Indian astronomy and astrology, both called Jyothisha, comparable only to that of Kālidāsa as a poet and dramatist. However, his name, especially the combination of its two components, has posed an enigma to some medieval and modern writers alike and some legendary and laboured explanations have been offered. Possibly the late Jaina tradition seeking to make Varāhamihira a brother of Bhadrabāhu and contemporary of king Nanda emanates, among others, from some such effort, this being the earliest extant legend (14th century AD). Thus, according to a story recorded by the Jaina author Merutuṅga in his Prabandha-chintāmaṇi, in Pāṭaliputra there lived a Brāhmaṇa boy named Varāha who had ever since his birth an abiding interest in astrology; but owing to utter poverty he had to subsist by tending cattle. Once he drew a horoscope on a rock but forgot to efface it before returning home in the evening. On remembering it he went back to the spot at night and found a lion sitting over it but effaced the drawing courageously by putting his hand under the lion’s body. Thereupon the animal assumed his real form as the Sun god and told him to ask a boon. Varāha entreated him to show him the entire circle of stars and planets whereupon the god seated him in his chariot and enabled him to examine closely the movements of all the heavenly bodies. On returning after a year he became known as Varāhamihira in allusion to the favour of Mihira (Sun-god), and was patronised by king Nanda and composed an astrological treatise called Varāḥī Saṁhitā. The remainder of the story, which was obviously motivated by the desire to show the superiority of Bhadrabāhu over Varāhamihira and of Jaina astrology over its Brahmanical counterpart, does not concern us in the present context.

According to a marvellous story allegedly based on some old Gujarati text narrated by B. Suryanarayana Rao, Aḍityadāsa and Satyavatī alīsa Indumati got a son in their fifties and christened him Mihira as he was born in fulfilment of a boon of Śūrya. Impressed by his extraordinary knowledge of astrology, king Vikramādiṭya made him a gem of his court. On Vikramādiṭya being blessed with a son, Mihira predicted his (son’s) demise by a boar on a certain day in the 18th year,
which came true in spite of all possible precautions. The king was greatly impressed and conferred on Mihira the emblem and style of Varaha, as a result of which he came to be known as Varahamihira.3

The above stories are apparently intended to explain the rather unique name Varahamihira. An attempt to explain this unique nomenclature is at the root of the theory of A.N. Upadhye identifying Varahamihira with Buzurjmehr of some Persian traditions and regarding the latter as the original of the former which was only a more easily pronounceable from.4 These stories, late and unconvincing as they are, fail to explain the true genesis of the name which can be understood only with the help of some ancient traditions backed by art evidence put it its right perspective.

Sun-worship was Varahamihira’s family religion, and he was also a devotee of the Sun. He offers obeisance to Surya in the beginning of his works except only Vitaha-paṭala which, naturally enough, commences with an invocation to god of love. He was believed to have been born by the blessings of the Sun who had also sharpened his intellect. In later times Varahamihira came to be regarded as an incarnation of the Sun; perhaps a natural transformation from being favoured by the god to being regarded as his emanation. The feat of composing numerous exhaustive and abridged texts on all the different branches of Jyotisha, which is so very closely associated with the sun playing a pivotal role in the firmament, which Varahamihira achieved so very remarkably, also might have contributed vitally to this development. The inclusion of the word mihira in the name also might have facilitated it.

The form of Surya worshipped by him was that popularised in India by the Magi or Maga priests of Iran. This would follow from his description of the iconographic features of the god which represent the re-oriented form and from the statement that the Magas were the appropriate priests for the installation of Surya icons.5 The Magi priests were originally inhabitants of Medea and after its conquest by Cyrus I they gradually spread to other parts of the Achaemenian empire including Iran where they got a foothold in Zoroastrianism. They entered India in waves, the first wave coming to north-western India about the sixth-fifth century BC in the wake of the inclusion of the Indian borderland in the Achaemenian empire. The second wave entered India in the second first century BC along with the Scytho-Parthian invaders and played a transforming role in the history of the Sun-cult. The episode of their immigration into India is narrated in detail in some of the Purânic texts which were probably intended to incorporate special features introduced by them in the solar cult and elevate their social status. The growth in the popularity of the new form of the cult was facilitated by the belief in the power of the sun to cure the leprosy which is vouched
for by Herodotus (I, 138) as well as the story of Śamba who was reportedly responsible for the importation of the Iranian from of the sun-cult in India. By the sixth century AD when Varāhamihira flourished this cult was already well-entrenched.

The name Varāhamihira is highly significant in this context in as much as it indicates that even though the Magi priests were completely Indianised and assimilated in the Brahmanical fold with the status of the Brāhmaṇas, their Iranian origins were not altogether forgotten. The second component of the name, viz. Mihira, was distinctly of Iranian origin, being a Sanskritised form of Avestan Mihr, which happens to be derived from Mithra, the same as Vedic Mitra. The other component, Varāha, also in this particular combination is a Sanskritised derivitive from Iranian 'varāza'. According to a hymn from the Mihr Yasht, a part of the Avesta, Mihr in his march is preceded by Verethragna, the god of victory and strength, in the form of a boar i.e., varāza. The Boar incarnation of Verethragna is described almost in the same fashion in the Bahram Yasht (5.15). These passages clearly show that the word varāha in the name Varāhamihira has a reference to the Boar manifestation of Verethragna and goes well with the second component, mihira, the sun, whose companion and harbinger he was. It would not be out of context to mention here that the Mobadân Mobad of the Sassanian monarch Bahram V (420-438 AD), who was himself a Zoroastrian, bore the name Mihrvarāza, which is obviously identical with Varāhamihira with the only noteworthy difference being the change in the position of the two components of the name in which varāha or boar plays a more prominent role. As suggested by Sanjana, the Iranian counterpart of the name Varāhamihira must have been Varāzmihr, and some very near ancestor of his was a full-blooded Iranian Maga priest.

The alteration in the position of the two components of the name, which was apparently deliberate, calls for some explanation which is not very difficult to find out. It would follow from the Avestan evidence cited above that according to a strong Zoroastrian tradition the Sun was closely associated with the boar (varāza) who was himself a representative or incarnation of Verethragna who is evidently the same as the Vedic Vītrahan or Indra. Thus there appears to have existed a powerful cult centring around the Sun and the Boar who was the former's forerunner. This cult may conveniently be called Mihrvarāza which appears to have enjoyed great popularity till at least the fifth century AD as indicated by the name of the Mobadân Mobād of the Sassanian emperor Bahram V. In India also during the Rāgvedic period Śūrya was a very important god and Viṣṇu was regarded as one of his aspects, his most characteristic attribute consisting of his three strides really symbolising an activity of the Sun according to ancient Vedic commentators. However, in the Later Vedic age Viṣṇu was on a march to gradual rise in
the status and in the post-Vedic period he succeeded in attaining a pre-
eminent position in the Hindu trinity of gods, the other two members
being Brahmā and Śiva, and concurrently Sūrya’s importance declined
though he continued to be worshipped as an independent god with an
independent cult, Saura, centring around him. And Varāha was origi-
nally associated with Prajāpati who is stated in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
(Xiv. 1.2) to have raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean in the
form of a boar. But in later times it came to be regarded as an incarn-
ation of Viṣṇu by the process of transferring this function from Prajāpati
to Viṣṇu after the latter rose to the position of the supreme godhead.
In the Iranian tradition, as has been shown above, Varāha was regarded
as an incarnation of Vereyraghna, i.e., Vṛtrahan Indra. In India, on the
other hand, Viṣṇu is often described as the younger brother of Indra,
thereby making the transfer of Varāha from Indra to Viṣṇu an easy pro-
cess. And since Vereyraghna himself was closely connected with the
Sun, it became easier still.

This transformation appears to have been completed long before the
time of Varāhamihira and the result was the emergence of what may be
conveniently called the Varāhamihira cult. Our author was, of course,
named after this cult, and it may be reasonably supposed that one of his
close ancestors must have been a follower of this Indianised version of
the Zoroastrian cult. And this went well with the Indianised Magi
priests who had to cope up with the tide of Sanskritic culture while at
the same time retaining their separate identity. In course of time they
managed to merge in the Hindu society and contribute a lot to its cul-
ture, and today they have become a part and parcel of the Hindu social
set up and are distinguishable only by such names as Śākadvīpin, Sevaca,
Bhojaka, Graha-Vipra or Ācārya Brāhmaṇa, which are obviously sub-
caste-names among the Brāhmaṇas, prevalent in different parts of North
India. Its significance can be gauged when it is contrasted with a later
wave of the Persian immigrants in the seventh century AD who could
not be absorbed in the Hindu society which had lost its flexibility charac-
terising it earlier and still maintain their religion and culture closely
guarded and are popularly known as Parsees.

That the Varāhamihira cult had become well-entrenched by about
the second century A.D. is clearly indicated by an interesting stone sculp-
ture, now weather-beaten, hailing from somewhere near Mathura and de-
posited in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura (Accession No. 65.15).
It is a fragmentary slab depicting from right to left a standing devotee
with hands in the aṭṭalī mudrā, a four-armed standing figure of Varāha,
a male figure holding bow and arrow, apparently a soldier, and a princely
figure in half-reclining posture, which is preserved only up to the waist. It
is difficult to ascertain the relationship of the last two figures with the cen-
tral figure of Varāha. The Varāha figure is broken in the upper part and
is now handleless, standing in the ṛīṭha pose with his legs kept apart, and the two lower hands kept in the kāṭī-hasta attitude. The two upper hands carry the figures of the Sun and the Moon shown riding a two-horsed chariot each embossed on discs. The figure’s face is turned to right and is now mutilated. Near the mouth goddess Pṛthivī (earth) is shown as a small female figure carrying a bud-like object in her right hand. Varāha is wearing a tight-fitting garland (gratveyaka), armlets and bracelets, waist-band (kāya-bandhana) and a dhoti with its ends collected and hanging between the legs and touching the ground, and has the śrīvatsa mark on the chest. The panel bears a short dedicatory inscription in Brāhmi on its lower rim; it is now fragmentary giving no information of any consequence but sufficient to show that the panel belongs to about the second century A.D. (Fig. 1). The composition is of great value as it shows a combination of Varāha and the solar figures. It occupies a unique place in the history of the Varāhamihira cult in India, but its importance from this point of view has not been appreciated so far.

In fact, it has been rightly pointed out by Kalpana Desai that according to the ancient Indian tradition Varāha himself was identical with the Sun which must have facilitated the growth of the Varāhamihira cult. Thus, right from the time of the Rgveda Varāha was referred to as Vṛṣākapi is identified with Āditya (Sun) in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 6.12). In literary texts this equation of Vṛṣākapi with the Sun or Agni is maintained. In the Mahābhārata (XIII. 70.91), the Harivamśa (III. 33.15) and the Matsya Purāṇa (CCXLVI. 15), for example, he is spoken of as one of the Rudras and identified with the Sun or Fire. V.S. Agrawala is inclined to regard Agni and Sūrya as the names of Varāha and invites our attention to the Bhāgavata description of the trayimaya sاعkara rūpa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (X. 5.2.2) according to which the trayi or triple world-building force is symbolised by Sūrya. And lastly, Chhāyā, the spouse of Sūrya, is described in some of the Purāṇas as the companion of Varāha.

The continuance of the Varāhamihira cult during the Gupta period is vouched for by the well-known theriomorphic representation of Varāha, popularly known as Yajña-Varāha, at Eran which has the depiction of Sūrya and the rāṣṭis on its necklace.

No other representation of Varāhamihira is as yet reported from anywhere in the Indian subcontinent, but the cult appears to have migrated to and been popularised in Central Asia in later times as indicated by certain paintings on the walls of a few caves. However, these figures have erroneously been taken as those of Gānēśa by scholars. One such fresco has been reported from the cave temples at Bazaklik. Here we have the figure of Varāha seated cross-legged on a lotus-seat and six-
armed. He holds in his upper two hands symbolic disc-shaped representations of the Sun and the Moon, and in the remaining four hands a disc representing the earth, a battle-axe with streamers, an unidentifiable object and a curved stick-like object, probably a sword (fig. 2). There are similar depictions of Varāha in caves 7 and 32 at the same site. In all these figures the snout of the boar is shown quite distinctly which should leave no doubt about its identification with Varāha. In fact, Alice Getty appeared quite convinced on this point at one stage and questioned the identity of this figure with the elephant-headed deity Ganeśa, but ultimately she succumbed to this identification on some grounds that appear quite flimsy. Dhavalikar also echoes the same view and argues that what looks like the snout of the boar is in reality an unrealistic representation of the trunk of the god or rather an elongation of the nose itself. But he is also somewhat sceptical on this point and observes that ‘the trunk of the god is not realistically depicted, what we see instead is a sort of snout like that of a boar’. However, in addition to what we have stated above, the ears are too small for an elephant, the eyes and flames shown in the halo of the god represent the fierce (ugra) aspect for which there is no room in the entire mythology of Ganeśa whereas this element is always present and natural in the Varāha figures, and the third disc held by the god and standing for the earth definitely proves that the figure is that of Varāha, and not of the elephant-headed god.

No other evidence of Varāhamihira cult is known so far; perhaps it disappeared in course of time.

REFERENCES

1. The first part of the name, Varāha, is often known by itself to have been employed as a personal name and also formed part of some names. Varāhamihira himself is also frequently referred to both as Varāha and Mihira and the traditions recorded in later times speak of one of the components as his original name, the other being regarded as a title.

2. Prabandha-cintāmani, ed Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 1. Santiniketan, 1939, Prakāśa V, pp. 118-19. For the remainder of the story, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, India as seen in the Brihatasamhitā of Varāhamihira, Delhi, 1969, pp. 23-24; Varāhamihira and his Times, under publication by Kusumanjali Prakashan, Ch. XII. This story is also narrated by Rājaśekharasūri in his Prabandhakosa or Caturviniṣṭi-prabandha (ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jaina Series, No. 6, Santiniketan, 1935).

But the initial episode relating to the addition of the terminal, Mihira, is conspicuously absent in this version of the story, and it is later stated that he spread the rumour that he had acquired the knowledge of astrology by favour of the Sun-god. Thus the episode, which is described as really happening in the Prabandha-cintāmani, is called a ‘rumour’ by Rājaśekharasūri, and the stress is on the rivalry between Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira. For a full summary
of this story, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Varāhamihira and His Times*, Ch. XII (in press).


5. For the iconic features, see Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhat Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira*, pp. 140-41; for reference to Magas, see *ibid.*, p. 178.


7. *Cf.* Vītrohan of the Rgveda, an epithet of Indra who also, according to some Vedicists, was a god of strength and war. See K. C. Chattopadhyaya, *Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature*, I, p. 100.


10. V. K. Rajwade also thinks that the name Varāhamihira is un-Indian and equates varāha with haura, an imaginary form of Ahura. See Rājavāde-lekha-sangraha, Part III: *Śaṅkīrtra Nibandha*, Poona, 1936: cited by J. E. Sanjana, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16 which is palpably erroneous.


14. According to the *Taîttriya Āraṇyaka*, the earth was raised from the waters by a hundred-armed black boar.


17. *Cf.* The Bihar stone inscription of Skandagupta (Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, CII, No. 14, p. 49, line 1) and the Alina Pls. of Maitrakā Śālāṭiṣṭa VII (*ibid.*, No. 39, p. 174, line 14) where Vishnu is called *Indrāṇīja* and *Uendra* respectively.

18. Originally N. P. Joshi believed that both the representations were of Sūrya (“A Varāha Image of the Kushāṇa Period”, *Lalit Kala*, No. 12, October, 1962, pp. 46-47; *Mathura Sculptures*, Mathura, 1966, Appendix II, pp. iii-viii). But later he modified his view and identified the two figures as of the Sun and the Moon on the basis of certain literary references.


20. See her addendum to N. P. Joshi’s note, *Lalit Kala*, No. 12, October 1962, p. 47.

23. Cf. Harivāhana III. 34. 41; Vāyu IV. 22; Matsya, CCXLVII. 73, etc.
25. Other scholars have identified these objects somewhat differently. See Alice Getty, Ganēśa—A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God, second edition. New Delhi, 1971, p. 41, fig 4; M.K. Dhaivalikar, "Ganēśa Figures in Central Asia", Giridharatī-Essaya on Indology, (D.G.S. Dikshit Felicitation Volume), Delhi, 1987, pp. 39-40, fig. 6. My attention to these figures has been drawn by my colleague Dr. Chandrashekhar Gupta to whom I owe these identifications also. See also his "Some Syncretistic Representations of Some Parāśānic Deities", Pratī-Pratīkā: Perspectives in Indology (Essays in honour of Professor B.N. Mukherjee), Delhi, 1989, pp. 235.38.
NĀLANDĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA
AND THE HISTORICITY OF RĀMAGUPTA

By

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

The Nālandā Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta has been commented upon by several scholars. These scholars have mostly discussed the issue whether the plate is genuine or spurious, and quite significant and forceful arguments have been put forth in support of both the views. They were so much involved in discussing this aspect of the inscription that points which were not relevant to this issue did not receive due attention at their hands. In the paper under discussion we discuss the significance of the designation *kumāra* met with in the inscription for Chandragupta II as an evidence for the historicity of Rāmagupta.

There is considerable possibility that the Nālandā plate of Samudragupta is genuine. Even if it is accepted that the plate is spurious, still the evidence that we are to discuss would not become irrelevant. A forged plate would normally be a copy of the original one with the exception of changes in that portion of the text which gives information regarding the donees—their names, patronymy, *gotras* and *pravaras*, and the place wherefrom they come. There would be no need for the forger to change the details regarding the donor or the description of the land or village granted, and the terms and conditions dealing with the grant. In fact, to give authenticity to the plate, the forger would strive to follow the original text as faithfully as possible. Hence for the purpose of general history even the evidence of spurious copper-plate would generally be satisfactory. Hence, the point of information of the Nalanda Copper-plate Inscription discussed below assumes significance.

At the end of the text of the Nālandā Copper-plate Inscription, Chandragupta has been referred to as *kumāra*, i.e., 'prince', and be it noted that he has been referred to as such also in the *Devichandraguptacāh* as well. The context clearly shows that he was assigned the duty of a *dāta* (or *dātaka*), i.e., the task of supervising the draft of the charter of the land grant and delivering it to the donee or donees. Prince Chandragupta was the son of Samudragupta and is known to have adopted the title of *Vikramādiṭya* after becoming king.
In our view, there is a fairly weighty literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence in favour of a Rāmagupta succeeding his father Samudragupta and ruling for a short period. Shorn of details and exaggerations, the Rāmagupta story may be stated as below. Rāmagupta agreed to surrender his queen Dhruvasvāmini to the invading Saka ruler. His valiant younger brother, Chandragupta (II) enraged at this ignoble and cowardly act of his elder brother, disguised himself as Dhruvasvāmini, went to the camp of the Saka ruler along with a few followers, and killed him. Later he also killed Ramagupta and married Dhruvasvāmini.

Despite the fact that several pieces of evidence, literary, numismatic, and epigraphic, have been brought forth by scholars in favour of the historicity of Rāmagupta, there are still a few scholars who hesitate in accepting it, and still fewer who reject it outright. Hence, any piece of evidence, direct or indirect, on this point becomes significant.

As stated above, as per evidence of the Nalanda plate, Chandragupta was assigned the responsibility of the office of dātaka, which, it is well to remember, was assigned to very high officials and dignitaries. The Madhuban and the Banskhera plates of Harsha, for example, mention one Skandagupta as holding the office of mahāpramātāra and mahāśāṅdhvigrāhika and acting as dātaka. In ancient India, the office of yuvarāja was quite important and generally the eldest son of the king was appointed to that office. It is natural to think that had Chandragupta been the eldest son of Samudragupta (and be it noted that king is known to have had many sons), he would have been appointed to the office of yuvarāja, and referred to as such in the Nalanda Copper-plate Inscription. Epigraphic evidence, which is copious, shows that he was the son born of the chief-queen, Dattadevi, and there is ample evidence to show that he was a formidable warrior and an able statesman. Hence, there is hardly any possibility of his claim being bypassed for that office. It may be argued that he might have been a child at the time of issuing of the Nalanda Copper-plate Inscription and hence for that reason not been appointed as yuvarāja. But the argument would not be valid. For there is no bar for a child to be appointed as yuvarāja, and, secondly, since the task of dātaka assigned to Chandragupta was that of great responsibility, it would be reasonable to infer that he would have been fairly grown up at the time of the issue of the plate. The inference is that he was not the eldest of the sons and hence was not appointed as yuvarāja, and that somebody else would have held that office at that time. In the recently discovered Devakali Copper-plate Inscription of the Maukhari king Ṣāṇavarman, which we studied for the first time and the results of the study have now been published, Šārvavarman Maukhari, the son of Ṣāṇavarman Maukhari, has been referred to as yuvarāja. And it is natural to infer that at the time of the issue of the
grant he was the elder or eldest son, and Śūryavarman, another son of Iśanavarman, known from the Haraha Inscription\textsuperscript{10}, was either his younger brother, or, if elder, had died before the issue of the grant. Let us speculate as to who would have held the office of yuvrāja at the time of the issue of the Nālandā grant of Samudragupta. On the basis of what has been said above, it would be logical to suggest that at that time an elder brother of Chandragupta held that office. And since, as per literary evidence, Rāmagupta is known as an elder brother of Chandragupta, it would be reasonable to infer that it is he who held that office.

However, this is a guess, though a reasonable one, and we would like to make our stand clear in this connection. It may be stated that had Chandragupta been mentioned as yuvrāja in this inscription, the evidence in itself would not have been sufficient enough to rule out the existence of Rāmagupta; none-the-less, it would have given additional weight to the viewpoint of those scholars who do not accept his historicity. Likewise, the non-mention of the designation of yuvrāja for Chandragupta II in itself is not an argument (it being an example of argumentum ex silentio) sufficient enough to show that that office was held by Rāmagupta. Never-the-less, it certainly lends considerable weight to the existing evidence\textsuperscript{11}, which in our view, is fairly copious, in favour of the historicity of Rāmagupta.

\textbf{FOOT NOTES}


2. A. Ghosh and D.C. Sircar for example treated it as spurious, while D.R. Bhandarkar forcefully argues in favour of its being a genuine one.


4. It is stated in the inscription that the drawing up of the grant was done by the order of Gopasvāmi, who was a Mahāpālupati, Mahābalādhikṣita and Akṣhapatālika.


6. For Madhuban plate, see K.K. Thaplyal, \textit{Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puspaḥātis and Yaśovarman of Kanauj}, pp. 182 ff. pls. XVI and XVI A; and for Banskhera plate, \textit{ibid.}, pp. 177 ff, pl. XVII.

7. The existence of this office in the Gupta period is attested. We have, for example, seals of the Gupta period bearing legends variously as Yuvrāja-pādiya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa-saya, 'seal of (the office of the Kumārāmātya attached to yuvrāja (crown prince)' and Yuvrāja bhaṭṭāraka pādiya Kumārā-
mātyādhikaraṇaśya, 'seal of the office of Kumārāmātya attached to the yuvarāja and the king.' See ASIAR, 1903–04, 109–10, nos. 20–22 and 25–27.

8. Vide the Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta, (Bhandarkar ed. CHI, III, text p. 222, 1. 19)—refers to that king as having several sons and grandsons—bohoputra-pautra.


10. See K.K. Thaplyal, Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puspabhāṭīs and Yaśovarman of Kanauj, pp. 141 ff, pl. V.

11. See fn. 5. above.
"RAPE OF A NĀΓI" (?) : DEVICE OF A GUPTA CLAY SEALING RE-INTERPRETED

By

PRASHANT SRIVASTAVA

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, in 1937, published an interesting clay sealing belonging to the Gupta period, from the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The central device of the sealing comprises a Garuḍa holding a female figure which is identified by Coomaraswamy as a Nāgi, a feminine serpent because of a line, representing a serpent, which extends from the top of the female figure's head to the beak of the Garuḍa. To the right of the central device is a four-letter Brahmī legend Jambharasa with characters of the Gupta script of the northern variety of circa fifth century A.D.

The central device is of great interest: It is interpreted by Coomaraswamy as the representation of the "rape of a Nāgi by a Garuḍa", and he says that it "illustrates what may be termed the fundamental opposition of Sun and Serpent, according to which the serpents are represented as the natural prey of the solar eagle." This idea of the "rape of a Nāgi by a Garuḍa" seems to have suggested itself to him because of the Greek formula of the Rape of Ganymede, and he himself hints at a possible connection between the present device and the representation of the Rape of Ganymede made by Leochares.

The central device on this sealing is purely Indian in style and execution, as Coomaraswamy himself admits. As such, we find it rather difficult to accept his interpretation of this central device. We have several examples of Indian seals representing a Garuḍa with a serpent. In most of these representations, the serpent is shown in its actual reptilian form. The Taleshwar copper-plate seals of Dyuṭivarman and his son Vishnuvarman (II) of Brahmapura bear the Garuḍa with a bull, a chakra, and a tankha, all surmounted by a hooded cobra. In the Kajim copper-plate seal of King Tivaradeva, the Garuḍa is shown in therianthropic form with a hooded snake standing facing front on each shoulder of the solar bird. The Nālandā sealing of Kumāragupta (II or III) bears the serpent's body entwined round the neck of the Garuḍa, with its tail at the centre of the Garuḍa's chest and its hold near the head of the bird to the right and facing the head of the
Garuda. But most important of all is the sealing of Śvetabhādra, most probably a feudatory of the Imperial Guptas, which has for its device a Garuda holding a serpent.

In the context of the seals and sealings other than those of the Imperial Guptas and their feudatories and officials, etc., the representation of the Garuda and the Nāga might symbolise the traditional animosity that exists between the solar bird and the serpent. But in the context of the Imperial Guptas, and their feudatories and officials, etc., the depiction of the Garuda and the serpent represents the “subjugation of the Nāgas” at the hands of the Imperial Guptas.

The representation of the Garuda and the serpent on the present sealing is a deviation from the usual style of representation of the motif on the seals in that it shows the serpent in anthropomorphic form, and what is of still greater importance, in the form of a female. Our interpretation of the device is that it represents the goddess of royal fortune of the Nāgas (represented by the female figure) in the clutches of the Garuda, the royal insignia of the Imperial Guptas, thus symbolically representing the Imperial Gupta conquest of the Nāgas. In view of the political history of the Imperial Guptas, especially the military achievements of Samudragupta in Northern India as known from the Prayāga Praśasti, our interpretation of the central device on the Gupta clay sealing under discussion here would seem to be appropriate.

One objection can, however, be raised against our interpretation. Why did Jambhara, the owner of the seal, who appears from his name to belong to some tribe or to be of foreign origin, celebrate the victory of the Guptas over the Nāgas? It may be suggested here that Jambhara, who is unknown from any other source, might have been a provincial governor or a high official in the Gupta empire. The practice of employing foreigners as provincial governors and high officials is not without precedent. Aśoka is known to have employed Yavanarāja Tushāspa as his governor in Saurāśṭra. If Jambhara was in the employ of the Imperial Guptas, there is every reason to believe that he celebrated the victory of his overlords over their enemies, the Nāgas. He might even have belonged to some tribe that had come under the umbrella of the Imperial Gupta sovereignty. The Prayāga Praśasti of Samudragupta mentions several tribal republics like Mālava, Ārjunāyana, Yaudheya, Mādraka, Ābhira, Prājuna, Sanakāṇika, Kāka, Kharaparika, and others, that were tributaries of that Gupta monarch.

Again, it might be pointed out that Jambhala is one of the names of Kubera in Buddhist mythology. It is quite likely that what has been read by Coomaraswamy as Jambharasa, is actually Jambhalasa, “Of Jambhala”. It is also possible that the legend is Jambharasa, but stands
for Jambhalasa. In Prākrit, la and ra are interchangeable. This, we think, would explain the difficulty arising out of the seemingly non-Indian origin of the name of the owner of this seal.

It might be argued that if Jambhara (=Jambhala?) was a feudatory or an official serving under the Imperial Guptas, why is his official designation not mentioned on the present sealing. But there are certain kings like Jeśhadatta⁴, Dhanabhūṭī⁵, and Jeśḥamitra⁶, who are known to have simply mentioned their names, unaccompanied by any title, on their seals. As such, there is no grave difficulty in accepting Jambhara (=Jambhala) as a provincial governor or an official of the Imperial Guptas.

NOTES

2. Ibid., p. 331.
3. Ibid., p. 333; see figure 7, p. 332.
4. Ibid., p. 331.
5. "The principal interest of the seal, however, is provided by the device of an eagle carrying off a woman, which occupies the central field; or to speak more precisely, that of a Suparśa or Garuḍa carrying off a Nāga, or again in other words of the rape or capture by the Sunbird of a feminine serpent in human form." Ibid., p. 331.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., pp. 331-333.
8. Ibid., pp. 331-333.
11. Ibid., p. 58.
13. Ibid., p. 68.
14. Ibid., Pl. VI. 1 ; also p. 420.
16. See Thaplyal, op. cit., p. 49.
17. Ibid., p. 49, fn. 3. The serpent appears as an actual reptile.
18. Ibid., pp. 126-27. Dr. Thaplyal suggests that the Garuḍa itself represented the "subjugation of the Nāgas" at the hands of the Guptas. In p. 127, fn. 1, he quotes a passage from the Junagarh Inscription of Skandagupta, containing a reference to the Gupta conquest of the Nāgas. (Narapatibhujagānāṁ mānadarppotpahāgānāṁ pratikṛtī garudajñāṁ nirvishāṅcāvāvakarītā),
19. See the Prayāga Prāṣasti of Samudragupta, line 21 (D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I (3rd ed.), p. 254.) Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena, and probably also Acyuta, were the Nāga rulers of Āryāvarta vanquished by Samudragupta.


23. Cf. Lājīna for Rājīna in the Rummimdei Pillar Inscription of Aśoka. D.C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 67. Also lājā for rājā in the Eleventh Rock Edict (Kālsī version), ibid., p. 31; lāja for rāja in the First Pillar Edict (Delhi-Topra version), ibid., p. 53, etc.


26. Ibid., p. 37.
POSITION OF WOMEN AS REFLECTED IN THE GUPTA
AND CONTEMPORARY INSCRIPTIONS

By

MANABENDU BANERJEE

During the rule of the Gupta monarchs, which continued from the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. to the middle of the 6th century, India and mainly its northern region regained her political unity as well as cultural interest. Under the banner of the Imperial Guptas the country saw her golden age including the expansion of the Hindu civilization and unique efflorescence of culture—the memory of which continued for centuries mainly through vast literary records, including the inscriptions, produced under the patronage of the Gupta monarchs.

The Gupta and contemporary inscriptions contain valuable materials related with the political, social and religious conditions of that time, but they do not apparently yield much information about the position and status of women in the society. The main purpose of the inscriptions was never to magnify a brilliant band of grand women for which we have to turn mainly on the contemporary literature, sculpture and painting. Yet a close study of the inscriptions of this period helps us to collect satisfactorily starring ingredients which may add some flesh and blood to the social history of Ancient India wherein the position of women is to be dealt with. Inscriptions of this period have recorded some subtle but valuable aspects related to the position of Indian women who were certainly the essential factors of the glorious civilisation that the Gupta rulers contributed to this country. References to women in their various forms remain interspersed throughout the entire Inscriptional literature, but when they are compiled and arranged, they can throw enough light on the general nature and activities of the women community. The literary references to women, in the Gupta period, clearly show that their status in the society had been considerably raised, and, this may be substantiated by the epigraphical remains. The present study is mainly based on some principal Sanskrit inscriptions that were issued during 4th-6th centuries A.D.

Women of the royal Gupta family appear to have had their worthy place and high position. The Gupta characters occasionally contain the genealogical lists of the family where deferential references have been
made to the queens along with their husbands. A donor king has often mentioned his mother's name as well as the names of the queen-mothers on whom his ancestors were begotten. Thus, we have come to know the names of the queens, namely, Kumāradevī (Samudragupta's mother), Dattadevī, (mother of Candragupta II) Dhruvadevī, (mother of Kumāradeva I), Prabhāvatiguptā, Kuveranāgā and so on. This practice was followed even in the post-Gupta records. Coins of the Gupta age sometimes bear the images of the queens along with their husbands. Bhaṣārikādevi is the technical title of a wife of a Mahārāja and also of a Mahārājādhirāja. The frequent references to the epithet mahādevi and agramohiṣi in the inscriptions indicate the prevalence of the system of polygamy in the then society, at least among the rich and ruling class.

Kings of ancient India sometimes tried to secure helpful allies by giving their daughters in marriage to the powerful monarchs ruling over the strategic territories. Candragupta II established a matrimonial alliance with the Vākātaka king Prthviṣena I by giving his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā in marriage to the crown prince Rudrasena II. The proposal from Candragupta was perhaps gladly accepted by Prthviṣena I and the marriage was celebrated with great solemnity. By this alliance, Candragupta II managed to have a cooperative brother-in-arms on the southern side and he thought that this alliance would facilitate his task of overthrowing the western Kṣatrapas.

Kumāradevī, the Licchavi princess, was married to Chandragupta I. Her name occurs in the genealogical list included in the Gupta inscriptions. She is called Mahādevi—a title generally applied to the queen of a paramount sovereign. Chandragupta I is, from historical point of view, the founder of the Gupta dynasty and Kumāradevī is believed to be a capable woman who played an important role in connection with the foundation of the Gupta empire. Samudragupta, who calls himself Licchavi-dauhttra, issued coins bearing the figures of his parents, Candragupta I and Kumāradevī, on obverse and these appear to be an eloquent testimony to the help and cooperation received by Candragupta I through his consort from the Licchavis. Candragupta might have secured and strengthened his power and territory after this marriage.

From the Poona and Rithpur copper plate inscriptions issued by Prabhāvatiguptā, we know that after the premature death of her husband Rudrasena II, she assumed the reins of administration as regent of her minor sons Divākarasena and Pravarasena II. The epigraphical records portray the regency of this dowager queen as a remarkable span of the history of the Vākātakas, and these records evince that ladies of the royal families were required, in cases of necessity, to take upon themselves the responsibility of the State administration. The plates of Prabhāvatiguptā
begin with the Gupta genealogy instead of the Vākājaka one, and it appears that these were drafted by some experienced officers who were deputed by Candragupta II to assist his daughter in administrative affairs. These plates also inform us that Prabhāvatī’s mother was Mahādevī Kuveranāgā who was born of the Nāga family (nāgakulasaṁbhūtyāṁ trimalādevyāṁ kuveranāgāyāṁ utpānā).

It is interesting to note that Prabhāvatiguptā introduced herself in her inscriptions as the daughter⁴ of Candragupta II or Devagupta and even after marriage she retained the dhāraṇagotra which apparently was the gotra of her paternal Gupta family. It is also remarkable that, like Prabhāvatī, her mother Kuveranāgā did not drop her paternal family title (nāga) even after her marriage with Candragupta II. The general custom is that Hindu woman has to adopt the gotra or clan name of her husband.⁵ After marriage she forfeits connexion with her father’s gotra and belongs exclusively to her husband’s family. This change of a married woman’s gotra is technically known as gotrāntara. From the Cambav Copper-plate inscription⁶ of Pravarasena II we know that the clan name of his family was Vīṣṇuvṛddha-gotra; but his mother Prabhāvatī did not adopt this gotra-name of her husband’s family. So it may be presumed that the loss of the paternal gotra or the paternal family name on the part of the bride was not rigidly followed during the 5th-6th century A.D. at least in some southern territories.⁷

Another remarkable point is that Prabhāvatiguptā, like her father, was a great devotee of Viṣṇu. The Poona inscription of Prabhāvatiguptā describes Candragupta II as paramabhāgavata and herself as atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā.⁸ The Vākājaka kings were originally Śaivas (cf. atyanta-māheśvara),⁹ but Rudrasena II is stated to have earned enough good fortune through the grace of Lord Cakrānāi, i.e. Viṣṇu (bhagavatāt cakrapāṇeḥ prasūdopārjita-irt-samudaya).¹⁰ It was evidently Prabhāvatī who was instrumental in converting her husband, Rudrasena II, to a follower of the Vaiṣṇava faith.

Prabhāvatiguptā’s son Pravarasena II, however, reverted to his ancestral faith i.e. Śaivism. But this did not cause any hindrance to his relation with his Vaiṣṇavite mother. The cordial relation is projected in the Patna Museum plate of Pravarasena II which records the donation of a village to three Brāhmaṇas for the increase of the religious merit and for the well-being, in this world and the next, of his queen mother i.e. Prabhāvatiguptā (mātrbhāṣṭārīkānāṁ puṣyopacaye athikāmuṣmat-
kahtārthāḥ).¹¹

The inscriptions issued by Prabhāvatiguptā show that like her male counterparts in their respective territories, she also enjoyed all the rights and privileges of a ruler. Such as the cases of other kings, she also
addressed the villagers and officials and donated lands to respected Brāhmaṇas for the enhancement of the religious merits of her parents. The inscriptions of this period have furnished accounts of women who thought it their pious duty to gift lands to respected Brāhmaṇas to enliven them in performing religious activities, and women are also described as donating various objects to the temples or gods. These women donors were not only from royal families but from other classes also. The British Museum plate of the 4th century A.D.\textsuperscript{13} states that Cārudēvi, wife of the Pallava king Vījāyabuddhavarmān made a gift of land to a temple of Nārāyaṇa at Delura, and she also addressed villagers and officers at a place named Kāṣaka. This inscription supplies an evidence where the queen issued a grant in her individual capacity, for, there is no mention in the record of any instance to show that she sought permission from the king. This fact shows the prestige of some women in the then society.

The Gadhwa stone inscription of Candragupta II, dated 407 A.D.,\textsuperscript{13} records a gift of ten dināras, made by the wife of a householder (grhaśṭhaśya bhārīyā), for the perpetual maintenance of a Brahmanical institution or an alms-house or a charitable hall to be used by the Brāhmaṇa community (saṅga-satrasamāny-brāhmaṇa). This gift was made by the lady possibly out of her strīdhana, i.e. presents received from her parents or brothers or property acquired by herself in any way, for the purpose of furthering her own religious pursuit (āmapuṇyopacārāyārtham). It shows firstly that society at that time recognised the rights of a married woman of her own property and secondly that religious sense of even the women encouraged endowments as a form of worshipping god through the service of men. A good number of inscriptions having similar intention came into existence.

The Sāncī stone inscription, dated 450 A.D.,\textsuperscript{14} records the gift of twelve dināras, by Upāśikā Harīsvāmīni, wife of Upāśaka Sanasiddha, to the Buddhist community at the great vihāra at Sāncī; three dināras were given by her in the jewel-house (ratna-grha) for lighting lamps of the divine Buddha; one dināra was given in a place where the images of four Buddhas were seated (catur-buddhāsana). The gifts were made in memory of the donor’s parents (mātāpitaram uḍḍīṣya). The donation was possibly made out of her strīdhana. The Mathura stone image inscription, dated 454 A.D.,\textsuperscript{15} refers to the gift of a Buddhist statue of Vīhāravāṃśī Devatā. The title Vīhārasvāṃśī means literally a mistress (lady-superintendent) of a vihāra. It is quite interesting to note that vīhāras were sometimes under the care of lady officials. Fleet, however, takes the title in the sense of ‘the wife of the master of a vihāra’.

An inscription on a stone pillar, found at Vārāṇasi, records that the pillar was erected (hilastambhaḥ sthāpitaḥ) by a lady named Dāmasvā-
mini, in 478 A.D., during the reign of Budhagupta. The pillar was erected perhaps in memory of her dead parents. Her father’s name was Māraṇīa and mother’s Sābhāṭī. It was most probably a votive pillar, as is suggested by the word stambha, erected in some religious establishment with a view to acquiring merit.16 A suitable religious gift (not specified) was made by a Buddhist female mendicant, Jayabhāṭī by name, to a monastery called Yāsovihāra.17

The Valabhi grant of Guhasena, dated saṃvat 240,13 records that a village (the name has been lost) was granted to a community of Buddhist monks residing in the vihāra, founded by Dhruvasena’s sister’s daughter Duḍḍā (valabhipure duḍḍākārtita-vihārasya). The purpose of the grant was to repair the monastery (khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-viśīna-pratisahskaranār-tham), to supply food, clothing etc. for the monks, and to provide various materials for the worship of the Buddha (gandha-puṣpa-dhūpa-dīpa-taillādi-kṛtyotsarpayartham) and also to acquire books of the holy faith (saddharmasya pustakopakrayartham). Duḍḍā was evidently personally acquainted with the requirements of the monastery.

Women sometimes joined their husbands in the acts of making gifts with the purpose of securing opportunities for spiritual uplift. The Paharpur copper-plate inscription, dated 479 A.D.,19 records that a Brāhmaṇa lady Rāmi, along with her husband Nāṭhaśarman, purchased, after going through the land-transactions-procedures, a fallow land for the purpose of making a donation in favour of a Jaina vihāra. The land was proposed to be utilized for making provision of sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc. (gandha-dhūpa-sumana-dīpadyartham) to the regular worship of divine Arhats in the vihāra and also for the construction of a resting place near the vihāra. A Brāhmaṇa wife’s share in the donation to the Jaina god speaks of the religious toleration existing in the Hindu family and also of a Hindu Brahmin woman’s free and unbiased attitude towards religion. The wife’s participation in the joint application for the purchase of land is an interesting example of the common right and freedom of women in ancient Indian society.

In his Eran stone pillar inscription,20 Samudragupta is stated to have obtained Dattā i.e. Dattadevi as his wife by his manliness and prowess (dattāsya pauṛuṣa-parakrama-datta-tulā); this expression may suggest that Samudragupta had an ‘open contest’ before he had gained Datta-devi as his wife i.e. he won her by his valour. This inscription shows that valour of a person sometimes attracted a lady so much so that she chose him as her husband. In this context it may be referred to here that after the death of Samudragupta, Candragupta II became the king and married his widow sister-in-law Dhruva-devi by showing great valour in killing the Śaka chief and thereafter Candragupta’s elder brother Rāmagupta, the latter having made himself prepared to fulfil the Śaka’s
evil wishes by handing over to him his own wife (i.e. Dhruvadevi). Here also the value of Candragupta II was the main factor behind Dhruvadevi's having been attracted to him. This information is gathered from the extracts of Visakhadatta's lost drama Devicandragupta contained in the Nāyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇācandra. This fact evinces the remarriage of widows prevalent at least in some cases during the Gupta period. The status of Dhruvadevi was an esteemed one, for, the inscriptions inform us that her son Kumāragupta I ascended the throne after Candragupta.

The inscriptions of the Gupta period present portraits of a noble group of ladies who were chaste wives, devoted to their husbands. In the said Eran pillar inscription it is stated that Dattadevi was a virtuous and faithful wife (kulavadhūḥ vratini nīvešā) and always delighted in her household duties (nityāṁ gṛheṣu muditā). Dattadevi had in her possession abundance of elephants, horses, money and grain (line 18). Probably she brought these things as strīdhana when she first came to her husband's house. The expression that Dattadevi went about in the company of many sons and grandsons (bāhpātra-pautrasanākṛāṁśi)—line 19) bears witness to her long life and a happy atmosphere of a joint royal family.

The expression that Kumāragupta I, with his powerful arms, protected the earth as if she was his chaste and devoted wife (rārakṣa sādhvīṁ īva dharmapatnim) indicates a wife's achievement of high position among her co-wives, if she was chaste in character and that in such case the husband was bound to protect her from all danger.

A few inscriptions lead valuable evidences of Sati system that continued in the Gupta age; this custom was obviously not a general practice, for, a contesting number of instances in support of this practice are not available. The Eran stone pillar inscription of Goparāja, dated 510 A.D., states that the general Goparāja accompanied the king Bhānugupta in a battle fought probably against the Hūnas at Eran, and Goparāja fell fighting. Goparāja had a virtuous, beloved and beautiful wife who was devoted and very much attached to him (bhaktānurakta ca priyā ca kāntā). She perhaps accompanied him in the battlefield, or having heard the news of the sad and unexpected death of her husband, she rushed to the place. On the funeral pyre, meant for Goparāja, she immolated herself (anugatānitrāśim).

The Sāṅsī memorial (Kolhapur District, Maharashtra) inscription, dated about 500 A.D., records that the funeral memorial in stone satītān ira ca tātikāyam) had been installed by a king himself (svayam nṛpatinā satiṣṭhāptam) out of affection (priyā) for his beloved queen Hālidevi who having won the heart of her lord by her noble character, repaired to heaven before the advent of old age, to guard the (accumulated trea-
sure of her) religious merits (puṇyāṇoh pariṁkṣaṇārtham). The stone-
slab, on which the inscription is engraved, bears sculptures which depict
the funeral scene of a woman, and it is believed to be a sati memorial.
The funeral scene is well placed amidst consuming fire and some devout
followers of the lady. One of her followers is seen “seated firmly facing
the ordeal of fire and another is shown fleeing away unable to stand its
blaze’. It is a very realistic scene and the inscription is evidently
an epitaph ‘perpetuating the name of a distinguished lady who predeceased
her royal husband’.

Another instance of a devoted wife’s desire for self-immolation is
found in the Cāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa pillar inscription14 of Mānadeva, king of
Nepal. This inscription, dated 464 A.D., informs us that queen Rājya-
vatī faithful wife of king Dharmadeva of Nepal, resolved to become
Sati when her husband died. She told her son Mānadeva that as his father
had gone to the heaven (yātaḥ pitā te dīvaiḥ), she felt no necessity in
preserving her useless life (astamite tavādyā pitari prāṇair vṛtā kūn
mama); she, therefore, decided to follow her husband’s path, by killing
herself (anuyāmy adyaṛva bhaurat gatīṁ). But due to Mānadeva’s
sincere efforts, Rājyavatī ultimately resisted herself from being a Sati
and, together with her son, she performed the last rites of her husband.

We have a glaring picture of a dignified widow mother in the
Bhitari stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta.26 This inscription states
that after the death of Skandagupta’s father, Kumāragupta I, the Gupta
fortune turned unsettled, but Skandagupta reinstated it by defeating the
enemies and reported this incident to his widow mother who, with a heart
full of love for his son, received him with tears of joy (jitam iti pariṁso
mātaram sāru-netrām). The inscription has drawn an analogy of this
act of Skandagupta with a similar one of Kṛṣṇa who is said to have
reported the news of his victories over his enemies to his mother, Devakī
(hatarīpur iva kṛṣṇo devakim abhupetaḥ). This expression may suggest
two possibilities, firstly, the name of Skandagupta’s mother was also
Devakī, and secondly, some relatives on his mother’s side declared
war against him for which his mother had to experience mental agony.
It appears from this part of the inscription that Skandagupta’s mother
was not the chief queen and for that reason the name of Skandagupta
is omitted in the later Gupta inscriptions. The extant inscriptions refer
to Anantadevi as the only queen of Kumāragupta I. The Bhitari Seal
inscription of Kumāragupta II26 mentions Anantadevi as the Mahādevī
or chief queen, who is further described as the mother of Mahārajādhirāja
Purugupta. While all the mothers of almost all the chief predecessors
of Skandagupta are mentioned in the genealogical lists of the inscrip-
tions, the name of Skandagupta’s mother, not being the chief queen, is not
recorded there unless she is taken to be Devakī of the Bhitari pillar inscrip-
tion. As his mother was not the Mahādevī, Skandagupta was left out
of the legitimate claim to the throne. So he had to fight for the ancestral throne with one or more rivals including, perhaps, Purugupta, the son from the chief queen. When Skandagupta returned with the glad news of his victory, his mother Devakī received him with tearful eyes which were evidently the expression of her happiness even in the humiliating condition of her not being a mahādevī. This presumption cannot be totally wiped out, as, in the polygamous royal family, queens of lower position and their sons had most probably little chance of coming to limelight. The status of minor queens in the royal harem has been well delineated by Kālidāsa in his works.

Though the Gupta age witnessed the revival of Brahmancial culture, the rigidity of caste system was absent in this period. Though endogamy was the general practice in marriages, considerable freedom appears to have been allowed in the cases of inter-caste marriage. An inscription, dated 533 A.D., refers to such a union of a Brāhmaṇa husband Ravikīrtti and his Kṣatriya wife Bhānuguptā.27 By this chaste wife (śādīvī) Ravikīrtti had three sons. This type of inter-caste marriage, which is approved by the Smṛtis,28 is called anuloma, that is to say, the marriage of a male of a higher varṇa to a female belonging to a lower varṇa. The Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasene II, who belonged to the Brāhmaṇa royal family of Vīraṇuvāḍha-gotra,29 married the Kṣatriya princess Prabhāvatīgupta. That this marriage did not, however, bring any low-level position to her and to her children is evidenced by her inscriptions where she is described as agramahātī (crowned queen) of the Vākāṭakas, and her son Pravarasena II succeeded to the throne without any obstruction.

Another-inter-caste marriage of this period is recorded in the Ghapotkaca cave inscription of Varāhadeva. It is told there,30 that Soma, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Vāṣuṇa village, who regularly used to perform religious duties prescribed by the Vedas and Smṛtis had more than two wives belonging both to Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa caste. (Somastata soma tvāparo bhūt sa brāhmaṇakṣatriyavahārasu/sruti-smṛtibhyāṃ vihitā/ kārti dvayisu bhāryāsau mano ādhera]. Ravi, the son from the Kṣatriya wife, took the charge of ruling over the territory around Vāṣuṇa; though Ravi is called a Kṣatriya, Yājñavalkya has theoretically called the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Kṣatriya mother a mārdhavastika. Soma’s sons from his Brāhmaṇa father and Kṣatriya mother a mārdhavastika. Soma’s sons from his Brāhmaṇa father and Kṣatriya mother a mārdhavastika.

The inscriptions give us evidence of the pratiloma type of marriage which permits a female of a higher varṇa marrying a male of a lower varṇa. The Talgunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarmar refers to the daughters of a Brāhmaṇa monarch being married to the princes belonging the Gupta and other royal Kṣatriya families.
The Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bauka records that Śrī Haricandra Rohilladdhi, a Brahmin versed in the Vedas and Śāstras, who was the founder of the Pratihāra dynasty, had two wives; he first married the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa, and then Bhadrā, a Kṣatriya lady, who belonged to a noble family and was possessed of good qualities (tena śrī-haricandraṃ parīṇitā dviṣṭamajā dviṣṭiyā kṣatriyā bhadrā mahā-kulaguṇāṇvitaḥ). It is stated that the sons born of the Brāhmaṇa wife became Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas and those of queen Bhadrā became drinkers of wine (madhu-pāyīnāḥ). In fact, the sons born of the Kṣatriya wife became the founders of the royal line of the Pratihāras. Thus, the epigraphic sources show that plurality of wives was not forbidden among the ordinary Hindus.

The svayamvara system of marriage is alluded to in the expression-lakṣmīḥ svayain yathā varayāḥ ca kāraḥ in the Junagadh rock inscription of Skandagupta and in svayamvarayeva rājālakṣmyādhitagena occurring as it is in two inscriptions, firstly in the Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta and secondly in the Eran stone Boar inscription of Toramāna. Sanskrit literary works and specially the Rāghuvrīṣṭa of Kālidāsa are replete with picturesque descriptions of this system of marriage.

The Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta I and Bandhuvarma describes the parks of the city of Mandasor as full of women who moved in large numbers and sang perpetually (ajasragbhīca purāṇganābhivr varāṇi yasmin samalankṛtaḥ—1.6); it is also stated that a woman, endowed with youth and beauty, and adorned with the arrangement of golden necklaces and betel-leaves and flowers, goes to meet her lover in a secret place, having put on a pair of coloured silk clothes, (lines 11-12.) The inscription thus shows at least one instance of the jubilant mood and unrestricted movement of women in Gupta age. This state of things is, however, corroborated by the contemporary literature and sculptures.

A practice of “maintaining women as servants round the king” seems to have continued during the Gupta age. The Allahabad pillar inscription relates as to how Samudragupta brought “presents of maidens” (kanyopāyanadāna). The Gangdhar inscription of Vīsavarman, dated 423 A.D., states that obeissance was offered to this ruler by his enemies’ lovely damsels whose faces resembled water lillies, the significance of this statement is that after the defeat of the enemies, their ladies surrendered to the conqueror and sought service under him. References to female door-keepers are to be found in the dramatic works—Vetavatī being such a character in Kālidāsa’s Abhijñānaśākuntalam.
Enough freedom appears to have been allowed to women in taking personal responsibility in proper execution of granting lands. The Komanda copper plate inscription of Netrāḥaṃjadeva of Orissa, of the 4th century A.D., was issued from the victorious camp in Vaṅjuvaka. Its object is to record the grant of the village Karanāṭa to a Brahmin named Stambhadeva. This charter was sealed by Māmā or Mahāmāyā, who was probably the queen. It appears that the queen accompanied the king during the latter's military campaign, and while the king was busy, perhaps, with the fighting, the queen gave effect to the grant. The seal in the Ganjam plate grant of Netrāḥaṃjadeva is said to be affixed by the same Māmā, and another Ganjam plate grant bears the seal affixed by a lady named Jacchikā of a noble family (lāchitām Jacchikāyāḥ satkullānāyaḥ).

While dealing with the position of women, it will not perhaps be out of context to point out here that worshipping of female goddesses was very much in practice in the Gupta era. The inscriptions of this period contain several references to these goddesses who may be regarded as different forms of Śakti. The Gangdhar stone inscription of Viśavarman, dated 423 A.D., states that Mayūrakṣaka, a counsellor of the king constructed a temple for the worship of the Divine Mothers (matr-s)—a very terrible abode (veimātyugram) filled full of Dākinī-s (dākinīsampraktirṇam) or female ghosts. As these Mothers (usually Brāhmī, Māhēsvārī, Kauṃārī, Vaiṣṇāvī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā) were associated with the female ghosts and with the performance of magic rites, it appears that Mother-worship was gradually tending towards Tantricism during this period.

The Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta, records the erection of a group of temples (devanīketanamamāṇgalam) dedicated to the God Skanda i.e. Kārttikeya and the Divine Mothers including goddess Bhadrāryā, also called Bhadrāryākā who appears to be Pārvatī, the wife (āryā) of Bhadra (Śiva). The Talagunda insipititon of Sāntivarman narrates a local myth that Kārttikeya and the Divine Mothers favoured Mayūṛasarmman by installing him on the throne. Pārvatī is again referred to as the daughter of mountain Himalaya (Kṣitidharatanayā) in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman. In the Nagarjuni hill cave inscriptions of the Maukharis of the Gaya region of about the 1st half of the 6th century A.D., we find the records of the installation of the images of the goddess Pārvatī under the name of Kātayāni, and also under the name of Bhavāni; Devī denoting Durgā has been described as placing her foot on the head of the demon Mahīṣāsura. In this connexion it may be mentioned that some of the Gupta coins show on Reverse goddess Durgā as Simhavāhanā.
The object of the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Sāmkṣobha, dated 528 A.D., is to record the grant of a portion of a village to the temple of a Vaishnavite goddess, known here by the name of Piṣṭapuri⁴⁶ who is probably the same as Piṣṭapurikādevī mentioned in the Khoh copper-plate inscription of Sarvanātha.⁴⁷ D.C. Sircar thinks that Piṣṭapuri was the name of a local goddess, possibly an aspect of Annapūrnā⁴⁸.

Mahārāja Droṇasīṃha, the Maitraka king of Valabhi, made a grant, about 502 A.D., in favour of the goddess Pāṇḍurājyā⁴⁹. This goddess is not very familiar to us, but she might be a local form of Durgā, as the later Maitraka kings are noted to be devout worshippers of lord Maheśvara.

An inscription of a king named Tuṣṭikāra, dated about 5th century A.D., was found in the village of Terasinga in Kalahandi District of Orissa.⁵⁰ The king bears the title—Stāmbhēśvarītpāda-bhakta (1.5) and it transpires that the goddess Stāmbheśvari was the Iṣṭadevi of Tuṣṭikāra. Stāmbheśvari (now usually called Khambeśvari) was originally an aboriginal deity and was gradually adopted by the orthodox Hindus. The goddess Stāmbheśvari is known to have been the family deity of the Sulkis who ruled over the Dhenkanal area of Orissa about 10th century A.D.

The Gupta and contemporary inscriptions have supplied us with only some spasmodic materials related with the status and position of women of this period. A total picture on this aspect cannot, for obvious reasons, be expected from inscriptions, but the epigraphic evidences, though small in number and scattered here and there, are, in any way, not insignificant and negligible. Like the Sanskrit poems and dramas composed in this period, the inscriptions have not infused the delineation of women characters with exaggerated colouring. Women, that we trace in the epigraphic records, are in most cases true and truly humane. The history of the ancient Indian women can be complete only when documents from the inscriptions—the principal source of the Indian history—are thoroughly consulted and elucidated. Whatever information we gather from the inscriptions of the Guptas indicates women’s social elevation and the equality which they enjoyed with men. Women had not to suffer hard oppression under the ‘iron heel of male despotism’ so far as their portraits in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the 4th-6th century A.D. are concerned.
NOTES

4. A.S. Altekar informs us about a tradition recorded in the Śrīśālsthala-māhātmya that king Candragupta’s daughter, Candrāvatī, daily used to offer a garland of jasmine flowers to the image of the god Mallikārjuna, situated in the Karnool District—South Indian Epigraphy (Annual Report), 1914-15, p. 91. Candrāvatī was possibly the pre-marriage name of Prabhāvati-guptā, and this name remained to be used among her familiars and on occasions other than administrative.
5. vivāhānantaraṁ nāti pati-gotraṇa gotriśi—Mahānirvāṇatantra, 12. 75.
6. S.I., p. 443, line 3.
7. The Gaurāṇa-purāṇa (26. 22) states that if a woman was married in the āsura, gāndharva, rākṣasa or pāliṣṭa forms of marriage, she could retain her father’s gotra even after the marriage.—

āsura-dī-vivāheṣu yā vyūghā kanyakā bhavet /
tasyāśtu pīrṇagotraṇa kuryāt pīṇḍodaka-kriyām ||

There is, however, no evidence that the marriage between Rudrasena and Prabhāvatī was of gāndharva or of similar type.
33. S.I., p. 309, 1. 5.
34. S.I., p. 335, 1. 6.
35. S.I., p. 421, 1. 5.
38. C.I.I., III, No. 17, p. 75, 1. 11.
42. C.I.I., III, No. 12, pp. 45f.
44. C.I.I., III, No. 33, p. 146, 1. 1.
47. C.I.I., III, No. 29, p. 131, 1. 12.
49. S.I., p. 427, 1. 3.
THE RAIKĀS OF KUMAON AND WESTERN NEPAL: 
AN EPIGRAPHICAL SURVEY*

By

MAHESHWAR P. JOSHI

In an earlier article (Joshi 1986: 110-113), while studying a copper plate of Raikā Kalaṇamala Pāla, the present author had assigned the Kāli-Kumāon region of the U.P. hills to the Raikās. The present paper purports to review the history of the Raikās in the light of recently discovered epigraphical material available to us.

We have elsewhere shown as to how circumscribed by lofty mountain peaks towards north, dense Terai-Bhabhar forests towards south and perennial Himalayan rivers the Sutlej in the West and the Kali in the east, the Kuṇindas continued ruling in the Central Himalayan region for millenniums (Joshi 1989: 106; in press—a). During post Harsha period of Indian history (towards the later half of the seventh century A.D.) the Katyūris—who were the lineal descendents of the Kuṇindas—emerged as the principal ruling dynasty of the Central Himalayan region between the Tons in the west and the Kali in the east (Powell Price 1930:14; 1945: 218 ff; Sircar: 1964: 124ff Joshi 1988; 75ff). According to traditions when the Katyūris were at the height of their ascendency, they ruled over the region extending over the Sutlej in the west and the Gandaki in the east (Atkinson 1884: 467). Significantly the traditional Kūmāchala and Kedāra divisions of the Himalaya referred to as situated between Nepāla and Jalandhara (Kedārakhanda 40.28) correspond to the Katyūrī kingdom.

The Raikās under reference were one of the branches of the Katyūrīs Atkinson 1884: 530-32; Pande 1970: 58). Sometimes in the eleventh century when the central Katyūrī kingdom swung towards decadence, the Raikā branch of the dynasty carved out an independent principality in the eastern part of the Katyūrī kingdom (Joshi: in press-b). This eastern part seems to have comprised eastern Kumāon and Western Nepal with Doti as the capital seat, where several copper plates and other archival material belonging to the Raikās have been found (Naraharinath: Saka 1887: chapter—Sandhi-Patera Saṅgīraha, specially pp 748-750). Atkinson notes (1884-529):
The Rainka Raj of Doti of the Malla family had for generations been acknowledged as suzerain of the Kāli Kumāon district, and a younger branch of the same family with the title of Bām Sahī held almost independent control of Sīra and Sor on the left bank of the Sarju.

It seems there is some confusion in the above statement of Atkinson for according to Pande (1970 : 58) the Mallas were Khasiyas who subjugated the Katyūris of Doti-Dadeldhura (Nepal) sometimes after the eleventh century A.D. However, Pande also observes that the Katyūris of Doti-Dadeldhura:

"trace their origin from Salivahan and call themselves as Rajputs. They were called the Rainakajuyu or Raikajuyu in the late-medieval records of Western Nepal." (Pande 1970 : 58)

In Kumaon also the Katyūri pedigrees start with Šālivāhana (Joshi : in press-a)

It seems that the later Kumaoni traditions have mixed up the "Khasiya Mallas" with the Raikā-Katyūris. The reason being the Malla-ending in the names of the Raikās. In the present state of our knowledge all that we can suggest is that with the advent of the Mallas in the twelfth-thirteenth centuries (Sharma 1972 : 17—19), the Katyūris of Doti-Dadeldhura were reduced to the state of vassalage under the former. Sometimes in the fourteenth century, the Raikās reemerged as the sovereign rulers of the region extending over parts of Eastern Kumaon and Western Nepal (Joshi ; in press—b). So far eleven of their copper plates are known as noted below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name of the issuer</th>
<th>years in Šaka era</th>
<th>Provenance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ripaumala</td>
<td>1332</td>
<td>Gadera (Pithoragarh district, U.P., India)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ānandamala</td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>Cumaon (exact place not known)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ānandamala</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>Gadera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Samsāramala</td>
<td>1364</td>
<td>Vatyuli (Pithoragarh district)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Kalaṇamala</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>Devthal (Pithoragarh district)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Rāimala</td>
<td>1461</td>
<td>Chālmodi (Pithoragarh district)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Bhūpatalma</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>Doti-Silagadhi (Western Nepal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Rudrasāhi</td>
<td>1559</td>
<td>Doti-Silagadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Pahādīsāhi</td>
<td>1571</td>
<td>Doti-Silagadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Harisāhi</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Doti-Silagadhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Dīpasāhi</td>
<td>1712</td>
<td>Doti-Silagadhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of these plates are donative and purport to record the gift of land in different localities in Eastern Kumāon and Western Nepal. The first six plates are associated with Sira (Eastern Kumāon) and the remaining five with Doti (Western Nepal). Significantly the first six kings may be identified with their namesakes mentioned in the pedigree of the Raikās of Sira (Atkinson 1884: 553). It is to be noted that Samsāramala is also referred to as Bali Nārayanamala in the copper plate. However, his former name, i.e., Samsāramala is not recorded in the pedigree. Atkinson notes (1884 : 553) that the Raikās were

“Sometimes apparently one with the Raika Rajas of Doti and sometimes cadets of the same house.”

It seems that there was a political vacuum in Western Nepal during the eleventh century. It attracted the Katyūris from the west and the Mallas from the east. For sometime the Katyūris seem to have gained control of the situation, but soon the Mallas emerged victorious. They not only conquered the entire Western Nepal but also subjugated almost the whole of Katyūri kingdom in late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. However, the Mallas also could not hold ground for a long time. In the fourteenth century, we find several smaller principalities emerging in the political scene of eastern Kumaon. Freshly discovered epigraphic material shows the existence of following independent principalities in eastern Kumāon (Joshi : in press—b):

1. Raikās in Sira region.
9. Brahmas (Bams) in Sor region.
3. Pālas in Askot region.
4. Manḍoṭis in Gangoli region.
5. Chandras in Kālī-Kumāon region.

Among these the Raikās and the Chandras were comparatively more powerful and ambitious. The copper plate grants of the Raikās suggest that during the earlier period of their revival, they may have tried to seek their fortune in Kumāon. However, when they suffered repeated defeats at the hands of the Chandras, they shifted their attention towards Doti (Nepal). This shift is noticed from the time of Bhūpatimalla. Significantly, the language of Bhūpatimalla’s charter issued in favour of Sirū Bhaṭya (Doti-Silagadhi-kota, Nepal) is strikingly similar to the language and style of the charters of his predecessors which are written in Kumāoni. By this time the Malla kingdom in Western Nepal had also declined (Pande 1970 : 53 ff).

The Raikās and the Chandras wanted to make political capital out of the disintegrating Katyūri kingdom. In their struggle for political supremacy, the Chandras invaded the Raikās and by degrees annexed the
entire Raikā possessions of the cis-Kāli region of Kumāon. According to traditions, the war between the Raikās and the Chandras was a protracted one and continued for generations. It was king Rudra Chandra (cir. 1565, 1597 A.D.) who finally gave a death blow to the Raikā possessions of Kumāon by defeating Harimalla, the last king of Sira who eventually fled to Doti (Atkinson 1884: 530, 32, 52). This event took place sometimes before 1581 A.D., for Purusha Panta, the commander of the Chandra army, was granted land as a reward of his successful military campaign against the Raikās in that year as is evident from a copper plate granted to him in Śaka 1503 (A.D. 1581) by king Rudra Chandra (Atkinson 1884: 552). It is to be noted that Atkinson has given the names of different Chandra kings who fought against the Raikās. However, the dates of the Raikā kings have not been recorded. Our material, therefore, is significant as it helps us in reconstructing the chronology of the events.

In the present state of our knowledge it may be suggested that long before the advent of the Mallas of Doti, the Katyūrīs were the undisputed rulers of the entire Central Himalayan region (particularly Garhwal, Kumāon and parts of Western Nepal) at least up to eleventh century A.D. With the advent of the Mallas in Western Nepal, the Katyūrī kingdom disintegrated in the twelfth century A.D. However, in the thirteenth century A.D., the Malla power swung towards decadence in Kumāon-Garhwal as a result of which several smaller principalities (chieft doms) arose in that region. Among them the Raikās as natural successors of the Katyūrīs tried to bring the entire Eastern Kumāon region under their sway. Being one of the branches of the Katyūrīs, they claimed suzerainty over Kāli-Kumāon (Champawat, region, district Pithoragarh) as well. However, their authority was challenged by a newly founded dynasty—the Chandras who uprooted the Raikās from Kumāon.

Territorial aggrandisement apart, acquisition of Sira-Sor region meant possession of some of the richest, fertile agricultural tracts of Eastern Kumāon which produced large quantity of surplus. In addition conquest of this area also helped control of Indo-Tibetan trade which yielded considerable revenue (Joshi and Brown 1987: 303: 317; Joshi 1989: 22 ff). These were some of the considerations that drove the Chandras to military conquest of the Raikās who reigned supreme around Sira-Sor region of Pithoragarh. In recent years Ram Singh-Neer Prabha and Prayag Joshi (personal communication) have brought to light several revenue records originally belonging to the Raikās. The author has also examined these records. From the viewpoint of economic history of Kumāon in particular and of Northern India in general, these records are indispensable. It seems that the Chandra administration was more or
less a continuation of the Raikā administration. Our studies in the Raikā-Chandra administration are in progress. The present essay purports to give a brief introduction of the problem.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The Mallas after having subjugated the Katuyri-Raikas of Western Nepal also occupied Katuyri territories in Kumaoon-Garhwal. Their occupation may be proved on the basis of following records:

(a) Two Gopeshwar (district Chamoli, Garhwal) inscriptions of Anekmalla (sic) one of which is dated in Śaka 1113 (=A.D. 1191) (Atkinson 1884 : 511 ff). Indrají is "inclined to read" this name as Aṣokachalla (sic) instead of Anekmalla. He further identifies this Aṣokachalla with his namesake referred to as king of Kama-deśa in Purushottama Siṣha’s Bodh-Gaya inscription dated in the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa era 1813. Indrají identifies this Kama-deśa with Kumaoon. There is yet another inscription at Bodh-Gaya which also refers to Aṣokachalla. This inscription was engraved by one Sahanasāva—a treasurer and a dependent of prince Desaratha, the younger brother of king Aṣokachalla—in Lakshmaṇasena era 74. According to Indrají, Buddha’s Nirvāṇa era 1813 and Lakshmaṇasena era 74 correspond to A.D. 1176 and 1182, respectively. (Indrají 1881: 341-347). These dates are close to Śaka 1113 (A.D. 1991) of one of the Gopeshwar inscriptions of king Aṣokachalla or Anekmalla. Thus these records may be taken as evidence of Aṣokachalla’s or Anekmalla’s subjugation of Kumaoon-Garhwal.

(b) Baleshwar (district Pithoragarh) copper plate of king Krāchalladeva, dated Śaka era 1145 (A.D. 1223). (Atkinson 1884 : 516 ff). As may be seen, according to this copper plate Krāchalladeva flourished later than Aṣokachalla. It goes against the testimony of the Dullu pillar inscription according to which Krāchalla figures as father of Aṣokachalla (Tucci 1956 : 46 ff). We feel that either Atkinson has committed some mistake while reading the figures mentioning the dates (which is less likely as Atkinson has always been accurate) or else the correct reading of Gopeshwar inscription is Anekmalla as suggested by Princep and Atkinson. Further the dates of Aṣokachalla as worked out by Indrají need revision. In that case we suggest the following chronology:

(i) Gopeshwar inscription of Śaka 1113 belongs to Anekmalla or else if the reading “Aṣokachalla” is correct he is different from his namesake referred to in the Bodh-Gaya inscriptions.
(ii) Krāchalla’s copper plate dated Śaka 1145 suggests Krāchalla as the political successor of Asokachalla’s or Anekamalla of the Gopeshwar inscriptions. In this case Krāchalla was not a direct descendant of Anekamalla or Asokachalla. That is why the latter does not figure as one of the direct ancestors of Krāchalla’s line in the Dullu inscription.

(iii) The Buddha’s Nirvāṇa era used in the Bodh-Gaya inscription is not referred to in the Peguan Nirvāṇa era of 638 B.C., as suggested by Indrajī. Rather it is referred to in the Ceylonese Nirvāṇa era of 544 B.C. In that case the inscription under reference may be dated in 1813-544 = 1269 A.D. It would place Asokachalla’s reign later than Krāchalla. Thus it agrees with the testimony of Dullu inscription (cf. Sircar 1965 : 277).

(iv) According to D.C. Sircar (1965 : 276–77), year 74 of the Lakshmapasena era corresponds to A.D. 1253. It is also to be noted that Asokachalla is also referred to in one more inscription, dated in Lakshmapasena era 51 corresponding to A.D. 1230. Thus these three dates suggest that Asokachalla “ruled for over 40 years from about 1230 A.D., to about 1270 A.D.” These dates bring him close to Krāchalla’s time and thus agree with the chronology of the Dullu inscription.

2. Only text of copper plates dated Śaka 1332, 1360, 1461, (Joshi and Tripathi 1986 ? : 31-33) 1480, 1559, 1571, 1640, 1712 (Naraharinatha, Śaka 1887 : 748-49) have been published. Photographs or else impressions have not been published Therefore, the published text needs proper examination by epigraphists, as the author has noticed several errors in some readings of the published text.
IDENTIFICATION OF MITHILA

By

ASIM KUMAR CHATTERJEE

The great city of Mithila, the capital of Videha janapada, played an important part in the cultural and economic life of pre-Buddhist India. It is significant to note that while the Vedic literature shows repeated acquaintance with the janapada of Videha, the capital Mithila is not mentioned anywhere. However, it does not necessarily prove that the city of Mithila was not in existence in the Vedic period. According to the epicopurānic tradition, this celebrated metropolis was founded by king Mithi, who was the son of Nimi, the founder of the dynasty of Videha. This Mithi, according to the very same tradition, was the fourth in descent from Manu, who according to the Rāmāyaṇa was the reputed founder of the city of Ayodhyā, or in other words, Mithila was built a century after Ayodhyā, and this is indirectly confirmed by the evidence of the Mahābhārata.

About a century ago, Cunningham, the father of Indian archaeology, had tentatively proposed the identification of Mithila with Janakpur a small town in the Nepal border. This identification, it is very curious to note, was accepted throughout this century, without any murmur of protest, although all the available evidences clearly goes against this identification, and Cunningham too, had he been alive to-day, would have summarily rejected this identification. Let us now try to fix another location for ancient Mithila, which will be in accordance with what we learn from various sources, most of which were not readily available to Cunningham, when he was writing his Reports for the Archaeological Survey.

Let us begin our search for Mithila from the earliest available source, namely the critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa. There is a very instructive sloka in the first Book of this work, according to which, this city is a day's journey on foot from Vaiśālī. We are told in this crucial verse, in the mouth of Viśvāmitra, that after resting for a day at this place, Rāma will be able to see Janaka the very next day. So, it is clear from this very important passage, that according to the poet of this Book of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mithila was not far from Vaiśālī, about the
identification of which, there is no doubt at present. Elsewhere in the same Kanda of the Ramayana, we are told that the horsemen of Janaka had covered the distance between Mithila and Ayodhyā in only three nights, which would have been virtually impossible, had Mithila been, at present Janakpur, in the Nepal border, some forty miles from Darbhanga.

However, from the evidence supplied by the Ramayana, we do not get any idea regarding the exact location of Mithila. We should remember before proceeding further, that according to a well-known passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the river Sadānirā or Gandak was the boundary (maryādā) between Kosala and Videha. This Sadānirā is undoubtedly Gandak, and it is only to be expected that the city of Mithila should be situated on the eastern bank, and this is actually the case, as we will see afterwards. However before that, we have to see whether the Buddhist texts offer us any help in locating Mithila.

The Mahājanaka Jātaka has a passage, according to which, Mithila is sixty leagues or yojana from Campā, or the present Bhagalpur region. Now, regarding the English equivalent of yojana there is no unanimity, and it varies according to authorities, from 2½ miles to 9 miles. But it is implied in this Jātaka that the town of Mithila was situated on a river bank. The Mahābhārata also, it should be remembered, mentions Mithila is connexion with Sadānirā, and according to the poet of the Sabhāpavan, the two Pāṇḍavas, Bhima and Arjuna, accompanied by Vāsudeva, went to Rājagriha via Mithila. This also indirectly goes against Cunningham’s location of this city at Janakpur.

However, we are still moving in the darkness. The Vedic, epic and even Buddhist texts do not finally solve the problem. But there were at least two travellers, one belonging to the post-Gupta period, and another to the early Muslim period, who have given us the final answer. We are referring to Yuan Chwang, who visited India, in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and Jinaprabha, the Jain savant who visited Mithila in the early 14th century A.D., being a contemporary of Muhammad Bin Tughluq. We have first to consider his account, as he is practically the only Indian, who has left an account of this city.

Now, in Jinaprabha’s time, quite expectedly, Mithila was no longer known by its original name. According to him, it was in his time, known as Jagai, but much more important, is his information that this city is washed by the rivers Gaṇḍakī and Bānagangā. He has also referred to the Paṭalalalinda and Sakallakunda of this place. He has also identified Mithila janapada with Tirahuttidesa (Tirhut). Another place, called Kanakapura, according to him, was situated near the site of Mithila.
However, even with the help of the information, supplied by Jina-prabha, it would have been difficult to pinpoint the exact location of Mithila. But here the celebrated Yuan Chwang comes to our rescue. This Chinese pilgrim in his account refers to an old city near Vaiśāli and here we are quoting in full the relevant passage because of its unique importance—“Nearly 200 li to the north-west of the city of Vaiśāli, was an old city, which had long been a waste with very few inhabitants. In it, was a tope, where the Buddha had related to a great number of Pusas, Devas and men, his former existence here, as a universal sovereign by name Mahādeva, who had given up his kingdom to become a Bhikshu”.

It is amazing that Cunningham, who had first noticed this passage, entirely missed its significance. The Mahādeva of this passage was corrected to Makkhādeva by Watters, but he too missed by a whisker, its correct significance. Cunningham himself would have solved the mystery, had he realized that the city, associated with Makkhādeva, is no other than Mithila. We are referring to the well-known Makkhādeva Jātaka, where we have the story, quoted by Yuan Chwang, and the hero of which was the universal sovereign or the Chakravarti monarch Makkhādeva Janaka. This passage of Yuan Chwang therefore solves for good the problem of the present location of Mithila.

Now, 200 li of Yuan Chwang, roughly corresponds to 30 miles, or more correctly 33 miles. Exactly, at the spot, noted by the Chinese pilgrim, is the mound, now known as KESARIYA, which is just 40 miles to the north-west of Vaiśāli. Here Cunningham also came across the Buddhist stūpa, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim, and that archaeologist himself notes that the stūpa was probably built after the second century A.D., “upon the ruined mass of a much older and much larger stūpa”. We should further take special note of the statement of our Chinese pilgrim, who emphatically says that the city “has long been a waste with very few inhabitants”. This shows that long before Yuan Chwang’s time, probably by the second century A.D., the city of Mithilā, gradually met the fate of cities like Vaiśanagara, Kausāmbi, Hastināpura, Śrāvastī, Vaiśāli etc. The description of the ruins near Kesariya by Cunningham also indicates that it was a town of considerable size in ancient days. However archaeological excavations will shed more light on this subject. But the arguments, given above, fully show that Kesariya represents the ancient city of Mithilā.

During the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra, the citizens of Vaiśāli, were known as Videhans. The mothers of Ajātaśatru and also Mahāvīra, who were daughters of a chieftain of Vaiśāli, are called Vaidchī in the Buddhist, Jain and even Brāhmanical Sanskrit texts. Even Lord
Mahāvīra, originally a resident of a suburb of Vaiśāli, was called by such names as Videhadinña, Videhajacca etc, in the original Jain canon. This would not have been possible, had Viśāli been not near the famous Mithilā. In the days of Daśaratha and Rāma, however, Vaiśāli was an independent kingdom, this is also supported by the Purānic evidence.

Historically, the last person, connected with the city of Mithilā, was the Jain rebel (niḥava) Āsamitta, who lived in this city 220 years after Lord Mahāvīra, or in other words, in the 3rd century B.C.

NOTES

1. See Bhāg. IX. 13.13; Brahmāṇḍa, II, 3.64.6.
4. See Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 79.
7. Ibid., I. 67.1.
8. I. 4.1.17.
9. Trans. Cowell, VI, p. 20
10. II. 18.27. f.
15. Watters, Loc. cit.
19. Cf. the epithet Valdehēputra given to Udayana in Bhāsa’s Svapnavāsavadattā, Act VI.
THE LETTER A IN SINO-JAPANESE

By

LOKESH CHANDRA

A=Sanskrit a, the first of the 12 vowels and 50 letters of Shittan=Siddham.

The letters, that is to say, the written sounds, and the sounds, that is to say, the pronounced letters, have served as food for thought to all mystics. The Indian mystic cultivated this kind of exercise with passion applying to it the gifts of phonetic observation and analysis characteristic of the Indian grammatical genius. Buddhism picked up this tradition, perpetuated it and propagated it in whole of East Asia. Among all sounds, the a has a privileged rank and role; it opens the alphabet in Sanskrit as in our languages (compare I am the Alpha and the Omega). It is the most elementary articulation, formed in the deepest part of the buccal cavity. Besides, in Indian scriptures, it is inherent in all the consonants; k is read as ka, g as ga, etc. It is the beginning, and therefore the principle of all the sounds. The beginning, the principle, is expressed in Sanskrit by the word adi, the first letter of which is to be precise, a long a. Moreover, a is the negative particle in Sanskrit (as in Greek; e.g. atom, amorphous, aseptic, etc. Therefore it also symbolises the fundamental negation, that which bears on the Production of Essences, which do not arise from spontaneous, generation, but only result from the play of causes. Generally speaking, it symbolises all the negations which limit the finite with respect to the absolute (anitya "impermanent", etc.).

A is the syllable par excellence, and in Sanskrit the syllable is called aksara "without emanation"; it therefore is also the symbol of the permanent. Combined with the secondary articulations which modify the vowel (elongation, nasalisation, whistled breath), the system of the a becomes a microcosm where a skillful play of correspondences rediscovers universal evolution, in ascending or descending order. Lastly, the mystical is a close neighbour of the erotic, the a can lend itself to interpretations of a sexual order. All these developments which were taken
abroad by Buddhist missionaries, originate in India itself. Their equivalents are still to be found there, hardly modified in the schools of Hindu tantrism, which particularly flourish in Bengal and in South India. Tibetan Buddhism also accorded a large place to this type of speculation.

AJIGI 'Meaning of the letter a'.

*Numerical classifications.* It has three meanings: Existence, Void, Non-production in I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocanaśūtra (I 1796.7):

1. The Sanskrit letter a is the Original phoneme; having an origin, it is an Essence of the causal chain; that is why it is given the name Existence.

2. The letter a has the meaning of Non-Production for it depends on Factors, it has no Characteristic nature; that is why it is called Void.

3. The Non-Production is the domain of the unique Reality; it is the Middle Path. (In this last sense, "Non-Production" is interpreted as an abbreviation of "Without-Production and Without-Obstruction").


It has ten meanings in the series drawn up by Kakuban (A.D. 1095-1143) in Ajhs. It has 65 meanings in the Mahāratnakūṭa translated by Bodhiruci in A.D. 706 (T 310 lxvii, K 22). It has a 100 meanings in the Rāṣṭrapāla-dhāraṇi (T 997 ii): The Essences are not of the future, of the past, Operative, stable, have no original characteristic-nature, no Root, etc.

*MEANINGS IN EXOTERIC TEXTS.* Negation (Sanskrit a, an), original non-production (Sanskrit ādyanūtpāda, Jap. āji hompushō), beginning (ādi), Impermanence (anitya), Three Jewels (Triṃatīra), etc. Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā translated by Kumārajīva (T 223 v): the Rubric of the letter a is the initial Non-Production of all the Essences as (T 220 lii, 221 iv, 222 vii). The Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 406 (T1 509 xlviii. K 549) says: The Bodhisattva hearing the letter a in all languages, at once conforms to its meaning, which is that all the Essences have since the beginning the character of Non-Production. In the language of the Shin (Tsin) ādi signifies beginn-
ing, and anutpāda Non-Production. Amoghavajra in the Dvācatvāriśaśadaksāra-dhyāna (T 019, NJ 1450) : On hearing the letter a, by force of his merits, the Bodhisattva obtained entry into the Rubric of the Perfection of Sapience of the Domain of the Undiversified, for he understands the original Non-Production of all the Essences (T 279 lxxvi, 293 xxi). Mañjuśrī-paripṛchchā translated by Saṅgha bhāra in A.D. 518 (T 468 i, K 412); and by Amoghavajra (T 469, NJ 975, K 1309) ; When one pronounces the letter a, it is the sound of Impermanence. Lalitavistara translated by Divākara in A.D. 683 (T 87 iv, K III) says : In pronouncing a, one produces the sound of the Impermanence of all the Operatives. Sannipatā-sūtra translated by Dharmakṣema and others during A.D. 414-426 (T 397 x, NJ 61, K 56) : The letter a is the Rubric of all Essences, for it signifies negation, and all the Essences are impermanent. Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra translated by Fa-hsien in A.D. 418 (T 376 v, NJ 120, K 106) : The short a has an auspicious meaning, namely the Meaning of the Three Jewels. Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra translated by Hui-yen and others during A.D. 424-452 (T 375 viii, NJ 114, K 1403) : The short a has the Meaning of the Three Jewels, because it is indestructible, like the Diamond; then the Meaning of Tathāgata, for it does not flow, as the Tathāgata who does not flow through the nine Orifices, since he does not have any of the nine Orifices, or moreover because what does not flow is permanent and the Tathāgata is permanent, for he does not move at all; then the Meaning of Merits, for the Merits are the Three Jewels. The Chinese authors have often resorted to a, symbol at once of beginning and of Non-Production, to illustrate their doctrines. Thus Eshi establishes a correspondence between the 42 letters of the syllabary (Shijuji) and the 42 degrees of the carrier of the Bodhisattvas (10 Residences, 10 Behaviours, 10 Deflexions, 10 Earths, Equal Enlightenment and Marvellous Enlightenment). The authors of the Tendai sect, founded by his disciple Chiki use this correspondence to show that the Production of the Spirit of Enlightenment, which marks the beginning of the carrier of the Bodhisattvas, is identical with the Marvellous Enlightenment which is its culmination: just as the a is present in all the letters and contains them all, in so far as it is their principle, so all the degrees of the career are contained in the first, for “the one is the all and the all the one”. Chigi’s commentary on the Lotus Sutra (T 716 v, NJ 1534), since the Production of the Spirit, the Bodhisattva of the Complete Doctrine obtains the real Character of the Essences and possesses all the Essences of the Buddha; this is what one calls the letter a. Having reached the Land of the Marvellous Enlightenment, he penetrates the depths of all the Essences; this is what is called the letter dha (last of the 42 letters in the classification beginning with a-ra-pa-ca-na). Kichizo (A.D. 549-623), founder of the Sanron sect, illustrates his doctrine of the Void by the a (T 1853) : The Essences are Non-Production from the origin, for they have as origin the letter a and go back to the letter a, which is a Non-Production
Rubric. This is why the sūtra: All the 42 letters return to the a.

**MEANINGS IN ESOTERIC TEXTS.** Mahāvairocana-sūtra translated by Śubhakarasimha and I-hsing in A.D. 725 (T 848, ii, vi, K 427) and Aksara-mātrkā-vyākhyā translated by Amoghavajra during A.D. 746-774 (T 880, Nj 1052, K 1370): The Rubric of the letter a is the original Non-Production of all the Essences.

The commentary of I-hsing on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 viii). The letter a is the origin of the teaching of all the Essences. As soon as one opens one's mouth, it is the sound a that is produced. Without the sound a no language is possible. That is why it is called the mother of all phonemes. Again in 8 scroll xii: The letter a is the Seed of all the letters. In scroll xii: The Meaning of the real Character of the Rubric of the letter a penetrates the Meaning of all the Essences. How is this? All the Essences are produced by the Factors. All that is produced by a Factor has a beginning, an origin; but if one inspects this producing Factor, it is itself produced by Factors; and if one follows these Factors in their Transformation-by-reciprocal-action, what is their origin? By inspecting this, one knows the Extremity of the original Non-Production. Such is the origin of all the Essences. Even as hearing all words is like hearing the sound a, so also seeing the Production of all the Essences is seeing its Extremity which is the original Non-Production. Seeing this is veritably knowing the very heart of the Essences; it is the Wisdom of Wisdoms.

Kōbōdaishi (775-835) in Shittanji-moshaku and in Kongōchūkyō-kaidai: A is glossed by all the forms of negation.

A is the Seed of Vairocana in the Garbhadhātu, and the common Seed of all the personages in the two maṇḍalas (compare I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra, T 1796 vii). It has as Ideal the Body of Essence of the Ideal of Vairocana, and the Knowledge by which it is known that it is the Body of Essence of Knowledge of Vairocana; the first of these Bodies belonging to the Garbhadhātu and the second to the Vajradhātu, the a implies the Non-duality of the two dhātus.

The a is also said to be "Seed of the wheel of the moon" (aji gachitrīn shuji) or "Seed of the moon of the knowledge", because in the Inspection of the Three Mysteries (Sammitsu) one makes a wheel of the moon with the a, and by the Inspection of a one acquires the knowledge of the original Non-production of all Essences. Compare Ratnakūsa-sūtra translated by Bodhiruci in A.D. 713 (T 310 xxv, K 22): "What is the Rubric of the Essences called Seal of the a (aji-in)? The a is the Seal which marks the fact that all the Essences are created by nescience. When
the Practices are fully accomplished, it is the letter \( a \) that one obtains first; and the nescience is extinguished, for one knows that nothing is created”.

According to the oral tradition, erotic interpretations of the \( a \) have been used in the two esoteric schools in Japan, Têmitsu and Taimitsu (cf. Tdjs. 21b). In the first (the branch called Tachikawa), it is made to correspond to the two sexual principles, \( \text{in} \) (\( yin \)) and \( \text{yo} \) (\( yang \)). In the second branch the \( a \) is visualised at the state of the Substantial where the Formal and the Spirit are mixed, to the “unique point” of the sexual act, and the “respiration” of the organs during the act was identified with the breath of the original Enlightenment without beginning.

**AJIKAN, INSPECTION OF THE LETTER A**
(and other tantric practices attached to the \( a \))

The inspection of the \( a \) is a fundamental practice in Tantrism. It was taught by most masters of Chinese and Japanese Tantrism, beginning with Zemmui/Subhākara-simha, to whom the Garbhahātu is attached (I-hsing’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra T 1796 and Subhākarasimha T 917).

Samyak-sambodhi-cittotpāda-śāstra, translated by Amoghavajra (T 1665, Nj. 1319): A white lotus with eight petals, in the space of one elbow-room, on which the letter \( a \) appears dazzling in bright colour. The two thumbs are to be introduced below the eight other fingers which are crossed and the calm wisdom of the Tathāgata is made to penetrate into the self.

I-hsing’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 x): The letter \( a \), being the first, is the Spirit of Enlightenment. If one practises the Application while Inspecting this letter, one identifies with the Substantial of the Body of Essence of Vairocana. In Inspecting the Wheel of this letter, like the dazzling wheel of a peacock’s tail, the practitioner installs himself within it and installs himself thus in the Essence of Buddha. Further, in scroll iv: One Inspects one’s own Spirit and one identifies it with the lotus with eight petals. The Master says: The Heart (\( hrdaya \)) is like an unopened lotus flower; its eight-fold muscles are contracted in a compact mass, directed upwards in man, and downwards in woman. When one begins to Inspect this lotus, it unfolds and becomes a base [a pedestal] of a white lotus with eight petals. On this platform one Inspects the letter \( a \) having the [five] colours of the Diamond. Then one places within one’s head the King of the Hundred Universal Lights (in other words Vairocana and one Inspects him with an unblemished eye.)
Subhākarasimha in Mui-sanzo-zen yo (T 917): In order to go into the Inspection, the beginner should interrupt all the Factors and stop all occupation. He should seat himself alone in a tranquil place, half crossing the legs, then hold his hands firmly in the position of the Seal. The head straight and the gaze horizontal, the eyes should neither be too wide open nor too closed; for in opening them too wide he risks being distracted, and by closing them too much, he could fall into a torpor...

The details of the method of Inspection vary according to schools and masters. In the Vajradhātu the letter a (gilded) is drawn above a white lotus with eight petals, inside a wheel of full moon (light coloured circle on a dark background) having one elbow-room for diameter (1 foot 6 inches). In the Garbhadhātu, the wheel containing the a is placed on the lotus. This picture is hung on the wall and one sits before it at a distance of 4 feet, with legs either half (hankaza), or completely (zenkaza) crossed. One performs a ritual for the protection of the body (gosūtā bo), one recites various mantras, one makes one or more Seals, then one enters into the Inspection. This is divided into three parts: (1) Inspection of the sound: one utters the a with each expiration and inspiration. According to I-hsing’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 xi) and Gōhō’s (A.D. 1309-1362) Ennōshō: one Inspects during inspiration the Non-Production, and the Non-Obstruction during expiration. (2) Inspection of the letter, in the order of the Garbhadhātu: (a) Inspection of the lotus. Form of Convention corresponding to the Heart (hṛdaya) of the practitioner and to the Ideal of the Garbhadhātu; (b) Inspection of the Wheel of the moon, Form of Convention corresponding to the Spirit (citta) of the practitioner and to the Body of Essence of Knowledge of the Vajradhātu; (c) Inspection of the letter a, Seed of Vairocana in whom Ideal and Knowledge are not differentiated. In the Vajradhātu, the order is: Wheel, lotus, letter a. (3) Inspection of the real Character, that is to say of the original Non-Production.

The beginners remain before the picture night and day, morning and evening, until it is continuously present in their spirit whether they open or close their eyes. Little by little it appears to them to grow bigger and bigger, dazzling, immense; the moon of the lotus of the a of the Level of Essence of all Space is identified with the moon of the lotus of the a in their own heart. This is what is called the state of Application of the a (ajñyuga) or of Attaining of the a (ajñītcttchi). The expert practitioners need no picture. They Inspect the a in their heart. The method described above is called abbreviated Inspection (ryakkan). One can also Inspect the a at any time and in any place, while walking or standing, seated, lying down, etc...; this is what is called developed Inspection (kōkan).
The a is called "One-letter mantra of Vairocana" in I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 vii): uttering the a is uttering the simplest mantra of Vairocana. It is also called "King of Mantras", because it can replace all mantras. The a is the Heart of all Mantras; when it spreads in the Heart of the practitioner (ajifushin), it is said that the Heart becomes the Heart, or in short form: the Heart of the Heart.

Four uses of the a (Ajigushiwu) in I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 vii): In the mantras of the Tathāgata, each word, each name, each Character that is established fully realises the advantage of the inner significances. According to the Mantra of Convention: (1) The a which is the first among sounds, having the Meaning of Non-Production, has the advantage of soothing scourges. (2) By virtue of this Meaning, it possesses completely all the merits without lacuna, therefore it has the advantage of positive growth. (3) For the same reason, it destroys innumerable sins; therefore it has the advantage of mastery. (4) As there is not a single Essence which is outside the Non-Production, it has the advantage of totality.

Seven phrases on the merits of the Rubric of the a (Ajimonsudoku shichikku) in Śubhakarasimha's translation of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 848 iii): In the Rubric of the Mantras, in the matter of the Practices of the Bodhisattvas, if a Bodhisatta desires (1) to see a Buddha, (2) to make an offering to him, (3) prove the Production of the Spirit of Enlightenment, (4) take part in the assemblies of the Bodhisattvas, (5) be useful to Beings, (6) seek Attainment, (7) seek Omniscience, he should exercise with zeal this letter to which belongs the Heart of all the Bodhisattvas.

Gohe's (1306-1362) Ennoshō establishes a correspondence between these seven phrases and the merits of the five Revolutions as follows: 1 Production of the Spirit, 2 Practice, 3 Proof of Enlightenment, 4 Inner Proof of Nirvana, 5 Outer use of Nirvana, 6 Means of the Body, 7 Means of the Spirit.

AJIGOTEN, FIVE REVOLUTIONS OF THE LETTER A
(Bukkyo-daiji-i 27-29)

The letter a provided with signs of elongation, the anuvāra and visarga (āṃḥ) is called "a with five points" or Goten no aji. However, according to I-hsing's commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 xiv, 722 c) the fifth point is āḥ, and not the artificial group āṃḥ which
is unpronounceable. Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 848 iii) : A single sound spreads out in the four places and penetrates all the Levels of Essence, omnipresent as Space; the Mantra says: a, a, aṁ, aḥ. I-hsing’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 xi) : The letter a produces three letters; say, a total of four letters. These four form but one which is Omnipresent.

These Five Revolutions of the a correspond to the degrees of ascension of the Spirit of Enlightenment, from the cause to the effect: to the first (a) of the five points corresponds the Production of the Spirit; to the second (ā) the Practice; to the third (aṁ) the Enlightenment; to the fourth (aḥ) the Nirvāṇa; to the fifth (aṁḥ or āḥ) the Culmination of the Means. Compare I-hsing’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra T 1796 i: (1) The Spirit produces Enlightenment, (2) arms itself with all the Practices, (3) sees the Correct Complete Enlightenment, (4) proves the great Nirvāṇa, (5) produces the Means. It is thus that the Spirit adorns and purifies the sphere of the Buddha, from the cause to the effect, one is attached to the Spirit alone.

Moreover, these five Revolutions of the Spirit are made to correspond with the “three phrases” of the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 848) as follows: Production of the Spirit-Cause = Practice = Root; Enlightenment = Nirvāṇa and Means = Culmination.

Lastly, we find in Amoghavajra and Śubhākarasimha the systems of correspondences (Bukkyōdaiji-i 27-29) shown in the comparative statements (pp. 185-6).

In the system of Amoghavajra, Revolutions begin at the centre of the Circle occupied by Vairocana whom he thus establishes as principle of the Production of the Spirit, cause of all the Revolutions. He bases himself therefore on the doctrine of the “immediate Immanence of the Truth” (in Beings) (Sokuijitsuhi), of the “original Enlightenment (hongaku), the Revolutions being considered in the descending sense (hongakugetu) from Buddha to the Profane. The symbolism of the correspondences is explained as follows: (1) The central Buddha, Vairocana, corresponds to the Land element, since the Vajrasattva is immanent in all Beings (and from whom the Production of the Spirit proceeds) is the Substantial Nature which produces the Buddhas, just as the Earth is the base which supports and maintains the Substantial proper to all Beings. (2) Akṣobhya corresponds to the Practice, because each Practice of Circle (maṇḍala) is Absolute, all Practices being furnished in a single Practice and this immanence of the Absolute being signified by the name Akṣobhya “the Immobile”. Akṣobhya corresponds to the void because, like space, he contains all Beings. He is also called (that is to
say he is identified with the Buddha of the Garbhadhātu called) Ratnaketu Hōdō, because all Practices are firmly implanted in the Absolute, like staffs (ketu). (3) Ratnasambhava, who represents the Proof of the Enlightenment, corresponds to Fire, because the Knowledge of the Equal and Absolute Nature of the Essences burns, like fire, the error of the differentiation of things and of the Spirit. It is also called King of Flowers in bloom (Kaifukoe, Saṅkusumitarāja), the Enlightenment being compared to a flower in bloom. (4) The correspondence of Amitāyus to the Entry into Nirvāṇa and to the Wind is explained by alluding to his voice teaching the Essence which, like the wind, overturns the Passions and produces the Attainment of the Enlightenment. (5) Amoghasiddhi corresponds to the Accomplishment of the Means and to the Water, because he presides over the section of the Acts/Karma of the Vajradhātu, and the productive knowledge of Acts, or Plenitude of the Knowledge of the Means, is like water which espouses the form, square or round, of the recipient. His name “Attainment of the Non-Void” implies that the Knowledge of the Means, permitting the teaching of the Essence for the benefit of Beings, is neither void nor in vain. It is also called Sound of Thunder of the Celestial Tambour (Tenkuraion, Divya-dundubhi-meghanirghoṣa).

In the system of Śubhākarastūha the Revolutions proceed from Akṣobhya in the East in order to climb towards the Central Vairocana, who represents, not the initial Production, but the final Mean. Contrary to that of Amoghaavajra, this system is therefore inspired by the doctrine of “the initial Enlightenment produced by the Practice” (Shikaku), the Revolutions being considered in the ascending sense, from the Profane to the Buddha. The symbolism of correspondences also differs from that of Amoghaavajra: (1) the Land corresponds to the East which is the orientation of Spring, because this season is the first, like the Revolution of the Production of the Spirit; (2) the Fire to the Practice, because all the innumerable Practices should be clear and distinct like the fire; (3) the Water to the Proof, because thanks to this the Spirit becomes pure like water; (4) the Wind to the Entry, because it is a destroyer and extinguisher like Nirvāṇa; (5) the Void to the Centre, to the accomplishment of the Mean, because the centre participates in the four directions without falling to any side in particular—like the Mean.

Ajitādal, the letter a as Element of the Substantial of all Essences, doctrine of the Taimitsu school, opposed to the doctrine of the Tōmitsu school called Rokudaitaidai, the six Elements as Element of the Substantial of all the Essences. The latter doctrine, elaborated by Kōbō Daishi, does not seem to fit in with the data from the canonical texts of Chinese Tantrism.
Ajinalgesho, internal and external sound of the a, the second being a manifestation of the first. I-hsing’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (T 1796 xvii) : A is internal and external. Even if there is no external sound, one cannot be without the internal sound of the a. The internal sound is called the a in the throat.
# SYSTEM OF AMOGHAVAJRA

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AN ICONIC MOTIF : PERSPECTIVE AND RETROSPECTIVE

By

D.C. BHATTACHARYYA

For the study of Buddhist iconography of the Vajrayāna-Tantrayāna phase, the scholars mostly refer to the Śādhanamālā and the Niśpanna-yogāvalī. These two texts, belonging to the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D., cannot, however, account for the iconography of many of the Buddhist images we come across. Many other texts, mostly lying in unpublished manuscript form, can come to our help in this respect. Of these unpublished texts, mention should first be made of the Vārāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā or the Vārāvalī-Tantra composed by Abhayākara-gupta, the author of the celebrated Niśpannayogāvalī. The Vārāvalī of Abhayākara-gupta has not been explored as yet for information pertaining to Buddhist iconography. But it is a mine of information, and, being composed later than the Niśpannayogāvalī, it includes many items not covered by the latter. The importance of the Vārāvalī lies not merely on the new topics of discussion. The cross-references that it occasionally makes to various points shed valuable light on many aspects of Buddhist iconography, its interactions and history.

The Vārāvalī contains the definitions of a number of sitting and standing postures referred to there as āsanas, padas and karanas. In the context of the standing posture jātapada, and Vārāvalī digresses into a cross-reference by way of citing an example and states that the posture concerned should be the same as in the image of Tārā of Vaiśālī: Vaiśālī-tārāvat Kuryādi jātapadam. From the nature of the reference it seems that, by the time of Abhayākara-gupta (later eleventh-early twelfth century A.D.), the image of the goddess Tārā of Vaiśālī might have acquired so much of celebrity that a mere reference to it was sufficient to explain the standing posture known as the jātapada. People obviously remembered all details of the image so much so that it could serve as a stock example for the visualisation of the standing posture the author of the Vārāvalī was defining. Moreover, it seems that the standing posture of the image of Vaiśālī Tārā was distinctively conspicuous, and this aspect of its iconography was well-known to the people, although Abhayākara-gupta might have been the first writer to give its literal description together with the terminological accession in liturgical texts.
That an image of the goddess Tārā at Vaiśāli was very famous and that the standing posture of the image was somewhat distinctive can be known from the following extract from the accounts of the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmsvāmin who visited Vaiśāli sometimes between 1235 and 1286 A.D.: a miraculous stone image of the Ārya Tārā with her head and body turned towards the left, foot placed flat, and the right foot turned sideways, the right hand in Varamudrā and the left hand holding the symbol of the Three Jewels in front of the heart. The image was known to be endowed with great blessing, and the mere beholding of the goddess' face relieved devotees from distress. Interestingly, there is similarity between the definition of jātapada which the Vatrāvalī relates to the posture of Vaiśāli Tārā7 and the descriptive features of the Ārya Tārā of Vaiśāli referred to by Dharmsvāmin in the above quoted extract of his biography. Abhayākaragupta in his Vatrāvalī and Dharmsvāmin in his biography presumably refer to the same image of the goddess Tārā of Vaiśāli.

It is of interest to note that a manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā from Nepal, dated in the Newari year 135(=A.D. 1015), now preserved in the University Library, Cambridge, contains illustrations of various deities with inscriptional labels disclosing their names and the places where the respective iconographic forms were famous. One such illustration showing a standing female deity has the attached inscriptional label which reads: Tirabhuktau Vaiśāli Tārā, meaning, Tārā of Vaiśāli in Tirabhukti. A similarly inscribed miniature painting8 is to be noticed in the manuscript of the same text, dated in the Newari year 191(=A.D. 1071), in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. In both these illustrations the goddess Tārā is shown in the standing posture inside a temple (Fig-1). By its side is shown the scene of the offering of honey by the monkeys to the Buddha. This scene is added obviously to give visual expression of the identification of place as Vaiśāli where this particular incidence (miracle) of the life of the Buddha is known to have taken place.9

The above-cited evidence, coupled with that of the Vatrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta and the biography of Dharmsvāmin, would indicate, inter-alia, that a particular iconic form of the goddess Tārā became very famous positively by the beginning of the eleventh century and that it continued to be so even till the middle of the thirteenth century. Surprisingly, however, the Sādhanamālā and the Nīpannayogāvalī, the celebrated texts of Buddhist iconography, composed in the twelfth century A.D., do not refer to any distinctive iconic form of Tārā of Vaiśāli.

But the fame of Vaiśāli Tārā seems to have continued even beyond
Fig. 1, Vasilii Taras’ in the Ms. of the Praeputia

Courtesy: Cambridge University Library
the thirteenth century when Dharmasvāmin saw her image. A 16th century manuscript of the Tantric Buddhist work entitled Pūja-dhāraṇī-
Saṅgraha, now preserved in the Archives of the Government of Nepal, Kathmandu, contains the following interesting mantra for the worship of
the goddess Vaiśālī: Ehyeh varade devi Vaiśālī jātāsanasthām|| Kapikule
pūjite vandite madhupātra tathāgata namite bhaktayataisale.11 Although the goddess here is simply referred to as devi vaiśālī or Vaiśālī Devi, and
not as Vaiśālī Tārā, there remains hardly any doubt that the extract refers
to the form of Vaiśālī Tārā, mentioned in the prajñāpāramitā Mss and in the Vatūvalī of Abhayākara-gupta and the biography of Dharmas-
vāmin. The equation seems to be valid on a number of counts. Jātāsana12
of the above quoted extract is obviously the same as Jātapāda of the
Vatūvalī. Dharmasvāmin refers to the goddess showing one hand in the
varada pose, and this is also confirmed by the miniature painting of the
Prajñāpāramitā Mss. The above extract also ascribes this feature to
the deity through the expression varade. Above all, the expressions like
kapikule vandite and madhupātra tathāgata seem to be the reverberations
of the knowledge of the miniature paintings of the Prajñāpāramitā Mss.
showing, by the side of the representation of Vaiśālī Tārā, the episode of
the miracle of the offering of honey by the monkeys to the Buddha. Tak-
ing all these into consideration, it seems that, even in the 16th century, the
memory of some of the distinctive features of the image of Vaiśālī Tārā
lingered in the Buddhist iconography of Nepal.

By the 16th century, however, the goddess with her iconicographic fea-
tures like jātāsana or-pada, Varada pose and the monkey attendants came
to be known as Vaiśālī Devī, obviously after the name of the place where—
from the particular iconic form originated. In the list of Buddhist deities,
however, we get several names originating from the place of inception of
the iconic form concerned. The most notable example is that of Khasar-
paṇa form of Lokeśvara which, according to the Sādhana-mālā, originated
from the village Khasarpāṇa in the Khāḍī maṇḍala13 in Bengal. Thus it
is likely that Vaiśālī Tārā of the Prajñāpāramitā Mss., the Vatūvalī of
Abhayākara-gupta and of the biography of Dharmasvāmin came to be
known as Vaiśālī, or even as Vaiśālī, by the 16th century A.D.

In Bengal, a very important folk deity is known as Vaiśālī or Vāsulī.
She has been repeatedly mentioned in the writings of the Vaiṣṇava pada-
kartās and the Maṅgalarākṣyas of the 16th-17th centuries onwards. The
goddess is known variously as Vāsulī, Vāsulī, Viśālākṣī.14 Scholars have
offered various theories for the origin of the name and concept of the
goddess, and in this respect the following four suggestions15 seem to be
the important ones: (1) she originates from the common concept of the
goddess Viśālākṣī or the large-eyed one (2) she is related to the god-
dess Vāsulī or Vāsuli of Puri in Orissa (3) the folk goddess Visalmārī of
Mysore region of South India is the same as Vāsulī of Bengal villages (4) she is a goddess descended from Vajrayāna-Yantrayāna Buddhism and, according to late Dr. S.B. Dasgupta, Vāsali of the Bengal villages is the same as the goddess Vacchali, a name he could locate in the Cāryāpada Mss. collected by him from Nepal. In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible either to support or reject any of these views with definitive evidence. But it is possible to throw another suggestion in the light of the study that we have made above. It seems not very unlikely that Vaiśāli Tārā of the Prajñāpāramitā Mss. of the eleventh century, the Vajrāvali of Abhayākaragupta of the twelfth and the biography of Dharmasvāmin of the thirteenth century acquired the name of Vaiśāli Devī in the 16th century as evidenced by the Pūjā-dhāraṇī-saṅgraha Ms. from Nepal, and still later, the same goddess was christened as Vāsuli/Vaselī or Viśālākṣī by the Vaiṣṇava padakartās and the writers of the Maṅgalakāvyas. The transformation from the name Vaiśāli to Vāsali does not seem too improbable, particularly if we admit also a change in the religious affiliation of the deity. The Buddhist deity merging into the contemporary stronger current of the popular bhakti movement of the Vaiṣṇava padakartās and Maṅgalakāvyas does not seem unlikely in the context of the history of the religions and their sectarian interrelationships during the period. Thereby hangs the crucial point in the story of the socio-cultural inter-actions of various faiths and followings reflected in the imageries and motifs in art and iconography.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Two Mss. of the work (No. G. 3855, G. 4835) from the collection of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, one from the Cambridge University Library (Ms. No. Add. 1703) and another from the Oriental Institute, Baroda (Ms. No 13189) have been studied by the present author and he has prepared a detailed study on them for a forthcoming publication. In the meantime, however, he has contributed three papers based on the Vairāvalī. They are the following: “The Vairāvalināma-Maṅgalopāyiča of Abhayākaragupta, Tantric And Taoist Studies, ed. by Michel Strickmann, Bruxelles, 1981, pp. 70-95; “New Materials for the Study of Buddhist Iconography”, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, Dr. Bhagvanal Indraji Memorial Volume, Vol. 56-59/1981-84 (Combined), New Series, pp. 94-103 ; “On Some Buddhist Āsanās”, Chhavi-2, ed. by Ananda Krishna, Varanasi, 1981, pp. 182-186.

2. Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 3855, fol. 23B of the Vairāvalī refers to the Niṣpanmayogāvalī as one of the authorities consulted


4. Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 4835 folio. 10B.

5. Abhayākaragupta was a contemporary of Rāmapala of the Pala dynasty. See Bhattacharyya, B. Sādhanamālā, Vol. II, Baroda, 1925, Introduction, p. xc.

7. Asiatic Society Ms. No. G. 4835, folio 10B of the Vajrāvali gives the following description of the jātapaḍa mode of standing: caturāngulyantara pārṣṇi-dvayaṁ praguṇam kṛtvā daksīṇam vītasyantoreṇa tiryaghataṁ saḥilām.


11. Ms. No Ca. 3212, folio 13B. The extract has been quoted here as it occurs in the Ms. The Ms. seems to be a compilation by different hands. The last leaf has the date samvat 712 (=1592 A.D.).

12. In Buddhist texts the terms ṣāṇa and padā are used in the same sense quite often. For reference see note No. 3 above.


15. Ibid.
MINIATURE PAINTINGS FROM INDIA IN THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

By

STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT

One of the unfortunate facts of life in Indian art is that very often paintings have been cut out or separated from the manuscripts which they originally illustrated or the albums of which they were originally a part in order to be sold individually or in small groups of paintings. This has traditionally brought a higher price than selling a manuscript with the illustrations or an album as a unit.

The Spencer Collection of Illustrated Books and Manuscripts and Fine Bindings in the New York Public Library, though has brought together perhaps the finest collection of illustrated manuscripts and albums of paintings from India in the world. These contain well over 2,500 miniature paintings of the highest quality executed on paper. There are as well over 375 illustrations painted, or incised and sometimes painted as well on palm leaves. These manuscripts are not reflected in Horace Poleman, Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, America Oriental Series 12 (New Haven, Connecticut: 1938) as the collection was brought together just after the compilation of Poleman’s volume. Also, they are not reflected in the New Catalogus Catalogorum as the collection is only incompletely and imperfectly catalogued.

The styles of Indian painting are numerous. In most instances these can be traced back to one of three older styles, an Early Western style in Western India sometimes called Gujarati style, the Pāla style in Eastern India and a Deccani style in Southern India. The first two styles can be dated back to the 11th century. The origins of the third style are obscure. The Pāla style gave rise to distinctive styles in Nepal, Orissa and Bengal. The later Rajput styles appear to have been based in most instances on the Early Western Indian style and to have developed under the impetus of Mughal painting which itself was based in origin on a style of painting current in Persia. Deccani style similarly was affected by Mughal painting, in some instances radically. Also, as was Mughal painting, it was influenced by European painting. The style of painting in Ceylon drew its inspiration from the same style used to
decorate the rock-hewn cave temples of Ajanta from the 1st century B.C. to 6th century A.D., from which style of painting the Early Western Indian style developed as well.

One of the interesting features of miniature paintings from India is that some of miniature of its styles, such as various of the Rajput styles, for instance, influenced early European modern artists such as Henri Rousseau and Matisse.

There are in the collection at the New York Public Library miniature paintings or illustrations in most of the different styles of Indian painting. About 20 manuscripts are in Early Western Indian style, about 25 are in Pāla style, or in styles derivative of Pāla style, about 20 are in Mughal styles, and about 55 are in different Rajput and Deccani styles. Several manuscripts are from Ceylon, but they are in the main scrolls of late copies by a Buddhist monk of murals from temples in Ceylon. All told there are about 125 manuscripts and albums in the collection.

The paintings in the New York Public Library collection illustrate themes from all three of the major native Indian religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, from Mohammedanism, and from Sikhism. They also include secular topics.

One of the most popular Jain books, for instance, is the Kalpasūtra, a canonical text mainly of Jain hagiography. There are in the collection several manuscripts of this text illustrated with miniature paintings in the Early Western Indian style, two together with manuscripts of the well-known narrative Kalacakrāyakathā generally recited by monks after the recital of the Kalpasūtra (Spencer Indian MSS. 2 and 23). Of these, one contains replacement pages in Rajput style of the 17th century (Spencer Indian MS. 23). One manuscript is of four folios only of the noted Devasānō Paḍo Bhanḍār Kalpasūtra (Spencer Indian MS. 4). In another of these manuscripts we can observe the stages in the production of the manuscript (Spencer Indian MS. 3). Still two other manuscripts of the Kalpasūtra are less familiar examples fully executed in Rajput style (Spencer Indian MSS. 42 and 45). The illustrations in these two Kalpasūtras do not conform to the standard Kalpasūtra illustrations of Early Western Indian style manuscripts as presented by W. Norman Brown in his Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra as Executed in the Early Western Style (Washington, D.C. 1934).

Also popular among Jain texts are the various illustrated Samgrahaṇīsūtras, a group of cosmological texts which chart and illustrate cosmography. There are four Samgrahaṇīsūtras in the collection here.
One unusual example of these depicts tortures of hell in a Rajput style from Gujarat (Spencer Indian MS. 24). Cosmological illustrations can also be found in manuscripts of the _Laghukṣetrasamāsa_ and _Bṛhatkṣetrasamāsa_ in the collection (Spencer Indian MSS. 25 and 47). And there is in the collection a large _Adhādvipa_, or diagram of the "two-and-a half continents" in which men may be born (Spencer Indian MS. 88).

Especially interesting among the Jain manuscripts are several _Vijñaptipatrās_, or "letters of address" from one monk to another monk, the first monk inviting the second to visit his monastery (Spencer Indian MSS. 68e, 69a and 69b). These are on long scrolls illustrated with scenes of life at the inviting monastery.

As an example of Jain narrative literature the collection contains, beside the _Kalakārīyakathā_, a manuscript of Nemidatta’s _Śrīpālacarita_ illustrated in Maratha style of the early 19th century (Spencer Indian MS. 41).

One of the most famous Persian books is the _Shah Namah_, a history of Persian kings. There are in the collection three manuscripts of this text illustrated with miniature paintings in Mughal styles (Spencer Indo-Persian MSS. 1, 5 and 16). There are also Persian versions of different native Indian texts illustrated in Mughal styles.

One of the most popular books of Hindu devotional literature is the _Devimāhātmya_, a glorification of the deeds of the goddess Devī. There is in the collection a manuscript of this text illustrated with paintings from Western India. In the manuscript, there is a note in _Devanāgari_ giving the name of the book's owner, who was a Maharashtrian (Spencer Indian MS. 63).

Without doubt, the most popular book of Hindu devotional literature is the _Bhagavadgītā_, or "Song of the Blessed One". The _Bhagavadgītā_ is often referred to as the Bible of India. Six manuscripts here contain miniature paintings which illustrate this text, and these amply justify this title for the text even further. This is the largest collection of such manuscripts in one place outside India.  

Among these six manuscripts there is one which contains perhaps some of the oldest examples of painting known to date from the hills of the Punjab and Kashmir. It is paintings from this area which are possibly the most well-known of the Rajput styles of Western audiences. Roughly, the paintings in this area from perhaps 1660 to 1750 are in style generally known as Basohli. The name is taken from one of the hill states.
in this area. Art dealers in India used to call this style Tibeti, meaning “Tibetan”. The reason for this name is not clear. Around 1750, the style began to change in these hills. A style which developed first in the hill state of Kangra became prominent throughout the hills. This later style is called generally Kangra because of this. The manuscript in the New York Public Library (Spencer Indian MS. 29) is perhaps in an early form of Basohli style. Unlike other examples of Basohli painting, the style in the Bhagavadgītā paintings is not fully developed yet. The manuscript seems to be identifiable on such grounds, for instance, as an illustration of Gosain Narain of Pindori, known only in Nurpur painting, as coming from Nurpur state. It can probably be dated to the reign of Raja Man Dhata, perhaps to the very beginning of this king’s reign in 1661. It was during the reign of Man Dhata that miniature painting appears to have been introduced in Nurpur and in the Punjab hills in general. The fierceness of some of the paintings in this manuscript, the grace and charm of others of its paintings, and the clear affinities of its paintings to the popular Mughal style, in some instances to the Mughal Court style of the Aurangzeb period, and in some instances possibly to a tradition of Inner Asian Steppes art which may have been brought to India by such groups as the Huns or Scythians which became our later Rajputs, or by the Mughals (that is, Mongols), make it a most remarkable document of painting. This manuscript of the Bhagavadgītā is together with Madhusūdhana’s commentary Gūḍhārthadīpikā, and is written in Śāradā script.

Other illustrated manuscripts of the Bhagavadgītā from the hills of the Punjab and Kashmir are also in the New York Public Library. One in Gurumukhi script comes from the state of Mandi (Spencer Indian MS. 78), and another comes from the state of Garhwal (Spencer Indian MS. 50). These are in what would be termed generally as Kangra style, and date from the 19th century.

Important examples of other styles of Indian miniature painting are also represented in the illustrated Bhagavadgītā manuscripts in the New York Public Library.

One manuscript comes from the central Indian state of Bundi (Spencer Indian MS. 72). Painting in Bundi is noted for the distinctive colors of its bright palette and the humor with which its figures are executed. This manuscript is no exception. This can be seen clearly in its illustration of Arjuna questioning his charioteer Kṛṣṇa which sets the stage for the preaching of the Bhagavadgītā. The manuscript comes from the early part of the reign of Raja Ram Singh of Bundi, who ruled from 1821 to 1862. Raja Ram Singh was a devout worshiper of the god Viṣṇu, viewed by some to be identical with Kṛṣṇa and by others to be
the god of whom Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation. Under Ram Singh’s reign the decoration of the Fort Palace at Bundi with murals, begun by Raja Bishan Singh in perhaps 1820, was continued and completed. Illustrations of both Raja Bishan Singh and Raja Ummmed Singh appear in the manuscript, and Arjuna is perhaps modelled after a young Raja Ummmed Singh. Ram Singh’s grandfather, who has been referred to by one historian as “one of the bravest, wisest, and most faultless characters which Rajput history has recorded.” It would be appropriate that he should be pictured as Arjuna.

Another manuscript comes from Pohokarṇa in the Rajasthani-Gujarati area, and was similarly executed in the early 19th century (Spencer Indian MS. 49). Despite its late date, the manuscript proves to be very conservative, and no doubt is based on earlier models. The illustrations of this manuscript preserve the older of the two traditions of illustrating the Bhagavadgītā. It can be noted that the illustrations used in this tradition suggest that it is to be associated with the illustration of palm leaf manuscripts of the text. Those here remain very close to the type of illustrations one finds in time and again in illustrated palm leaf manuscripts.

Still another Bhagavadgītā manuscript is an eloquent example of the exquisite style of Nagpur in India’s south central region (Spencer Indian MS. 77). Leaves only of matching Bhāgavatapurāṇa manuscripts are to be found in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and in the India Office Library. The style here is highlighted by a distinctive blue, an abundant use of gold leaf, and a distinctive and beautiful floral border on each folio. The manuscript is exceptional from the vantage of Bhagavadgītā manuscripts as most verses of chapter 10 of the Bhagavadgītā, the epiphany, are illustrated individually. It is a fine example of richness of palette and balance of composition. The manuscript, like the manuscript from Pohokarṇa, preserves the older of the two traditions of illustrating the Bhagavadgītā. It can be dated to the mid-18th century.

There are also in the New York Public Library collection illustrated manuscripts of different sacred texts such as the Śivagītā (Spencer Indian MS. 28) and Svayambhūpurāṇa (Spencer Nepalese MS. 8), albums of paintings illustrating incidents in the life of the god Kṛṣṇa, albums of paintings illustrating incidents in the life of the god Rāma from the different versions of the epic Rāmāyana, compendiums of Hindu prayers with paintings of different Hindu gods to aid meditation (several of the Bhagadgītā manuscripts, it should be noted, also contain other texts), Rāgamalā albums illustrating the sentiments of different musical modes, manuscripts with paintings illustrating dream interpretation and fortune-
telling, an album with paintings of Rajput nobles on horseback, other books with paintings illustrating different Islamic works of Indo-Persian literature such as *The Arabian Nights* (Spencer Indo-Persian MS. 17), manuscripts of Buddhist prayers and sacred texts with paintings of different "beings of compassion", meditational Buddhas and Tantric Buddhist goddesses, manuscripts with scenes of the Buddha's previous lives as different animals, a manuscript with paintings of Sikh saints, and manuscripts of popular Indian secular literature such as the Old Gujarati *Madhu Malati* (Spencer Indian MS. 58) and the *Jalalagahāni ri vārtā* (Spencer Indian MS. 59) with paintings or incised illustrations on paper and palm leaves illustrating the stories. The illustrated Orissan palm leaf manuscripts, it is to be noted, are a particular strength of the collection. There are eight of these. This roughly equals in number the Orissan palm leaf manuscripts held scattered elsewhere in various depositories in the United States and Canada, all of which other manuscripts are without illustrations. There is also here a manuscript containing British Indian watercolors and sketches illustrating a journey to Tibet with narrative in English (Spencer Indian MS. 64), and an album of watercolors illustrating scenes of everyday life in Kerala on India's southwestern coast with descriptions in French (Spencer Indian MS. 36).

A large number of the manuscripts contain elegant and ornate decorative borders. A number of the manuscripts are between wooden boards in traditional Indian fashion. One Sinhalese manuscript is between carved ivory covers. Other manuscripts are in various Indian bindings, some of these containing examples of native Indian fabrics.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank The Spencer Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations for permission to reproduce materials from their collection together with this article.

2. The only collection which I know for sure at this time to have more such illustrated *Bhagavadgītā* manuscripts is that of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, which is listed as having 10 of these manuscripts. See Muni Jinajivaya, *A Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute: parts I, II (A) and (B) Jodhpur collection, part II (C) Jaipur collection*, Rajasthan Pratāpa Granthamala 71, 77, 81, 82 (Jodhpur: 1963-66). Part I lists one such manuscript, and part II (A) lists 9 such manuscripts. There are none listed for the Jaipur collection.

3. I mention that I have been unable to find bibliographic reference to the *Jalalagahāni ri vārtā* in the sources available to me. It is not listed, for instance, in *Nagariprācīṇi Sahā, Kāśi, Haṭalikhita Hindi Pustakōm kā Śaṁkṛṣṭā Viśaraṇa*, 2 vols. (Kāśi: 2021 <A.D. 1964-65>). The manuscript here is bound in disarray. The text consists throughout of dāhās each followed by a narration. The illustrations in the main are of Jalāla in different situations.
ADDITIONAL REFERENCES

Levitt, Stephan Hillyer. 1979. Bhagavadgītā Manuscript Illustrations. In typescript. This contains information in greater detail on the Bhagavadgītā illustrations in the collection.

New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. The Research Libraries 1971. Dictionary Catalog and Shelf List of the Spencer Collection of Illustrated Books and Manuscripts and Fine Bindings, 2 vols. (Boston: G.K. Hall and Co.), 2.91b—17c, 932ab, 935c. The entries here are in varying degrees of completeness and are very often inaccurate. The Nagpur Bhagavadgītā, for instance, is listed as being from Golconda. The Jalālagāhī ri vārtā is listed as a manuscript of the ‘Madu Malati’. When manuscripts are illustrated compendiums of texts, comparable to Western hymnals as is the case of Spencer Indian MSS. 79 and 80, for instance, a listing of the texts is completely lacking. (Some notes on some of these texts were made by me in 1978, and these are together with the texts.) The 'Shelf List', while it is a good very general guide to the collection, must be used with care.


On the palm leaf, to which these have been added red and black wash.

Fig. 1. Illustration from an undated Ossian MS (Spencer Indian MS. 13). The illustration is included.
Fig. 2. Battle scene from *Shri Bhāgavat*, an abridged Indo-Persian translation of the whole *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in twelve *skandhas*, by an anonymous author (Spencer Indo-Persian MS. 12).
ICONOGRAPHY OF CUNDĀ

By

SUDARSHANA DEVI SINGHAL

The goddess Cundā was spoken of by Beal (1871) in the last century and he wrongly considered her to be another form of Durgā or Cāndī. In 1900, Foucher gave illustrations (pl. 24 and 25) of two statues of Cundā, one in the British Museum and the other from Bodhgaya. He also referred to Vuākara and Paśķikerā Cundās of the two manuscripts of the Prajñāpāramitā at Cambridge. In 1928, Getty attempted to give a systematic iconography of Cundā. In 1958, Bhattacharyya gave a detailed description on the basis of the Sādhanamālā and Niśpannayogāvalī. In 1966, Leeuw discussed many-armed forms of Cundā. 1971, Bonheur discussed the several bronze images of Cundā from Indonesia. In 1975, Mallmann classified the iconography of Cundā. None of the aforesaid attempts are comprehensive, nor do they clearly enunciate each morphological type. The Sino-Japanese tradition which provides several new forms, has been overlooked. The considerable variations in the iconography of Cundā from India, Indonesia, Japan, and Tibet have to be classified anew. The present is an attempt to put together all the scattered material from the widely separated traditions into a clear and concise taxonomy.

NAME

The name of the goddess has some times been spelt Cunḍā and Cunḍī (e.g. by Leeuw 1966:119 ff.). Her name has been confused with Caṇḍī, spelt as Chundee in the 19th century, when a standard transcription of Sanskrit had not been worked out. Beal (1871:411) had juxtaposed Cundī with Hindu goddess Caṇḍī: “Mat-Chundee is another name for Devī or Durgā, and doubtless the same as Mother-Tchundi (Tchundī māṭkā)”. The error has persisted over the years. Bhattacharyya (1958 : 22) gives the various spellings of her name as Cundī, Cunḍā, Cundrā, Candrā, Caṇḍā, Cundrā. The name of the goddess in Tibetan is Skul-bye-dma in the Tanjur (Toh. 3246), while Cundā is skul-byed in the Mahavyutpatti 1045. The root skul has the following equivalences in different composita:
gzhen-skul-hdebs—prerak (Śatapañcāsatka-stotra 102)
bzhen-(b) skul-debs=codana (Bodhicaryāvatāra 5.74)

In three Tibetan xylographs illustrating Buddhist iconography, the name is transcribed as Cundā (without any variant): 300 Icons:159,360 Icons : 240,241, Narthang Pantheon 54b,90b. In the Tanjur (Toh. 3519, 3520,3521) too her name is transcribed thrice as Cundā. The Chinese transcriptions also point to the dental form Cundī. The masculine name Cunda (with dental nd) is attested in numerous passages without any cerebral variant. This finally fixes the dental orthography Cundā/Cundī as the correct one.

The Tibetan renderings of Cundā from the root cud reminds us of the sacred Gayatrī mantra dhīyo yo nah pracodayāt where the root pracud means ‘to urge, impel, inspire’. The last line of the Gayatrī signifies “may it inspire our reflections, meditations, devotion, wisdom”. The goddess Cundā symbolises the creative impulse of wisdom, the inspiring action, the vivifying animation of illumination. It is but natural that in the Japanese Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala Cundā (Esot. 19) is immediately followed by Prajnāpāramitā (Esot. 20).

Cundā/Cundī is the feminine form of Cunda. Cunda is the name of one or more disciples of Lord Buddha in the Saddharma-puṇḍarika Lalita-vistara, Divyāvadāna, Mahāvyutpatti, and Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra. In the Mahāvastu 3.327.18 Cunda is the name of a yakṣa. The home of this yakṣa was Cundadvīla (v.l. -vīra, dvilā: is it-dvīpa) between Apara-Gayā and Varanasi (Edgerton 1953:231). Cundā/Cundī seems to have been a powerful yakṣī whose integration in the Buddhist pantheon was as urgent an imperative as the owning of yakṣā Cunda as a disciple.

**ANTIQUITY**

Bhattacharyya (1958:221) takes back the antiquity of Cundā to A.D. 200 and A.D. 300 by equating her with Candrā and Candravajrī. Candrā occurs in the Maṇjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (A.D. 200) and Candravajrī in the Guhya-samājā (A.D. 300). Candrā and Candravajrī pertain to the ‘Moon’ and have nothing in common with Cundā. These equations are not tenable and hence the earliest Indian reference to Cundā is in Śāntideva. Śāntideva who lived in the 8th century A.D., speaks of the Cundā-dhāraṇī in his Śikṣā-saṃuccaya 173.4 to absolve sin (papa-κṣaya). Still earlier are the dhāraṇīs translated into Chinese. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka there are four translations of the Cundi-devi-dhāraṇī:

- A.D. 685 translated by Divākara (K 314, Nj 344, T 1077)
- A.D. 720 translated by Amoghavajra (K 1338, Nj 346, T 1076)
In all these four translations her name is transcribed as Cundī (with dental \textit{di}). The veneration of Cundā must have been widespread during the T'ang period when all the three translations of her dhāraṇī were done.

LACUNAE IN EARLIER STUDIES

The iconography of Cundā described by Getty (1928:129) is incomplete and unclear. She gives her mudrā as dhyāna, and her symbols as: vase, rosary, book. From the symbols we cannot infer even the number of arms. She further explains them as taken from a sāḍhana. The description is not taken from a sāḍhana but follows the illustration in an Aṣṭaśāhasrikā manuscript: \textit{Lādadele Vumkarānagare Cundā}, where she is four-armed; upper hands hold rosary and the lower two hold a vase in meditation mudrā. In the three sāḍhanas 129, 130, 131 of the Sādhana-mālā, Cundā holds a vessel (pāṭrā) in her two main hands, and r.h. varada, l.h. book on lotus. In the Aṣṭaśāhasrikā and in sāḍhanas, ‘book’ is a common attribute. But the Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā-sādhana (SM 174) omits the book and has other symbols r.h. varada and arrow; l.h. blue lotus and bow. NSP. 26 p. 89 describes Four-armed Cundā as holding r. h. sledge hammer (madgara) and lance (kunta), and l.h. lotus and baton (dndā). The symbols vase, rosary, book given by Getty occur in many forms where she has more than four hands.

The morphology of Cundā was fluid. The key to identification, which includes forms attested by texts or named in the illustrated pantheons, reveals that most of the forms were hardly ever repeated. Out of the 31 forms enumerated, 11 forms have been inferred by scholars. All the eight-armed forms of Cundā from Java are inferred: none of the literary or illustrated works has an eight-armed Cundā.

Getty refers to 4,8,16,18 armed Cundā. The goddess has 2,4,8,12, 16, 18, 20,26 arms. Getty mentions two representations of Cundā on Candi Mendut (Java): one with eight arms and the other with four arms. The former is Cundā but the-armed goddess is Prajñāpāramitā and not Cundā. Her lotus seat is upheld by nāgas. Cundā is not connected with the nāgas either in SM, NSP, Aṣṭaśāhasrikā mss, or in Sino-Japanese illustrations with inscribed names. On the other hand, it is an oft-repeated legend that Nāgarjuna recovered the text of Prajñāpāramitā from the palace of Nāgas in the nether regions (Conze 1960:10).
According to Getty "Japanese Cundā in Garbha-kośa maṇḍala is found in the second enclosure called the sarvajña parśad where she figured with eight (or 18) arms." In the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Japan (Esot. 19) she has twenty arms (not 8 or 18). She occurs in the quarter of sarva-tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā. Getty further discusses the Japanese Cundā "she is looked upon as the mother of lotus enclosure, i.e. the fourth parśad in which are twentyone forms of Kwan-non". Cundā is not connected with the Kwan-non enclosure of the Japanese maṇḍala-

"The goddess Cundā is an emanation of Vajrasattva and is the only female deity who may have his image in the headdress" (Getty 1928:129). SM. 130 clearly states vajrasattvamukutām.

Yo-Mu, Mu, T'ien-Mu and Fo-Mu

Cundā is termed a devi and bhagavti in the Sādhanamālā. In Chinese and Japanese she is fo-mu (lit. fo 'Buddha', mu 'mother'). It is translated word-to-word as 'Mother of Buddha' or 'the Mother of all Buddhas'. The expression can be compared to Skt. mātrikā which means a female deity or goddess in general. Fo-mu has created misunderstanding, e.g. 'Hail! Mother of Seven Kośis of Buddha's (Beal 1871:413). In fact it should be Saptakoṭi-bhagavati. Beal (1871:411) says: "Often spoken of as 'Our Lady' (Neangneang) or the Holy-Mother (shing-moo), or 'the Mother of Buddha', or 'the Holy Mother of all the Buddhas'." This mistake has been repeated over the years, for instance, Getty (1928:129) says: She "is sometimes called the 'Mother of Buddha'." The meaning of the word mother as a physical mother, a female parent, has remained a source of misapprehension and confusion. The original intention and signification of the Chinese word was devi/bhagavati. In Chinese three words are used for devi/bhagavati: fo-mu, yo-mu, and mu. Yo-mu means 'the noble mother'. Yo means 'a lofty mountain peak' (cites no. 13,367). An analysis of the two Chinese pantheons, the Pao-hsiang Lou pantheon (A) and the Chu Fo P’u-sa Shêng Hsien Tsan (B, Clark 1937), reveals that the three Chinese terms mean only a devi or bhagavati. Yo-mu is applied to eight goddesses:

A2A 1 Ch’ih-pang yo-mu
2 Shih-i yo-mu
3 Shih-i yo-mu
4 Shih-hsiang yo-mu
14 Chiang-lin you-mu
15 Chih'-cho yo-mu
16 Ch’ih-shêng yo-mu
17 Ch’ih-kou yo-mu

=Daṇḍa-dhārā
=Daṇḍra-dhārā
=Dūtī
=Kāladvajā ? or Kalaketu ?
=Sphoṭā (NSP. p. 76 in Pañca-
dākā-maṇḍala)
=Paśinī (NSP. p. 75)
=Ankuśī (NSP. p. 75)
In terms of frequency, *mu* is the next epithet. It appears after the name of Pāramitās, Pūjā-devīs. Tithi-devīs, masī-devīs of the Mārici-mandala, and several other goddesses. It is clearly a feminine suffix, a ‘half-word’ rather than a ‘full word’, a morpheme rather than a full-fledged semanteme.

(i) Pāramitās

| A4A  | Yūan Po-lo-mi mu           | = Praṇidhāna-Pāramitā |
|      | Fang-pien Po-lo-mi mu      | = Upāyakausāya-Pāramitā |
|      | Ch’an-ting Po-lo-mi mu      | = Dhyāna-Pāramitā |
|      | Chiang-chin Po-lo-mi mu      | = Virya-Pāramitā |
|      | Jên-ju Po-lo-mi mu          | = Ksānti-Pāramitā |
|      | Ch’ih-wei Polo-mi mu         | = Śīla-Pāramitā |
|      | Hui-shih Po-lo-mi mu         | = Dāna-pārmitā |
|      | Chih-hui Po-lo-mi mu         | = Jñāna-Pāramitā |

(ii) Exterior Pūjā-devīs

| A2B22 | Ch’ih.hua mu                | = Puṣpā |
|       | Ch’ih-hsiang mu            | = Dhūpā (A3A40...fo-mu) |
|       | Ch’ih-tèng mu              | = Dipā (A3A30...fo-mu) |
|       | Ch’ih.hsiang-shui-mu       | = Gandhā |

Interior Pūjā-devīs

- = Lāsyā

| A2B  | Ch’ih-man mu                | = Mālyā |
|      | Ko-pai mu                   | = Gītā |
|      | Miao-wu mu                  | = Nṛtyā |

Saṅgraha-devīs

| A2B  | Chin-kang-kou mu            | = Vajrāṇkuśī |
|      | Chin-kang-shēng mu          | = Vajrapāśī |
|      | Chin-kang-cho mu            | = Vajrasphoṭi |
|      | Chin-kang-ling mu           | = Vajraghaṇḍa |

(iii) Tithi-devīs

| A3A  | Ti-t’i k’a-cha mu             | = Śaṣṭhī tithi |
|      | Ti-t’i sa-pu-ta mu            | = Saptamī tithi |
|      | Ti-t’i a-k’a-cha mu           | = Aṣṭamī tithi |
|      | Ti-t’i na-va mu               | = Navamī tithi |
|      | Ti-t’i ta-sha mu              | = Daśamī tithi |
(vi) Masi-devi of the Mārici-mañḍala (NSP. p. 41)

| A6B 10 | Lan-mu-ta-lich-ta-na-ma-hsi mu |  = Antardhānamasi |
| 11     | Ma-ha-lich-tsua-wa-lich-ma-hsi mu | = Mahācīvaramasi |
| 12     | Pa-ta-lich-ka-lich-ma-hsi mu | = Padākramasi |
| 23     | A-lich-ka-ma-hsi mu | = Arkamasī |
| 24     | Ma-lich-ka-ma-hsi mu | = Markamasī \\

(v) Others

| A3A 47 | Chin-kang-ch’a-ka mu | = Vajradākinī |
| A5B 18 | Pao-tsu-shèng mu | = Ratnavijayā |
| 19     | Miao-yin mu | = Sarasvatī |
| 20     | T’ien-jung mu |  |
| 21     | Fu-tsū-tsai mu | = Puṇyeśvari ? |
| 22     | To tsum mu |  |
| 23     | Pao-tsū-tsai mu | = Ratnesvari ? |
| 24     | Chuang-yen mu |  |
| 25     | Lung-chung-shèng mu |  |
| 33     | Tsui-shèng mu | = Vijayā |
| 34     | Ming-tien tsun mu |  |
| 35     | Ming-yūch mu |  |
| 36     | Wu-ma mu | = Umā |
| 47     | Pai Lung mu | = Sita-Nāgī |

T’IEN-Mu

(i) Note t’ien-mu=devī in the Five devīs in the Maṇjuśrī quarter of the Japanese Garbhadhātu-mañḍala.

| A5B 17 | Miao-fa t’ien-mu | = Keśīni devī |
| 58     | T’ung-miao-fa t’ien-mu | = Upakesīni devī |
| A5B 59 | Chu-p’in t’ien-mu | = Citrā devī |
| 60     | Ts’ai-po t’ien-mu | = Vasumatī devī |
| 61     | Nēng-chū t’ien-mu | = Ākarsanī devī |

(ii) Others

| A5B 28 | Shih-hsiang t’ien-mu | = Kāladhvajā ? |
| 29     | Yu t’ien-mu | = Kālaketu ? devī |
| 30     | Na-lo-yen t’ien-mu | = Nārāyani devī |
| 31     | Wa-lich-hsi t’ien-mu | = Vārāhi devī |
| 32     | Tsa-men-chih t’ien-mu | = Cāmupḍā devī |
| 41     | Shèng t’ien-mu | = Jayā devī |
| 42     | Tsun-shèng t’ien-mu | = Vijayā devī |
FO-MU (fo ‘Buddhist’, mu ‘goddess’) is the most widely used classifier.

A2A 54 Chin-kang-wei fo-mu = Rasavjrapa
55 Chin-kang-hsiang fo-mu = Gandhavajrapa
56 Chin-kang-sheng fo-mu = Sabdavajrapa
57 Chin-kang-se fo-mu = Rupavajrapa
58 Chiutu fo-mu = Tara
59 Pai-i fo-mu = Panjaraavasini
60 Wu-wo fo-mu = Nairatma
61 Fo-yen fo-mu = Lokana
A2B 6 Yu-shi fo-mu = Lasaya

(other seven Malya, Gitai, Nptya, Vajranaks, Vajrapasi, Vajrasphota, Vajraghanasi end in mu, but are fo-mu in A3 48-57).

A3A 9 Chiao-wan-shou-yin fo-mu = Carciaka
10 Chi-ih-cho fo-mu = Vairahi
11 Tai-leh-ma-ta-fo-mu = Gauri
12 Ch’ih-lien-hua fo-mu = Gauri
13 Lien-hua-ch’a-ka fo-mu

A3A 22 Ch’ih-tien fo-mu = Vidyuddharaparajita
23 Ch’ih-liu-hsing fo-mu = Ulkadharaparajita
24 Ch’ih-shuang-ting fo-mu = Dipayugmadharaparajita
25 Ch’ih-jih fo-mu = Surayadharaparajita
26 Ch’ih-hsiang fo-mu = Dhupaparajita
41 Ch’ih-man fo-mu = Pukkasiparajita
42 Ka-ssu-ma-li fo-mu = Ghasmari
43 Pai Po-ta-li fo-mu = Sita Vetali
44 Tsao-li fo-mu = Gauri
45 Kao-li fo-mu = Nptyaparajita
48 Miao-wu fo-mu = Narochakini
49 Na-ko-ch’a-chi-ni fo-mu = Gitai
50 Ko-pai fo-mu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Chinese Characters</th>
<th>Pāli Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Ch'ih-hua fo-mu</td>
<td>=Puśpā</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>Ch'ih-kou fo-mu</td>
<td>=Ankuśi</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
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<td>Ch'ih-shēng fo-mu</td>
<td>=Pāśī</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>Ch'ih-chien fo-mu</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Chuan-pi-ni fo-mu</td>
<td>=Dombinī</td>
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<td>Tsan-ta-li fo-mu</td>
<td>=Cāṇḍāli</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Sha-wa-li fo-mu</td>
<td>=Śabarī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A3B 1  Chin-kang-yū fo-mu =Rāgavajrā (NSP. 9)
2 Chin-kang-jou-shan fo-mu =Vajrāsaumyā (NSP. 9)
3 Ch'a-chi-ni fo-mu = [Vajra] Dākini (NSP.9)
4 Chin-kang-ti fo-mu =Prthivivajrā (NSP.9)
5 Chin-kang-sheng fo-mu =Śabdavajrā (NSP.9)
39 Kao-li fo-mu =Gaurī
40 Ku-lu-ku-lo fo-mu =Kurukullā
44 Ch’ih-kuan fo-mu =
45 Ma-ma-chi fo-mu =Māmakī
46 Pai-i fo-mu =Pāṇḍaravāsini
47 Chiu-tu fo-mu =Tārā
49 Ch’ih-p’i-p’a fo-mu =Viṇā (NSP.10)
50 Ch’ih-yūn-ku fo-mu =Mukundā (NSP. 10)
53 Ch’ih-mèn-so fo-mu =Tālikā (NSP. 77)
54 Ch’ih-yao-shih fo-mu =Kuṇcī (NSP.77)
55 Ch’ih-mèn fo-mu =Kapāṭa (NSP.77)
56 Ch’ih-man fo-mu =Paśadhārīṇī (NSP.77)

A3B 57 Fo-yen fo-mu =Locanā
58 Tsē-la-pa-la-ka fo-mu =
59 Tsan-ta-li fo-mu =Cāṇḍāli
60 Chin-kang-fēn-nu fo-mu =Vajrabhrkuti
61 Chin-kang-sè-hsiang fo-mu =Vajraputtalī? 

Twelve Bhūmis

A4A 4 P’u-kuang fo-mu =Samantaprabhā
6 Fa-yün fo-mu =Dharma-meghā
7 Shan-hui fo-mu =Sādhumaṭi
8 Pu-tung fo-mu =Acalā
18 Yuan-hsin fo-mu =Dūrāṅgamā
19 Hsien-ch’ien fo-mu =Abhimukhi
20 Nan-shēng fo-mu =Sudurjayā
21 Kuang-hui fo-[mu] =Arcimati
26 Fa-kuang fo-mu =Prabhākarī
27 Wu-kou fo-mu =Vimalā
28 Huan-hsi fo-mu =Pramuditā
29 Fa-hsin-husing-ti fo-mu =Abhimukti-caryā
Four Goddesses in the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala (NSP.44)

A4A 22 Chin-kang-fa fo-mu  = Dharmavajrī
c 23 Chin-kang-pao fo-mu  = Ratanavajrī
c 24 Chin-kang-yung-shih fo-mu  = Sattvavajrī
c 52 Chin-kang-jou-shan fo-mu  = Karmavajrī
c
A4B 45 Maio-wu fo-mu  = Nṛtyā
c 55 Yo-hsi fo-mu  = Lāsyā
c 56 Ch'ih-man fo-mu  = Mālyā
c 57 Ko-pai fo-mu  = Gitā
c
A5M 1 Ma-ma-chi fo-mu  = Māmakī
c 2 Ch'ing chiu-tu fo-mu  = Nīla-Tārā
c 8 Pai-i fo-mu  = Pāṇḍaravāsinī
c 9 Fo-yen fo-mu  = Locanā
A5A 30 Mei-ming fo-mu  =
c 32 P'in-mei fo-mu  = Bhṛkuṭi
c 33 Lan chiu-tu fo-mu  = Nīla-Tārā
c 43 Chin-kang-so fo-mu  = Vajrasphoṭi
c 44 Chin-kang-chien fo-mu  = Vajrāgrā
c 45 Ma-ma-chi fo-mu  = Māmakī
c 48 Pai-i fo-mu  = Pāṇḍaravāsinī
c 55 Pai-hao fo-mu  = Urṇā ?
c
A6M 1 Chi-kuang fo-mu  = Mārici
c 2 Pai Chiu-tu fo-mu  = Sita-Tārā
c 3 Tsun-shēng fo-mu  = Vijayā
c 7 Pai-san-kai fo-mu  = Sitātapatrā
c 8 Lū Chiu-tu fo-mu  = Śyāma-Tārā
c 9 Sui-ch'iu fo-mu  = Pratisārā
c
A6A 23 Chin-kang-cho fo-mu  = Vajraśrākhala
c 24 Chin-kang-kan-ta-li fo-mu  = Vajragāndhārī
c 25 Huang Wu-nèng-shēng fo-mu  = Pita-Aparājītā
c 37 Chieh-t'o-tou-chan fo-mu  = Saṅgrāma-tārīṇī
c 38 Ch'uang-t'ing-pei-yen fo-mu  = Dhvajāgra-keyūrā
c 39 Ta-hui fo-mu  = Mahāpratyāṅgirā
c 43 Chi-kuang fo-mu  = Mārici
c 47 Pai-san-kai fo-mu  = Sitātapatrā
c 51 Huang Miao-yin fo-mu  = Rakta-Sarasvatī
c 53 Ch'u-tu fo-mu  = Jānguli
c 54 Pai Chu-p'in fo-mu  = Sita-Viśvā
c 55 Sha-mèn fo-mu  = Śramaṇā
56 Ch'eng-chiu-i-ch'ieh chiu-tu fo-mu: Sarvārtha-sādhanā Tārā

Pañcarakṣā

57 Ch'ien-tsui-sui fo-mu = Sāhasrāpramardani
58 Mi-chou-sui-ch'ih fo-mu = Mantrānudhāraṇī
59 Han-lin fo-mu = Śītavatī
60 Ta-k'ung-ch'iao fo-mu = Mahāmāyūrī
61 Pan-jo fo-mu = Prajñāpāramitā

A6B 1 Pi-tsu Chi-kuang fo-mu = Mārīci with jade girdle

2 Shih-érh-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu = Dvādasabhujā Mārīci
3 Liu-pei Yeh-i fo-mu = Śaḍbhujā Parṇāsabarī
5 Liu-pei Miao-yin fo-mu = Śaḍbhujā Sarvasvati
26 Tsun-shêng fo-mu = Vijayā
27 Ch'uts'ai fo-mu =
29 Fên-nu Wei-chi fo-mu =
31 Sū-yung Chiu-tu fo-mu = Pravīra-Tārā
32 Tsū-chu-lin Tara fo-mu = Khadiravaṇī
37 Pai Chiu-tu fo-mu = Sita-Tārā

A6B 37 Sui-ch'iu fo-mu = Pratisarā
41 Ch'u-tu fo-mu = Jāngulī
48 Chēn-tan Chiu-tu fo-mu = Cina-Tārā
58 Ch'u-wu-ch'u Chiu-tu fo-mu = Durgottarīṇi-Tārā
59 Ėrh-pei I-chi fo-mu = Dvibhujā Ekajātā
60 Sū-po Chün-ti fo-mu = Caturbhujā Cundī
61 Shih-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu = Daśabhujā Mārīci

In Chu Fo P'u-sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan (B), 168 Buddhist goddesses end with the classifier fo-mu.

Pañcarakṣā (B201-205)

201 Ta-ch'ien-ts'ui-sui fo-mu = Mahāsāhasrapramardini
202 Ta-k'ung-ch'iao fo-mu = Mahāmāyūrī
203 Ta-han-lin fo-mu = Śītavatī
204 Mi-chou-sui-ch'ih fo-mu = Mantrānudhāraṇī
205 Sui-ch'iu fo-mu = Pratisarā

Twentyone Tārās (B 206-227)

206 Ch'u-chiu-wu-nan Chiu-tu fo-mu = Khadiravaṇī-Tārā
207 Tsun-chê su yung Chiu-tu fo-mu = Pravīra-Tārā
208 Ta-shan-ch'iu-yūeh Chiu-tu fo-mu = Candrakānti ? Tārā
207 Ta-hui chin-sè Chiu-tu fo-mu
208 Kuan-ting-tns-shèng Chiu-tu fo-mu
209 Hsü-kung-hung-yin Chiu-tu fo-mu
210 Nëng-shèng-san-chiæh Chiu-tu fo-mu
211 Nëng-ts'ui-wu-ti Chiu-tu fo-mu
212 Nëng-ts'ui-yüan-mo Chiu-tu fo-mu
213 Nieh-p'an-chi-mieh Chiu-tu fo-mu
214 Shè-fu-shih-chien Chiu-tu fo-mu
215 Nëng-shèng-chi-hsiang Chiu-tu fo-mu
216 Ju-huo-ch'i-h-ch'eng Chiu-tu fo-mu
217 P'in-mei wei-hsiang Chiu-tu fo-mu
218 Ta-jou-shan Chiu-tu fo-mu
219 Ming-chou-hung-shèng Chiu-tu fo-mu
220 Tu-t'o-shuai-pai Chiu-tu fo-mu
221 Nëng-tun-san-chiæh Chiu-tu fo-mu
222 Nëng-mieh-chu-k'u Chiu-tu fo-mu
223 Ch'èng-chiæh-i-ch'ieh Chiu-tu fo-mu
224 Ch'iu-shiang yüan-man Chiu-tu fo-mu
225 Ch'u-chu-wu-tu Chiu-tu fo-mu

Various goddesses (B 228-268)

228 Chin-kang-kung-shih Chiu-tu fo-mu
229 Chên-tan Chiu-tu fo-mu
230 Ju-i-pao-lun pai Chiu-tu fo-mu
231 Ssŭ pei ju-iz-tsŭ-tsai Chiu-tu fo-mu
232 Liu-pei pai-i Chiu-tu fo-mu
233 Pu-t'ien Chiu-tu fo-mu
234 Ch'u-wu-ch'ŭ Chiu-tu fo-mu
235 I-ch'ieh-ch'êng Chiu-tu fo-mu
236 Ta-shèng Ch'iu-tu fo-mu
237 Êrh-shih-sû-pei I-chi fo-mu
238 Chu-hsiang fo-mu
239 Êrh-pei I-chi fo-mu
240 Ssŭ-pei Chun-t'i fo-mu
241 Kuang-pei Chun-t'i fo-mu
242 Shih-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu
243 Pa-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu
244 Êrh-pei Chi-kuang fo-mu

=Kanakavarna-Târā
=Uṣṇiṣa-Târā
=Hūṃsvaranâdinî-Târā
=Vijaya-Târā
=Aparâjita-Târā
=Mārasûdana-Târā
=Śokavinodana-Târā
=Jagadvaśi-Târā
=Mangalotpâdana-Târā
=Pacakâ-Târā
=Kruddha-kali-Târā
=Mahasânti-Târā
=Râganûdana-Târā
=Sukha-Târā
=Sûta-Vijaya-Târā
=Duḥkhadahana-Târā
=Siddhidâ-Târā
=Paripûrṇa (or Parinispâna-)Târā
=Jânguli-Târā
=\[Vajra\] pañjarabhâṣita
=Vajratârā
=Çinakrama Târā
=Cintâmaṇiçakra Sita
Târâ
=Caturbhuja
=Cintâmaṇi-râjâ Târâ
=Śâdhuja Sita Târâ
=Dhanada Târâ
=Durgottariṇī Târâ
=Śârvasâdhanâ Târâ
=Ârya-Jânguli
=Caturvimśatibhuja
=Ekajâta devî
=Viśvamârî
ekajâta devî
=Caturbhuja Cundî
devî
=Bahlbhuja Cundî devî
=Dâśabhujâ Mârîci
=Âstabhujâ Mârîci
=Dvibhuja Mârîci
245 Pi-tsu Chi-kuang fo-mu
246 Chin-kang-hsing-wang Chi-kuang fo-mu
247 Tsun-shêng fo-mu
248 Ta-shêng Pai-san-kai fo-mu
249 Liu-pei Yeh-i fo-mu
250 Ėrh-pei Yeh-i fo-mu
251 Ėrh-pei Pan-jo fo-mu
252 Ssû-pei Pan-jo fo-mu
253 Liu-pei Chin-kang-miao-yin fo-mu
254 Ėrh-pei Chin-kang-miao-yin fo-mu
255 Ch'ih-p'a Miao-vin fo-mu
256 P'in-mei fo-mu
257 Tsâ-chieh-tzu-ka fo-mu
258 Ėrh-pei Sui-ch'iu fo-mu
259 Ta-hui fo-mu
260 Ch'üang-ting-po-yen fo-mu
261 Wu-ti fo-mu
262 Chin-kang-kan-t'o-lo fo-mu
263 Miao-fa-chin-kang fo-mu
264 Chih-hsing-chin-kang fo-mu
265 Yung-shih-chin-kang fo-mu
266 Ta-pao-chin-kang fo-mu
267 Sha-lo-mên fo-mu
268 Ch'ang-lu fo-mu

B has only three goddesses with the classifier mu

B 269 Tou-mu
270 Pai ming-hui Chin-kang-hai mu
271 I-ch'ieh-ch'êng-chiu chin-kang-hai mu

-=Märici with jade girdle
=Vajradhâtvíśvarî
=Märîci
=Uṣñîsavîjayâ
=Ārya-Sitâtapatâ
=Śâdhuja Parśâsâbarî
=Dvîbhuja Parśâsâbarî
=Dvîbhuja
=Prajñâpâramitâ
=Caturbhûja
=Prajñâpâramitâ
=Śâdhuja
=Vajrasarasvatî
=Dvîbhuja
=Vajrasarasvatî
=Viñâ Sarasvatî
=Bhâjûjî devî
=Vajracarciâ
=Dvîbhuja Pratisarâ
=Mahâpratîyângirâ
=Dhvajagrâkeyûrâ
=Aparâjita
=Vajra Gandhari
=Dharmavajrî (NSP.44)
=Karmavajrâ (NSP.44)
=Sattvavajrâ (NSP.44)
=Ratnavajrî (NSP.44)
=Śramâ
=Dhanadâ

=Grâhamâtîkâ
=Prâjñâlokâkṛtya Sita
Vajravarâhî
=Śrâvâthasâdhana
Vârâhî
KEY TO THE TYPES OF CUNDĀ

TWO-ARMED CUNDĀ

1. NSP. 21.65 p. 57, in Dharmadhātu-vāgtśvara maṇḍala. White r.h. viśāvajra l.h. kamaṇḍalu suspended from a rosary

2. Tibet, Rin-ḥbyun 54b, Rin-lhan 314 b 2 r.h. varada-kamaṇḍalu l.h. book on lotus

FOUR-ARMED CUNDĀ

3. SM. 129, 130, 131. Main hands hold a vessel (pātra) r.h. varada l.h. book on lotus

4. Tibet, 300 Icons : 159. Main hands hold a vessel (pātra) r.h. varada l.h. abhaya holds book on lotus

5. Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon A6B 60. Main hands hold a vessel r.h. varada l.h. varada holds book on lotus

6. Chu-Fo P’u-sa shēng Hsiang Tsan 240 : Cundī. Main hands hold a vessel r.h. varada holds book on a lotus l.h. varada holds lotus

7. SM. 174 in Aṣṭabhuja-Kurukullā-sādhana by Indrabhūti, Red. r.h. varada, arrow l.h. blue lotus (upāla), bow (cāpa)

8. NSP. 26 (Kālcakra-maṇḍala) p. 89. r.h. sledge-hammer (mudgara), lance (kunta) l.h. lotus, baton (daṇḍa)

9. Aṣṭasāhasrikā (Lā品格e Vunĭkărhnagare Cundā). Bronze statue at Berlin. Main hands in dhyāna-mudrā hold a vessel r.h. rosary l.h. book

EIGHT-ARMED CUNDĀ

10. Cundā from Candi Mendut. r.h. conch, vajra, discus, rosary ; l.h. bijapūra, axe, aṇkuśa, book
   r.h. rosary, pointed object, sword (khaḍga), varada
   l.h. book, lotus, axe (paraśu), lasso (pāśa)

12. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1403-2842, inferred identification
   r.h.—, sword ?, lasso ?, varada
   l.h.—, axe ?, rosary ?, dhyāna-mudrā

13. Javanese bronze at Surabaya, Coll. Roener, inferred identification
   r.h.—, sword (khaḍga),—, ratna-saṁyuta-varada-mudrā ?
   l.h. book, —, axe,—

14. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1630-36, inferred identification
   r.h. vajra, sword (khaḍga), goad (ānkuśa), vajra
   l.h. triśūla ?, cakra, ratna on a daṇḍa ?, lasso

15. Javanese bronze at Leiden 1630-18, inferred identification
   r.h. sword (khaḍga) ?, lasso, goad (ānkuśa), varada-vajra
   l.h. cakra, triśūla ?, ratna?, lotus ?

TWELVE-ARMED CUNDĀ

   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. sword, abbaya, rosary, ratnadāma ?, btjapūra
   l.h. banner (dhvaja), book on lotus, śaṅkha, lasso, kamaṇḍalu

SIXTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

17. Aśasāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā (A.D. 1015) : Paṭṭikere Cunda-varabhavana Cunda
   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. rosary, arrow, sword, club, cakra, vajra, varada
   l.h. book, dhvaja, curved knife ?, bow, triśūla ?, axe, kamaṇḍalu

18. Japan, Shosonzuzō 217, Cundt
   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. abbaya, bhindpāla ?, btjapūra, sword, daṇḍa ?, —, rosary
   l.h. abbaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā.

r.h. abhaya, vajrāṅkuṣa, —, bṭjmpūra, bhindipaḷa ?, dhvaja ?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaja, book ?, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

EIGHTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

20. Japan, Besson-zakki 87.81
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, ankuṣa, sword, bṭjmpūra, paraśu ?, bhindipaḷa, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja, rosary
l.h. —, ratnadāma, book, lasso, —, tarjana, ghaja, — (one hand missing)

21. Japan, Zuzō-shō 86.60
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, vajra, garland, bṭjmpūra, cintāmaṇi, sword, bhindipaḷa ? rosary
l.h. varada-lotus, cakra, book, ghaja, ratnadāma, lasso, —, kamaṇḍalu

22. Japan, Shosonzuzō 215, Cundī
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, khaṅkha ?., sword, club (gada), —, bṭjmpūra, axe, cāmara
l.h. abhaya, lasso, ghaja, ratnadāma, —, —, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu

23. Japan, Shosonzuzō 218
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, bṭjmpūra, vajrāṅkuṣa, sword, axe, bhindipaḷa, cintāmaṇi, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaja ?, book, lasso, ghaja, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

24. Japan, Shosonzuzō 219, Cundī of Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of Tendai sect, which differs from that of Garbhadhātu maṇḍala of Shingon (Esot. 19).
Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudra
r.h. abhaya, viśvavajrāṅkuṣa, —, bṭjmpūra, bhindipaḷa ?, dhvaja ?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaja book ?, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. rosary, vajra, —, —, ratnadāma, sword, abhaya, bijapūra
   l.h. book, ghāta, conch, cakra, lasso ?, dhavaja, lotus ?, kamaṇḍalu

   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. rosary, vajra, broken, ratnadāma, bijapūra, sword ?, abhaya
   l.h. book, ghāta, lotus ?, cakra, conch, lasso, dhavaja ?, kamaṇḍalu

TWENTY-ARMED CUNDĀ

27. Japan, Garbhadātu-maṇḍala (Esot. 19).
   r.h. viśvavajra, abhaya holds viśvavajra on index finger, goad (aṅkuśa), arrow, bhindipāla, tarjana, cintāmaṇi, bijapūra, lasso, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja ?/daṇḍa
   l.h. —, lotus, book, sword, —, rosary, tripatākābhihinaya ?, ivory, bell,—

TWENTYSIX-ARMED CUNDĀ

   Main hands in mūla-mudrā
   r.h. rosary (aṅyasūtra), tripatākābhihinaya, vajra, goad (aṅkuśa), sledge-hammer (mudgara), club (gadā), axe, arrow, bijapūra, ratnadāma, sword (khadga), abhaya
   l.h. Prajñāpāramitā-book, bhindipāla, ghāta, tarjana, sword, cakra, sakti, bow (cāpa), lasso, kamaṇḍalu, lotus, cintāmaṇidhvaja
   Same attributes in different order in Rin-ḥbyum 90b, Rin-lhan 2.60 a 3.

Chu Fo P’u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan 241 Bahubhuja Cundā, has three faces, main hands in mūla-mudrā, and the attributes of the other hands are not clear.
IMAGES OF DOUBTFUL IDENTIFICATION

No text or iconographic treatise describes Cunda as seated on a human body, or her lotus seat being held up by nāgas. Such images identified as Cunda have been put together here as of doubtful identity.

SIXTEEN-ARMED

29. Bronze image in Baroda Museum.
   Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā holding sculcup
   r.h. sword, drum, knife, —, hammer, ratnadāma, abhaya
   l.h. shield, ghaṇṭā, lasso, dagger, aṅkuśa, arrow, varada

EIGHTEEN-ARMED

30. Stone sculpture from Niyamatpur, V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi
   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. rosary, vajra, hatchet, aṅkuśa, ratnadāma, sword, bijapūra, abhaya
   l.h. lotus, kamaṇḍalu, dhvaja, vase, cakra, śaṅkha, pot, book
   Cf. Javanese bronze in Vienna.
   Slight variations in the bronze from Nalanda in the National Museum, New Delhi (Leeuw 1966 : pl. XX)
   Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
   r.h. rosary, vajra, —, —, sword, ratnadāma, bijapūra, abhaya
   l.h. book, pot, conch, cakra, dhvaja, lasso, kamaṇḍalu, lotus

31. Bodhgaya (nāgarājas hold the lotus)
   Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
   r.h. vajra, aṅkuśa ?, khaṭvāṅga or axe, Jewels ?, Jewels ?, sword
   bijapūra, abhaya
   l.h. pot ?, —, cakra, lasso ?, kamaṇḍalu, lasso ?, dhvaja, lotus

DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS FORMS OF CUNDA

TWO-ARMED CUNDA

1. Cunda is the eighth of Twelve Dhāraṇī deities in the northern direction of the second circle of Dharmadhātu-vāgīśvara-maṇḍala. All the twelve Dhāraṇī deities carry viṣva-vajra in their right hands and in the left hands their respective attribute. Cunda is white (ṭukīḍā)
and her special attribute is kamaṇḍalu suspended from the rosary (aṁśasūṭralambara-kamaṇḍalu-dhara). NSP. 21.65 p. 57, Bhattacharyya 1958 : 222.

2. As a form of Tārā illustrated in Rin-ḥbyun 54 b, Rin-lhan 314 b 2 (Ḩphags-ma Tsunda Tārā=Arya Cundā Tārā). Vajraparyaṅka. 
r.h. varada holds kamaṇḍalu  l.h. book on lotus

FOUR-ARMED CUNDĀ

3. SM. 129, 130, 131 describe Cundā as four-armed. Both main hands hold a vessel (kaṇḍavye pātraḥarāḥ SM. 129) and other two r.h. in varada and l.h. book on the lotus. She is one-faced, vajrasattva in her diadem (vajrasattva-mukuta SM. 130), sattra-paryaṅkāśinā (SM. 131) or padmacandra-sāṁsthā (SM. 129). Her colour is like the illumination of (tarcandra bāhī or prabhān SM. 131) Bhattacharyya 1958 : 221, Bonheur 1971 : 206, Mallmann 1975 : 144, illustrated in Gordon 1959 : 74 (now in the Freer-Gallery of Art).

4. Vajra-paryaṅka. Main hands hold a vessel. 
r.h. varada  l.h. abhaya holds book on lotus
Illustrated in 300 Icons : 159

5. Vajra-paryaṅka. Main hands hold a vessel. 
r.h. varada  l.h. varada holds book on lotus
Illustrated in Pao-hsiang Lou Pantheon A6B 60 : Sā-pei Chun-t’i fo-mu=Caturbhūja Cundī devī.

6. Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands hold a vessel (pātra) 
r.h. varada holds a book on a lotus  l.h. varada holds a lotus
Illustrated in Pu-sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan 240 : Sā-pei Chun-t’i fo-mu=Caturbhūja Cundī devī.

7. In the centre of the eight-petalled red lotus sits Kurukullā. In the NE (iśāna) petal is Cundā. As a companion deity of eight-armed Kurukullā Cundā is red, pāncacaitatāgata-mukuta and vajraparyaṅka-niṣṭaṇḍā. 

r.h. varada and arrow drawn to the ear (daḵṣiṇa-bhujābhyaṁ varaḍa-mudr-ākaraṇa-pūrtī śarā)

l.h. blue lotus and bow. The other seven accompanying deities have the same attributes (SM. 174). Bhattacharyya 1958 : 222, Bonheur 1971 : 206, Mallmann 1975 : 144.
8. The gatas (dvāra) of kāya-maṇḍala of Kālacakra-maṇḍala (NSP. 26 p. 89) are occupied by Krodha deities in the six quarters (i.e. east, south, west, north, above and below). In the south is white Cundā with her consort Ħakkirāja whose chariot is drawn by seven red horses: dakṣine sapta-rakt-aṁva-rathe Ḫakktrājo Rametavar. Amenāligityā Cundā suktā savyābhyaṁ mudgara-kuntau vāṃbhhyāṁ padma-daṇḍau bibhrāṇa.

r.h. sledgehammer, lance l.h. lotus, baton (danda)

9. Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dhyānamudrā hold a vessel.
 r.h. rosary l.h. book

EIGHT-ARMED CUNDĀ

10. Cundā from Candi Mendut in the centre of north-eastern panel. Richly ornamented, seated on a lotus cushion in vajraparyaṅka. On each side of the goddess is a human figure holding a lotus stalk and a fly-whisk.
 r.h. conchshell, vajra, discus, rosary
 l.h. bijapūra, axe, ankuśa, book
Majumdar 1938 : 2.189

 r.h. rosary, pointed object, sword (khaḍga), varada
 l.h. book, lotus, axe (paraśu), lasso (pāśa)

Vajraparyaṅka.
 r.h. —, sword (khaḍga) ?, lasso (pāśa) ?, varada
 l.h. —, axe ?, rosary ?, dhyāna-mudrā (Bonheure 1971 : 208-214)

Vajraparyaṅka.
 r.h. —, sword (khaḍga), —, ratnasarīnyukta-varada-mudrā ?
 l.h. book, —, paraśu, —
Bonheure 1971 : 208-214
r.h. vajra, sword (khaḍga), goad (aṅkuśa), vajra
l.h. triśūla ? , cakra, ratna ? on đaṇḍa, lasso
Bonheur 1971 : 208-214

r.h. sword (khaḍga) ?, lasso, goad (aṅkuśa), varada-vajra
l.h. cakra, triśūla ?, ratna ?, lotus ?

TWELVE-ARMED CUNDĀ

Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. sword, abhaya, rosary, ratnadāma ?, bijapūra
l.h. banner (dhvaja), book on lotus, śaṅkha, lasso, kamaṇḍalū
Bosch 1927 : 30, Leeuw 1966 : 133, 142 pl. XXII.

SIXTEEN-ARMED CUNDĀ

17. Miniature painting in the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (A.D. 1015) ms. at Cambridge University Library Add. 1643, with caption in Newari script Paṭṭikere Cundā-vara-bhavane Cundā. Cundā temple at Paṭṭikera is identified by Dr. Bhattacharji with the remains on the Lalmāi hills in Tippera in East Bengal. Leeuw considers it the only representation of Cundā with 16 arms but we have 16-armed Cundā in Japan.
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā (r.h. holds the stalk of a lotus)
r.h. rosary, arrow, sword, club, cakra, vajra, varada
l.h. book, dhvaja, dagger, bow, triśūla, axe, kamaṇḍalū

18. Japan, Shosonzuṣa (A.D. 1858) 217, Cundi
Vajraparyaṅka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, bhindipāla ?, bijapūra, sword, daṇḍa, — , rosary
l.h. ahāya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalū
Huntington 1975 : 217
19. Japan, Shosonzuzō (A.D. 1858) 219 Cundi of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Tendai sect differs from the Cundi of Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Shingon (Esot. 19).
Vajraparyāṇka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, vajraṅkuśa, —, bijapūra, bhindipāla ?, dhvaja ?, rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book ?, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975 : 219

EIGHTEEN-ARMED CUNDĪ

20. Japan, Besson-zakki ‘description of divinities by Shinkaku’ 87.81
Vajraparyāṇka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā.
r.h. abhaya, nākuśa, sword, bijapūra, paraśu ?, bhindipāla, cintā-
maṇi-dhvaja, rosary
l.h. —, ratnadāma, book, lasso, —, tarjana, ghaṭa, —, one hand
missing.

Vajraparyāṇka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, vajra, puṣpamālā, bijapūra, cintāmaṇi, sword,
bhindipāla, rosary
l.h. varada-lotus, cakra, book, ghaṭa, ratnadāma, —, lasso,
kamaṇḍalu

22. Japan, Shosonzuzō dated 1858, Cundi according to Tendai icono-
graphy.
Vajraparyāṇka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā
r.h. —, khakkara ?, sword, club, —, bijapūra, axe, cāmara
l.h. abhaya, lasso, ghaṭa, ratnadāma, —, —, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975 : 215

23. Japan, Shosonzuzō 218. Cundi according to Tendai iconography.
Vajraparyāṇka. Main hands in dharmacakra-mudrā
r.h. abhaya, bijapūra, vajraṅkuśa, sword, axe, bhindipāla, cintāmaṇi,
rosary
l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, maṇi ?, book, lasso, ghaṭa, tarjana,
kamaṇḍalu
Huntington 1975 : 218.

sect differs from the Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala of Shingon sect
(Esot. 19).
Vajraparyaśka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.

r.h. abhaya, viśva-vajra with an aśkuśa on it, —, bijapūra, bhindpāla ?, dhvaja ?, rosary

l.h. abhaya, ratnadāma, ghaṭa, book, lasso, tarjana, kamaṇḍalu

Huntington 1975 : 219


Vajraparyaśka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā

r.h. rasary, vajra, —, handle ?, ratnadāma, sword, abhaya, bijapūra

l.h. book, pot, śaṅkha, cakra, lasso ?, dhvaja, lotus ?, kamaṇḍalu

Leeuw 1966 : 142 pl. XXI


Vajraparyaśka. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā/mūla-mudrā

r.h. rosary, vajra, —, —, ratnadāma, bijapūra, sword ?, abhaya

l.h. book, ghaṭa, stalk of lotus ?, cakra, śaṅkha, lasso ?, dhvaja ?, kamaṇḍalu


TWENTY-ARMED CUNDĀ

27. Japan, Garbhathātu-maṇḍala (Esot. 19)

Vajraparyaśka, crown of Pañca-tathāgata.

r.h. viśvavajra, abhaya-viśvavajra on index finger, vajrāśkuśa, arrow, bhindpāla ?, tarjana, cintāmaṇi, bijapūra, lasso, cintāmaṇi-dhvaja/daṇḍa

l.h. —, lotus, book, sword, —, rosary, tripatākā-bhinaya ?, ivory, bell, kamaṇḍalu ?

TWENTYSIX-ARMED CUNDĀ occurs in the second circle of Maṇju-vajra-maṇḍala NSP. 20. I4 p. 49. Lalitākṣepa.


Both main hands in mūla-mudrā (sampuṭājaśālm kṛtvā tarjanyā madhyamā-madhyā—parvan kundalakāren-avasthāpya aṅguṭhau tarjani-pārśva-māle dhārayet ity asya mūla-mudrā).
r.h. abhaya, sword (khadga), ratnadāma, btjapūra, arrow (śara), axe, club, sledgehammer (mudgara), goad (aṅkuśa), vajra, tripatāk-ābhinaya, rosary

l.h. cintāmaṇi-dhvaja, lotus, kamaṇḍalu, lasso (pāśa), bow (cāpa), śakti, cakra, sword, tarjana, ghaṭa, bhindīpāla, Prajñā-pāramitā-book.


Rin-ḥbyun 90 b, Rin-lhan 2.60 a 3 : same attributes in different order.

Chu Fo P'u-sa Shêng Hsiang Tsan 241 : Bahubhujā Cundī has three faces, main hands in mūla-mudrā, seated in lalitāsana. The attributes of the hands are not visible.

IMAGES OF DOUBTFUL IDENTIFICATION

SIXTEEN-ARMED

   Sattva-paryaṅka or seated on the prostrate figure of a man lying on his back. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā. The right hand holds a scull cup.
   r.h. sword, drum, knife, —, hammer, ratnadāma, abhaya
   l.h. shield/discus, ghanaṭa. lasso, dagger, aṅkuśa, arrow, varada
   Bhattacharyya 1958 : 224, Leeuw 1966 : 143 pl. XXIII

EIGHTEEN-ARMED

   The figure is seated on a lotus, the stalk of which is held by two nāgas. Main hands in dharma-cakra-mudrā.
   r.h. rosary, vajra, hatchet, aṅkuśa, ratnadāma, sword, btjapūra, abhaya
1. h. book, pot, śaṅkha, cakra, vase, dhvaja, kamaṇḍalu, lotus
Leeuw 1966 : 127, 141 pl. XIX
Eighteen-armed bronze from Nalanda in National Museum 47.34
New Delhi is similar to the Niyamatpur stone image (Leeuw 1966 :
125-129 pl. XX). Kempers (1933 : 44) identifies it as Prajñāpāramitā.
31. Stone image from Bodhgaya, seated on a double lotus, the stalk of
which is supported by two Nāgarājas.
Two pairs of hands broken. Perhaps they were in dharma-cakra-
mudrā, and two are in abhaya-mudrā, holding a lotus
r.h. vajra, —, khaṭvāṅga or axe, —, jewels ?, sword, varada holds
bījāpūra ?
l.h. pot, —, cakra, —, kamaṇḍalu, lasso ?, dhvaja
Foucher 1900 : 146 note 1, Bhattacharyya 1958 : 224, Leeuw 1966 :
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BRAHMĀ IN THE BRĀHMANICAL ART OF SOUTH-EAST ASIĀ

By

DR. UPENDRA THAKUR

I

One of important traits of the Brāhmanical religion has been the spirit of reconciliation and harmony between orthodox and sectarian forms, and its most notable expression we have in the theological conception of trimūrti, i.e. the manifestation of the supreme God in three forms of (i) Brahmā, the creator, (ii) Viṣṇu, the nourisher or protector and (iii) Śiva or Maheśa, the destroyer. Though Brahmā, the creator is a pale reflex of the upaniṣadic Brahma, he never gained an ascendancy comparable to that of Śiva or Viṣṇu, and the different sects often conceived the trimūrti as really the three manifestations of their own sectarian god whom they regarded as Brahman or Absolute.

As we know, the Brāhmanical religion which flourished in South-East Asia when the Indians settled down there, was not the Vedic religion of the old, but the neo-Brāhmanical religion (or the Paurāṇic religion) which was characterised by the conception of Trinity (Trimūrti), i.e., Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa or Śiva referred to above, after whose names the various cults such as Brahmaṇism and Śaivism and Vaiśṇavism ultimately emerged as a religious force on the same pattern as in India proper.

II

Of the various cults, the cult of Brahmā, vaguely known as Brahmānism, finds rare mention in the inscriptions of Cambodia which are full of references to Śaivism and Vaiśṇavism. He does not find any important place in sculpture too. At Prasat Samrong we come across his image, and four-faced he is seen occupying the middle place in Prasat Sneg Krabei—and on his left is Viṣṇu. He can also be seen in some Buddhist monuments in none too significant position.

In Campā (North Vietnam), however, we come across references to Brahmā in various inscriptions who is mentioned as one of the gods
of Trinity—the creator', but from the description it is clear that he did not hold any prominent position in this country. He is also mentioned as Caturūnāna (having four faces) and also as Svayamūtpanna (self-created) in many inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D. In one of the inscriptions (no. 21) he is credited with having made the golden peak of Mount Meru. An image of Svayamūtpanna was installed by King Paramēśvaravarman in A.D. 1233 at Phanrang to whom the king, his heir-apparent Nandabhadra, his army—chief Abhimanyudeva and king Indravarman made rich endowments for maintenance. That Brahmā was given inferior position is quite evident from epigraphic records as well as iconography. We come across only two small images of Brahmā in Myson which were originally placed as side god in temples A and B. He also figures as a subsidiary god in bas-relief decoration of temples.

As we know, the characteristic features of the image of Brahmā are the four faces, only three being visible in most cases, and his vāhana, the goose, his common attributes being rosary and lotustems. He is, however, depicted four-headed and eight-armed, standing and holding a sceptor in one of his hands in a bas-relief in the Touranne Museum. 8 We have yet another scene depicting the birth of Brahmā wearing a sacred thread, and holding a discus and a long-necked bottle in his hands. Though Brahmā is usually depicted as being seated on lotus, in one case he is seen sitting on a bed formed by serpents. 4

In the Myson inscription of Bhadravarman, one of the earliest records of Campā (5th Century A.D.) we, for the first time, meet with the Purānic conception of Trinity which begins with an eulogy to Umā and Maheśvara as well as to Brahmā and Viṣṇu. In another inscription of Campā (No.39), Śiva is depicted as the supreme god to whom Viṣṇu and Brahmā pay their homage, and finally the three gods are described as standing together, Śiva being in the middle with Hari (Viṣṇu) on the left and Brahmā on the right. Iconographic representations no decorative panels convey exactly the same idea. "The tympanum at Trach Phõ̱ has a Mukhalinga in the middle with Brahmā seated on a serpent to the proper right and Viṣṇu seated on a boar to the proper left." 6 But, the surprising aspect is the paying of homage with joined hands by the other two gods to Lord Śiva, with ‘Viṣṇu’s attributes, such as a discus and club, shown in the background. Again Śiva and Umā are seen riding on a bull occupying the centre with Brahmā and Viṣṇu seated respectively on a lotus and Guruḍa with joined hands in the upper right and upper left corners while the other figures—"an armed soldier and Kārttika (?) occupy positions just below the figures". 7 But at Thuy Trien, Viṣṇu is seated in the centre with Brahmā on the left and Śiva on the right.
It appears that the idea of putting all the three gods together at one place gave birth to the practice of decorating the temple, though dedicated to one god, with figures of other two gods also. Be it a Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava temple, all the three gods came to be depicted. While in the temple of Phong Le, dedicated to Śiva, we some across the images of Viṣṇu, the figures of Lākṣṇī (Viṣṇu’s consort) and Brahmā can be seen on tympanum of Śaiva temples. Though the principal tympanum in a temple usually has the god to whom the temple is dedicated, yet in Myśon a Śiva temple depicts the scene of Brahmā’s birth and another temple of Phanrang, dedicated to Brahmā, depicts the trinity with Viṣṇu as the chief god.8

It seems that in Burma also, the first god of the trinity was not very popular, had a very few adherents and no separate temple was constructed to instal his image for worship. Though on the Anantaśayī reliefs of Thaton and Hmawza he has been depicted along with Viṣṇu and Śiva, his independent images are rare and we have hardly five or six extant examples. The most interesting of these is the one housed at present in the Rangoon Museum, another in the Pagan Museum and the third depicted in low relief on the face of the interior pillars of Zegu pagoda, Hmawza9 and also in the precincts of the Shwesandaw pagoda at Pagan broken fragments of the images of Brahmā. But these, too, are not many.

The image of Brahmā in the Rangoon Museum, carved in bold and round relief out of a rectangular (about 1'4" × 1'') slab of soft greyist stand-stone, is seated in padmāsana posture with folded hands raised up to chest-height, showing him in an attitude of worship of, or prayer to, a superior deity. He is shown three-headed with matted locks of hair beautifully dressed in the jata-mukuta fashion crowned over with a floral ornament. The image of Brahmā in the Pagan Museum conforms exactly to the same description. Three-headed, crowned with matted locks, beautifully dressed, he is seen in the padmāsana with folded hands in an attitude of worship. But the quality of the stone used in this image is much better which indirectly points to the two different schools which produced these two images. “Stylistically judged, they are separated from one another by gulf of atleast two countries”,10 the former being the product of the local school of art which is characterised by the stiff modelling of the body, too much boneless flexible lines of the different limbs, in the rigid pose and lastly in the quaint expression of the face. “The local artist tutored by his Indian master seems to have worked out an Indian type”.1 The latter, however, is the product of the Indian artist whose artistic skill is evident from the soft modelling of the body in the pleasing graceful lines and curves of the limb in the most easy position of the body and lastly in the soft pleasing expression of the face.”12 This sculpture reminds us of the similar specimens of the late Gupta art
traditions of Eastern India, not later than 10th century, whereas the Rangoon Museum specimen seems to be a product of the local school of 12th-13th centuries A.D.13

It is, however, interesting to note in this connection that the subject-matter of the wall-paintings of the Thein-mazi temple at Pagan depicting Buddhist and Brahmanical mythology has been sought to be identified as Brahmā by Taw Sein Ko, the late Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Burma who asserts that "the figure represented is probably a Brahmā of the Brahmaloka going through the clouds while being seated in an attitude of adoration. He is on a pilgrimage to the worship of the above shrine. He wears crown surmounted by a high peak which is surrounded by six lower ones, and has four eyes, two noses and two mouths, and holds conical flowers. . . . The nose is high, pointed and aquiline, and is distinctly Pyu".14

We have four images of Brahmā carved in very low relief on the faces of the interior square pillars of the Nanpaya temple at Pagan, which is traditionally known to have been the residential house of the defeated Talaing King Manuha, an ardent devotee of the Buddha, who is credited with having built two temples at Myinpagan—the huge one having an image of the Buddha in his parinirvāṇa, and the smaller one, just adjacent to it (meant for his residence), containing on its pillars the images of Brahmā carved and modelled in very low and flat relief. Though there is now nothing in the main sanctum of the temple, it is just probable that the image of the Buddha was installed at the sanctum and the four images of Brahmā were depicted in prayer or worship to him, which undoubtedly shows that though a devout Buddhist the king had a distinct Brahmanical leaning. "Herein Brahmā is seated on a full-blown lotus-seat that shoots off its delicately and richly carved stems with leaves and flowers, a beautiful vegetable decoration of considerable artistic merit, on two sides of the seated image."15 He is shown in Līlāsana posture, having a soft and flabby body resting on his legs, the left one of which is in a squatting position and the right one lifted at an angle. Unlike other images of Brahmā his two hands here are not clasped in prayer, but raised upwards holding two lotus flowers. The matted locks of hair arranged in jatā-mukūṭa fashion which consist of carefully intertwined plaits curving capriciously and coquetishly, having a halo round his head and a sacred thread. All these four images are of the same type, conforming exactly to the same description but the type itself is interesting as "the lotus attribute in the hands and the particular seated attitude of the god are unique features rarely seen in extant images of Brahmā".16

One of the Viṣṇu sculptures from Hmawza18 depicts Viṣṇu as having two or four hands, and Brahmā sitting comfortably on a lotus
Though Siam, unlike Burma, is professedly Buddhist, it has the unique distinction of maintaining the Brāhmaṇical tradition till the present day. We come across a considerable number of Brāhmaṇical deities and associated objects which definitely points to the existence of Brāhmaṇical religion in Siam (Thailand). Besides the gods of trinity, other minor gods and goddesses were also widely-worshipped there. Of the trinity, however, Viṣṇu was the most popular god who occupied the prominent position in the Brāhmaṇical fold, Śiva and Brahmā having lesser importance. This Brāhmaṇical influence seems to have reached there through Cambodia (Kambujadeśa) which during this time (8th-9th cent. A.D.) ruled over Siam, and was itself a stronghold of Brāhmaṇical religion. As a result the Brāhmaṇical priests and scholars played a great role in the cultural progress of the country. But, in spite of this predominance of the Brāhmaṇical cult the fact remains that like India and other countries of South-East Asia, Brahmā, the creator, was never given the importance that Viṣṇu or Śiva attained.

As regards the prevalence of the Brāhmaṇical cult, the story of Laos is almost the same as that of Siam. Since Laos also formed part of the Kambuja empire during 8th or 9th century A.D. it was naturally influenced by the religious condition of that country. Thus, it also received Brāhmaṇical ideas indirectly from India through Cambodia with the result that Brāhmaṇism (Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism), with its philosophical ideas and beliefs flourished there. Though by the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century Brāhmaṇism declined in Laos as in Cambodia, the Brahmā—Buddha culture was so deeply-rooted in the minds of the Lao people that it has left an indelible impress on their social and cultural life which, to a great extent, guides even now their daily life.

In Java also many forms of Brāhmaṇical religion, affiliated to Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu were practised by the majority of the people. About the eighth century A.D. the Purāṇic form of religion had already become quite popular in Java which is proved by literary and archaeological sources. The Cangal inscription of king Śri Sañjaya (A.D. 732) while describing the installation of a Śiva-liṅga, eulogises Brahmā in its fifth verse and Viṣṇu in its sixth verse, the hymns referring to the familiar attributes of each of these gods. The five verses of this inscription admirably sum up the essential conceptions of the Purāṇic trinity. All of them mention the Vaiṣṇava sect and only three refer to Brahmaṇa or Brahmān (devoted to Brahmā). The biggest temple in Java, the famous Lar-Jonggrang group dedicated to Lord Śiva, also has two smaller images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu on the two sides of Śiva.
As in other countries of South-East Asia, in Java also, images of Brahmā are very few in number. He is to be recognised by his four heads and four hands holding rosary, fly-whisk, lotus and water-pot. His rider (vahana) hamsa (swan) is also sometimes depicted in its normal form and sometimes as a human being having the head of a swan above, pointing to its true nature. In another inscription (1405 A.D.), the Tengar hill to the east of Singhasari, is mentioned as the sacred hill of Brahmā. The image of the trimūrti (trinity) has heads all of the same appearance. In rare cases, however, the central head of Śiva is represented by the skull and the moon and the four arms of the god holding rosary, fly-whisk, lotus, book and the water-pot. Inspite of the predominance of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu are also worshipped but mostly they are treated as different forms of Śiva rather than as separate gods.

Next to Bali, the island of Sumātrā has also preserved the most interesting remains of Brāhmaṇism. We come across numerous stone images of Śiva, Gānēśa, Brahmā etc. in the highlands of Padang, Tapamuli, Palembang, and Jambi. One of the sculptures contains a four-faced Brahmā with a male deity kneeling on one knee with the other cocked up forward.

The entire range of the art of the Later Indo-Cambodian remains and images of Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu and Śiva is dominated by Brahmānic art. In a compound at Eravan in a hotel complex there is a four-headed image of Brahmā which is an imposing example of what exists in every Bangkok compound and in every up-country village—the Phra Phūm Chao Thi or sacred river of the land, a propitiation to the lord or spirit of the earth for its use by man (Phūm probably originated from Brahmā). A temple shaped structure, often in bright colours, mounted on a pillar, is found in most households and inside it there is the carved outline of a Brāhmaṇa god (Brahmā) in Thai style.

Thus, on the whole the Brāhmaṇical images show the characteristic Indian tribhānga which drew their inspiration from the Gupta, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Calukyan art. The later Thai art of Siam, however, found its chief inspiration from the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. In Laos also the images of the gods and temples, similar to those in India, were found in various parts. Entirely religious in character both the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical arts formed the main theme of the decorative art in Laos.15

The images found in the now dilapidated Dieng temples belong exclusively to the Brāhmaṇical pantheon. We have images of Śiva Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Durgā and Gānēśa. The representation here of the chief gods with their rider is “very important from iconographical point
of view. For the riders have all human forms and only the head of a bull or a swan or the beak of a bird on the human body indicates the riders of Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu". We also come across sculptures depicting the story of the Rāmāyana on the balustrade of a temple dedicated to Brahmā in the Lara Jongrang complex. It is in this complex that some of the temples of Brahmā and Viṣṇu have only stairways in front leading to the main shrine. The two temples of Brahmā and Viṣṇu conform to the general arrangement except that there are no side chapels and therefore no temples are of the same size. The sculptural panels on the central vertical part of the lower base in the Brahmā temple contain a Brahmaṇa or Pāt between two standing figures, and those in the Viṣṇu temple a divine figure between the two females. The sculptures on the inner side of the balustrade in the Viṣṇu temple depict the episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa, whereas in the Brahmā temple nothing exists in situ but detached reliefs containing the last part of the story of the Rāmāyana such as the banishment of Sītā, the birth of Lava and Kuśa etc. which are now found mostly scattered.

Besides Java, the island of Bali is the most important region from the point of Brahmānical art. The temples dedicated to Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, called Meru, are the principal temples. The sanctuaries of Viṣṇu and Brahmā lie respectively to the north and south of that of Śiva who occupied the highest place in the trinity, and Brahmā the lowest. We also come across several sculptures which present a combination of four figures facing the four directions. Each figure has got four hands and a third eye and holds a saṅkha (conch-shell) and a book in upper hands. It appears therefore, that each figure represents the Brahmānical trinity, the third eye, the saṅkha and the book being respectively the attributes of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā.

No remains of the Brahmānical architecture have survived in Borneo, and the few specimens of sculptures that we have do not enable us to assess the position of Brahmā as they are mostly Śāivite and Buddhist. From artistic point of view the few images found there speak of a highly developed school of sculpture in Borneo. The presence of the head of Brahmā shows that there was a temple dedicated to that god.

From the above survey it is clear that Brahmānism was the spring that fed the fountain of culture in South-East Asia. In Indonesia, however, when the Brahmānical spring dried up on the coming of Islam, the fountain remained as an ornamental relic of the past but ceased to give the life-giving water. But in Indo-China, the current of the Brahmānical culture never stopped by the onrush of Islam, and she continued to thrive. It is true, this Brahmānical culture came to be considerably modified by the indigenous races in the course of centuries but
it was constantly endowed with higher and higher elements of civilisation. 
Brähmanism, therefore, still survives as a living force in Cambodia, 
Thailand, Campā, Burma and the island of Bali, leaving a trail of 
memorials behind.

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THE ORIGIN OF BRĀHMANICAL TEMPLE : A REASSESSMENT

By

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Before going into the details of the origin of Hindu temple it is necessary to know what is the form of Hindu temple. A Hindu temple is generally a covered structure from all sides, except for an entrance. Here an image of a deity is placed on a platform in the Garbhagṛha or sanctum sanctorum, which is generally dark. The deity is in fact considered a living being. Since the most evolved living being is man, the deity is conceived in its highest manifestation as man. His basic needs, therefore, remain the same as those of a human being. Hence all such needs of the deity are performed by priests who attend on them. These include arrangements for the deity's bathing, eating, sleeping, etc. Still He or She is considered superior to ordinary human being who is capable of doing many things which no human being can dream of. The deity is, therefore, provoked by His or Her worshippers for boon and protection.

It has, however, been argued by some authorities that the base of the Hindu temple is likely to have been derived from the Vedic altar, while the plain cubical cell of the sanctum may have something to do with the prehistoric dolmen. Similarly, the spire or steeple may have been copied from the simple prehistoric hut made of bamboos pointing towards the centre at the top. But a theory like this which seeks to explain the origin of different sources is against the archaeological evidence. There are after all no architectural remains of the dolmens, etc., in the Indo-Gangetic plains which may have provided the proto-type to the architects. Further, while a megalithic dolmen is meant for the dead, the Hindu temples of the early period are not. The theory which bases itself on bamboo-huts, etc., whose remains have not been found, is no better than a pure speculation.

According to Ramchandran⁵ "The creation of the Indian temple was the result of man's urge to express himself or give expression to his divine Self. And the temple is but a reflection of human form". Prof. V.S. Agrawala³ points out; "In the beginning in popular religion about 1000 B.C. the Hindu temple evolved from the remotest antiquity was just a platform open to sky with some kind of aniconic representation or
symbol of the deity which could more accurately be named as a ‘Shrine’. During later stage this platform was surrounded by railings, first made of wood and bamboo, and later on of stone’. The earliest platform or shrine was dedicated to Yakṣa and later on, to Nāga, etc.

It is common knowledge that for the Hindus a temple is a Tirtha, i.e., a holy or sacred place. It is mentioned in the Brhatasthānapātra (55/8) that gods love to reside in places where there are grooves, rivers, mountains and springs, and in towns with pleasure gardens.

A Hindu temple is a representation of the cosmic Puruṣa and here He turns into an actual form. He is an essence of this universe, from whom all originate. To add further He incarnates Himself in the Vāsū Puruṣa which is the Presiding deity of the temple. The building of a temple is erected on this Vāsū the plan of which is called Vāstu-Puruṣa-Mañḍala. Again it is said that the Hindu temple expresses the individual character of Vedic rites and the god in it dwells in a human form. Stella Kramrisch expresses her views in the following manner. "The temple Prāśāda, should be worshipped as Puruṣa,.....But what is Puruṣa as which the temple should be worshipped ?,.....Puruṣa, which is beyond form, is the impulse towards manifestation. This impulse towards manifestation is experienced within creative man in the image of a Supernal Man, Primordial Man, or the image of man as the creative impulse,.....In principle, the Prāśāda as Puruṣa is meant to be seen from the outside. The interior is Garbhagriha. Sāndhāra Prāśāda is enclosed in all double set of walls allowing for an inner ambulation.’’

In sacrifices performed by kings, and public sacrifices, a big canopy was raised, decorated beautifully with leaves, flowers and other ornamental materials. The canopy made for this purpose could contain about a thousand of people. The altar was placed in the middle of this temporary structure. Seats for the kings, guests and public were separately reserved. As a matter of fact, this huge canopy looked like a thousand pillared hall as it was supported by thousand or so bamboos. This place was taken to be the most pious and sacred. To us, it seems that the Buddhist Cātya halls, or the thousand pillared hall might have been derived from this Hindu Pāṇḍala, or canopy. This is an oversimplification of the most complex problem.

In this connection one more point is noteworthy and, that is money, which no doubt played a very important role in the process of building architecture. Prior to the emergence of Hindu temples, royal patronage, donations from public and local chiefs, etc., were earlier mostly given to the Buddhist religion only. Owing to this reason it never faced the shortage of money and skilled workers, and thus the gigantic
Stūpas, Vihāras, and Cātyyas were built. To the contrary this was not the case with the Brāhmaṇical religions, and only when during the later period, royal patronage and public donations were given to them, temple-construction could be made possible. However, it would be worth mentioning, that along with the Stūpas, Cātyyas and Vihāras, tree spirits or Yakṣis, the Yakṣa or male energies, Apsarases or fairies, Nāgas and Nāgis, etc., were also carved out in stone at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in the 2nd century B.C. onwards. It clearly suggests that there was an intermixture through the common guilds of craftsmen employed by both Buddhists and Hindus. Recently, John Irwin has shown that Indra Kila or Pillar of the Hindus was used by the Buddhists as a support of an umbrella over the Stūpa. Moreover, the lotus opening its petals, became a common symbol for both the sects.  

Again, coming back to the main problem, already mentioned above as to what type of structure could be called as temple. But one point should be kept in mind that this structure should be big enough to accommodate a large number of people, as it is erected for public purposes. A small structure containing a deity used for worship cannot be called a temple if it is not used for general use for all concerned. It is pertinent to note that these structures can be called as shrines. Here it would not be improper to site an example of Egypt and Mesopotamia where the so called temple existed before the metal came into picture (as early as the 6th millennium B.C.—the neolithic period). These structures are named as shrines, and only used for individual purposes (one family consisting of a number of people). Here it is to be made clear that these shrines have not been found in open land but inside an individual house, and most of the houses contain the so-called shrines. Contrary to the view mentioned above, Prāsāda, the Hindu temple, is not a congregational structure. It is the home of spirit. The main shrine is called Garbhagṛha, and Prāsāda has circumambulatory passage.  

The Hindu temple, as a permanent architectural piece came into existence very late, long after the Buddhist architecture (such as the Stūpas, Cātyyas and Vihāras) had taken its roots. Obviously, the Hindu temple might have emerged from the Buddhist structures, particularly when we observe marked affinity in shape and form between the earlier Buddhist Cātya-grhas and the Hindu temples. Even at a later date the Vesara type of temples, which have barrel-shaped roofs, resemble the Buddhist Cātya halls. Significantly enough, there is no Hindu temple in India which can antedate the Buddhist structures.  

Moreover, it would not be out of place to mention from actions and reactions of existing and emerging religions, that a need of temple was felt by the Hindus for the same purpose as that of the Buddhism. It
is however, argued that heterodox religions such as Buddhism and Jainism came into existence only due to the inhuman sacrificial activities of the Vedic religion. To remind that this 6th Century B.C. was also the period of great movements in religion all over the ancient world, as for example Zoroastrianism in Persia, Confucianism in China, and Buddhism and Jainism in India; later on to wage a successful war against the heterodox religions, the Vedic religion was made very easy, simple and flexible, and its door was open to all. Therefore, in about 2nd-4th century onwards the Purānas were compiled to meet the challenge of the heterodox religions and to make it more popular than them.

The Bhakti movement which has its root in the Upaniṣadic period contributed a lot for the emergence of Hindu temple. The deep devotion or Bhakti in the God Vishṇu and Śiva made them supreme deities and large number of hymns were compiled and stories woven around them. More and more emphasis was laid on the congregational prayers and religious ceremonies which in course of time became the daily routine of their life. Owing to the above reason several vrataś, ancestor worship, planet worship and festivals, etc., came into existence. And now-a-days situation has became such that each and every day in our Hindu calendar is a festival. Our all very popular sacred scriptures like the Purānas, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Mahābhārata were written during the Bhakti movement. To make their deity supreme against the Buddhist religion, as well as for the congregational prayers and ceremonies, which might have been imitated from Buddhism and also to raise the social status of Brāhmaṇas and priests, who due to emerPAGE 236gence of Heterodox religion became very poor, the need of something new, i.e., the temple was really felt. The assurance of protection and security, and the boon—giving quality of Hindu gods attracted the attention of mass common people. It has also been noticed that the necessity of archā (image) or devagṛha (abode of the god) was felt by the Later Vedic people. It is interesting to note that the terms like Devagāra, Devāyatana and Devakula (all denoting temples) are for the first time found in the Baudhāyana Gṛhyaśūtra (III. 3,9,3). Moreover, the Saṁvyāya Brāhmaṇa, Arhaṭaśūtra and Manusmṛti also refer to temples, in one way or the other. The Besnagar Pillar inscription of the 2nd century B.C. (Devadeva Vāsudeva). Ghoṣunḍi inscriptions of the 1st century B.C, Nārāyanā Vāṭikā for Saṁkaraṇa-Vāsudeva); Morā well inscription of the 1st. century B.C. (establishment of images for Pañcavīras of the Viśṇis in the stone shrine); and Mathurā door inscription (devakula in the Mahāsthāna of Bhāgavata Vāsudeva) refers to the existence of temple during this period. There are some Pre-Chalukyan inscriptions of the Śatavahana dynasty, the Gaṅgas, and the Kadambas which mention about the donations to Brāhmaṇical temples. These inscriptions, no doubt indicate the presence of Hindu temple even at an early date.
Now the question arises why the Hindu temples are so late and J.P. Guha\textsuperscript{13} has given a probable answer to it. He says, "It sounds that the Principal form of Hindu architecture, the temple should be much younger than the corresponding Buddhist architecture which sought expression in the \textit{Stūpa} the \textit{Cātuyya-gṛha}, and the \textit{Vihāras}. At first sight this appears to be paradoxical, but the late emergence of the temple is quite natural. The Hindu temple is the plastic statement of devotional Hinduism; it grew out of the theistic movements known as Vaishnavism and Śaivism which though prior to Buddhism in origin, flowered at a time when Buddhism in India had lost its high moral code and had become associated with such cults as Tantrism and Sanāhiya."\textsuperscript{14} To retreat to the above problem, the most probable date of a Hindu temple in India is A.D. 415 which is located at Sanchi.\textsuperscript{15} Our view is not contrary to the one referred to above. The Vedic religion, which is very early in date, was almost devoted to sacrificial performances. And for this sacrificial purpose they did not require any temple as such, except for an altar. Therefore, in the \textit{Yajurveda}, the Vedic compilers have mentioned types of altars in shape and form. Great emphasis was laid on the accuracy of altar’s measurements, but there are no references therein to image (\textit{pratima})\textsuperscript{i} as such.

Now, coming to the actual remains of temples in India, we know that the earliest remains of the Urban civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (2350 B.C.) have also not yielded any temple structure, except for the cloister that surrounds the great bath at Mohenjo-daro, which in any case cannot claim that temple worship existed during the third millennium B.C. also, since the god they worship were not temple gods.\textsuperscript{16} At Mohenjo-daro, a steatite seal has been found which bears a figure of an horned deity/\textit{jogi} surrounded by animals, which is often identified with \textit{Patupati}, the ‘Lord of Beasts’. Again, at the same site, a steatite bust of a deity or priest-king, a terracotta mother-goddess, humped bull or \textit{Nandi}—mount of God Śiva, and phallus or \textit{Śivalinga} have been found. Can all these specimens suggest some kind of a temple worship? It is, no doubt very difficult to answer.

To the contrary, in Mesopotamia during the 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C., a number of temples were built, which is known are Ziggurat. It is well known that during this period Mesopotamia was divided into a number of city states, each with its own supreme god. It was a very tall building located in the centre of the city, surrounded by common population and visible from afar.

Now, coming to a later period, at Piprahwa, W.C. Peppe found a few gold leaves inside the casket depicting nude mother-goddess, similar to those found at Lauriya-Nandangarh. This is a pre-Mauryan (5th-4th
century B.C. relic casket and is the earliest example of its kind. As mentioned above, a golden plaque depicting nude mother-goddess has also been found at Lauriya-Nandanghar under the hemispherical mud Stūpa. Bloch here found several Stūpas at one place. According to him, it "had some connection with the funeral rites of the people who erected them", and further, these rites were in accordance with the practices laid down in the Vedic rituals, for in one of the hymns of the Xth manḍala of the Rgveda the manes or Pitṛs are invoked in the funeral rites 'to hold the pillar'. In the same hymn, Pṛthvi the Earth goddess, is also invoked to protect the dead 'from the abode of the destruction'. Both, the gold leaf with nude mother-goddess, and the wooden shaft have been identified with the goddess Pṛthvi and the Vedic 'Pillar'. Besides these, many identical nude mother-goddesses have been found carved over the various miniature ringstones, rings, and discstones. The ringstones are found in Bihar, U.P., Punjab, Haryana and Taxila, and all are probably, dated to the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. According to Agrawala and Pramod Chandra, it has certain reflection in the Vedic texts, mainly the Śrī Sūkta of the Rgveda. It is believed that the line suggested by Bloch cannot be totally ruled out. The golden plaque was not accidentally fallen inside the mound, it was kept inside for some kind of religious purpose. It is argued as to why we should call this hemispherical mound as Stūpa. Had it been built before the construction of the earliest Stūpa (as its real date is not known), it could have been that the Stūpa architecture is an imitation of this mound which definitely was not built by the Buddhist followers.

At Bairāg, district Jaipur, Rajasthan, D.R. Sahni found a circular brick-and-timber shrine (8.35 m. in diameter) which is dated to circa 3rd century B.C. According to Gupta, remains of this circular temple, possibly enshrined a Stūpa, the evidence of which comes from a few fragments of an umbrella and bowl, both bearing a typical Mauryan polish. Sahni himself thinks that the Stūpa was crowned by an umbrella. It was made of burnt-brick walls on which the lime was beautifully plastered. The roof was supported on 26 octagonal wooden pillars, and the space between the pillars was filled with brick work. The space where the pillar rested was carefully traced out. There is one more circular outer brick wall leaving a passage of one metre for Pradakṣiṇāpatha. The temple entered from the east by a door-way, in front of which was a rectangular portico supported on two wooden pillars. Later on, the whole structure was enclosed by a rectangular wall of bricks. According to Sarkar, this temple was copied from the Greek circular temples, but Gupta has pointed out many differences between the two, and asserts that its roots go back to the chalcolithic period, i.e., Tekkalkota etc.
Bhandarkar traced out a plan of an elliptical temple at Nāgarī, district Udaipur, Rājasthān. He found traces of two walls, both elliptical in plan. The inner wall was 33 feet long and 11 feet wide. The outer wall was 40 feet long. The Pradaksināpatha was located between the inner and outer wall with a 6 feet wide passage all around. The superstructure was made of wood which has now been destroyed. According to Krishna Deva, this temple was dedicated to Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. Gupta argues that it is not known to which deity this temple was dedicated, as there is no direct archaeological evidence. Bhandarkar dated it to B.C. 350-300. Agrawala points out that at Nāgarī a developed square platform with a stone square railing has been found. Here three inscriptions in Brāhmī script, dated to the 2nd century B.C. have been noticed, where the temple is called as Nārāyaṇa Vātaka (enclosure of Nārāyaṇa).

At Besnagar, Vidiśā, Madhya Pradesh, an elliptical temple has been found near the most famous Heliodorus Pillar. Khare was lucky enough to trace the remains of this temple which Cunningham, Bhandarkar and others could not find. The longer axis of this elliptical structure is 8.10 m. and shorter 3 m. Another elliptical wall runs almost parallel to the first wall on all sides at a distance of 2.5 m. A projection measured 7 × 4.85 m. has been traced out on the eastern side in the outer wall’s foundation trench. This structure belongs to the period-I dated to the 4th-3rd century B.C., and destroyed by flood before 260 B.C. The structure belonging to period III was built over the same elliptical foundation of period I, which is contemporary to the Heliodorus pillar. During phase II (about 200 B.C.), a second shrine of Vāsudeva was built over the mound, which has not completely disappeared. Now the whole picture that emerges is as follows: The Garbhaṅga was located inside the inner-wall, and a space of 2.5 m. between the inner and outer wall was for the Pradaksināpatha. The entrance was from the eastern side where the remains of projection have been found. Near this entrance a few burnt bricks were found. According to Gupta, this may indicate that the superstructure was built of timber and the bricks were used for plinth. Irwin critically remarks that, “the Vāsudeva shrine and its accompanying votive pillars, must have represented a relatively late intrusion into what was already a very ancient religious site or ‘Sacred Centre’ associated with the pre-literate cult of the oxis mundi, universal to the ancient world”. But Khare comments on Irwin’s view, and reaffirms that all the basic components of the temple are present, and only the super structure made of wood has disappeared. He says: “As a matter of fact, this structure is a full-fledged temple and does not require any other corroborative evidence”. However, we know that Irwin is against such a view, and emphatically contradicts the presence of temple at such an early date. But to our mind, it seems, that Irwin
is only thinking in one way and he cannot conceive of the antiquity of
the Hindu temple going beyond his pre-conceived speculation. As Khare
has pointed out, it is undoubtedly a Hindu temple and one of the ear-
liest of its kind. It is interesting to note that the pointed roofed and
two or three storey temples have also been noticed on the coins of
the Audumbaras which belong to the 1st century B.C. 35 Singh 36 after
examining these coins, postulates that the early temples were wooden
structures.

At Sonkh, near Mathurā, 40 successive sequences of culture have been noticed. In level 22 to 16 which is known as the Kushāna
level, traces of temples have been noticed. Here the ground plan shows
the alterations of the structures of the seven Kushāna levels. Only the
particular building remained in one and the same place. This structure
is marked as temple, on the open ground, partly surrounded by houses.
This building of worship was rebuilt, extended and over-built, with the
remains of an apsidal wall, which is towards the east. Three parallel
boundary walls of the apse, placed side by side and four superstructures
on these walls have been found in the course of excavation. The preserved
parts of the inner apsidal appeared 3.20 m. high, and also showing
several constructional changes. This temple is situated in the centre of
the successive settlements of the city and was dedicated to the Hinduistic
cult. A stone relief of a sitting Maitrīkā, 19 cm. high with two adorant
on each side was found on the floor of phase 4, just in front of a platform
constructed as a sort of altar in the curve of the apse. This is the first
Brāhmaṇical brick temple in the district Mathurā. 37 Its dimension is
8.85×9.85 m. in its oldest shape it was 7.20×6 m.

In the south, at Nagarjunakonda, there are several temples around
the citadel and on the banks of the river Krishna. It has not been
possible for the excavators to identify all and fix their precise date.
However, half a dozen temples which bear inscriptions or icons tell
about their date of construction.

The Vishṇu temple situated at the foot of the Siddhuldaṇi hill, was
built during the Ābhira interregnum, around A.D. 278. An image
(wooden) of eight-armed Viṣṇu was installed in the temple. The inscription
mentions that this Vishṇu image was installed on the inscribed
pedestal.

This is the earliest reference of an eight-armed Viṣṇu in India.
This temple is divided into two sanctuaries; one oblong and the other
apsidal. Both the sanctuaries are fronted by a pillared hall and at their
back another similar one of larger dimensions. A dvajastambha sur-
mounted by a wheel is also noticed here. 38
At Nagarjunakonda, there are a few more remains of temples which are worth mentioning. There is one temple dedicated to Noçlagiśvarśāmin (possibly a form of Śiva), one dedicated to Puṣpabhadrasāmin, one to Kārtikeya, and one to Sarvādeva. All these temples are oblong in plan.\textsuperscript{20}

Excluding Nagarjunakonda, there are many more Pre-Chalukyan temples in the lower Deccan. At Aihole there is an example of a Pre-Chālukyan (Sātavāhana) brick-structure known as Ambigera Gudi. Again at Paṭadakal there is a fine example of a brick-temple of the Pre-Chālukyan (Sātavāhana ?) period.\textsuperscript{40} Deulkar\textsuperscript{41} informs that the epigraphic evidence of the Sātavāhana period indicates that Brāhmanism flourished side by side with Buddhism. The Gāthāsaptaśati mentions the temple of Gaurī. From the Gāthās it seems that temples in this period were small and prefaced by wide courtyards. They had tapering towers known as Sankhu Śikharas. There they are mentioned as Ajjagharā, Deula etc. The earliest of the Vidarbha/Marāthwādā region is located at Ter, District Osmanabad. The Laṅgāyēśvara (A.D. 404) temple, District Dhulia, is said to have been erected by the Sendraṇa prince Nikumbhāllāsāktī. His copper plate grant of A.D. 404 refers to the upkeep of this temple, and a village Pippalakheta was granted to Brāhamaṇas.

Many scholars have pointed out that the earliest Hindu temple was built during the Gupta period. The Sanchi temple No. 17 dated to A.D. 415, is the first fine example of this type of temple. It is a simple square cell, fronted with a porch supported by columns, topped by bell and lion capitals. The lion capitals may, however, be traced back to the Mauryan times. Afterwards, from the mid-sixth century onwards, large number of temples were built by the Early western Chālukyas at Aihole, Bādāmi, Mahākūṭa and Paṭadakal, which, are marvellous examples of the Hindu temple architecture.

Chronologically, the Viṣṇu temple (elliptical) at Besnagar (4th-3rd century B.C.), the elliptical temple at Nāgari, and the circular temple at Bairāt are the earliest examples of temples in India. And we have seen that both the circular and elliptical plan go on simultaneously. We have no evidence to prove to which deity the temple at Bairāt was dedicated, but the temples at Nāgari and Besnagar were dedicated to Vāsudeva and Viṣṇu. It means there was a simultaneous origin and development of Buddhist and Hindu architecture. Again, it seems that an idea of temple architecture in India is contemporary to the Buddhist Stūpas and Cātvyas, if not earlier. As it has been observed that side by side both the apsidal and oblong architecture has been followed in the Viṣṇu temple of Nagarjunakonda, though it is rather late, i.e., 3rd
century A.D. Nevertheless, it is argued that first of all the same architecture was followed by the Buddhists and Hindus (as the religion was different but not the craftsman), later on a little change is marked, i.e., from apsidal to oblong, and lastly, several types of Hindu temple, in shape and form, can very well be seen. In his publication S.P. Gupta has pointed out that “there is hardly any valid reason to believe that there was long tradition of monumental art in India in pre-Aśokan times through the medium of wood; had it been so, archaeology would have laid it bare by now. If the architectural remains of the Mauryan wooden-palisade could remain almost fully intact under the protective deposit of water-laiden clay and silt and various places in the modern city of Patna. What prevented a sculptured panel from similar survival?” It, however, is believed that further excavations may prove or disprove a theory like this. Lastly, an assumption that the apsidal form might have been borrowed from temple to Cātityas, though it has not been proved so far. However, there are many scholars who have tried to find their roots in western Asia and Egypt. According to Germain Bezin, the Brāhmaṇa temple strongly resembles the Egyptian temple... as is the case with Egyptian temples, Brāhmaṇa temples were subject to indefinite extension, by the process of adding more and more and ever larger internal sections”. As quoted earlier, Sarkar points out that the circular temple at Bairāṭ was copied from the tholos of Polycleitos, Epidauros, and peripteral temple at Philoppeion, Olympia. However, Gupta emphatically refutes any such connections.

It is pertinent to note that from the very beginning all the essential features of a typical temple, i.e., Garbhagṛha, Antarāla, Pradaksīṇapatha, Manḍapa etc., are present in the above-quoted temples. All these features are seen in the circular temple of Bairāṭ, and also in the Brāhmaṇical temple of Nāgari. However, there is not a single rock-cut cave of Aśokan period which is dedicated to Buddhism, as all are dedicated to the Ājivika sect or Brāhmaṇical deities (Sīmārāhī cave). Gupta has tried to trace out the roots of the Barābar caves, in the natural caves of Ramgarh, Buddhā and others, but the problem of the origin of Brāhmaṇical temple is still unresolved.

So far as the literary evidence is concerned, Prāsūta in the sense of a temple, and not palace, is mentioned as early as in the Brāhmaṇas 800-530 B.C.). Devakiputra Kṛṣṇa is referred to in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, and he is identified with Viṣṇu in Tatāttriya Aranyaka, and in the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. Khare further points out that Vidiśā is one of the thousand names of Viṣṇu and Vaiṣṇavism was very popular even before the construction of the Heliodorus pillar. “As the date of the Mahābhārata is between 500-200 B.C., the recognition of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa at the time of the construction of the temple at Besnagar is
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beyond any doubt......On the evidence of archaeological discoveries at Besnagar, Nāgari, Mathurā, it is undoubtedly proved that Devadeva Vasudeva was none other than the all-pervasive Viṣṇu of the Bhāgavatas. 147

Finally, to our mind, it seems that the temples of Nāgari, Besnagar, and Bairāt are the earliest examples of brick-and-timber architecture, and only Vaiśālī and Piprahwā Stūpas might be earlier than the above-mentioned temples. However, temples and rock-cut caves were later adopted by the Buddhist religion. Even in the earliest Stūpas, the figure of a nude mother-goddess has been found, claiming its Brähmanical origin. On these circumstantial evidences, it is reiterated that the origin of Brähmanical temple is contemporary to the Buddhist Stūpas, if not earlier.

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A CRITIQUE OF MODERN EPISTEMOLOGY

By

R.T. VYAS

A balanced epistemology can go a long way in restoring a balanced, healthy and clear view of life. A balanced epistemology presupposes the systematic determination of both the natural object and the natural subject, since both of them are constitutive of the ground of knowledge. Exclusive emphasis on either leads to serious imbalance which distorts human perception and generates existential crisis, such as the one through which the humanity is passing in the present epoch.

Fritjof Capra,¹ shows how modern Science, especially from the times of Descartes, began to lay exclusive stress on the scientific investigation of the natural object to the complete exclusion of the consideration of the principle of subjectivity and how the most recent researches in the field of nuclear physics tend to show the necessity to bring in the status of the observer as an integral part of the whole process of scientific investigation.

The roots of Western science in general and of physics in particular are to be found in the initial period of Greek philosophy in the sixth century B.C. At this time the thinkers of Milesian school did not separate science, philosophy and religion. They aimed to discover the real constitution of "phusis". This Greek word "phusis" meant nature or all existing things. The word physics is derived from it. The milesians were called by later Greeks as "hylozoists" meaning those who think matter is alive. They did not have a word for matter for they saw all forms of existence as manifestations of the "phusis" endowed with life. Anaximander believed the universe to be a kind of organism supported by "pneuma", the cosmic breath, as the human organism is supported by air. This view was similar to ancient Indian philosophy which can be characterised as monistic for it maintained an organic view of the universe.

Parmenides of Elea postulated changeless Being as the basic principle of the universe, but Heraclitus thought the becoming that was everchanging to be the basis of the world. Democritus, in the fifth
century B.C. succeeded in reconciling these two opposite views by maintaining that the changeless Being manifests in some invariable substances the combination and separation of which gives rise to the changes in the world. This involved the concept of atom, the smallest indivisible unit of matter. The atoms were the “basic building blocks” of matter and were intrinsically dead particles moving in the void. The cause of their motion was some external factor of spiritual origin and fundamentally different from matter. This image of dualism between mind and matter exerted a dominating influence on the subsequent Western thought.

Aristotle, who systematised the ancient knowledge, emphasized the scientific exploration of the spiritual aspect of Being, that is, problems of human soul, God and the like rather than of the matter. But unlike in India this line of thinking never struck deep roots in the Western philosophy.

Newton based his model of mechanical world-view on the concept of the space being three-dimensional according to the Euclidean geometry. It was absolute and unchangeable space. In Newton’s words “Absolute space, in its own nature, without regard to anything external, remains always the same and immoveable”. All changes in the physical world were described in terms of a separate dimension, called time, which again was absolute, having no connection with the material world and flowing uniformly from the past through the present to the future. “Absolute, true, and mathematical time of its own nature flows uniformly, without regard to anything external”, said Newton. The elements of Newton’s world which moved in this absolute space and absolute time were material particles. In the mathematical equations they were treated as “mass points.” Newton saw them as small, solid and indestructible objects out of which all matter was made. The only difference between the old Democritean and Newtonian atomism is that in the earlier view force was conceived as coming from outside and spiritual in nature, whereas in the latter the force acting between the material particles was precisely described as being dependent on the mass and the mutual distance of these particles, and was called gravity. The particles and the force called gravity were seen as created by God and therefore were not subject to further analysis. In his "Opticks" Newton states:

“It seems probable to me that God in the beginning formed matter in solid massy, hard, impenetrable, moveable particles, of such sizes and figures and such properties and in such proportion to space, as most conducted to the end for which he formed them and these primitive particles being solid are incomparably harder than any porous bodies compounded of them; even so very hard as never to wear or break in
pieces, no ordinary power being able to divide what God himself made one in the first creation". This way all physical events are reduced in Newtonian mechanics to the motion of material points in space, caused by their mutual attraction, that is, by the force of gravity. Newton's tremendous intellectual achievement in laying the principles of differential calculus, worked out in order to put the effect of this force on a mass point into precise mathematical form, is well known.

This Newtonian mechanical model of the universe constituted the solid framework for the classical physics and supported the edifice of the whole scientific endeavour for about three centuries.

The mechanistic view of nature brought about two results: one, rigorous determinism and second, the possibility of explaining this giant cosmic machine in absolutely objective terms.

-Descartes in the seventeenth century worked out the philosophical implications of the mechanistic world view. A fundamental division between the I and the world was introduced by him. As a consequence, it was believed that the world could be described objectively, without ever mentioning the human observer. Such an objective description of nature became the ideal of all Science.

The 18th and 19th centuries witnessed a tremendous success of Newtonian mechanics. It succeeded in explaining the movements of the planets and astral bodies. It was also applied to certain other fields with great success.

The theory of electrodynamics supplemented that of mechanics and altered the later to a certain extent.

Albert Einstein, in the beginning of the present century, published two papers, which revolutionized the trend of physical science. He propounded two theories, namely, the theory of relativity and the quantum theory. According to relativity theory space is not three dimensional and time is not a separate entity. Both are intimately connected and form a four dimensional continuum called "space-time". There is no universal flow of time as in the Newtonian model. Different observers will place events differently in time if they move with different velocities relative to the observed events. Two events seen as occurring simultaneously by one observer may occur in different temporal sequences for other observers. All measurements involving space and time, thus lose their absolute significance. The Newtonian concept of absolute space and absolute time is now abandoned. Both space and time become merely elements of the language which is used by a particular observer
for describing the observed phenomena. The force of gravity has even the effect of curving space and time. In such a curved space the Euclidean geometry is no longer valid.

The introduction of the relativity theory and recent researches in the nuclear physics, shattered the basic principles of classical physics, like the notion of absolute space and time, the elementary indivisible atoms and most importantly the ideal of an objective description of nature.

Even the subatomic particles were nothing like the solid objects of classical physics. These very minute particles of matter are found to be very abstract entities which have a dual aspect. Depending on how we look at them, they appear sometimes as particles, sometimes as waves and this dual nature is also exhibited by light which can take the form of electromagnetic waves or of particles.

This property of material particles is strange, since it seems impossible to accept that something can be a particle, occupying a point in space and a wave, spread out in over a large region of space, at the same time. This apparent contradiction between the particle and the wave picture was solved in an unexpected way which called in question the very foundational scientific concept of the reality of matter. At the subatomic level, matter does not exist with certainty at definite places, but rather shows "tendencies to exist", and atomic events do not occur with certainty at definite times but rather show "tendencies to occur". In scientific terminology, these tendencies are expressed as probabilities and are associated with mathematical quantities which take the form of waves. This is how particles can be waves at the same time. They are not "real" three-dimensional waves, but they are probability waves, to be viewed as abstract mathematical quantities possessing characteristic properties of waves related to the probabilities of finding the particles at particular points in space at particular time. We can, therefore, never predict an atomic event with certainty; we can say only how likely it is to happen.

Quantum theory has thus demolished the classical concepts of real, solid objects and of strictly deterministic laws of nature. At the subatomic level, the solid material objects of classical physics dissolve into wavelike paradigms of probabilities and these paradigms ultimately do not represent probabilities of things but those of interconnections. The subatomic particles have no meaning as isolated entities, but can only be understood as forming parts of a system of interconnections. Quantum theory thus reveals basic oneness of the universe. It shows that the world cannot be reduced to independently existing smallest units. On closer
scruity into matter, nature does not indicate any isolated "basic building blocks" but rather appears as a complex web of relations between the different parts of the whole. Most importantly these relations invariably include the observer as an integral part of nature. The human observer constitutes the final link in the chain of observational processes and therefore the properties of any object can be understood only in terms of the object's interaction with the observer. That is to say, the classical ideal of an objective description of nature is no longer valid. The researches in the field of nuclear physics show that we can never speak about nature without, at the same time, speaking about ourselves. In other words, the tendency of natural science to exclude the observer from the purview of scientific investigation of nature is proved to be unscientific, because the ultimate and true reality of Nature or Being cannot be grasped until both the subjective and objective aspects of existence are taken into account and their nature determined systematically. When science helps humanity to correct its erroneous notions about the world, it need not lag behind in providing the necessary corrective for understanding man as he really is. This need has been felt by many contemporary thinkers and is expressed in a variety of ways. For instance, Max Plank in his book "Where Is Science Going" states: "Every advance in knowledge brings us face to face with the mystery of our own being".

James Jeans in his work, "The New Background of Science", observes: "Science cannot solve the ultimate mystery of nature. And that is because, in the last analysis, we ourselves are part of nature and therefore part of the mystery that we are trying to solve".

Ernst Cassirer, pointing out the necessity of determining scientifically the nature of the subject in order to have a balanced framework of epistemology, states: "When I tried to apply my findings regarding the structure of mathematical and scientific thought, to the problems of the cultural sciences, it gradually became clear to me that general epistemology, with its traditional form and limitations, does not provide an adequate methodological basis for the cultural sciences. It seemed to me that before this inadequacy could be made good, the whole programme of epistemology would have to be broadened. Instead of investigating only the general premises of scientific cognition of the world, it would also have to differentiate the various fundamental forms of man's understanding of the world and apprehend each one of them as sharply as possible in its specific direction and characteristic spiritual form. Only when such a morphology of the human spirit was established, at least in general outline, could we hope to arrive at a clearer and more reliable methodological approach to the individual cultural sciences. It seemed to me that the theory of scientific concepts and judgements which defines
the natural object by its constitutive traits and apprehends the object of cognition, must be amplified by an analogous specification of pure subjectivity. This subjectivity is at work wherever the phenomenal world as a whole is placed under a specific spiritual rather cultural perspective which determines its configuration”.  

Cassirer, then, proceeds to describe in detail how the early Greek philosophers started with the concept of Being. At first these philosophers postulated a particular material substance from the sphere of existing things, a *prima materia*, as the ultimate foundation of all being. For instance the number of the Pythagoras and the atom of Democritus in the pre-Socratic Grece were identified with being and were taken as fixed points of departure. But with Plato, who developed his theory of “Ideas”, the great philosophical system was formulated. The historical achievement of this Platonic theory of idea was that for the first time the essentially intellectual premise for a philosophical understanding and explanation of the world took on explicit form. He no longer simply inquired into the order, condition and structure of being, but also inquired into the concept of being and the meaning of that concept. Wherever the materialistic or realistic view of the world maintained some ultimate attribute of things as the basis of all cognition, idealism turned this very same attribute into a problem of thought. Idealism has always been emphasizing the fact that since any system of physical concepts must reflect the relations between objective things and the law governing their mutual dependence, a definite homogenous intellectual orientation is the essential presupposition and must precede any attempt of physical enquiry. The road of inquiry seems to start with sensible data to laws and from laws to principles. But these principles themselves, which at a certain stage of knowledge represented the ultimate and most complete solution, must appear at a later stage to become once more problems.

Accordingly what science designated as its being or as the object of knowledge, ceases to appear as a final and irrefutable set of facts. Every new discovery and new trend of thought discloses some new phase problematic enough to invite the scientists to address themselves to decipher its secret meaning.

Cassirer, therefore, suggests that because the metaphysical ideal of unity of being eludes scientific cognition, such unity should be viewed not as the beginning of things but as a functional unity to be attained by coordinating the different branches of scientific knowledge.

The object of scientific cognition cannot be regarded as an exclusive thing in itself, independent of the categories which the human reason has established, for it is only within these categories which determine its form
that it can be described at all. Thus it is evident that the particular thing must not be left to stand alone, but must be made to take its place in a context, where it appears as part of a logical structure. Scientific cognition is always oriented toward this aim of articulation of the particular into a universal law and order.

The revolution in method which Kant brought to theoretical philosophy was based on the idea that the relation between cognition and object, generally accepted until then, must be radically modified. Instead of starting from object as the given and known, we must begin with the fact of cognition which alone is truly accessible and certain in a primary sense. Only thus objectivity is conceivable. Thus the natural object is a correlate of the unity of apperception according to Kant. But beside this intellectual synthesis which operates within the system of scientific concepts, the human spirit also knows other methods of forming objects of art, myth and religion. All these formations have their own image-worlds, which do not merely reflect the empirically given but rather produce it in accordance with an independent principle. All these functions create their own symbolic forms which enjoy equal rank with scientific cognition as products of human spirit and constitute their own aspect of reality. They are not different modes in which an independent reality manifests itself to human spirit, rather, they are modes by which human spirit effects objectivization or self-revelation. Thus various products of culture like language, scientific knowledge, myth, art and religion become parts of the great human endeavour directed toward one goal of transforming the passive world of impressions into a world of pure expression of human spirit, and go to make up the total reality.

Cassirer, however, started his investigations with a view to specifying the true nature of pure subjectivity, but in fact, proceeded to determine the various forms of human understanding. He, thus, dealt with phenomenology of language, myth and religion and ultimately the phenomenology of knowledge or the scientific theory of knowledge, taking expression as the basic factor in the perceptive consciousness, he arrives at the concept of the continuum of life-stream from which more stable eddies gradually detach themselves to get formulated into subject or points of individual consciousness. He opines that it is only in the great creations of the cultural consciousness that the becoming of the I can be truly discerned, for man matures to the consciousness of his ego in his spiritual deeds, he possesses his self only when instead of remaining within the ever-identical flow of events, he divides the stream and gives form to it. And only within this formed reality of experience does he find himself as subject, as a centre of multiform existence.

This is evidently the process of formation rather maturing of
individual subjects and not the scientific method of specification of the true nature of pure subjectivity as Cassirer proceeded to establish. For this end a new approach is needed which investigates the conscious and unconscious strata of human psyche and helps to integrate the known and unknown aspects of human personality.

Jung, in this regard, rightly states in his work "Symbols of Transformation", that the scientific and medical knowledge is in no sense sufficient to grasp the nature of the soul, nor does the psychiatric understanding of pathological processes help to integrate them into the totality of the psyche. Similarly mere rationalization is not an adequate instrument.

To prepare the ground for a systematic investigation of the subjective aspect of existence, one must begin with the recognition of the fact that the human psyche exists. Like human body endowed with the nervous system and mind, psyche as the central organising point of individuation also exists and must be admitted to be a natural object to be studied scientifically, C.G. Jung opines that the marvellous development of science and techniques is counter-balanced by appalling lack of wisdom and introspection, which are a direct result of the common prejudice against and a far more serious undervaluation of the human psyche in general. Psychoanalysis cures physical ailments and this experience makes it difficult to believe that psyche is nothing or is made up of breath or vapour. The psyche does exist but not in a physical form and it is an almost absurd prejudice cherished by most rationalists to suppose the existence can only be physical. As a matter of fact, the only form of existence of which we have immediate knowledge is psychic. We might well say, on the contrary, that physical existence is a mere inference, since we know of matter only in so far as we perceive psychic images mediated by the senses. He, therefore, stresses the need of restoring the ancient introspective attitude which favoured a serious consideration of dreams and inner experiences.

Jung observes that human personality consists of two things: first consciousness and whatever it covers and second, an indefinitely large hinterland of unconscious psyche. It is, therefore, impossible to describe completely and define the sum-total of human personality. In other words, there is an illimitable and undefinable addition to every personality. We have no idea about the nature and contents of those unconscious factors; we can observe only their effects. Since psychic contents become perceivable only when they come to the level of consciousness and are associated with an ego, the strong and authoritative voice having personal character heard by many in their dreams, must be supposed to issue from a centre—but a centre—which is not identical with
the conscious ego. This proves that the ego is subordinate to, or contained in, a super-ordinate self as the centre of the total, illimitable and indefinable psychic personality⁵.

He says: "I explain the voice in the dream of the sacred house as a product of the more complete personality of which the dreamer's conscious self is a part and I hold that this is the reason why the voice shows an intelligence and a clarity superior to the dreamer's actual consciousness. This superiority is the reason for the absolute authority of the voice".

Man has devised many ways including religion, to escape from the unconscious. But true religion is the fruit and culmination of the integration of both these dimensions of the psyche or the completeness of the soul's life. It is observed that just as in the mythology and folklore, certain similar motifs occur in dreams, practically all over the earth, which Jung calls as "archetypes, "i.e. forms and images of a collective nature. The occurrence of these archetypes confirms the theory of preconscious primordial ideas, since they have been appearing spontaneously in visions, dreams or trances. Such ideas are never invented; they came into being before man had learnt to use his mind purposefully. Before man learned to produce thoughts, thoughts came to him. He did not think; he perceived his mind functioning. The symbols of wholeness of personality reflect the spontaneous and autonomous activity of the objective psyche or the unconscious. They, as such, express the self more completely than a scientific theory, for the scientific theory gives expression to and formulates the conscious mind alone, whereas the self is the psychic totality of an individual, embracing those aspects of the world which are not normally known to the conscious part of his personality. Self-realization is thus individuation. But since man knows himself only as an ego and the self as a totality is indistinguishable from God-image, self-realization amounts to God's incarnation.

In the process of individuation, the empirical ego is burdened with the fate of losing himself in a greater dimension of being. The self is not mere logical postulate, but a psychic reality, the unconscious part of which is conceivable only in the form of symbols. The events of the total process of self-integration are to be expressed in symbolic images, as they cover also those that transcend consciousness. The Rgveda is replete with such symbolical presentations of the path leading to the direct experience of the self, which fall outside the perview of the present paper.

Moreover, in modern philosophical writings, especially those of phenomenology, in its studies of the structure of consciousness, pure or
transcendent subjectivity is conceived as the irreducible centre of reference for all objectivity and is found to be the foundation and precondition of all knowledge of objective reality. This subjectivity is the seat of all intentional acts and is constitutive of the meaning-aspect of the object, without which the latter would remain a bare existent. It is only in terms of essential meaning that the structure of objectivity can be conceived and interpreted. In every act of knowing and experiencing, the functional character of subjectivity has to be admitted as the necessary precondition. As such, it is the universal precondition for conceiving the meaning of being objective. The bare existent object, when meant by the subject assumes the status of being an object and as such becomes the intentional correlate. It is the subjectivity which organizes and formulates a system through these intentional correlates. Through such logical systems, we constitute and understand the world. Pure subjectivity, thus is not a speculative construction, but has to be posited in existential terms as an absolutely self-subsisting, autonomous region of direct experience, an immediately and innerly felt unity of experiencing or a unified pole of identity. All objective references must unite in this unifying subject. All the objective properties, such as mass, colour, shape and the like, seen as united in the object, are to be referred to the subject that becomes conscious of them, for the subject is the ultimate and irreducible point of all reference. This natural "I" is an object to be investigated by the natural sciences, to restore balance in the study of morphology of knowledge and modern epistemology. The scientific, rather systematic, determination of the pure subjectivity involves fundamental turning of the mind inward and traversing the subtler levels of consciousness, arriving at the very root of being and consciousness, wherein, the distinction of perceiver and perceived is transcended, since the absolute being that is conscious of itself is unitary by nature.

REFERENCES

3. Ibid., pp. 73 ff.
5. Ibid., p. 156.
VIJÑĀNABHIKSU ON CAUSALITY OF BRAHMAN

By

SHIV KUMAR

All the systems of Indian philosophy go hand in hand in assigning the highest place of infallible authority to the Upaniṣads. The various schools of vedānta interpret the Upaniṣads to read their own theories in them while the others suggest the same by claiming the conformity of their theories to the Upaniṣads. Any system of Vedānta is obliged to interpret the Upaniṣads as also the Brahmaśūtras and the Bhagavadgītā. Vijñānabhiṣku (= VB) has to wage a fierce intellectual warfare with others to interpret the Brahmaśūtras in conformity of his own theories. VB is practically the latest author in interpreting the Brahmaśūtras and, hence, his interpretation occupies an important place in the system of Vedānta. the present attempt proposes to expound VB’s concept of causality of Brahman with an intention to consider how far VB is justified in making an advance over the synthesized form of Sāmkhya, Yoga and Advaita Vedānta in the formulation of his theory in his commentary on the Brahmaśūtras.

VB expounds the nature of Brahman differentiating it from the individual soul around which the entire system of Sāmkhya revolves. The individual soul of the Sāmkhya shares the nature of Brahman in so far as both are of the nature of pure consciousness. Such consciousness forms the very nature of Brahman and is not its accidental or impermanent quality. Unlike the individual soul, it is omnipotent and the locus of merger of both the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa which form its powers.1 VB further terms it paramēśvara and identifies it with theĪśvara accepted in Yoga. He describes Brahman as the particular conscious element untouched by afflictions, action, and fruition and having pure sattva as its limiting adjuncts.8 This description corresponds to the Yoga concept ofĪśvara.8 VB shows the tendency of attributing the characteristics of qualifiedĪśvara as he considers Brahman as endowed with the limiting adjuncts called māyā constituted of the pure sattva.

Like all other authorities of Vedānta VB considers Brahman the cause of the universe. It is the cause of all the modifications of the
existent, viz., origination, existence, growth, change, maturity, decay and destruction. His idea of such a causality, however, is peculiar. The Brahman is neither the material nor the efficient cause but the supporting cause (adhisøhänakärana) of the universe. It is the locus of everything indirectly. The Prakṣṭi and the individual souls are directly located in it while the evolutes of Prakṣṭi are indirectly located in it through the Prakṛti. Thus, it forms the cause of all the objects like intellect and the rest. It is just as the air is produced from the space and the earth from the water or the movable and immovable objects from the earth (which already exist in the unmanifested form in their cause.).

VB describes the nature of such a cause more explicitly. Such a type of cause is that existing as supported wherein the real material cause of the objects modifies into the objects. It is clarified with the following example. The water is supposed to be the supporting cause of the earth in the beginning of the creation because the subtle elements of earth (technically termed tanmātras) existing as supported by the water modify into the gross element of earth. Such a cause is termed as the 'root cause' (mālakārana).

Such a nature of causality of Brahman helps VB to hold that the Brahman is the material cause of and identical with the world still it is of the nature of pure consciousness which does not undergo modification. Such a nature of supporting cause of the Prakṣṭi, etc., which are not different from it, is through Brahman's being the witness of these objects. Thus, the Brahman is different from the Prakṛti and puruṣa which lack the essential nature of being a witness before the origination of the universe.

The criterion of material cause applies to this type of cause also. The material cause in general means the locus of the effect without being separated from it. The material cause is of two types: modificant and supporting. The former is that wherein the effect exists as identical with it through inherence. The latter is that in which the effect exists as identical through the identity of its cause. It can be clarified with the example of the causality of earth found in the water. The water is the cause of the earth through being the support of the subtle elements of earth while the latter form the cause of earth directly. Here, it is not that the water is the cause of the earth directly. Otherwise, such a position would contradict the fact that the subtle elements of earth are the cause of earth as propounded in the śrūtis and the smṛtis. Nor can both the water and the subtle elements of earth be the cause of the earth because the water which is dissimilar to earth cannot be the cause of the latter.
By such a position VB claims the benefit of arriving at a position which can be agreed upon by both the systems of Sāṁkhya and the Vaiśeṣikas, which hold contradictory views. Both the Sāṁkhyas and the Vaiśeṣikas are staunch realists but while the Sāṁkhya trace the origination of the universe from the all-pervasive element named Prakṛti, the Vaiśeṣikas hold that the universe comes out of the atoms. Such a causality of Brahman, however, would not be rejected by the Vaiśeṣikas also. VB differs from the Vaiśeṣikas in so far as the Vaiśeṣikas consider Śiva to be the instrumental cause of the universe, VB consider Brahman as different from the material (samaṇavāyi), non-inherent (asamaṇavāyi) and the instrumental causes. For this purpose he postulates a separate type of cause as the supporting cause. Such a postulation can account for Brahman’s agency in creating the universe as also his being the material cause of the universe. The former is through maya in the form of pure sattva which is a conditioning factor of Brahman while the latter is through the Prakṛti which undergoes modification into the form of the worldly objects and which again forms a conditioning factor of Brahman. Both of the above can be clarified with the examples of a potter and spider. While the former is an instrumental cause, the latter is both the instrumental and the material cause of the universe. Thus, the Brahman forms all types of cause for the origination of the universe. Brahman’s nature of being unrestricted cause of every kind leads to the supposition of omnipotence of Brahman. The Prakṛti, Puruṣa, etc., can be the cause in the restricted sense on account of having a limited power of being the cause of certain objects only. The Brahman, on the other hand, is omnipotent and has the causality for all the objects through various conditioning factors. It can be roughly exemplified as there is limited power of perceiving, etc., in each of the senses, but the collective power of all the organs is found in the individual soul which governs all of them. Similarly, the objects like Prakṛti and Puruṣa, forming the limited powers of Brahman, are having restricted causality only.

VB further explains the idea of causality of Brahman by alluding to the Sāṁkhya-Yoga concept of evolution. The Sāṁkhya and Yoga believe in the independent nature of the Prakṛti. The Prakṛti unites by itself with the initial individual soul as prompted by the purpose of the soul without being activated by any external agency just as the piece of iron by itself is attracted towards and unites with the magnet. VB, however, maintains that the union of the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa is brought about by Śiva. VB establishes it on the authority of the Kūrmapurāṇa that the lord Hari having entered of its own will into the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa, agitated the two modifying and the immutable beings, at the time of creation. Here, it may be argued as to how can there be agi-
tation in the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa. Both of these are all-pervasive and the agitation leading to the union of the two is of the nature of a particular activity and as such the activity is not possible in either of the two or jointly. To this VB replies that the agitation is possible in both the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa. The Prakṛti is of the form of the three guṇas and the agitation is possible in the guṇas because they are limited in their parts. The agitation in the case of Puruṣa is super-imposed as it exits in its limiting factor just as the agitation is supposed to take place in the space on the basis of the agitation in air, which forms the limiting factor of the space.23 Or, alternatively the agitation can be metaphorically spoken of in the case of the Puruṣa when it is ready for the union with the Prakṛti.24 That is why the agitation is always spoken of in the śrutis with reference to the guṇas only and never with reference to the Puruṣa.25 The act of entering of the Īśvara into the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa is just for the sake of understanding in the scriptures.26 In fact, the Īśvara as well as its limiting factors like Prakṛti and Puruṣa are all-pervasive and, hence, there is no alternative but to accept their union also as eternal. Though they are ever united, the difference between the soul and the Īśvara is comprehended on the basis of the difference between the individual soul and its limiting factor.27

VB holds that the definition of Brahman given by Bādarāyaṇa, viz., that from which take place origination, etc., of the universe,28 brings out not only a technical meaning of the term brahman but puts forth its conventional meaning also. At the same time, the derivative meaning of the term brahman implies the same. Derivatively the term brahman means that which is the greatest or most extensive. The root cause of the universe is, of course, so in nature. VB further clarifies that the term brahman is ‘derived-conventional’ (yogarūḍha)29. It is derived from the root brh to be (most) extensive and through convention it means the root cause of the universe which is (most) extensive in nature. This can be explained on the analogy of the term paśkaja which means throug convention a lotus while derivatively also it means that born from mud, a characteristic which does not contradict the conventional meaning of lotus, rather it corroborates the same. Such a position does not allow to understand the individual soul as a primary denotation of the term brahman:30 VB describes the nature of Brahman on the authority of the Purāṇas. The highest soul which is eternal in nature is known through the heap of powers inherent in it. The brahman alone existed prior to the creation of the universe. This, however, clarifies VB, does not imply the total absence of everything. On the contrary, everything existed in its causal condition bereft of its functioning of the originated state, just as a snake hidden in its hole. Otherwise, it would contradict the position of under-
standing it as containing the modifications inherent in it. Moreover, the 
Brahmasūtra itself is contradicted if the world of modifications is supposed 
to be absolutely non-existent.\textsuperscript{30} The Brahman is without blemishes and 
is calm. The calmness does not signify the absence of knowledge of the 
objects just as in the state of deep sleep, but it means the absence of 
attachment, etc., as also the absence of functions caused by the limiting 
factors in it. If it is taken into the former sense, it would contradict the 
notion of its being omniscient.\textsuperscript{31} It is devoid of the guṇas because it is 
behind the guṇas as it has no feeling of identity with and attachment 
towards the guṇas or because the guṇas merge into it at the time of dis-
solution.\textsuperscript{32} It is further described to be ever free from unfavourable conse-
quences. In this respect its nature differs from that of the individual souls 
because the latter are sometimes endowed with them through the condition-
ing factors. The unfavourable consequences meant here are the 
afflictions, acts, maturity of acts and the impressions of acts.\textsuperscript{33} It is 
omniscient because it is of the nature of knowledge (and consciousness). It has 
the function of knowing all the objects without standing in need of 
the external means.\textsuperscript{34} Its nature of knowledge means its having the body 
of pure sattte unpolluted by the other guṇas. It never deviates from its 
essential nature. It is all-pervasive and great. Since every-thing is merged 
into it at the time of dissolution, it exists as containing inherent in it all 
the objects of the universe. The Prakṛti evolves out of it. Here, it should 
be noted that the origination of Prakṛti should not be understood in the 
literal sense. On the contrary, it should be understood in the secondary 
sense of manifestation through the contact of Prakṛti and the Puruṣa.\textsuperscript{35} 
Similarly, the Brahman may be considered to be the cause of the Puruṣa, 
which should also be understood in its manifestation through its contact 
with the Prakṛti. The Brahman is further considered to be the merging 
place of both the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa. It is also to be understood in the 
secondary sense of bringing about the disunion of the two through which 
is metaphorically expressed the nature of their destruction.\textsuperscript{36} VB corro-
borates the same position through the statement of the Kūmaṇpurāṇa that 
the Brahman causes the disunion of the Prakṛti and the Puruṣa. This is 
metaphorically declared to be the destruction of the Prakṛti and Puruṣa.

To justify his thesis of supporting cause VB offers an innovative 
interpretation of the sūtra tattu samanvayai.\textsuperscript{57} The Brahman is the cause 
of the universe because the worldly objects merge into it, which serves as 
their ultimate cause. The Brahman also evolves into the universe because 
the worldly objects merge into it which serves as their ultimate cause. 
Here, VB finds a justification for considering Brahman as the supporting 
cause. VB corroborates it with the following method of meditation. The 
aspirants mentally conceive the absorption of the perceptible gross 
objects into the seven modifiable modificants, viz. intellect, egoism and 
the five subtle elements. They conceive the absorption of these also into
the Prakṛti and the absorption of this also into the pure consciousness, just as the absorption of the dead serpent into a hole or just as the absorption of the rivers into an ocean. There is no absorption of consciousness of Brahman anywhere else.\textsuperscript{38} This proves the existence of the effects in the Prakṛti in their subtle form as also the existence of the Prakṛti and Puruṣa into the Brahman in an inactive form as if in a sleeping state.\textsuperscript{39} In this state VB proved the omniscience and desiring activity in the Brahman. The act of knowing the universe is there in the Brahman even in the state of dissolution. Otherwise, there will be impossibility of the creation of the universe.\textsuperscript{40} If the Prakṛti is supposed to evolve into the form of the universe independently, it will leave no significance for the postulation of the Īśvara.\textsuperscript{41} Thus, the supposition of limiting adjuncts in the form of sattva is proved through his act of desiring and knowing. This limiting adjunct is in the form of the eternal pure sattva, while in the individual soul it is in the form of impure sattva due to the latent impressions of afflictions, etc.\textsuperscript{42}

In fact, such a position leaves no scope for the real modification or the illusory manifestation of Brahman in the form of the universe. The souls and the objective world exist in him as his powers. The Brahman cannot directly be the cause of the universe by modifying itself into the universe because it would contradict the non-modifiable nature of the Brahman propounded in the śrutis and the smṛtis.\textsuperscript{43} At the state of dissolution the Prakṛti forms the limiting factor of Brahman. Otherwise the Brahman could not have the desire to be many presupposed for creation. The other causes like time and destiny also form the powers of the Brahman.\textsuperscript{44} The Brahman creates all the elements directly like a potter creating a pot and the creation is not indirect as creating first the space and then the wind from space and so on, because the Brahman is stated to enter all the elements. It further justifies Brahman’s being sustainer also.\textsuperscript{45} The order in dissolution is opposite to that in creation.\textsuperscript{46}

With this background VB had to favour the Sāṃkhya theory of causation that the effect exists in its cause prior to its manifestation. He rejects the doctrine of illusory manifestation. This doctrine is based on the falsity of the worldly objects, which, according to VB, is another branch of Buddhists and the propounder of it is a Buddhist in disguise.\textsuperscript{47} Moreover, such a doctrine propounds non-belief in everything. It presupposes that the Upaniṣads teach the falsity of everything like bondage and liberation. The aspirant will disbelieve in the veracity of it only: through the words of the teacher even without realising directly and will, consequently, not be inclined for realisation through study of the spiritual literature and pondering over it. The inclination towards an object to be achieved through great effort is based upon the certainty of the fruit.\textsuperscript{48} Moreover, the falsity of the objects cannot be logically
proved. The question naturally arises whether the means of knowledge for proving this falsity are real or otherwise. The former alternative disproves the thesis of falsity of world. The second alternative involves logical absurdity. The unreal means of knowledge cannot prove anything. It can prove the contrary thesis of the reality of the world as well. Here, the followers of Śamkara may argue that they criticise the opponents’ thesis through the means of knowledge accepted by them only and do not prove something positively because they do not admit some means of knowledge. This is also a weak defence. The absence of valid means of knowledge results into a doubtful state. The notion of either of dualism or non-dualism arises through the means of knowledge only. Therefore, concludes VB, the non-existence of the worldly objects refers to that at the state of merger into the Brahman at the time of dissolution. The scriptural statements like ‘the existent alone, single without the second, was in the beginning’, stress the non-distinction at the state of dissolution. In this state the Purusa and Prakṛti, etc., are experienced in the form of consciousness and not in their objective form because there is no sign of revealing them in their objective form just as in the beginning of creation of the earth the earth is experienced in the form of water only as it does not have solidity and smell manifest, which cause the earth to reveal in the earth form. Now a question arises about the veracity of the scriptural statement about the identity of the Brahman with the worldly objects even after creation, like ‘Brahman alone is this all’. These statements should be understood through the non-distinction of cause and effect as the cause itself is a power of the effect. It is explicitly stated that the Brahman has entered all the objects. This identity of Brahman with the worldly objects at the state of creation is caused through extreme mixture of them. At this state they become practically one like milk and sugar mixed together. This contact is of a special kind. It may be defined as a union caused by a particular type of contact, etc., or a particular type of relation called svarūpasambandha. The above discussion is concluded with the following observations. VB’s main stress is on synthesizing the mutually contradictory positions of different systems. For this purpose he brings the Śāṁkhya, Yoga and Advaita Vedānta together. He takes recourse to Śāṁkhya theory about the details regarding the creation and dissolution. He accepts Śāṁkhya theory of existence of the effect into the cause prior to the production. He could avoid the falsity of worldly objects. He further tries to avoid the logical absurdity in considering the independent Prakṛti as the cause of the universe on the basis of Advaita Vedānta. For this purpose he had to take resort to the conscious element and makes it a merging place of the Prakṛti. To explain the nature of this merging place, he had to accept the nature of Īśvara accepted by Yoga. Here, VB should have
alleviated the defects generally raised against the acceptance of Īśvara. Now, VB further faces a natural question about the relation of Prakṛti and Puruṣa with Brahman serving as their merging place. Here, he had to consider Prakṛti and Puruṣa as the powers of Brahman and, hence, brings forth the idea of supporting cause to retain the immutable nature of Brahman, which distinguishes his position from the framework of Visisṭādvaita of Rāmānuja. He further ascribes the activity and desire to Brahman and maintains its nature of pure consciousness. For this, he had to postulate the limiting factor of Brahman and could not improve much over the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara as his theory also involves all the defects raised about the relation of the limiting adjuncts with Brahman. Thus, VB formulates a new framework of supporting cause by joining together fragments from other systems to avoid the defects involved in the sources. But, to avoid the one defect, he invites the others. It is not clear why does VB need a supporting cause for the Prakṛti and Puruṣa. VB equates it with the nature of Īśvara in Yoga. Such a position, however, will not be accepted by the Yoga system. VB reconciles Śaṅkhyā and Advaita vedānta through the postulation of supporting cause but this postulation tends towards qualified Brahman which will not be digested by the Advaitins. Moreover, it begs the scientific justification for such an entity for creation and dissolution.

FOOT NOTES

1. अथ जगतः नामप्रामाण्यं व्याकृतम्—यत: परमेश्वराद्वादतिनिप्रकृतिपुष्पाभिन-शतितकालु (जन्मावियस्ट्व)***चतविः***तद्द्रह्मेऽि वायव्येऽि:
Vijānānāśṭṭhitā (←VAB) 1.1.2,
Varanasi, 1979

2. अथ जगतः***जन्मावियस्ट्वः यतः***स्वतस्वस्माचार्य विधुद्धस्वस्वायायोपाधिकालु वेशाकमेिविनपौर्णमयस्तत्वचेतनाविवेण्यर्द्वभविः***तद्व्रह्मेऽि
VAB 1.1.2

3. Yogsāstra 1.24

4. अथ जगतः***जावतेति स वाक्ये विषयाचार्ये विनयतीस्वप्रमाण्य जन्मावियस्ट्वः यतः***भविः***तदुत्त्रह्मेऽि
VAB 1.1.2

5. अकाशादिव महाअयुष्महानादिवन्म प्रायिक, पृथिभिः इत्या स रथार्जञ्जमादिकम्
VAB 1.1.2

6. तदेवस्मंधानकरणं वन्ता-विभक्तं वेनीविेवं व सहुप्राणकरण vapāकारण परिषयस्यः
VAB 1.1.2; also VAB 1.1.4
7. यथा सर्गादी अजातिभवतः पारिवर्तुकक्रमांस्त-मात्रांक्रमः अलोकितक्रमाः पृथ्वीकारण परिवर्त्ततं इत्यतं जल महापृथ्वीयं अधिष्ठानकारणमिति।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(B\) \(1.1.2\)

8. तथा शैतानीकारणं तत्तत्त्वाधिकारकारणात्वमिति मूलकारणत्वमिति जोत्यते।
   \(\) \(A\) \(B\) \(1.1.2\)

9. न वा प्राकृतिपुरुषप्रच्छन्निविधमः सर्गादृ पूर्वन्येव साधितवासम्भवात्।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

10. कार्यात्मापारलस्यैवोपादंसंसाम्भवित्वात्।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

11. तथ वसाधितवास्येऽन्मानसाधितवास्यन्मानविधिकारणम्।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

12. यथा च कारणयो कारणविभागोनाभागस्तवविधिकारणम्।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

13. न धि जलवय सर्गानेव पूर्वित्वी विकारस्तमात्राणां धृतप्रकृतिपुरुषप्रच्छन्निविधिक्षित्रोऽभावं।
   \(T\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

14. न च त्रूपोर्वीपादानस्य, विजातीयानामनर्भवभक्तः।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

15. सभावति जो तव च सुचिप्रबोधिकारणं विषेषकारणविषेधाभास्य विदोषानात्विधित्वमिति।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

16. विषेषकारिकोद्विद्वस्त्वविषाण: कारणलभ्यते एव।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

17. अस्माभिस्तु सम्बन्धायस्वाधिपविभ्यामुदासीनं निमित्तकारणकोष्ठव विलक्षणतया चतुर्व-माधरकारणकलमिति।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

18. ब्रह्मवर्ण संसुधकृतवः स्वघोधिमायपाधिकारम्, परिमाधिकत्वोपादानात्वं च प्रकृति-तत्त्वाविषेधाभास्य अधित्वं एव।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

19. अस्विनर तत्त्वकारणाभ्यूजलोकोनाभ्यूजः दृष्टान्ताभित्वात्।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

20. ब्रह्मस्तु संसुधकृतकारणातः तत्त्वमिति अधिकारणस्य। यथा सच्चारादीनां वर्णना-विकारणस्य यत्रतिमैंकवस्ति तत्त्वं संसुधकृतत्व जीववच्च अविनित।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

21. अस्माभिस्तु प्रकृतिपृष्ठसंस्कृतेऽविश्वरेण निवयतः इत्यम्युपमः।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

22. प्रकृतेऽविश्वसंस्कृतेऽत्त्त्त्वविकारणस्त्रेण अभिस्थविच्। पुष्पस्य च तदाधिकारिकाब्धात्
   आकाशाद्वायद्विपाधिकसङ्केशवः।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

23. अयत्व तस्यसांवर्णमुक्तवेन पुष्पेऽशोभोपचारः।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)

24. तत्र एव गुणानामेऽशोभः खुश्यत इति न तु पुष्पस्य।
   \(V\) \(A\) \(1.1.2\)
25. श्रुतिपुष्पायोगोस्बरस्य प्रवेशः शास्त्रवदवधानमात्रमिति।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

26. नियमानुसारोपितः वैधानितकः जीवलुप्ताधिनुष्ठानेन भेदसिद्धिरिति।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

27. *Brahmastra* 1.1.2

28. एतचः...श्रुतिपुष्पायोगोस्बरस्य प्रवेशः मूलकारणस्येव निरतिवृद्धिकृतः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

29. अतो न जीवाधिन्युपयोगो श्रुतिपुष्पायोगः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

30. \[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

31. शास्त्राः रागाविषयहितम् औषधिकथायापारस्यं ध्याय, न तु सूक्तवर्गं विषयसंवेदनहितम्, सब्बासमयुपुर्वर्तयुप्तत:।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

32. नित्यमेव गुणानिश्चित: हुः गुणामृत: च गुणानिश्चित: हुः गुणां वित्तथादिवा नित्यन्यूत्तम्।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

33. नित्यमरमः भनितिति जीवाविषयार्थपािणामित्यस्माचारतिकानिहितम्। मरणोऽक्षे-कर्मभिषक्याशाः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

34. सवें जीवार्थवर्तः क्रियानुसरेन्यामित्यस्माचारतिकानिहितम्।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

35. प्रकृतिपुष्पपंशोऽगोनाभिविमतिर्युपीत: प्रवेशः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

36. तथान्यायोऽदेपर्योऽपि वियोऽपि एव।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.2 \]

37. *Brahmastra* 1.1.4

38. \[ VAB \ 1.1.4 \]

39. अतं लयो नायत्तिवृद्धिः किंतु विकाराणां प्रकृतिश्रुतिकारणस्य श्रुतिपुष्पायोगः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.4 \]

40. ईश्वरोपाध्य विवक्षाकृतस्य नियत्तयावारः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.4 \]

41. स्त्रुतिपुष्पपंशोऽक्षे-कर्म: प्रकृतिस्याचऽप्रस्थः।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.4 \]

42. जीवाविषयार्थस्माचारतिकानिहितम्।

\[ VAB \ 1.1.4 \]

43. जीवाविषयार्थः ध्याय: नित्यमरमः भनिति: प्रकृतिस्याचऽप्रस्थः।

\[ VAB \ 1.4.23 \]
44. एवेन्ंअन्वेषणायुगायणकारणात् कालाकृत्ताण्येऽब्रह्मणिषिदत्वा आच्छाद्यता वेदितथा।

VAB 1.4.28

45. VAB 2.3.12-13

46. स च प्रयत्नो विपर्ययेण जन्मसा वैपर्ययेन भवति।

VAB 2.3.14

47. ये तु रष्यस्यपद्वल्लूः प्रपणभवस्यन्तुएवंछलिष्णूति ते तु ब्रह्मसुभ्रेत एव, भावावादसहस्त्रास्त्र प्रध तु ब्रह्मसुभ्रेत्।

VAB 1.1.4

48. शिष्यस्य सर्वभौतिकायानाश्रय सर्वाभिनन्दनावै साक्षात्काराय प्रकृतिर्वेद न स्यात्।

VAB 1.1.4

also VAB 1.4.3

49. चातुर्विद्यायाम्बलस्य सर्वप्रभावयन्तस्य चेद प्रमाणेन साक्षीयः, तस्तसष्ट आयो तेनेव सर्वप्रभावयन्तसाधकोऽस्तस्र प्रमाणेन सर्वप्रभावयन्तसाधकिनि सिद्धान्तव।

VAB 1.1.4

50. प्रभाविताध्यायामायायायोद्वयतात्, हैवात्त्वतः: प्रस्तुतिविश्व: प्रतीयमात्वात्।

VAB 1.1.4

51. VAB 1.1.4

52. तत्वेऽ भ्रातुतत्वस्य प्रकृतित्वान्वितायानास्यं ब्रह्मणिः सूक्ष्मस्य विश्वास्यात्।

VAB 1.1.4

53. अथ च सांस्कृतिको ब्रह्मणिः प्रपणभ्रेत्वोऽयुगायणात्यात्मविश्वास्यं संयोजाऔद्विधिः: स्वृत्तस्वस्यस्वविषयो वास्तविविषेणापि शर्कराः पञ्चमिकोभाववाटात्।

VAB 1.1.4
RELICS OF THE PROTOHISTORIC ART
IN PUNJAB AND HARYANA

By

S.P. SHUKLA

Broadly speaking the states of Punjab and Haryana cover the Sutlej-Yamuna Divide a part of the vast Indo-Gangetic Plain. The eastern part of this region, watered by the sacred Sarasvati and Drishadvati rivers, later on came to be known as the sacred Kurukshetra. Several sites of the protohistoric genre have been located on this wide geographical area. A few of these sites have been excavated which belong to the Pre-Harappan (c. 2500 B.C.), Harappan (c. 2300—1800 B.C.) and Post-Harappan (c. 1700—1000 B.C.) phases. In the present paper a study of art relics related to these phases, discovered at Ropar (Distt. Ropar), Mahorana (distt. Sangrur), Rohira (distt. Sangrur) in Punjab, Bhagwanpura (distt. Kurukshetra), Daulatpur (distt. Kurukshetra), Banawali (distt. Hissar), Balu (distt. Jind), Rakhigarhi (distt. Hissar) and Mitathal (distt. Bhiwani) in Haryana, is attempted for understanding the development of the protohistoric Indian art tradition in this region.

A. Pre-Harappan Phase

The early settlers in the region of Punjab and Haryana state were the people culturally related to the pre-Harappans at Kalibangan (Rajasthan). They used copper tools, beads of terracotta and a wide range of pottery types. They lived in small villages and townships. The earliest remains of Banawali testify to the existence of a rural settlement which, with the passage of time, grew into a fortified township. The early deposits at Siswal, Mitathal and Balu represented the village settlements of this phase in Haryana. The relics discovered at Rohira and Mahorana also belonged to this phase.

An idea of art of this period can be had from the painted pots and potsherds from Mahorana and Banawali. These display geometrical designs depicted through painting or incised decoration. The potsherds found at Mahorana and Banawali, bearing naturalistic designs, are of interest in our present study. A potsherd from Mahorana shows a deer
in standing pose with horns and one ear and body without legs preserved (Fig. 1). It was shown with strong body in a realistic manner. It is comparable with the similar Kalibangan example of the pre-Harappan phase. The motif drawn on a jar from Banawali is quite significant (Fig. 2). According to R. S. Bisht it is shown with two almost identical heads of a horned animal. "Each of them occupies diametrically opposite side of the body of the pot and each intervening zone is decorated with a grass-like plant that has eleven long leaves arranged near symmetrically. Delineation of the animal heads is rather stylistic and casual but effective. The heads including eyes and ears are first drawn in black outlines and then the enclosed fields are filled in with the paste of buff colour. But the horns and irises of the eyes, like the plants, are painted solid black. The outstretched ears and vertically drooping heads appear more like broad leaves with pointed tips. Horns make large curves. They first droop downwards, then make a large semi-circular curve to finally terminate pointedly above the head. The use of buff colour perhaps suggests that it should be the widely reverted bull and not the buffalo." But on a close perusal of the whole composition it appears to be a representation of a bird or a hood of a snake in a stylized form.

The evidence of the art relics from the pre-Harappan phase, though meagre, yet it gives an idea of the knowledge of figure delineation and the selection of the motifs.

B. Harappan Urban Phase

The region under review saw the expansion of the glorious urban Harappan Civilization. It manifested itself at Ropar, Rohira (Punjab), Banawali, Balu and Rakhigarhi (Haryana). The village settlements of this civilization have been excavated at Mitathal and Mirzapur in Haryana. The Harappans practised trade and commerce, both internal and external, on a large scale resulting in the prosperity of the people. The discovery of a large number of artifacts from this region also speak of this. Of these the seals, terracottas and beautifully painted pots and potsherds throw light on the development of Harappan art in this region.

(i) Figures on the Seals

The steatite seals and their impressions on clay from Ropar, Rohira, Banawali and Rakhigarhi are engraved with animal figures along with pictographic script.

On a terracotta lump discovered from Ropar several seals were impressed of which at least three impressions are very clear. In
two sealings the depiction of a unicorn, facing left, before a mythical pot is found. The animal is shown strong-bodied figure standing in alert position. In both the cases the legend differs indicating that it had nothing to do with the animal motif. These may have been the names of three owners or different sacred formulae. A clay lump discovered from Rohira is impressed on all four sides with seals (Fig. 3). It shows a “standing figure on right perhaps with a bow in hand, a sacred plant in a narrow waisted tall pot (?) in front and three vertical strokes recalling a Harappan script symbol may be identified in the sealing3a. The human figure is tall-bodied and appears to be shown with lower garment. The Sun is represented with rays behind him. Another sealing impression from the same site contains a human figure. It shows a human figure with a bow and arrow in hand and on effigy of a monster (?) standing in front and a top right there is a symbol of rising Sun”3b. But a close perusal of the impression indicates more than one motif present in this sealing. It shows human figure with Sun, cheque design and a fan-like object tied with stem. A few letterings of the Harappan script are near the border parallel to the head of the human figure. The above seals are unique and no such depiction have come to light from any other Harappan sites.

In view of extensive excavation work at Banawali several steatite seals and terracotta seal-impressions have been found. The artistic quality and subject-matter of a few of these seals is discussed here. On one steatite seal4 a tiger, shown with strip marks and with long curved horns, stands before a post (Fig. 4). The realistic figures of buffalo and rhinoceros are met with on seals5 with a common legend. The figure of unicorn, standing majestically, is found on two seals (Fig 5). On one of them the figure, represented with horns, has close resemblance in physical built with the unicorn figure described above.6 The figure of goat has a short tail and horns turned backward.

The impression of a seal (Fig. 7) on a big lump of burnt clay with traces of cloth on it bears a different type of representation from Banawali. It shows a tall human figure with realistic form and physic wearing a dhoti as lower garment reaching up to knees7. He stands in a frontal pose with his left hand assured the goat standing parallel to his figure. The goat is quite small in size. Below the goat is a unicorn facing the human figure. Two Harappan letters, the fish and a triangle, are depicted vertically behind these animals. The first letter seems to be connected with goat and other, the triangle, with unicorn. The human figure, if its tall size is taken into consideration, seems to be a deity associated with two animals. Since the male human figure is not shown with horns, a feature of the divine beings in the Harappan culture, it is also possible to
identify it with a priest who may have been represented pacifying the animals, the vehicles of the divine spirits. The animals as the vehicles of the divine spirits appear taking the instructions from the priest. It is also possible that these animals are presented to the priest for the purpose of sacrifice.

The steatite seal from Rakhigarhi (Fig. 8) with a bull figure is an addition to our knowledge. It depicts a unicorn with a long horn standing to right in profile. The pictographic legend consisting of several letters is engraved above the figure.

(ii) **Amulet**

The recovery of an amulet-like terracotta object from Rakhigarhi (Fig. 9-10) is also worth consideration. It is a cross-shaped object which has a human figure fighting with two tigers on the horizontal space. The space left on the vertical arms of the amulet is occupied by an elephant and rhinoceros respectively. On its back, though not exactly reverse to this depiction, is shown a male with his left arm extended forward and seated on a tree or a chair calling the tiger. The tiger, on its part though moving forward, is looking back to the caller. The representation of a male fighting two tigers on some seals is already known from Harappa. It is identified with Enkidu and Gilgamesh theme well known in the Mesopotamian art and mythology. If so the discovery of the amulet with this scene from Rakhigarhi may suggest the survival of the Mesopotamian tradition in this part of the Harappan empire. But on the amulet from Rakhi garhi figure is shown with two additional animals described above.

The representation on the above amulet can be interpreted in another way also. In this connection one is reminded of the famous Mohenjo-daro seal (No. 720) which has a buffalo-horned male deity seated in yogic posture. The wild animals tiger, rhinoceros buffalo etc., in furious attitude failed to shake him from his meditation and resolve. Sir John Marshall identified this figure with the prototype of Śiva. K.K. Thaplyal has pointed out in this connection that Śiva became paiupati, i.e., Lord of Animals, only after controlling the animals as portrayed on the seal. The scene on the above amulet can be interpreted in this background. After subduing elephant and rhinoceros the deity is fighting with tigers. The scene on the reverse shows the deity challenging or calling back the tiger to fight. Thus it may be connected with the same episode which is depicted on the Mohenjo-daro seal in a different manner. It also speaks about the creative originality of the seal-engraver in this region.
(iii) Stone-Engraving

Despite the fact that the Harappan remains have been discovered from a number of sites widely distributed in Indo-Pak sub-continent and adjoining region, but the stone sculptures were discovered only from Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and that too in a quite meagre quantity. The excavations at Banawali, during the session 1983-84, have yielded one triangular-shaped stone piece (Fig. 10) which is a rare example of this type in the whole of the Harappan repertoir\textsuperscript{14}. It is dark bottle green coloured stone. It depicts two human figures, a male and a female, engaged in an arcobatic exercise according to Bisht. But the way the human figures are desposed on the stele the theme appears to be connected with sex act or fertility ritual. The male wears a unique type of armlet on one of his arms. It resembles to a type of \textit{valaya} (\textit{valyo}) worn by the females in the Gujrat region. No such ornament is represented in the whole gamut of the Harappan civilization.

(iv) Terracotta Figurines

The terracotta figurines have been discovered from all the Harappan sites in Punjab and Haryana. The terracottas found at Banawali are made in the typical Harappan style. A few terracotta Mother goddess figures with elaborate headdress have been recovered from Banawali. Of these one figure is represented with a bird face (Fig. 11). It is interesting that no such evidence is available at Kaligangan. The terracottas depict a variety of animals, wild and domesticated, including birds etc. The bull figures at Banawali (Fig. 12-13) clearly outnumber all animal figurines\textsuperscript{15}. These are generally quite stylized and simplified forms; although a few are modelled quite realistically and sensitively. A few bull figures have slender and elongated bodies, and conjoined long legs. The tradition of such figurines seems to have been borrowed from the pre-Indus tradition of Baluchistan.

The terracotta animal figurines from Balu depict bull, dog, cat etc.\textsuperscript{16} The bull figures are of two types—humped or humpless with horns missing in most of the cases due to breakage. In one example the body of the bull is painted with black slashes. In this figure the bull with strong body and physic is represented. The animal figure, with its head, tail and legs missing, has on its back a saddle-like decoration in black strips. It is not a humped figure (Fig. 14). The curve of the back and thickness near tail and saddle-like decoration on its back suggest it to be a figure of horse. A small figure of cat found at Balu is quite charming though it is made in stylised form. A broken bull and two snake figures, painted with black strips, found at Mirzapur (Kurukshetra University Campus) belonged to the Harappan rural settlement\textsuperscript{17}. The figure of bull was
made in the typical Harappan style. The snake figures were meant as cult objects.

(v) Terracotta Plough

The terracotta models of the plough, obtained from Banawali (Fig. 15), are a significant additions to our knowledge. These were meant for children's toys. But their mechanism and make up throw light on the actual specimens of the ploughs used by the Harappans. The plough, with a pointed front end joined with a long undulating log of wood, has a hole for a horizontal bar for yoking the bulls. There is also a vertical hole on the flate top of the hoe on the back side of the joint. A small wooden stick was attached for getting desired pressure in the course of tillage. Similar model terracotta ploughs have also come to light from Bahawaiwalpur region in Pakistan.

(vi) Motifs on Pottery

The earthen vessels from Banawali throw sufficient light on the mode and quality of the Harappan paintings on pottery in this region. Mention may be made here of two pots—one storage jar and other the S-shaped jar. The storage jar has on its shoulder a series of two big concentric circles formed by spreading leaves making an oval design (Fig. 16). The central space is occupied by a fine leaf decoration arranged interestingly. The outer leaves which formed two circles coalesced together forming two rotating designs resembling to swastik pattern. The two concentric centres on the left side have vertical rows resembling to a plant. On the right side there are two circles with dot within decorated with leaf rotating pattern. The space immediately close to it has the depiction of a pipal twig. This type of motif was quite popular at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro. Chanhoundaro during the Harappan phase.

The whole body of the S-shaped jar from Banawali is decorated with various designs. The upper broad panel close to rim has the depiction of standing stags with horns and hatched body. The space in between is filled with slashes and twigs of a tree. The stags are depicted like goats. The anatomical details are not natural. The front legs of the animal, in one case, are almost conjoined, while that of the other are distinctly shown. The lines are uneven, sometimes, thin and broad. Below this band is a double line of concentric circles separated by a thin double line. The remaining space below is adorned with intersecting circle pattern. The design is arranged in such a way that it looks like six-petalled flower motif with lozenges having a dot in between. The design has not carefully been drawn.
The *pipal* motif painted on two broken sherd of big earthen jars from Balu deserve for special mention. The *pipal* twigs with leaves are attached to a horizontal thick line encircling the pot on one potsherd. The twigs appear to have downwards leaf points. The twig and leaves are not in straight line, and as such, give an impression of swinging in natural way. The filling of the leaves has been done with parallel hatching. Another sherd depicts twigs of *pipal* with leaves having inner side completely darkened. A bird with long beak and neck (rest of parts of body broken in the sherd) is shown with infilled body.

The figures of the peacock, met with on a miniature earthen pot with long neck and disc base from Balu, are also interesting. The three figures in line are represented on the shoulder of the pot. The crest and feathers are shown with serpentine lines. Its almond-shaped body is hatched. In one case hatching has even crossed the outline of the figure. Stylistically these peacock figures are closely related to the Cemetery-H examples on pottery unearthed at Harappa in the upper levels.

C. Post-Harappan Phase

Various causes, specially the break up of the trade and commercial ties of Harappans with Western Asia around 1750 B.C., led to the decline of the Harappan urban life in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. But the village life continued unabated whose vestiges have been discovered and excavated from a number of sites in Punjab and Haryana. These represented a phase of the protohistoric culture in which various traditions—pre-Harappan, Harappan, Cemetery-H etc., are found mixed and mingled together. The post-Harappan material have been unearthed at Mitathal, Daulatpur and Bhagwanpura. Small terracotta figurines, meant for children’s toys are known from Mitathal, Daulatpur etc. The long horned bull figures, with provision for wheels, are identical in shape at these two sites. The evidence of Bhagwanpura, is additional in this context. The terracotta anthropomorphic from Bhagwanpura (IA) may be the representation of a deity, male or female, related to the fertility cult.

The painted Grey Ware, believed to be an Iron Age culture earlier, has now been found interlocked with the post-Harappan phase at Bhagwanpura. It belonged to the Copper-Bronze Age. The overlapped phase at the site which attests the co-existence and the peaceful living of the people of two divergent cultures in the Sarasvati Valley. This phase has yielded terracotta figurines of rams (Fig. 17), birds and dogs. On the basis of the TL dates these may be assigned to c. 1500-1000 B.C. The continuity of art activity during the protohistoric period
Fig. Stag, Mahorana (1); Stylized Bird Banawali (2); Clay Sealing, Rohira (3); Steatite Seals, Banawali (4-5)
Fig. Clay Sealing, Banawali (6); Steatite Seal, Rakhigarhi (7); Terracotta Amulet, Rakhigarhi (8-9); Stone stele, Banawali (10); Terracotta Mother-goddess Banawali (11)
Fig. Terracotta Bull and Toy cart, Banawali (12-13), Animal Figure, Balu (14); Terracotta Ploughshare jar, Banawali (16); Ram Shaped Toy cart, Bhagwanpur (17).
is further traceable at Daulatpur where the relics of the Painted Grey Ware culture have been found along with Iron implements. The terracottas of this site show the continuity of the earlier tradition. The hallowed wheeled dove figure found at the site likewise bears incised decoration. It compares well with dove figure from Bhagwanpura.

Thus, the material relics discovered in Punjab and Haryana throw enough light on the protohistoric art of this region. It is evident that the foundations of the art-tradition in this region were laid during the Pre-Harappan phase (c. 2500 B.C.). The evidence of art activity of this period is known from the painted designs on pottery. It speaks about the potter's knowledge of geometrical and naturalistic designs. The subsequent period, i.e., the Harappan phase saw considerable growth of art activity. The seals were engraved with animal figures and mythological themes, pot were beautifully decorated with geometrical and naturalistic designs and the terracottas representing children's toys included various domestic and wild animals and also the models of plough. The discovery of terracotta plough from Banawali may be a copy of the actual plough used by the Harappans. A few terracotta mother goddess figures, including one bird-faced, have also been found at this site. Likewise the discovery of a triangular bottle-green stone stele from Banawali carved with archobatic or sex scene is a solitary example of its kind in the whole of Harappan repertoire. These art objects belonged to the Harappa urbanites which speak about their material richness and also their likings. Their quantity as well as quality suggests that art was closely linked with urbanization in this region which depended on the surplus income. The art tradition of Harappans continued during the post-Harappan phase. But in pottery we find an emphasis on the geometrical patterns excepting a few naturalistic designs. The terracotta figures, mostly of bull, continued to be faished but these lost earlier vigour and spirit. The hollowed dove and bull-headed toy carts began to be fashioned. A change is once again noticed during the Painted Grey Ware phase belonging to the Bronze Age itself as noticed at Bhagwanpura (District Kurukshetra) in the valley of Sarasvati river. The spirited ram toy carts, dove figures, violin-shaped Mother Goddess figures (made from Painted Grey Ware sherds) were made. Of these the dove figures continued to be made by the people of iron using Painted Grey Ware culture. The above evidence of art discovered in Haryana and Punjab has filled up the gap which existed between protohistoric and historical period in the art of north India.
REFERENCES


3a. Y. D. Sharma, Pre-Harappans in Punjab, *Purātattva*, no. 11, 1979-80, p. 33, pl. I.


5. Only the seal with rhinoceros figure is illustrated (*Banawali*, a broucher published by the Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums Haryana, Chandigarh, year not given).


8. It is now in the Collection of the Deptt. of Archaeology and Museum Haryana, Chandigarh.

9. I am thankful to Shri Gulsan Bhardwaj of Jind who allowed me to study and publish it.


16. Observations based on field Study.

17. I owe for this information to Prof. U.V. Singh, the excavator of the site.


25. Observations based on field study.

27. Observations based on field study.


ART REMAINS FROM JAINIPUR

By

DEVENDRA HANDA

Jaintipur is a small village situated about six Kilometers north of Raipur Rani in the shadow of the Shiwalik hills in tahsil Naraingarh of district Amabala in Haryana. Naraingarh is about 25 Km. south-east of this site and Chandigarh lies about 35 Km. to its north-west as the crow flies. The Tangri Nadi flows at a distance of about one Km. east of it taking south-westerly course (Map 1). Jaintipur may be reached from Raipur Rani-Trilokpur metalled road with which it is connected by a link road. The name of the village seems to have derived from the goddess Jayanti whose temple also existed here. There is no mound at Jaintipur but a large heap of dressed and undressed stones now piled up near the Jaintidevi Temple outside the village amidst green fields indicates that once an elegant stone temple existed here. The present shrine, not an old one, too, seems to have been built of the old material. It now enshrines an image of Gaja—Lakṣmī and some sculptures have been fixed in its outer walls also. In the heap of the crumbled material of the original temple may be seen architectural pieces, caltya arches, pillars with vase and foliage, Kiritmukhas spewing chains and piece of carved stones. Sculptures from Jaintipur seem to have been removed to the nearby village of Muradnagar also from where some of them were acquired by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Punjab University, Chandigarh in the mid-sixties. Manmohan Kumar surveyed the site in the seventies during the course of his explorations and included its art remains in his thesis submitted to the Kurukshetra University in 1978. A broken image of Viṣṇu from Jaintipur was acquired by the Kurukshetra University in 1981. We surveyed Jaintipur and the adjoining area in January, 1985 while serving as the Deputy Director, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Haryana and acquired a beautiful image, now preserved in the said department. We publish below art remains from Jaintipur.

Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 1)

As mentioned above, a Gaja-Lakṣmī image is now enshrined in the Jaintidevi Temple. It measures 80×48 cm. The goddess is seated in
*lalitāsana* with right leg tucked up and the left one hanging downwards. The left foot, splayed outwards, is placed on a full-blown lotus. The face of the lion, the vehicle of the goddess, may be seen below her right knee. It is an interesting iconographic feature. The goddess holds a full-blown lotus in her right hand. The attribute in the left hand is not very clear. It seems to have been another lotus with a bud. The representation simulates a Śiva-Ilīṅga also. The goddess wears a cylindrical crown on her head and circular earrings. She wears a dhoti and perhaps armlets and wristlets also. On the sides are shown caparisoned elephants in profile inverting pitchers of water over the head of the goddess. On stylistic grounds, the image may be assigned to the ninth century A.D.7

This image seems to have been fixed indiscriminately upon another broken image of a deity whose folded right leg and the vehicle or cognizance jackal seated to left under it may still be discerned. It is difficult to identify the deity from the extant fragmentary piece but it may be conjectured that she may have been a form of Devi.

Manmohan Kumar has described an image of Śiva from Jaintipur as seated in *Lalitāsana* over the Lion. He wears *jaṭābhāra*, *dhoti*, girdle and lotus in one of the right hands, while the other right hand is holding certain indistinct object. In the left hand also the deity has certain indistinct object.8

Though the illustration in the thesis is small and not very clear, yet the deity can easily be recognised as Gaja-Lakṣmī seated on a lion-seat in *lalitāsana*. Actually, there are two lions depicted on the two extremities of the seat. Such a depiction may be seen at Osian also.9 The goddess is holding in her upper back hands lotus flowers over which on either side, stand elephants inverting pitchers of holy water over the goddess. She holds a roundish object (citrus or ghata?) in the lower left hand which is placed on the left thigh and the proper right hand is shown in *abhaya*. The goddess wears a lower garment, *ekāvali*, ear ornaments, *dhammilla* hair-coiffure in the typical Prāthāra style and may be dated to *circa* ninth century A.D. on stylistic ground.10

**Durgā?** (Fig. 2)

A sandstone image measuring 41 × 37 cm., now preserved in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Punjab University, Chandigarh shows a female deity seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat. Her right leg is folded and the left one hangs down with the splayed out foot placed on a lotus as in the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī (Fig. 1) described above. Unfortunately, the head of the goddess is lost
and hands too are broken. The disposition of the damaged hands, however, indicates that the right one was raised to the level of the shoulder perhaps in abhayamudrā and the left one held some roundish object (citrus?), now broken. That the goddess bore dhammilla coiffure and had a gloriole behind the head is indicated by the extant portion left now. An uttarīya, lower garment, armlets, wristlets and earrings may also be seen on her person. The goddess is flanked by two female figures on either side, one shown in ājali-mudrā facing towards her and the other holding some long unidentified object in one hand and the other akimbo. The heads of both the upper attendant figures are broken.

The relief is quite worn out and mutilated and it is not possible to identify the deity properly, but a worn out leonine face under the lotus seat on the proper right hand side of the relief indicates the goddess to have been Durgā. On the proper left also there is a damaged portion similar to that of the lion face on the right. If there were actually two lions, the deity may have been Kṣemankāri. Stylistically, this relief too seems to have been coeval with the Gaja-Lakṣmī images described above.

**Architectural Piece (Fig. 3)**

A beautifully carved architectural piece showing two birds pecking from a lotus placed between them in a rectangular panel and a half lotus motif with exquisite petals above is also preserved in the Punjab University.

**Śiva in a Cattya arch**

A huge bhadra-mukha panel measuring 135 x 57 cm. depicting the head of Śiva is now fixed in the wall of the Jayantidevi Temple. Similar bhadra-mukha panels have been found from Pinjore, Morni Ka Tal and Kapāla-Mocana also (all in the Ambala district) suggesting a uniform style of temple architecture in this area during the 9th-10th centuries.

**Viṣṇu**

Mannohan Kumar has described a Viṣṇu image from Jaintipur which is now missing. The image with the upper parts lost, represented the deity in contraposto, wearing a long garland, sacred thread, girdle and a lower garment. One of the right hands was held in varada-mudrā. On the proper right hand side of the god stood Śaṅkhapuruṣa and on his left Cakra-puruṣa holding the attributes they represented. On the recessed corner were depicted female figures on either side, standing in tribhaṅga with delicate body and rhythmic movement. On the
further corner were shown two male attendants bearing long vanamālā, lower garment and Karaṇḍa-mukūta. Over the top of the left recessed corner appeared a male figure probably holding a lotus. The donor couple was carved at the feet of Viṣṇu on either side with folded hands, the male on the proper right and the female on the left. The image belonged to c. 9th-10th century A.D.

Another frieze found at Jaintipur had the central figure broken. Cakra-puruṣa with a discus in his right hand near the chest with left akimbo followed by Gaṇḍa saluting with one hand and holding a cobra in the other indicate the present relief to have been the proper left hand side of the pedestal of a Viṣṇu image, datable to circa tenth century A.D.

The sandstone relief acquired by the Kurukshetra University from Jaintipur also represents the lower part of a Viṣṇu image showing the god as standing in sama-bhaṅga on a lotus seat, wearing vanamālā and flanked by dvyudha-puruṣas and other attendant figures. It has been dated to c. 10th-11th century A.D.

**Tapasvīni Pārvatī**

A sandstone image, measuring 60 × 46.5 cm., showing the deity standing on a lotus, broken above the thighs, has been identified by us as the penancing Pārvatī as the lion and deer have been depicted on its pedestal with traces of fire-altars also. On stylistic ground, it may be assigned to circa 10th century A.D.

Manmohan Kumar has described another figure on a stone slab from Jaintipur. He has identified the deity as Riddhi, the consort of Gaṇeśa, for he seds below her seat a mouse, the vehicle of Gaṇeśa. Actually, it seems to be some horned, tusked reptile, not a rat. He has also wrongly described the deity as eight-armed. The five right hands holding a fruit or citron, a lotus, a sword, arrows and a flat broad-bladed sword may be seen clearly. The left hands carry khetaka, trident, lotus and some indistinct objects. The deity has got a broad face, heavy body, taut breasts and wears a crown, earrings, necklace, armlets and anklets. There is a prabhāvali behind the head. Manmohan Kumar has dated this image to c. 12th-13th century A.D. but the coiffure, the ornamentation and the style of carving suggests a 10th century date for it.

**Śiva-Līṅga**

Amongst the heap of stones in the Jaintidevi Temple is a Śiva-Līṅga, 1.50 meters in height. It is divided into the square Brahma-bhāga octagonal Viṣṇu-bhāga and round Śiva-bhāga, each division being 50 cm. in
height. The square base portion has 25 cm. broad sides.

Nirṛti

Fixed in the wall of the Jaintidevi Temple is an image of Nirṛti, borne by a man and holding a sword in his right hand. The left probably held a noose. The image may have occupied the south-western corner of the original shrine.

Lintel with Garuḍa

A lintel with Garuḍa may also be seen fixed in the Jaintidevi Temple indicating the existence of a Vaiṣṇava shrine.

Rāvaṇanugraha-mūrti

The Department of Archaeology and Museums Haryana has in its collection a small grey sandstone relief measuring 17 × 15 cm. representing probably the scene of the shaking of the Kailāsa by Rāvaṇa. The relief is in such an indiffent state of preservation that the identification cannot be very certitudinous. Stylistically, however, it may also be assigned to circa tenth century A.D.

We have already referred to the fact that many sculptures from Jaintipur were taken away by the people to the neighbouring village of Muradnagar. The Punjab University acquired following sculptures from there in the sixties.

Lower Part of Umā-Maheśvara Image (Fig. 4)

Measuring 38 × 25 cm., the extant relief shows the lower part of an Umā-Maheśvara image. Nandi as the humped bull, seated with front legs folded, looking retrose, with a bell hung in the neck, occupies most part of the present relief. Pot-bellied Gaṇeśa with trunk, twirling to his left to pick up a sweet ball from the bowl in the left hand may be seen occupying the proper right hand side extremity of the pedestal whereas the corresponding side shows a diminutive figure of Mahiśaśuramardini holding the buffalo by its tail with her left hand and thrusting a lance in its neck with her right hand. One would have expected the depiction of Kārttikeya on this side but the depiction of Mahiśamardini lends this relief an iconographic peculiarity and uniqueness. Śiva’s right leg hangs down and his foot is placed on Nandi’s rear right leg. Umā’s foot may be seen on Śiva’s folded left leg. Śiva’s figure above the waist is broken.
Heads of Deities (Figs. 5-7)

A beautiful head, 25 × 22 cm. in size, wearing a three-peaked tiara on the head and bearing a beautiﬁd expression (Fig. 5) seems to have been the head of Mahiṣaṣuramardini. Another head, measuring 41 × 22 cm. with matted locks, may be identiﬁed as that of Śiva (Fig. 6). Probably the ﬁgure was carved on an architectural piece which supported some superstructure. The third head, 31 × 17 cm. in its extant form, shows a kriṣṭa-mukha, a very much worn out squarish face with thick lips, plump cheeks and ﬂat nose and wearing circular earrings (Fig. 7) may have belonged either to Viṣṇu or to Sūrya, probably to the former.

Unidentiﬁed Figure (Fig. 8)

Another ﬁgure, broken below the thighs, standing gracefully holding a lotus-bud by its long stalk in the left hand and the branch of a tree in the Śalabhaṁjika fashion, has a beautiful coiffure and wears ear ornaments, ekāvali, armlets, nether garment (Fig. 8). It measures 29 × 13.5 cm. The smiling face has a serene expression. It is difﬁcult to identify the ﬁgure.

Devi (Fig. 9)

The most elegant sculpture from Muradnagar, however, is an image of Devī in greyish sandstone measuring 40.5 × 28 cm. The goddess sits in lalitaśana over a supine human ﬁgure resting his head on his right palm. A leonine ﬁgure may also be seen below her folded left leg. The right foot of the goddess is placed slightly splayed out on a lotus placed on the pedestal. The goddess bears a very serene expression. She has a long sharp nose, pointed chin, thick lower lip, plump cheeks, quasi-closed long ﬁsh-like eyes and bow-shaped eyebrows. The hair, beautifully combed backwards and twisted in the form of a bun, is adorned with pearl strings and a leonine clasp spewing a pearl string covering the parting of the hair. There is a round gloriole behind the head having a beaded rim and eight petalled centre. The goddess is ten-handed. She holds a wine-cup, a sword and an arrow in three of the extant right hands and the other two are broken. The left hands hold a jahka, a trident, a bell, a bow (in a broken hand) and a shield. Only the tip of the bow is visible on the shield held in the uppermost left hand. The goddess wears ear ornaments, a necklace with a pendant string falling downwards from between the breasts, another necklace on the breasts, multiple armlets, beaded bracelets and anklets and an undergarment secured by a mehala. Two attendant ﬁgures flank the goddess.
This beautiful image was acquired by us for the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Harayana, Chandigarh where it is preserved now.\textsuperscript{18}

\textit{Kārttikeya}

A beautiful image of Kārttikeya seated on a feathered peacock is now enshrined in an improved fane at Muradnagar. The god holds a spear in his upper right hand and the other three hands are unfortunately broken. The villagers have painted the image and coated it with vermillion, oil and dust concealing the details of dress and ornamentation and the real charm of the figure.\textsuperscript{19} The figure measures 112.5 × 52.2 cm. and is the biggest image of Kārttikeya found so far from Haryana. Stylistically, this image too may be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

A part of a Viṣṇu image pedestal was also seen by us at Muradnagar.

We thus see that a temple or temples may have existed at Jaintipur during the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. The stone used is greyish or blackish sandstone found in the nearby hills. The local raw-material indicates that the sculptures were carved on the site and not imported from some other place. The temples may have crumbled as a result of the general neglect and inclemencies of weather. With the crumbled material, a shrine was erected at the site and some sculptures were fixed in its walls and enshrined in it indiscriminately and some others were taken away to the nearby village of Muradnagar.

We also located the remains of another medieval temple probably dedicated to Śiva, at Bhud, near the junction of two \textit{khud}s, at a distance of about 2 km. from Trilokpur to its south-south-east (see Map). On the top of a spur is situated the Kāsalā Devī marking probably the site of an old temple. The size of the original temple may be guessed from a huge \textit{amalaka} of a diameter of 1.35 meter now fallen and broken into two pieces. The sculptures of this temple have now been placed in the improvised shrine and include four Nandi (bull) figures, Umā-Maheśvara, Śiva-Līlāga, moon-stone, dressed stones and some very much worn out figures. Some of the sculptures from Bhud may have been taken to Trilokpur where one may still see in Baba Bengali's Dera a dancing Gaṇeśa (28 × 27 cm.), Gaṇeśa in a pillared niche with a pediment (47 × 23 cm.) and a Sūrya image (23 × 16 cm.).

Another important temple (or temples) may have stood at Morni ka Tal near Masiyun, about 6 km. east of Bhud as the crow flies. Quite a good number of sculptures, some of them iconographically interesting
and important, have been acquired from there by the Department of AIHC and Archaeology, Punjab University, Chandigarh and the Department of Archaeology and Museum, Haryana.

Mandhna, located between Morni and Chandimandir, too, had a medieval temple and has yielded images of Śeṣaśayi Viṣṇu, Mahiṣaśuramardini, Gaṇeṣa, Uṃā-Mahēśvara, Varuṇa, Śiva-linga and architectural pieces. Chandimandir, Pinjore, Kalka, Ratipur, Marhanwala and Shahpur are the other important temple sites in the shadow of the Shiwalik hills in Haryana. We are sure that a systematic survey of the region would bring to light many more sites like Jaintipur which would throw a welcome light on the religious and art history of Haryana during the medieval period.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. We are thankful to Mr. R.P. Bharadwaj, Photographer-cum-Draftsman in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, P.U., Chandigarh for preparing this map.
2. Information from Shri Lalman. See also Indian Archaeology 1963-64-A Review, p. 90.
5. We are thankful to the then Director Shri O.P. Bharadwaj (now Veda Vyasa Professor of Indology, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra and the Editor of this Journal) for providing us the necessary facilities for this survey.
6. Lion is shown as the vehicle of Lakuṣṇi on Gupta coins also. See Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. XXVI (1964), pp. 103-04 for details.
7. Mannmohan Kumar (op. cit., pp. 156-57, pl. XIV, A) wrongly dated it c. 12th-13th century A.D.
8. Ibid, p. 143, Pl. VII. c.
10. Mannmohan Kumar (loc. cit.) wrongly dates it to c. 10th-11th century A.D.
11. Ibid, p. 139, Pl. VI. B.
12. Ibid, pp. 151-52, Pl. XII. D. Mannmohan Kumar, however, could not identify the image and has also described it wrongly.
14. Devendra Handa, "Images of Tapasvini Parvati from Haryana" Śraddhānjalī: Studies In Ancient Indian History (D.C. Sircar) Commemoration Volume, Delhi, 1988, pp. 181-82, Fig. 2.
15. Manmohan Kumar, *op. cit.* p. 156, Pl. XIV. B.
17. It bears Index No. 1/272.
18. We are thankful to Sh. R.N. Prasher I.A.S. (then Director of Archaeology, Haryana) for having allowed us to photograph this and other images in the Department for study and publication.
19. See also Manmohan Kumar, *op. cit.* pp. 150-1, Pl. XII. C.
20. *Indian Archaeology 1963-64: A Review*, p. 90. Some of these sculptures were later donated to the government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh at Dr. M.S. Randhawa’s instance. See also D.C. Bhattacharyya, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery Chandigarh*, Chandigarh, 1981, pp. 28-31, 33-34, 36-37, 65, 84, and 102-03.
21. Index Nos. 1/329 and 1/330. The former is a fragmentary head with halo and *vidyādharas* (greyish sandstone, 22.5 × 14.5 cm.) and the latter an image of Brahmā (On this icon, our paper "A Rare Image of Brahmā From Morni (Haryana)" is under publication in Dr. K.V. Soundararajan Felicitation Volume).
22. Devendra Handa, "Vaishnava Icons from Haryana", *Punjab University Research Bulletin (Arts)*, Chandigarh, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (October 1985), pp. 149-50, Fig. 36.
23. All these sculptures and temple remains are still unpublished.
Fig. 1. Gaja-Lakṣmi
Fig. 2 Durgā
Fig. 3. Architectural piece
Fig. 4. Lower part of Umā-Maheśvara image
Fig. 5. Head of Mahīṣamardini
Fig. 6. Head of Śiva
Fig. 7. Head of a figure
Fig. 8. Unidentified figure
Fig. 9. Devi
Fig. 9. Devi
महाभारत में प्रतिपादित मोक्ष का स्वरूप

ब्रह्मण प्रभा

भारतीय बिचारकों ने मोक्ष अथवा मुक्ति को अतिम पुलष्यार्थ मानते हुए उसे सर्वोच्च महत्व दिया है। इसी को अर्थ शब्दों में दुःख गा से निवृत्ति, शाश्वत आनन्द की उपलक्ष्य, लोग अथवा परमात्मा का सातास्कार इत्यादि कहा गया है। मोक्ष-विचार का इतिहास अपना स्वरूप महत्त्व रखता है। यह प्राचीन होने के लिए ही मानोरंजक भी है। भारतीय जीवन-दर्शन से मोक्ष का अर्थ नहीं किया जा सकता। यही मोक्ष-विचार भारतीय दर्शन को पारंपारिक वर्णन से पुष्पक करता है। यो शब्द 'मुक्ति' अर्थात मुक्ति होता है जिससे अर्थ प्राप्त: छुटकारा पाना (स्वतंत्र होना) है। अतः मोक्ष का अर्थ—जीवन-मरण के बाद हो और परिणाम स्वरूप सर्विध दुःख से, छुटकारा पाता है।

महाभारत एक अति विशाल एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण सन्दर्भ है। सम्पूर्ण महाभारत में ही मोक्ष-समस्ती सामग्री जीवन-हतास में फोर्मेल है। प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में मुख्य रूप से महाभारत के वातिलाएं में से 'मोक्षाधम्मपथ' के बादाइयार पर ही मोक्ष के स्वरूप एवं उसकी प्राप्ति के साधनों पर विचार करना बांधकृत है। कहीं-कहीं अन्य पर्वों से भी सामग्री प्रस्तुत की गई है।

महाभारत में कहा गया है—

ब्रह्म काममें बाहर चलकर च मोक्षे च भरतरथम्।
 विद्याहारस्त सब्यसाचर्यं प्रोहिष्ठति न तत्त्वं क्वबिन्तं।

अर्थात् धर्म, अर्थ, काम और मोक्ष के विषय में जो महाभारत में है, वही सर्वभौम है जो यहां नहीं है यह कहीं भी नहीं है। वातिलाएं में कहा गया है कि यहां धर्म, अर्थ और काम का पहले, तत्त्वज्ञान मोक्ष का वर्णन किताब है। अर्थात् मेघावी ध्यान के द्वारा इसे धर्माद्वार, पुष्पमय अर्थाद्वार तथा सर्वात्म मोक्षाद्वार कहा गया है। इसमें संकेत एवं विचार से धर्म, अर्थ, काम एवं मोक्ष (द्रव चारों) का वर्णन किताब है। 'यस्य' नामक इतिहास मुमुक्षुओं के लिए श्रद्धावश ऐसा कहा गया है। महाभारत के विषयों को गणना के प्रथम में भी मोक्षधर्म का विषय रूप से उल्लेख किया गया है।

मोक्ष का स्वरूप:

महाभारत में मोक्ष के लिए अमृत, निर्बल, अपमं, अमृत, निषेधयस्त, ब्रह्मण, वादश बादों का प्रयोग हुआ है। 'मोक्ष' शब्द का प्रयोग ग्राह्य: सर्वभौम प्राप्ति है।
यह सनातन मोहत्थम महत्त्व दुहँकर है। 21 वे बांक्यों द्वारा मुक्ति की दुरनिर्भर का ज्ञान होता है। 14 सहितों में से कोई बिषों ही मोहत्थम विश्वासक व्यक्ति का ज्ञात्व लेता है। 15 मोहत्थम निराकार है। 16 शास्त्रमुक्त सत्यतम 17 वेद विश्वासक मुक्ति का ज्ञात्व लेता है। 18 उसे उत्तरमुक्त वैश्विक सत्यतम 19, परमात्मात्म 20, सनातन सत्यतम 21, परमव्यक्तिम 22, परम सत्यतम 23 एवं अल्पव्यक्ति 24-सत्यतम भी कहा गया है। 25 इस परमात्मा 25, परमात्मा 26, एवं परम सत्यतम 27 भी माना गया है। मोह मुक्ति अनुभव 28 एवं उत्तरमुक्त 29 है। मोह में पुन:का 30 नहीं होता। पुनर्जन्म न होने से वे बक्त्व का बनना नहीं होता। 31 ब्रह्मवेदु पुण्य जन्म-युग 32 एवं जरायु 33 से छूट जाता है। वह इन दुःखों को पार कर जाता है। 34 शरीर पुण्य-पापमय है, कभी के साथ कभी भी शरीर हो जाता है जिससे वह ब्रह्मवेदु का प्राप्त कर लेता है। 35 और इस वे चोट देता है। 36 वह संसार-संगम को पार कर लेता है। 37 यह मोह अन्य  एवं अन्य अन्य प्रमाण मार्ग है। 38 इसमें निवन धर्मों का उच्चां हो जाता है और सुख देते वासी अवास-सिद्धि की प्राप्ति होती है। 39

मोह में ब्रह्म की अधिकता होती है। 40 मोह-प्राप्त पुण्य ब्रह्मलोक में मुक्ति अद्याय होता है। 41 एक स्थल में 'सवर्ण ब्रह्मलोक' में जाने का वर्णन निलगा है। 42 वहाँ सवर्ण ब्रह्मलोक में जाने का तत्त्व निवासीय है। 43 ब्रह्मलोक की 'क्षेत्रिवलय ब्रह्मलोक' 44 कहा गया है। ब्रह्म के स्वर्ग को व्यवस्थापित हुआ उसे सवर्ण ब्रह्म 45 कहा गया है। परमात्मा की अधिकता को भी मोह स्वरूप कहा गया है। 46 वह परमात्मा बिनिवाशित, सनातन, अनुभव, अविकारी एवं अवचित है। उसमें मुक्ति परम मोह को अन्य अन्याय होता है। 47 एक स्थल पर ब्रह्म के ब्रह्म-ब्रह्म एवं परब्रह्म दो कभियों का वर्णन करते हुए कहा गया है कि मुलुक ब्रह्म ब्रह्म की जानकार उसकी व्याख्या से प्रकृति का सुरक्षा से साथातकार कर लेता है। 48 अनुभव कहा गया है कि में भी मोह की अधिकता करता है और उस प्रसंग का बंधन बाहर है जो निष्ठ, इतिविद्यावतीत, अवव, देहरहस्त, निर्विवाश एवं निराकार है। 49 इसके अतिरिक्त ब्रह्म 50, ब्रह्मवेदु 51, ब्रह्मवेदु को सारांतु करता 52, अविवाशित ब्रह्म वे विबेदु 53, विवाशित एवं परमात्मा विश्व की आधिकता 54, कौज्य, अवक्रम 55, भवानार के साथ एकीकाव 56, ब्रह्मलोक की आधिकता 57, ब्रह्मवेदुल 58, सवर्ण-श्रेणी गतिक 59, अवक्रमालोक 60, आलमसिद्ध 61, ब्रह्मचार 62, अवनय की आधिकता 63, ब्रह्मचारी लोकों की आधिकता 64, अल्पमुक्त 43, असंसार 65, सनातन 66, सनातन गति 67, निर्नय-पद की आधिकता 68, ब्रह्मस्थान की आधिकता 69, अन्यस्त 70, अन्यस्त-पद 71, परमात्मा 72, ब्रह्मवेदु 73, सनातन स्वतंत्र 74, अविवाशित की आधिकता 75, शुभमति 76, आत्म अनेक ऐसे पद हैं जो स्वप्नत: मोह की ओर लंबे करते हैं।

संस्करण में, मोह ब्रह्मस्वरूप 77, निराकार 78, परमात्मा 79, परमपंतिक 80, अज्ञ-मयर-रहित 81, निर्विवाश 82, अवक्रम एवं ब्रह्मवेदु 83 है। निर्विवाश परमात्मा की आधिकता एवं प्रृत्ति का अतिरिक्त महत्त्व करने के मुक्ति महत्त्व हो जाता है। 84 यह वहाँ का भी लांच जाने वाली सिद्धि है। 85 अभोव गति है, 86 ब्रह्मलोक में निभायित निवास है। 87

महामार्ग में मोह के सम्बन्ध में उत्तरमुक्त एवं बिनिवाशित मायाओं का उलेख है। उनमें से सूर्य के उत्तरमुक्त में जाने पर प्राप्त गति का उलेख होता है। 88 एक स्थल पर अवक्रम के ही मोह प्राप्त का भी वर्णन निलगा है। 89 इंद्र को 'नातारण: प्रोमोक्ता 90 कहा है। उनमें में मोह रूप परमात्मा की आधिकता कहीं गई है। 91
महाभारत में प्रतिपादित मोक्ष का स्वरूप

इस प्रकार महाभारत में मोक्ष के पर्याय के रूप में अनेक पदों तथा विषयों का प्रयोग मिलता है जिनके आधार पर मोक्ष के स्वरूप को स्पष्ट रूप से समझने में विशेष सहायता प्राप्त की जा सकती है।

मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के साधन

महाभारत में मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के विभिन्न साधनों से सम्बन्धित सामान्य प्रश्न भाषा में विचारण है। दूसरे शब्दों में कहा जा सकता है कि महाभारत में मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के कथा साधन हैं या किन-किन उपायों द्वारा मानव मोक्ष प्राप्त कर सकता है उन सब का संक्षिप्त वर्णन इस प्रकार है—

1. जान : महाभारत में मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के साधनों में जान को प्रमुख स्थान दिया गया है। इसे आत्मज्ञान, तत्त्वात्मा एवं परमात्मा जान आदि से भी बताया गया है। महाभारत-कार के मत में जान-विज्ञान के बिना मोक्ष की प्राप्ति नहीं होती। जान की जो सनातन गति प्राप्त होती है, उसे व्यक्ति उत्तम गति किसी को नहीं मिलती। जान ही सभी उत्तम गति है। संसार-साधनों को पार करने के लिए जान रूपी नौका का आधार लेना चाहिए।

इस नौका द्वारा मनुष्य अन्य अवसानियों को भी अवसान रूप से पार कर देते हैं। जान रूपी अवसान से केवल (अविनाशी) के बग़ैर ही जाने पर जीवन का पुनः जन्म नहीं होता।

अतः भी कहा गया है—कथाओं के अनुसार से मृत्यु को पार करके जान के द्वारा अनुमोदन परमात्मा का साधारण हो जाता है। जान सिद्ध (मोक्ष) जान (तत्त्वात्मा) के बल से ही प्राप्त होती है। जब कभी (जीव को) तत्त्वात्मा होता है तब शरीर का अभिमान छोड़कर, तत्त्वात्मा द्वारा जाने से उत्तम अवसान जीवन को दूर कर लेता है, तब उसके हृदय में सनातन ब्रह्म प्राप्ति हो जाता है। इस जान सदृश अन्य जान कोई भी नहीं। जीव ब्रह्म का साधारण विषय बल से ही करता है। यह भी जान भर्ति है, सर्वोत्तम साधन है जिसमें मानव दृष्टि संसार साधन से पार हो सकता है।

आत्मज्ञान ही सर्वोत्तम जान है। जान द्वारा मुक्त होकर मनुष्य नित्य, अविनाशी एवं अनुमोदन परमात्मा को प्राप्त करता है। जान द्वारा उस पद को प्राप्त करता है जहाँ जानकार शांक नहीं करता। जान से तुच्छ द्वारा मनुष्य स्वयं ही मृत्यु को पार कर जाता है। जान का अनुकरण कर लेने से समस्त संसार अवसानों का उच्चेद हो जाता है। जान ही परमात्मा की के सर्वोत्तम जानियों के लिए परमात्माय है।

अतः केवल जान ही जीव को मुक्ति के लिए उपाय स्वरूप है। जान से ही जीव को मोक्ष की प्राप्ति होती है। यह परमकालाकारी उत्तम जान है। जान-तुलना कभी शांक नहीं करता। जान ही जान द्वारा (मनुष्य) प्राप्त (जीव जान का) करता है। जान से महान् (आत्म-जान) की प्राप्ति होती है। महान् आत्मज्ञान द्वारा जीव (मृत्यु-भर्ति) द्वारा से छोटा जान सकता है यही सिद्ध काल को भी पार कर जाने वाली है। जान ही होने पर
सबको एक सी ही गति (मुक्ति) प्राप्त होती है। शरीरों को ही वह बेहद स्थान (परमपद) प्राप्त होता है। अतः आत्मात्माध्यं के शास्त्र भीर पुष्प बनावतां संसार-सागर को पार कर लेते हैं, उनके लिए प्रवर्तन ही वहाँ जाने वाला है। अपने-अपने द्वारों के आलम में रहते हुए ही शास्त्र प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। अतः श्रद्धा से लेकर इसके मुन्यु मित्र भी जो शास्त्र में निज दिल हैं, उनके लिए निर्योग को प्राप्त करने का जगत्-सिद्द शाक्ति है।

निबंधेदृष्टि मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के उपायों में शास्त्र को महाभारत में सर्वपूर्व महारथर का स्थायी प्रयोग है। शास्त्र का लाभ ही परमलाभ है। मुन्यु स्थान को, पुष्प बाण का आय लाकर आत्मात्माध्यं शरीर को जीतता है। इस प्रकार प्रशांत, नीळा द्वारा इस संसार भीर चार सागर से तर जाते हैं। शास्त्र माया से (सम्भव) चर्चने वालों को इसी भीर और परलोक में भी सुख मिलता है। यथार्थता जान के अनुसंधान करके ही मुन्यु अपने आप को जगत्-मरण के बाद में शुरू होता है।

2. बैरामाय : शास्त्र के साथ बैरामाय भी मोक्ष-प्राप्ति में सहायक है। महाभारत का कहता है कि शास्त्र से ही बैरामाय होता है जिससे (मुन्यु) सुक मिलते हैं। एक स्थान पर कहा गया है कि मोक्ष भीर पत्थर पर तेज फिरे, एड़ पर बैरामाय भीर तलवार से राज्य और ऐसीसे भीर पान को तथा लेह के आश्चर्यमूल स्थ्रिपुज आदि के समस्त भीर बदन का काट देना चाहिए। यदि ही मुन्यु मातीसारिक पद्धार्थों को साराहित मानने कारण है तभी उसकी जल्दी बैरामा भोग संपत्य है और ही योग उपाय में मोक्ष के लिए यस्तील होता है।

3. धर्म एवं इत्यादियों का संयं : धर्म एवं इत्यादियों का संयं भी मोक्ष-प्राप्ति के साधन है। इन्द्रिय-संयं ही मोक्ष का ढार है। अधृत इत्यादिय-संयं का रघूल अवधार पल मोक्ष है। महाभारत में एक स्थान पर सब प्रकार की बासक्तियों का परियोजन करके मन के द्वारा उत्तम गति प्राप्त करने के निष्ठुर की बौद्धिकता मिलता है। वाश्च एवं आचार्यान्तर कर्मों में प्रवृत्त होकर मन के बिष्यत में शुरुवात प्राप्त करके, बुद्धि के द्वारा उसे निम्नतम उच्चतर
परसोक में अभ्यस्त (मोक्ष) की प्राप्ति होती है 188 ऐसा भी स्वीकार किया गया है। विवेक की अवधारणा भी केवल इन्द्रियों के संदर्भ से ही हो सकती है 189 अतः इन्द्रियाँ एवं उनके विषयों पर विज्ञान पाने वालों को ही परमपरा की प्राप्ति होती है 190 जब मनुष्य सर्वोत्तम पद पाने के लिए उत्तराधिकारी होते हैं तब उनको बुद्धि विवेक से अन्य हो जाती है। 191 तथा मोक्ष का पद हटते हुए, प्राणायाम प्राप्त होता है एवं योग अवस्था को प्राप्त होता है 192 यही बुद्धि जब श्रद्धा, स्पष्ट, रूप, आदि गुणों का समबन्ध छोड़ देती है तब निर्यात होने के कारण ब्रह्म को प्राप्त हो जाती है 193 इसी प्रकार जब बुद्धि कमर्जनित गुणों से छुट कर हृदय में रित हो जाती है इस तरह जीवात्मा ब्रह्म में बीत होने वाली पूजा को प्राप्त होता है 194 अतः बुद्धि द्वारा भी मनुष्य परम प्राप्ति प्राप्त कर लेता है। सदा एकार्त्त में निम्नाभ्यास करते हुए, निमित्तात्मक विषयों में अनावश्यक होकर, शैश्वर्य स्वरूप मनुष्य रूप मोक्ष की प्राप्ति होती है 195 इस प्रकार जिओनियवाद एवं धार्मिक अर्थात् कृषि न्याय के विषय में तौलक भी संबंधित का बयान नहीं रहता एवं उन्हें उच्च निपड़न व युग (मुक्ति) प्राप्त होती है 196 मिताहारी एवं जिओनियवाद रहते हुए भी मोक्ष अवधारणा अवश्य ब्रह्मपूर्ण की प्राप्ति की भाव नहीं गई है 197।

इस प्रकार जब पुष्कर श्रवण्दिक विषयों को, उनके आवश्यक समस्त व्यक्त तत्त्वों को, स्वभाव भूतों एवं आयुक्त युग समुदायों का व्याख्या कर देता है तब उसे अमृतस्वरूप परमात्मा प्राप्त होता है 198 अतः मपणीयों में भूत-प्राय धारे के समय समस्त व्याख्या प्रक्रिया का वाचन तभी सम्मान है जब मनुष्य हनुम भी अन्य पाण्ड, पाण्ड जीवात्माओं एवं नगर का बयान करता है 199 इन्द्रियों के विषयों की आशुतोष्ण से रक्षित हो जाता पर वैद्य्यों को पुष्कर नहीं धारण करना पड़ता 200 तथा उसे परमात्मा प्राप्त होती है 201 अतः मन एवं इन्द्रियों का संदर्भ तथा बुद्धि के निर्यात होना भी मोक्ष-प्राप्ति में सहायक है। 202

4. निश्चाल कमों का अनुच्छास: एक स्पक 203 पर भीम के द्वारा मोक्ष का उपाय इस प्रकार बतलाया गया है—सार्वजनिक कमों का निश्चाल भाव से आवश्यक करते मानव तत्त्वमात्रा से परम प्राप्ति करना है। निश्चाल कमों द्वारा मोक्ष का दृष्टि कोले 204 ऐसा भी कह गया गया है। मनुष्य को सब कामनाओं से निपट होना चाहिए। कमों का अनुच्छास निश्चाल भाव से करना बाधित, इस कमों का विश्लेषण प्रक्रिया परमात्मा की प्राप्ति के लिए ही किया गया है। मोरीयों में आवश्यक हृदय मनुष्यों की ही स्वाभाविक कामान्य को हृदय में दिया गया है। समुदाय को धार्मिक भाव से प्रवर्तन चाहिए, इस कमों की समस्त प्रक्रिया की प्राप्ति के लिए ही किया गया है। भूतों ने अवधारण हृदय मनुष्यों की ही ध्यानित कामान्य को हृदय में दिया गया है। फलतः इस कमान्यों में धर रहकर परमात्मा को ही प्राप्त करने का प्रयास चाहिए। 205 जो सार्वजनिक कमों का धारण करके सदा अपने बल में ही अनुभव रखता है वह मननशील मुनि समस्त भूतों की आरात्रा होकर परमात्मा को प्राप्त है 206।

5. सत्य द्वारा अमृतस्वरूप की प्राप्ति: ‘सत्येन हस्तमालितम्‘ 207 सत्य में ही अमृतस्वरूप निपट है, ऐसा महाभारत में बतलाया गया है। सत्य द्वारा ही मनुष्य मृदुल पर विज्ञान पाता है। 208 अमृतत्व और मृदुल दोनों इस देश में ही विविध बनती है। मोह से मृदुल की प्राप्ति होती है और सत्य से अमृतत्व की 209 इसी प्रकार का भाव अन्याय भी प्राप्त किया है कि मैं सत्य का आवश्यक लेखक केल्यान का भावो कृप्या मूर्ति और अवर की तरह मृदुल को दूर दुरा दूरा 210।
6. धर्मः महाभारत में बतलाया गया है—"धर्मः रितवानां कोलेय सिद्धिमंति
शालवती।" 171 धर्मः में रितव रहने वालों को सदा रहने वाली मोहः-रूप परमसिद्धि मिलती है।
इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि मोहः की प्राप्ति में धर्मः भी महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। धर्मः
प्रथमः के अनुसार धर्मः के दो रूप है—प्रभावत रूप एवं नित्यरूप। महाभारत में स्पष्ट रूप
से नित्यरूप धर्मः को परम गति को देने वाला बतलाया गया है। 178 तथा अध्यायः (मोहः)
की प्राप्ति कराने में सहायक है। 179 जब मनुष्य अध्यायः वस्त्र का उच्चेद करते,
धर्मः में अनुरक्त हो जाता है, तथा सब प्राणीयः को अभयारण देता है तो उसे उसी
समय उत्तम गति प्राप्त होती है। 174 परम सुखः तो धर्मः में होता है। 175

7. भक्ति : महाभारत में परमात्मः की भक्ति को भी कोलेय-प्राप्ति के साधनों में
गिना है। वहाँ कहा गया है—"अश्वा, विचित्रृक एवं अनन्य भक्ति आवश्यक है। अश्वा विज्ञान
द्वारा परमेश्वर का शान्ति अस्वाभाव है।" 176 काम-कौशल से रहित, रमणियः से मुक्त एवं अनन्य
भक्ति ही भवतानुकूल जीने पाते हैं। 177 दृष्टः से रहित, निशंकः करने वाले, परमेश्वर के
प्रति दृढ़ निमंत्रण रखने वाले पुरुषः 178 एवं पाप-पुरुषः से रहित भक्तजन ही उस परमेश्वर को
पा सकते हैं। 179 जो व्याप्तीयः ऊँचे के सिद्धांत नमकार मात्र ही बोलता है, वह चाहे चारणः
ही कयों न हो, उसे अवसन्नता की प्राप्ति होती है। 180 स्पष्ट है, यहाँ ऊँचे ही भक्ति का
भेदभाव नहीं माना गया और बतलाया गया है कि जो व्याप्तीयः एवं विशिष्टृत इम्यः एवं
मनः को संयमः में रखकर ऊँचे की आराधना करते हैं उनको तो निमंत्रणः ही प्रभुः की समीपता
प्राप्त होती है। 181 आश्चर्य रहित होकर सदा इश्वरः का ध्यान करने वे मनुष्यः को परमसिद्धि
की प्राप्ति होगी तथा वह इश्वरः के परमात्मः का विषय कर लेगा। 182

शीतलः का आश्चर्य लेकर भगवा और मुनि के तत्त्वः को जानने वाले महर्षि अपने-
अपने पद पर प्रतिभिषुमत सिद्धः हैं। 183 वह भवतानु गोपिणियः की आराधना करके किनते ही महर्षि-
मुनि की प्राप्ति ही गया है। 184 ऐसा भी बतलाया गया है। महाभारत में इश्वरः को कई नामों
से अभिविक्त किया गया है, उन्होंने विषय नाम भी महत्वपूर्ण है। जो समस्त संसार-विश्वम
की निर्भवति के कार्यमूल भवतानु विषयः की अन्यायित्व से आराधना करते हैं, वे विश्वम
दुर्लभ समुद्र प्राणः की प्राप्ति करते हैं। 185 मोहः की अभिविक्तः एवं परमसिद्धि की इच्छा
करने वाले मनुष्यः को 187 ओमः नमो भवतानु वासुदेवायः इस मनः का एकाए वेतनायित्व होकर
उच्चारणः करना चाहिए। 188 जो उस भवतानु शरीरः की शरण में जाता है उसका
संसारः में गुरुः: आयामः नहीं होता है। 189 अन्यत्वः कहा गया है—एक जान और मृत्युः से छुटकारा
पाने के लिए सब प्रकार शरण में आया है। 190

8. गुरुः द्वारा जानः-प्राप्ति : गुरुः के द्वारा भी कलित उत्तम जानः को जो तत्त्वः: सम्भव
लेता है, वह जान, मृत्युः से रहित परमेश्वरः परमात्मः को प्राप्त करता है। 191 एक अन्य स्थान
पर भी गुरुः से ही मोहः-विश्वयः जानः प्राप्त करने का सकेते मिलता है। 192 सबसे शरण से
हुए बिना जानः की प्राप्ति नहीं हो सकती। 193 गुरुः इस संसार-सागरः से पार लगाने वाले तथा
9. अपीलिया एवं अवधारणा से मोह प्राप्ति: जो किसी की हिंसा नहीं करता वह सब अवृत्त होकर निवास करता है ।

10. सम्बन्ध की भावना: जब जीवित जीवन में सम्पूर्ण प्राणियों में अपने को और अपने में सम्पूर्ण प्राणियों को खिलाए देता है उसी समय वह व्यक्ति को प्राप्त हो जाता है।

11. ध्यान, योग एवं भक्ति: ध्यान, योग के उपायों द्वारा भी महत्वपूर्ण यही सनातन सिद्धि को प्राप्त करते हैं।
का सामान्यकार कर लेता है। योगी सुभाषामा की भक्ति-भावति परमार्थ के साथ संयुक्त करता हुआ
dर उत्साह योग का आश्रय लेकर दृष्ट जो करता है, विशाल शुभावधाम कर्म को भस्म करता है तत्काल मुक्त हो जाता है।
योगी अपने पाप कर्म का नाश करके परमार्थकर का प्राप्त करते हैं। केवल योग बल से ही राग, स्त्रेस, मोह, काम एवं कोध इन पांच दोषों को दूर भगवान देश का प्राप्त करते हैं।
लोक-जनित सब भगवानों को लोक-लक्ष्य भवानी, भवानी को प्राप्त कर लेते हैं। योग बल से सम्पन्न योगी
सभी प्रकार के बहुधों से छुटकारा पर लेता है।
योग के अनुसार तत्त्व को जानने वाला
पुस्तक संसाधि की सहायता द्वारा मन को परमार्थ के सच्चार का व्याप्त करने के
प्रवास में, इस दृष्टि का तथ्य करने के

समाधि के द्वारा योगी आस्था को परमार्थ के सिप्सर करके अचल हो जाता है और
परमार्थकर पुरुषों को प्राप्त होने वाले अविनाशी पद को भी प्राप्त होने है।
एक अन्य ध्यान पर कहा गया है कि जब मुक्ति एवं हुस्त के बच्चों से ही अत्यधिक होता है जो विविध निर्माता को
भारतीयों में सिखर रहता है।
योगिस्त्र महामायापुस्तक यदि चाहे तो तत्काल ही मुक्ति
होवे सुभाषामा के स्वरूप का प्राप्त कर लेता है।
अतः योगी योग प्रलयकाल से सब्जा
ही परमार्थ प्रकार का प्राप्त होते हैं।

ी ध्यान के स्वरूप पर भी पर्याप्त सामग्री उपलब्ध हो जाती है या अन्य
शब्दों में कहा जा सकता है कि महाभारत में जहाँ जहाँ भी मोह-प्राप्ति के साधन का वर्णन
किया गया है तो उसी में ही मोह के स्वरूप का भी कुछ-न-कुछ सम्हल अचल ही मिल
जाता है।

संदर्भ

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2. तत्त्व धर्मार्थकामा हि भोज: पवारवीण कीन्तित: शास्त्रविश्व, 335.33
3. धर्मार्थकामादि पुरुषम्यंवासात्मकधिमं परमः
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20. वही, 192.6; 194.56।
21. वही, 195.1; 273.24।
22. वही, 198.10; 217.33; 278.2; 280.59, 60; 292.8; 200.37।
23. वही, 170.40; 340.8।
24. वही, 206.15; 271.56; 295.10; 331.47।
25. तद्व ब्रह्म परम प्राक्षतं तद्यात परम स्मृतम्। वही, 206.14 तथा द्रष्टव्य:- 251.24; 320.28; 333.42।
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28. रमणे पुरुषोंश्च तेषां गतिस्वलमा। महा०, 221.17।
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30. म०, वही, 195.3; 196.21; 199.124; 202.2; 211.17; 241.12; 251.40; 263.31 इत्यादि।
31. बिरागे राधदोपासे नानुनुरुषसम्भवम्। वही, 214.24।
32. म०, वही, 251.3; 318.47, 88 आदि।
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41. सौं, वहीं, 236.12; 242.15; 337.27; 40 इत्यादि।
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51. वहीं, 206.27; 217.19; 240.10 इत्यादि।
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134. \( दृढ़ं, बहुः, 320.52 \)

135. \( दृढ़ं, बहुः, 174.4; 273.21 \)

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148. \( बहुः, 280.10 \)

149. \( *** सम्प्रायमिनिनव्यायां जु संप्रेषेन शान्ते।।
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150. \( बहुः, 297.2 \)

151. \( बहुः, 298.14 \)

152. \( बहुः, 201.16 \)

153. \( बहुः, 205.21 \)

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155. \( बहुः, 212.3; 329.23 \)

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169. दौ, बही, 277.30।
170. दौ, बही, 199.62।
171. दौ, बही, 273.24।
172. निबुतिः परभागित। दौ, बही, 217.4।
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174. दौ, बही, 298.4।
175. धर्मत्या परम सुचय। बही, 271.56।
176. लहर, रे, भैंसे भीड़। दौ, बही, 209.76।
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184. एतमारायम्य गोजिन्तं गता मुखितत्तमहयं। दौ, बही, 207, ४९५।
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188. वही, 209, पृ 4957।
189. वही, 209, पृ 4958।
190. जरामणमोक्षार्थ रसं प्रपन्तोपिस सर्वेशः। द्रो, वही, 209, पृ 4959।
191. द्रो, 308.43।
192. वही, 320.23।
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194. द्रो, वही, 326.23।
195. द्रो, वही, 342.18।
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197. अभृत: स नित्यं वसरस्तो सोर्जिताः प्रतिपदते। वही, 245.19।
198. द्रो, वही, 245.20।
199. लोकाःपुज्यायस्ताथ ब्रजं ज्ञानसम्प्रद्यते।
वही, 244.28; 278.22।
200. यदा चार्यं न निषेधित यदा चास्मान विभेदित।
यदा नेत्राणीत न द्वैतिः ब्रजं सम्प्रदते तथा।
द्रो, वही, 251.5; 262.15; 326.33।
201. वस्त्रसम्पूर्ण दानं तथा सिद्धिभवायतुः। वही, 298.4।
202. दानं हि सूर्यप्रवर्धिणाया: सब्राणि दानायायथितितः।
तीव्राः तनं प्रयं जहापति, सोजन्तरमन्योपव्रतं ज्ञाप्तः।
द्रो, वही, 245.26।
203. सर्वभूताय प्रात्मां सर्वभूतानि चाल्मरिः।
यदा पद्धति भूतुपासा ब्रजं सम्प्रदते तदा। वही, 239.21।
204. ****सोमुतस्याय कल्पते। वही, 239.22।
205. वही, 239.23।
206. द्रो, वही, 288.25-45; 326.37-38।
207. यं जात्वा शास्त्रमेव सिद्धं गच्छतीतो भवं:। वही, 195.1।
208. सुधेरते तेन संयुक्तं रंग्यते ध्वनिकक्षमिः।
गच्छति योगिनो द्वीपे निर्विभां तन्त्रिकायभूतः। वही, 195.22।
209. द्रो, वही, 196.20।
210. द्रो, वही, 196.21।
211. रोमांशं महापाण्ड: सूक्ष्मामसमाध्यांस्यं।
नीतागामा महापाण्ड ध्वनियजवस्पदं। वही, 300.49।
212. तथा मृणालन मनसा प्राशो गच्छति तां गतिः। वही, 298.18।
213. वहीं, 298.22।
214. वहीं, 298.40।
215. स प्रभामय द्रव्या श्रुभायुश्रम॥
    उत्तरं योगमात्राय यदीष्ठति विमुच्यते॥ वहीं, 298.41॥
216. प्राप्युक्तः तता योगावस्तु पदं बीतकल्पय॥ वहीं, 300.12।
217. द्र०, वहीं, 300.11।
218. सोभाजनः तथा राजन वन्धनाति वनानिविता।
    छित्रा योगः परं मानो गण्यन्ति विमलं शिवम्॥
    वहीं, 300.14।
219. द्र०, वहीं, 300.18।
220. तदवातमात्मायां मुक्त्वा योगेन तत्त्वविविद्।
    दुर्गमं स्वातंमानोति छित्रा देहमिमं नूप॥
    द्र०, वहीं, 300.35।
221. प्रतेश्यायत्वानि चात्मानं योगी तिष्ठति योजनः।
    पापेहिस्तु युनीतानं पदमाणोति सोजनस॥
    द्र०; वहीं, 300.38।
222. द्र०, वहीं, 300.56।
223. परं हि तदूः ब्रह्म गहनमहात्मनः।
    ब्रह्माण्यमीशं चरं च विष्णुम॥ द्र०, वहीं, 300.58॥
224. द्र०, वहीं, 280.51।
THE SUBTERRANEAN SARASVATĪ

By

R.N. PRASHER

The Vedic Sarasvatī has now been conclusively identified with river Ghaggar⁴. Some relevant points which stand clarified in the process of this identification are as follows:

(i) The little rainy season torrent, which rises about Adbadri, ran by the side of Thanesar-Kurukshetra and later joined the Markanda river was actually called prācī-Sarasvatī after the old river.

(ii) The source of the Sarasvatī at Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa is identical with that of the Ghaggar near Lavasa in Pacchad sub-division of District Nahan, Himachal Pradesh, while the place of its desiccation called Vinaśana in later Vedic Literature is to be equated with Kalibangan in District Hanumangarh of Rajasthan where the flow of the Ghaggar ends in the sands.

(iii) During the R̐gvedic age the Sarasvatī was a mighty perennial river flowing from the Himalayas to the ocean.

(iv) Early Indian tradition provides sufficient evidence of the occurrence of a seismic-tectonic-volcanic upheaval which led to the diversion of the waters of the Sarasvatī towards the Yamunā and also resulted in the emergence of small rivers like the Roon (Aruṇā), the Sadadeni-Markanda (Śarādanaṇḍā) and the Thanesar Sarsuti (Prācī-Sarasvatī).

Some time back scientists from the Central Arid Zone Research Institute Jodhpur were reported to have found that a subterranean river was flowing under the present dry bed of the Sarasvatī-Ghaggar-Hakra in Rajasthan. This underground flow is said to be so rich as a water source that it could turn the vast areas of Rajasthan into a rich grain producing land if tapped fully². This situation appears to find support from evidence thrown up during exploration of the Ghaggar bed for potable water in its upper reaches near the foot-hills.
While rushing down from the mountains in their rocky beds rivers carry lots of big and small stones which get rounded off while striking against one another and rolling over the hard river bed. These boulders and stones get deposited in the bed as the river enters the plains and the velocity of its flow is reduced. It stands to reason that we should expect to come across a thick layer of such boulders and stones deep under the bed of the Ghaggar if a parallel flow of water is running there. Naturally this layer of stones must also be expected to be separated by a thick layer of material consisting of a substance like hard clay all along under the river bed.

This position has been fully supported by data made available during the boring of three tube-wells along the right bank of the Ghaggar near Panchkula in District Ambala of Haryana situated on the Ambala-Kalka road about 10 Kms. to the east of Chandigarh. These tube-wells G-3, G-7 and G-6 have been marked on the sketch of the Panchkula Urban Estate. The bore-charts of these three tube-wells can be seen in Fig. 2 while the strata encountered at various depths are listed in Table 1.

It is interesting to note that all the three borings have produced similar data. The top layer of clay, gravel and boulders forming the regular bed of the present Ghaggar terminates at 52' in G-3, at 70' in G-7 and at 50' in G-6. Beyond these depths, we come across a thick layer of hard clay. This exclusive hard clay layer is 100' thick in G-3, 102' thick in G-7 and 138' thick in G-6. Below this layer of clay we find deposits of sand and gravel followed by a layer of boulder deposits running into a thickness of 156' in G-3, 152' in G-7 and 150' in G-6.

On the basis of this data a longitudinal section of the river-bed has been drawn in Fig. 3. This section clearly shows the top layer of gravel and boulders representing the regular bed of the Ghaggar and the separating layer of hard clay and the lower layer of gravel and boulders in its subterranean course which apparently belonged to a river before it was buried under the layer of clay.

The strata encountered in these layers has been supported with photographs of the drilling samples from G-6. The tube-well was got bored by the Haryana Urban Development Authority in 1987 when the present writer was its Chief Administrator. Plate ‘A’ shows the boulders and gravel recovered from the top layer i.e. the regular Ghaggar bed. Plate ‘B’ shows the termination of this layer and appearance of hard clay along with boulders. Plate ‘C’ shows the exclusive layer of hard clay free from gravel and boulders. Plate ‘D’ presents the material from the lowest layer and indicates the presence of river boulders along with gravel.
PLAN SHOWING LOCATION OF TUBE-WELLS G-3, G-7 & G-6 ON GHAGGAR BED AT PANCHKULA

CANTONMENT

IND AREA CHANDIGARH

CHANDIGARH

CHANDIGARH

TO CHANDIGARH

TO AMBALA

TO AMBALA

TO NORMI

GHAGGAR RIVER

SITE OF WORK SHOWN THUS ...

(ALL DISTANCES ARE IN MTS.)

LEAD FROM PKLA CHOWK

FIG. 1
Bore Charts of Tubewells Nos. G-3, G-7, G-6 on River Ghaggar at Panchkula

G-3
1. CLAY 0
2. BOULDER, SAND, CLAY 10
3. CLAY, SAND, BOULDER 40
4. HARD CLAY
5. GRAVEL, SAND, CLAY 195
6. COARSE SAND, GRAVEL, BOULDER 203
7. SAND, BOULDER
8. SAND, GRAVEL
9. CLAY
10. BOULDER
11. BOULDER
12. BOULDER
13. BOULDER
14. BOULDER
15. BOULDER

G-7
1. SURFACE CLAY 0
2. BOULDER
3. SAND, GRAVEL, BOULDER
4. SAND, GRAVEL
5. SAND, BOULDER, GRAVEL
6. SAND, BOULDER
7. HARD CLAY

G-6
1. SURFACE CLAY 10
2. SAND, GRAVEL, BOULDER
3. HARD CLAY
4. CLAY, GRAVEL, SAND
5. SAND, GRAVEL, BOULDER
6. HARD CLAY

LEGEND
-CLAY
-SAND
-GRAVEL
-BOULDERS

Depth in Feet
* Boring stopped at this depth

Fig. 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>Surface Clay</td>
<td>Surface Clay</td>
<td>Surface Clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Sand, Gravel Boulders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>Clay, Sand, Boulders</td>
<td>Clay, Gravel Boulders</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>20 - 30</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Clay, Sand Gravel</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>30 - 50</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Sand, Gravel Boulders</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>50 - 52</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Hard Clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>52 - 58</td>
<td>Hard Clay</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>58 - 70</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Hard Clay Gravel</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>70 - 152</td>
<td>Hard Clay</td>
<td>Hard Clay</td>
<td>Hard Clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>152 - 160</td>
<td>Clay, Sand Gravel</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>160 - 162</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Clay, Sand Gravel</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>162 - 170</td>
<td>Clay, Big Boulder</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>170 - 180</td>
<td>Clay, Sand Gravel, Boulder</td>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>180 - 188</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Clay, Sand Gravel, Boulder</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>188 - 195</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Clay, Gravel Sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>195 - 198</td>
<td>Sand, Gravel Boulders</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>198 - 200</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Sand, Gravel Boulders</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>200 - 250</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Sand Gravel Boulders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>250 - 290</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Boulders</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>290 - 318</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
<td>Sand Boulders</td>
<td>- Do -</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus we have evidence of a layer of river boulders, approximately 150' thick, buried under a layer of hard clay which is more than 100' thick. Both these layers are buried under the regular bed of the Ghaggar. The Vedic Sarasvati, in the upper reaches of its course must have deposited large quantities of boulders while debouching into the plains and suffering reduction in the velocity of its flood. The traditional description of Sarasvati going underground while carrying Vādavānala to the sea is rightly taken as indicative of tectonic movements accompanied by violent eruptions and floods at the time of the Great Deluge. These disturbances, while curtailing the catchment area of the Sarasvati, buried the original bed of this river under silt and debris. This description is supported by the present findings. The thick lower layer of boulders was apparently the original bed of the Rgvedic Sarasvati. The upheaval which caused or accompanied the Deluge buried this bed under more than 100' of hard clay and resulted in the desiccation of Sarasvati. Subsequently, cut off from the permanent snow-line and fed by the run off from the lower mountains and a much reduced catchment area it became largely a rainy-season river.

It might be argued that the lower layer of boulders could have been deposited as a result of violent eruptions and may not necessarily represent an ancient river-bed. However, this possibility has to be ruled out on two grounds.

Firstly, an examination of Fig. 3 shows that the lower layer of boulders exhibits a striking consistency in its occurrence registering a regular slope as we move downstream from G-3 to G-7 and then to G-6. Table 1 also shows the depths at which sand and gravel start appearing in the three tube wells. These strata have been enclosed in rectangular boxes and reveal a clear downward gradient from G-3 to G-6 through G-7. The strata at which boulders start appearing have been enclosed in triangular boxes. These also exhibit a similar gradient. The possibility of an eruption depositing material in such a consistent fashion is not very high. On the other hands, this gradient is most appropriately explained by the downstream flow of a river.

Since the clay layer has been shown as deposited by the disturbances and eruptions associated with the Deluge it cannot be expected to show strict uniformity in gradient. The top of this layer of clay does, in fact, show irregular behaviour as we move downstream from G-3 to G-6. In G-3 it is at 52', in G-7 at 70' and in G-6 at 50'. Thus, it appears to be quite evident that this layer of clay was deposited through disturbances and eruptions and is not merely the silt deposited by a river.
Another important factor goes in favour of the conclusion that the lower layer of boulders was a river-bed and not a layer deposited by eruptions. The quality of water in this layer has been found to be exceptionally good. And this layer is very rich in water. Even after the tube-wells were run for two hours, there was no noticeable drop in the water table. It may be noted that in early Vedic times the water of Sarasvati must have been of exceptionally good quality to justify its being called best of rivers, best of mothers and even best of goddesses⁴ and bestower of milk and ghee⁵. However, after the flow of the river diminished due to burial of the old bed and its source was shifted the quality of water appears to have deteriorated to the extent that the water of Sarasvati, at its source ‘Plakṣa-Prāsravaṇa’ was not considered fit even for the lustral bath undertaken on completion of the Sarasvata sacrificial sessions. It is a fact that the water of Ghaggar, in or near the hills, when used for drinking caused ailments like fever, enlarged spleen and goitre. The area about Panchkula abounded in cases of goitre only about fifty years back. The disease has now been controlled with the introduction of iodised salt and use of chlorine in water. Indeed it is recorded that families using its water died out in the fourth generation and for this reason the villages along the banks of Ghaggar were greatly underpopulated.⁶

There are thus indications of a river carrying potable water of good quality running underneath the Ghaggar about Panchkula in the Shiwallk foothills. Considered in the light of reports of a similar underground flow in Rajasthan this situation lends weight to the probability that the sacred Sarasvati eulogised in the Rgveda is still flowing under the regular bed of the Ghaggar. This subterranean river appears to be fed by its original source in the higher Himalayas of which the Sarasvati was deprived during the Deluge. The Skanda Purāṇa clearly reflects this situation in a specific statement of the Purānic tradition that the “mighty river Sarasvati pierced the earth’s crust and started flowing westward in its invisible underground course”⁷.

There is no reason to preclude the possibility that further explorations and investigations at regular intervals along the bed of the Ghaggar might confirm this position.

NOTES & REFERENCES

3. See Fig. 1.
4. Rgveda ii, 41.16.
5. Rgveda vii, 95.2 and Mbh. Śalya, 40.30.
7. i. 35.26 :

भूमि विदायं तत्स्वादः प्रविष्टं ग्रज्यामिनी ।
दशस्त्रोनिमार्गण प्रवृत्तं पतिचामाणुः ॥

The Subterranean Sarasvati
THE KURUS AND KURUKŚETRA IN THE UPANIṢADS

By

O.P. BHARADWAJ

Indian Tradition regards the land of Kurukśetra as the Seat of Creation and the Cradle of Indian Civilization. According to the Vāmana Purāṇa the Sannihati lake in Thanesar is the spot where the Golden Cosmic Egg took form resulting ultimately in the creation of the worlds. The holy tīrtha of Prthūdaka, now known as Pehowa, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Vāmana Purāṇa as the venue of creation of the worlds and the four Varṇas. At another place the Bhāgavata Purāṇa describes Prajāpati Kardama as undertaking austerities on the Sarasvatī when Brahmā asked him to take up the creation of the worlds.

The fabric of Indian mythology is woven around gods most of whom are associated with Kurukśetra in one way or the other. Manu gives the name of Brahmvārta to the heartland of Kurukśetra comprising the doab of the holy rivers Sarasvatī and the Drāsadvatī and the oldest Vedic works place the earliest religious and political activities in this region. It is generally agreed that the bulk of Vedic literature was composed here. This is the land of the Bharatas who are regarded as the greatest among the peoples of ancient India.

Naturally there are many references in early Sanskrit literature relating to the history and culture of Kurukśetra and its people. Even a precise geographical definition of Kurukśetra is provided to us first in a late Vedic work, the Taithiriya Āranyaka where it is described as a sacrificial altar of gods. Of this Vedi of Kurukśetra Khāṇḍava and Tūrghna respectively formed the southern and northern halves. Pariṇāt was the lower half and the Marus the Utkara or the rubbish heap. Here Khāṇḍava signifies not any particular place but the whole region of Khāṇḍava (well-known as the Khāṇḍava forest) which was much bigger than the present district of Delhi and Tūrghna, undoubtedly a scribal error for Srughna, denotes the region around Jagadhari (Skt. Yugandhara) with its headquarters at the present village of Sugh situated on the Western Jumna Canal at a distance of about 5 kms. to the east.
of Jagadhari town in the district of Ambala. The ancient district of Shrughna extended into the neighbouring hilly areas of the Shiwalik range. The name Pariñat applied to the region around the lower part of the Sarasvati and Dr̥ṣadvatī doab touching their confluence while the sandy areas of Rajasthan beyond this point comprised the rubbish heap of this sacrificial altar. It would thus appear that ancient Kuruṣetra would be coterminus with the present state of Haryana if the districts of Delhi and Meerut and some areas of Hanumangarh and Nohar near Kāroṭī, which is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, were added to it.

This region of Kuruṣetra can be roughly described as Kurubhūmi also even though much later Utpala, the commentator of Br̥hatasaṁhitā restricts the name to the region around Thanesar. Kuru proper is also taken to include the region between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā with Hastināpura near Meerut as its capital. The tract between the Sarasvati and Yamunā was specifically known as Kuru-Jāṅgala while that to the north of Shrughna was called the Uttara-Kurus.

The age of the Upaniṣads synchronises with the end of the Vedic period. The older ones, often along with their respective Āraṇyakas actually from the constitutents of the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore, they are rightly known as Vedānta, i.e. “the end of the Veda”. In fact, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the Upaniṣad is described as “the essence of the Veda”. Two of the Upaniṣads namely the Śiva-Saṁkalpa and the Īṣa form parts respectively of the thirty-fourth and the fortieth books of the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā. The Aitareya along with its Āraṇyaka belongs to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and the Kauśitaki along with its Āraṇyaka to the Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa. These two Brāhmaṇas belong to the Rgveda. The Taittiriya Upaniṣad along with its Āraṇyaka is a part of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa which belongs to the Taittiriya Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda. So does the Mahānāraṇya-Upaniṣad. The Br̥hadāraṇyaka forms a part, along with its Āraṇyaka of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā. The Chāndogya, having its first section as an Āraṇyaka is supposed to belong to the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa of the Śāmaveda while the Kena originally belongs to the Brāhmaṇa contents of the Jaiminiya or the Talavakāra, school of the Śāmaveda. Thus the Aitareya, Br̥hadāraṇyaka, Chāndogya, Taittiriya, Kauśitaki, Kena, Śivasaṁkalpa and Īṣa represent the earliest works of their class. Of the remaining texts some like the Jābāla could be placed before the beginning of the Christian era and the rest assigned to later dates. In all about two hundred Upaniṣadic texts are now available. A collection brought out by the Nirmaya Sagar Press, Bombay in 1917 contained one hundred and twelve Upaniṣads and one published by M/s Motilal

The composition of the earlier Upaniṣads is generally placed between 700 B.C. to 600 B.C. although some of their contents would appear to indicate a much earlier date. We shall try to present here all those extracts from these texts which refer to the land or people of the Kurus or Kurukṣetra. Each extract will be followed by a brief elucidation of the reference involved.

1. Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad;

iii.1.1:

अन्तको हूँ वैदेहस बुधवारयेन यस्यने तत्र हूँ कृष्णवासां भ्रात्ताणा अभिमसेया ब्रम्हुस्तस्य हूँ जनकस्य वैदेहस्य विज्ञातासः ब्रम्हुवः कृिस्येषां भ्रात्ताणामुपानान्तमहि स्तवर्ति स्तव गवत्स्तं सहस्रस्वरूप्य दश दश पादा एकक्ष्या: श्रृःश्योरास्त्य ब्रह्मुः।

Among the Brāhmaṇas, assembled at a sacrifice performed by Janaka, king of Videha, offering rich sacrificial rewards and accompanied by a philosophical discussion promising a thousand cows with ten pādas (quarter coins of gold) tied to their horns the presence of the Brāhmaṇas from the region of Kuru and Pañcālas is specially noted, undoubted because they were held in great esteem for their learning, philosophical wisdom and debating skill.

iii.3.1:

वत्र हैः कृष्णवासाः भ्रात्ताणाः प्रस्त्वाय यासवल्क्षेति होवाच यद्रेत् चरकः: पर्यंत्रायम् ते पत्त्रवल्क्ष्य खायस्य गृहानेम तथ्याच्छिन्तता गन्धवेगुस्ति तमप्रकाशम् कोश्रीति सोऽश्रीवीरवत्सस्तव किं तेन यदा लोकानानम् प्रवृष्ठे सम्भायनमुप्रृष्ठं क्र्य परिविष्टा अभविनिन्ति क्र्य परिविष्टा अभवेन् स्तवर्तिम् क्य यासवल्क्य क्र्य परिविष्टा अभविनिन्ति।

Little is known about the Rṣis Bhujyu Lāhyāyani (descendant of Lāhyāyana) and Pañcāla Kāpya (a descendant of Kapi). Yājñavalkya is well known as an authority on the questions of ritual and philosophy. He was a pupil of Uddālaka Āruci and belonged to the Kurus. The text indicates the historical importance of the descendants of Parikṣit.

The daughter of Pañcāla was possessed by a Gandharva named Sudhānva of the family of Aṅgiras. Bhujyu asked him about the boun-
daries of the world and while doing so wanted to know where the descendants of Parikṣit were. Bhuju repeats the same question to Yājñavalkya.

iii.3.2:

स होवाचोवाच वै सोमाणध्विवे ते तद्यशाशाशेपाजिनो गण्डलीति...

The reply of Yājñavalkya shows that the descendants of Parikṣit were known for performing Aśvamedha sacrifices. It is suggestive of the glory of these kings that Indra in the shape of falcon is stated to have surrendered them personally to the wind who then carried them to the region where the performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice abide.

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa21 Parikṣit performed three Aśvamedha sacrifices on the bank of the Gaṅgā with Śāradvata Krpa-cārya as his priest. He offered rich sacrificial rewards and the gods graced the occasion with their physical presence. We also know from the Aitareya25 and the Satapatha-8 Brāhmaṇas that Janamejaya Pārikṣita performed Aśvamedha sacrifices, at Asandīvat, the present town of Asandh in district Karnal of Haryana and the pre-Harrapan site of Kāroṭi27 near Nohar in Rajasthan just across the western boundary of the state with Tura Kāvaseya and Indrota Devāpi29 Saunaka as the respective priests. Kāroṭi is situated on the bed of the Rgvedic river Dṛḍadvatī which goes on to meet the Vedic Sarasvatī before the combined stream is lost in the sands about Kalibangan, the spot well known in literature by the name of Vinaśana.29 In the Vedic age the Maru formed the western limit of Kurukṣetra30 which is described as the sacrificial altar of gods. Later its place is taken by Vinaśana beyond which lay the territories of the Sudrāhiras31 and Nṛṣadas.32 As a matter of fact the three sons of Janamejaya, Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutaseṇa are also named among the performers of the Aśvamedha.

Evidently the successors of Parikṣit were able to maintain their family tradition of performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice as paramount rulers in the region. Bhuju’s question is therefore intended to test Yājñavalkya’s knowledge of history. It also points to the distant past to which, in the eyes of the author of the Upaniṣad the descendants of Parikṣit belonged.
iii.9.19:

याज्ञवल्क्येन होवाच शाक्यो यज्ञः कुरुक्षेत्रवाचानां ब्राह्मणानन्दवादः। किं ब्रह्मा
विद्वानिति दिवो वेद स देवा: सप्रतिष्ठा इति महिषो केत्य सदेवा: सप्रतिष्ठा:।

Sākalya the descendant of Śakala is the patronymic of Vidagdha
in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa33 and of Sthavira in the Aitareya34 and
Śāṅkhāyana Aranyakas.35 In the Purāṇas36 one Vedamitra or Devamitra
is also known as Sākalya. The present Sākalya probably refers to Vidag-
dha after whom the available Ṛgveda text is known as Sākalya Samhita.
It is possible that he is the original maker of the Padapatha of Ṛgveda.37
Sākalya is piqued by the idea of Yajñavalkya becoming deceived by
defeating the Kuru-Phāṇcāla Brāhmaṇas in philosophical argument.

The Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru and Paṇcālas were known and even
feared for their learning38 and defeating them in debate was naturally
a matter of great pride for anyone.

v.1.1:

ॐ पूर्णमदः...। ॐ ब्रह्म ब्रह्म ब्रह्म पुराण वापुरं खंभित हस्माह कोर्ब्यायणीयुजों
वेदोपि ब्राह्मण बिनुबंधनेन यदिविदत्वम्।

Kauravyāyaṇi-Putra refers to the son of a female descendant of
Kuru. Nothing more is known about him except that he is named as a
teacher. Apparentely he was a philosopher Kuru-king.

2. Chāndogya Upaniṣad:

1.10.1-3:

मद्येश्वरे कुर्माभविन्यसिः शाय जाययोषितर्हि भारायण इष्ट्याये ग्राणक उषास ।।11।
स हेष्य कुर्मायायवावत्तं विचिंके तं होवाच। नेतोऽशु निविचले मच्छ ये स इस
उवलिन्हिता इति ।।12।

एतेऽक में देहिति होवाच, तानमै प्रददो हलाशुपायस्यस्यस्यविच्रिष्टं वै मे पीतं स्वादिति
होवाच...।।13।

There is a reference here to a famine in the land of the Kurus on
account of a severe hail storm39 (Maṭaci-which has also been rendered
as locust40 in which case the famine might have been caused by an attack
of locust swarm). In the Brhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad the name Uṣasti is spelt as Uṣasta.41 He was the son of Cakra and belonged to the Kuru country. The famine was so severe that Uṣasti and his wife Ātiki had to leave their village and accept left-overs of a dish of beans at an elephant-driver’s place.

iv.2.1-5 :

तदु ह जानकृति: पौशायण: पद्म शतानि गयां निष्कमक्षवितरीर्थं तद्वाराय प्रतिच्छेदः त्वं हाम्युवाद। ॥1॥

रैवदेवानि पद्म शतानि मात्रामयं निष्कोड्यमक्षवितरीर्थं नु म एतां भगवो देवस्यां क्रिष्णा यां देवतामुपास्तं इति ॥2॥

तस्मि ह परं प्रतिवाचार हरेवता युद्ध तर्किव यह गोरक्षरस्त्यति तथरू पुनरथ जानकृति: पौशायण: सहस्र गयां निष्कमक्षवितरीर्थं दृष्ट्वर्तं तद्वाराय प्रतिच्छेदः ॥3॥

त्वं हाम्युवाद रैवदेवं सहस्रं मात्रामयं निष्कोड्यमक्षवितरीर्थं इत्य जापाज्ञां प्रामो यस्मिन्नास्तेन्द्रेव सा भगवं शालटित ॥4॥

तस्मि ह सुमुखमुपदुःसृजनावाच जहारं: श्रुद्धारेष्व मुनेनास्तानं थिर्य ॥ ते हैते रैवदेवं नाम महापुरुषं यज्ञस्त्र उवाच तस्मि होवाच ॥5॥

These passages along with the preceding part (i) relate the story of acquisition of spiritual knowledge by Pauṭrāyana the descendant of Jānaśruti, king of the Mahāvrīsas from sage Raikva. The country of the Mahāvrīsas lay beyond Vinaśana and was roughly bounded by the Kurus on the East and extended in the west into the part of Rajasthan later associated with the Śudras, Ābhīras and Niṣādas. It was known for its valuable breed of Zebu cattle which gave them their totemic name. At the prime of their power the Mahāvrīsas controlled parts of Kurukṣetra adjoining their territories on the east. The name Raikva-parṣa of a group of villages given by the king to Raikva still survives in the name Raikon Ki Dhāṇī in district Ganganagar of Rajasthan. Many families of Raiks, undoubtedly the descendants of Raikva, are living in tehsil Nohar in this group of villages including Pândusar, Dhāṇī Raikān, Naiyasar, Dhirdesar and Moter. The Mahāvrīsas find mention in the Atharvaveda and some later Vedic works also.42

iv.3.5 :

अथ ह ौपनकं का प्रपालमधगमां क जायस्यपरिवर्ण्यं श्रुताचारी विभिन्ने
तत्तमं उ ह ौ न दबुः।
Abhipratārin son of Kākṣasena was another philosopher Kuru-king.\(^{43}\) He is mentioned in the Jaiminiya-Upaṇiṣad-Brāhmaṇa\(^{44}\) and the Paṇca-vimśa-Brāhmaṇa\(^{45}\) as engaged in philosophic discussion. According to the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa\(^{46}\) his sons divided the property amongst themselves while he was still alive. Śaunaka descendant of Kapi was his Purohita according to another passage of the Jaiminiya-Upaṇiṣad-Brāhmaṇa.\(^{47}\)

iv. 17.10:

The word Kuru in this passage has been construed by some scholars to mean" a warrior"\(^{48}\) but the authors of the Vedic Index\(^{49}\) appear to be right in taking it to represent the Kuru tribe. The reference is thus made here to the Kurus being saved by a mare (\textit{Alvā}). The disaster from which they were saved is not mentioned. There are hints at several places towards some misfortunes suffered by the Kurus. The Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra\(^{50}\) alludes to their being driven from Kurukṣetra. The Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa\(^{51}\) records their failure to achieve success in a sacri-
ifice and consequent expulsion by the Śālvas from Kurukṣetra. It also describes a Bharata king named Śindhuṅkṣit as held up on the other side of the Indus and praying to be restored to his home and kingdom.\(^{52}\) The Mahābhārata\(^{53}\) describes a great set-back to the Kurus when Kuru's father Samvarana was overwhelmed in battle by one Paṅcālīya and obliged to flee with his wife, son, minister and intimates from his kingdom which he was able to regain later with the help of Vasiṣṭha. The reference to the frequent performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice by the Kuru kings has already been noted above. In the context of a great conflict between the Śālvas and the Kuru, the protection of the Kuru by a mare can be explained as the victory of their cavalry over the elephant corpse of the Śālvas who belonged to the hilly region of the Yamunā, where elephants were found in abundance. They must have maintained a strong elephant corpse in their army. It is significant that the Śālva king is said to have invaded Dvārakā with a force comprising foot soldiers and elephants\(^{54}\) and fought in the Mahābhārata battle riding the best elephant of Duryodhana.\(^{55}\) It would therefore be more appropriate to accept this reference as alluding to the protective merit earned by the Kuru kings from the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifices.
3. Kauśitaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad:

iii.1:

**3** प्रतद्वन्दव इ वै वैद्यविसिद्धिः प्रीयं धामोपज्ञाम्। सुंदरं च पीवेण च तत् हेरे उवाच। प्रतद्वन्दव वर्ण ते ददनीति।

King Pratardana, a descendant of Divodāsa is here said to have attained the world of Indra through his death in battle. In the Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa he is mentioned as arriving at the sacrifice of the Rṣis in the Naimiṣa forest and asking them how errors in the sacrifice could
be remedied. The original Naimiṣa forest was in Kurukṣetra which indicates his connection with this land. It is further confirmed by his being a descendant of Divodāsa who was a father or grand-father of Sudās, the famous king of Trstṣu Bharatasa who has been stated as having been granted to Vadhyasya as son by Sarasyati and having fought against the Paṇis, the Pāravatas and Brṣaya at its banks. In the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa his son Kṣatra is said to have been attacked by ten kings at Mānuṣa which appears as the name of a lake or place in the Rgveda. If the fight at Mānuṣa was one of the battles fought during the famous Daśarājña war of Sudās Pratardana might be an uncle of Sudās. His son Kṣatra was a contemporary of Sudās and fought probably as his ally in different engagements in the same war. Also both were descendants of Divodāsa and ruled in the same country. This Pratardana could not have been the king of Kāśi Janapada who is mentioned in the Mbh.

iv.1:

अथ गार्ग्योऽहै व पालाकिकर्तृकृत: संस्पृश्यत आसा सांवद्युषोत्तरेषु स प्रसम्भवतेषु कुश- पुनःवातपि काष्ठिन्द्रेषु व प्रकाशतः काव्यमेन्द्रेषु वाच। भ्रजः तेन श्रवणीति त प्राविष्टुः काव्यमेन्द्रेषु।

Kurus are mentioned as one of the countries (including Uṣinara, Matsya, Paṣcāla, Kāśi and Videha which were visited by Gārgya the son of Balīka during his Vedic studies. Little is known about Gārgya, descendant of Garga who is also mentioned in the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. The second Vamśa list of the Brhadāraṇyaka actually mentions two Gārgyas. Others occur in the Taittiriya Aranyaka and the Nirukta as well as in the ritual Sūtras. Gārgya is said here to have resided in the region of the Kuru and Paṣcālas apart from Uṣinaras, Matsyas, Kāśis and Videhas before he goes to Ajātaśatru king of Kāśi and is cured of his conceit.

4. Jābalopaniṣad:

i:

हृदयश्रवण्य याजवल्क्यं यदूव कुश्के त्रेन देवानां देवमन्यं सर्वं भूतानां भ्रजायसदनम्। अविवृत्तं व वृश्चुकर्व देवानां देवमन्यं सर्वं भूतानां भ्रजायसदनम्॥ तस्मात् भ्रजमन्यं गच्छति तदेव मन्यं तदविवृत्तमेव। इद्वं वृश्चुकर्व देवानां देवमन्यं सर्वं भूतानां भ्रजायसदनम्। ततः हि अति: प्राणोपतिमावश्च भ्रजायसदनं भ्रजायसदनं निषेधेत्य अविवृत्तं न भ्रज्याये देवमेतितां याजवल्क्य।
Bṛhaspati in this passage addresses Yājñavalkya and describes Kurukṣetra as a place of sacrifice of the gods and the Brahman-seat of all beings. Avimukta, known to be a place in Kāśī is compared with Kurukṣetra. The Parivrājaka is advised to consider every place as true Kurukṣetra, gods’ place of sacrifice and the Brahman-seat of all beings. When the vital breath departs out of a person, Rudra is said to impart the saving formula, by which one participates in immortality and liberation. The passage suggests the shifting of the centre of Indian culture towards Kāśī from Kurukṣetra which however, still appears as the most sacred tirtha.

The passage is repeated almost verbatim in Śrīrāmottaratāpiny-upaniṣad as its opening para. Here however Avimukta appears to have been used as an adjective of Kurukṣetra which could perhaps mean “not abandoned by the gods”. As a matter of fact this interpretation of Avimukta might appear more appropriate in case of the above passage of Jābālopaniṣad too.

This passage is particularly popular since it has been reproduced in the Tārasāropaniṣad also.

5. Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad:

महामान्न्दीरवन नीर समेता महार्षयः श्रीकाव्यस्तु स समित्यान-यस्तविज्ञास्यो महामान्न्दीरवन नीरजीविनयुपसमेत्य प्रकट्यः केन ल्यं जीवितं केन बानन्दमुखसस्ततिः ।

Mahārṣis led by Śaunaka are stated to have gathered under a lofty Nyagrodha tree in Brahmāvarta for the performance of a long sacrificial session. Desirous of knowing the truth, they approached the long-lived Mārkaṇḍeya, holding Kuśa grass in their hands, and asked him the secret of his long life and bliss.

Brahmāvarta was the name of the Sarasvatī-Dṛṣadvati doab. The name is also applied to a landing ghat on the Gaṅgā at Bithur in the district of Kanpur which is known as Brahmāvarta tirtha. Since Śaunaka is connected with the Kurus Brahmāvarta of the Kurus is meant here. The region was well known for the performance of satras in the Naimiṣa forest and along the holy rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī.
6. Itihāsa Upaniṣad:

Vṛṣādarvi's family belonged to the Śibi tribe. Their family specialised in the study of history.

Sībis have been identified with the Śibois of the Greek historians and the Śivas of the Rgveda. They were also called Mūjavats on account of abundant growth of Muṣja grass. They occupied the areas of Jind, Hissar and Sirsa in the narrowing doab of the rivers Saravatsi and Drṣadavati extending down to their confluence and forming a part of Kurukṣetra.

7. Chāgaleya Upaniṣad:

(i) "कृष्णयो वै सर्वकामं सत्राति ..."

(ii) "सत्राति भगवतो यदि यस्य तत्त्वां यथासिद्धस्य यस्तामाति कथायं महिमित्वा। ते होब्रह्मविद्या भाव स्मरिलोकविनिधित्वा।"

(iii) "स होब्रह्मविद्या भाव स्मरिलोकविनिधित्वा।"

(iv) "स होब्रह्मविद्या भाव स्मरिलोकविनिधित्वा।"

(v) "ते होब्रह्मविद्या भाव स्मरिलोकविनिधित्वा।"

The sacred Sarasvati is again presented here as a venue of a sacrificial session by the Rṣis. Kavaṣa was a prominent Vedic seer. He is mentioned in a hymn of the Rgveda while the Anukramaṇi attributes to him the authorship of several hymns of the Rgveda including x.32 and x.33 which deal with prince Kurushiśvāna and his descendant Upamaśravas. According to Zimmer Kavaṣa was the Purohit of the joint tribes named Vaikarṇa who comprised the Kuru-Pañcālas. Our passage follows the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in describing Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as a Brāhmaṇa born of a female slave who was reproached on this ground.
by the other rśis. The passages also mention Naimिśa as the venue of a sacrificial session of the descendants of Śunaka. Kurukṣetra too has been repeatedly mentioned which supports the location of Naimिśa in Kurukṣetra. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the rśis expel Kavaśa in the desert, away from the bank of the Sarasvati, in the hope that he would die of thirst. Kavaśa however sees the Aponaptriya hymn as a result of which the waters of the Sarasvati burst forth all around him and he is saved. The spot where the Sarasvati surrounded him is named in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as Parisaraka which probably is later known as the Saraka tīrtha.79

Incidentally it suggests that the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa belongs to a date after the desiccation of the Sarasvati. The satra was thus in all probability performed by the Rśis somewhere in the region of Vinaśana and Parisaraka or Saraka should also be located there and not near Kaithal.80

8. Jābāladarśana Upaniṣad :

iv.49 :

कुशलेऽऽनुष्ठानं ग्रामम् हृतसरोऽहे । निधम्बरे तु हृन्मये आधारे कमलालयम् ॥

The verse visualises parts of human body as tīrthas and attributes Kurukṣetra to kucasthāna or the region of the breasts. The idea is that the body is itself a tīrtha and it is more important to keep it pure and clean. The next verse81 declares that a person looking for tīrthas outside his own person is like one looking for pieces of glass after discarding the jewel in his own hand.

9. Śiva Upaniṣad :

vi. 189 :

श्रीपवते महाकाले बाराणस्यम् महालये ।
जलेवरे कुशले केदारे मण्डलेवरे ॥

Kurukṣetra is here counted among Śivakṣetras where in case of death one attains the world of Śiva (Śivaloka).

The information available from the material before us throws welcome light, among other things, on the sanctity of the Kurus or Kurukṣetra, their political supremacy, their relations with neighbouring states, munificence and spiritual leanings of enlightened rulers of the
age, natural calamities and political reverses suffered by them and their people, the erudition, philosophical wisdom and debating skill of contemporary sages (for which they were held in great esteem) and popularity of metaphysical discussions.

These are the references relating to the kuruś which we have noticed in the Upaniṣads. Identical or almost identical passages occurring in more than one text or at more than one place in the same text have been reproduced only once with all relevant citations. Learned readers are requested to take the trouble of drawing our attention to any reference that might have been left unnoticed.

NOTES

   "...यथरस्व र्वाने सिद्धतिः हण्डे तथरस्व सनिधिते सर: ।"

2. Mahābhārata, Poona, Cr. Ed., Śalya, 39.35 :
   ससर्ने यत्र भववेलोकान्तः लोकपितामहः ।

3. Vāmana Purāṇa, SM. 18.21-22 :
   "...पुद्यक समाधितय सरस्वयास्ते सिद्धति: ।
   यातुवस्येस्व सृष्टिर्धर्ममधर्मनरोपरः ।"***

   प्रजाः सृजिति भववान्तः कर्मोऽद्वा ज्ञापित्वः ।
   सरस्वायं तपस्तेष्ठे सहस्राणां समा देव ॥

5. Manusmṛti, II. 17 :
   सरस्वतीदृश्यतोवैवेद्यवैवैद्यमयम् ।
   तं देवनिमित्ते देवं ब्रह्मावते प्रज्ञाते ॥


7. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (SB), xiii, 5.4.23 :
   महद्वा भरतानान्त पूवं नापरे जना: दिवं महद्वं वृक्षाय्यान्नोपयु: सप्त मानवादृति ।

8. Vi. 1.1 :
   तेन्नं कुश्यं वे दिवरायेत्तु, तथस्तृ खण्डवो दिव्यार्थ्या भास्येतु, तुर्भमुत्वायेतु: परिणामायेतु: मर्य: उत्करः...


11. ix, 5.2.15:

अब हेष स्म आहें शापित्यः। तुरो हेष काव्येयः कारोल्यां देवेयो जिन्निं चिकाय...


"कृपामित्रा: ज्ञान: स्थानेष्वरे निद्वसनित"।

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Studies, p. 159 ff.


18. X, 3.5.12:

तस्य वा एतस्य यजुर्वेद्रस्य एव उपनिषदः।


21. For Sanskrit text and English translation of the Upaniṣads following works have been used in this study:


(ii) Deussen Paul, Sixty Upaniṣads of the Veda, Translated from German by Bedekar and Palsule, Two volumes, First ed. Delhi 1980.

(iii) Roer E., The Twelve Principal Upaniṣads, Text in Devanāgari and tr. and notes in English. Three volumes, Adyar 1931.


24. i. 16.3:

आज्ञाराच्छेद्येकारश्रीन् गंगायं भूरिदिक्षिश्वान।

शारदू गुरुः कृत्वा देवा यज्ञस्वरूपः।

25. VIII, 21:

एवेन हुया एतेवं महाभिषेकेण तुर: काव्येयो जनमेजयं पारिशिष्टस्यभिषेकं, तथामुः

जनमेजयं: पारिशिष्टः समस्तं सब्त: पृथ्वीं जयं परीयास्वच्छं च मेध्येनेऽः।
26. XIII, 5.4.1-3:

एतेन हैराती देवपित: जोनकः जनमेवः ययामपकार तेनेत्वा
नर्योऽपाणिताः सर्वःमहाङ्गत्वां अपजरः स्वयं हृ दयाभोषां सर्वं भ्रमः स्वहर्मां प्रहस्ति
धोषवाचिन्यं जयते ॥

तत्रेतद्वायापभिवित्तम् ।

आसन्दीवन्ति धार्मिक सविमण्ड हरितस्वर्यः ।
अबवनायश्व सार्वं देहेन्यः जनमेव इति || 2verse ॥

एतेष एव पूर्वां अहनी । यजुर्विपत्तिरथस्तेन दौसेनयेन स एव पूर्वां अहनी योगविश्वास्तेन
सद्योगसेनयेन स एव पूर्वां अहनी बायुविपत्तिरथस्तेन शृङ्गारविश्वास्तेन परिवर्तीमा: ततेवदः
गायापायापभिवित्तम परिवर्तिता यजुमात्रा अवसमेव: परोजर्म ॥ अज्ञम: कर्मं पापकप्यम्या:
पुष्येन कर्म्मवेदित ॥ 3verse ॥

27. Studies, p. 195.
29. Ibid, p. 20 ff.
30. See No. 8 supra.
31. Mbb. Śalya, 37. 1 :

शुद्राभीरानु प्रति दैवायस्य महा सरस्वती ॥

32. Mbb. Vana, 130.3-4 :

एषा सरस्वती रम्या दिव्या चोचवती नरी।
एतद्व विणम्यं नाम सरस्वत्या विशामप्ये ॥ 3verse ॥

हरर्न विपदरा रात्रायं दैवायं दैवायस्य सरस्वती।
प्रविष्टा पुष्पिनी सीर मा निषादा हि मां किंदुः ॥ 4verse ॥

33. XI, 6.3.3.
34. II, 2.1.6.
35. VII, 16; VIII, 1.11.
38. ŚB, XI, 4.1.1-2 :

***उदीवयार्यां ब्राह्मणांभिविभुवेद ॥
कौशालान्तरो वा अयमश्वर ब्रह्मज्ञ: ॥ यद्व निश्चयमेवः पयायाविदः***

42. e.g. Atharva Veda, V. 22.4, 5 and 8; Jaiminiya Brähmana, i. 234; ŚB.
(Kāṇṭhya rec.), iv. 2.3.10; Jaiminiya Upanishad Brähmana, iii. 40.2;
Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, ii. 5.
44. I, 59.1; III, 1.21; II, 2.13.
45. X, 5.7; XIV, 1.12.15.
46. III, 1.56.
49. Vol. I, p. 166 ff
52. III, 82.
53. Ādi, 94.37-38.
54. Vana, 16.1.
55. Śalya, 20.1-4.
57. Prachin Charittrakosha, p. 85.
58. Ādi, 182.2.
58A. 26.5.
58B. Studies, pp. 129-137.
58D. Rgveda, vi. 31.1.
58E. RV, vi. 61.1, 3.
58F. iii. 245:
क्षण वै प्रातः सम्म दाशराजो दश राजान: पर्ययत्ततं मानुषे। तस्य हु भार्धाजः पुरोहित
आस।
58G. Ram Gopal, “A New Interpretation of the Vedic word Mānuṣa”, Journal
58H. Mbh. Anuśāsana, XXX. 16 and 30. Also see Bhargava P. L., India in the
Vedic Age, pp. 59-79.
60. II. 1.1.
61. Kāṇḍva rec., iv, 6.2.
62. I. 73.
42. e.g. Atharva Veda, V. 22.4, 5 and 8; Jaiminlya Brāhmaṇa. i. 234; ŚB. (Kaṇṭhiya rec.), iv. 2.3.10; Jaiminlya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, iii. 40.2; Baudhāyana Śrauta Śūtra, ii. 5.
44. I, 59.1; III, 1.21; II, 2.13.
45. X, 5.7; XIV, 1.12.15.
46. III, 1.56.
49. Vol. I, p. 166 ff
50. XV, 16, 12-13.
52. III, 82.
53. Ādi, 94.37-38.
54. Vana, 16.1.
55. Śalya, 20.1-4.
57. Prachin Charitrakosha, p. 85.
58. Ādi, 182.2.
58A. 26.5.
58B. Studies, pp. 129-137.
58D. Ṛgveda, vi. 31.1.
58E. RV, vi. 61.1, 3.
58F. III. 245:

क्षण वै प्रातःकर्म बाहरारः दक्ष राजाः: पर्य विषत्व मात्रे तस्य हृ भारद्वाजः पुराणित ब्राह्म.

58H. Mbh. Anuśāsanam, XXX. 16 and 30. Also see Bhargava P.L., India in the Vedic Age, pp. 59-79.
60. II. 1.1.
61. Kaṇṭhiya rec., iv. 6.2.
62. I. 73.
67. 1.1.
68. Manusmṛti, II, 17.
70. Studies, p. 129 ff.
73. Ibid, p. 251, N. 196.
75. Rgveda, VII, 18.12.
77. Ibid.
78. II. 19.
79. Mbh. Vana, 83-81. and Vamana P., SM. 15.18 ...
81. IV. 50.
Book Reviews

*Rise and Fall of the Imperial Guptas*, Ashwini Agrawal, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1989, pp. xxi+322, Rs. 150/-.

Thanks to overemphasis on socio-economic history during over past two decades, dynastic history has in recent years not been receiving the attention it deserves. However, the Gupta period forms an exception, probably because of its being regarded generally as the golden age of ancient Indian history and due to the accretion of much new epigraphical and numismatic material bearing on the subject. It appears, so to speak, to be a theme of perennial interest, and in recent years a number of works on the political history of the Imperial Guptas have appeared, the present work being the latest in the series.

It deals exclusively with the political history of the Imperial Guptas and their vassals in the light of all the extant evidences including the latest discoveries with a bearing on the theme. The work is divided into fourteen well-defined chapters which treat of the annals of the Guptas from their emergence as a small political power sometime in the latter half of the third century through their rise as an imperial power during the fourth-fifth centuries to their decline and fall about mid-sixth century A.D. in great detail. The opening chapter gives a good account of epigraphic, numismatic and literary sources summarising itemwise details which are quite dependable. We feel, however, that in the account of gold coins of Candragupta II Standard type, which has been listed last, should have come first as indicated by its close resemblance with Samudragupta's numerous coins of this type not only in type but also in weight and its rarity in Candragupta II's reign and subsequent disappearance. The following chapter aims at familiarising the readers with the political condition of India on the eve of the emergence of the Gupta power. While the account in most cases is up-to-date, the same cannot be said about the Kuṇindas on whose later coins we have Citreśvara as shown by us ("Interesting Kuṇinda and Yaudheya Coins, *Numismatic Digest*, vol. VIII, pp. 24-36), and not Chatreśvara (p. 51) which represents the prevailing impression on the basis of some coins with imperfectly preserved legends. The recent discovery of Magha coins from South Kosala (Ajay Mitra Shastri and Anand Kumar Risbud, "Magha Coins from Kosala", *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. IX, pp. 34-40) should now
probably lead us to identify the Maghas, so called after the first king of
the dynasty named Magha (Ajay Mitra Shastri, Early History of the
Deccan: Problems and Perspectives, Delhi 1987, pp. 142-43; see also the
same author’s Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins, Nagpur 1979, pp. 10-
11, 41-42), with the Purāṇic Meghas and the Purāṇic reading may
be regarded as scribal error (pp. 55-57). The third chapter, which is
naturally very short (pp. 71-78), examines the now outdated theories
linking the so-called Muruṇḍas and the ruling chiefs mentioned in the
Kauṇḍinya Mahotsava with pre-Gupta Magadha. The emergence of the
Guptas is the theme of the next chapter where it is rightly suggested that
the Guptas rose to power in Eastern Uttar Pradesh and that they were
Brāhmaṇas. The rule of the first two chiefs of the family is also dealt
with, and it is rightly pointed out that the name of the first member of
the dynasty was Gupta, not Śrīgupta as believed in some quarters. The
suggestion that Īśāna was the gotra of the Nāga family to which
Candragupta II’s queen and Prabhāvatigupta’s mother Kuberanāgā
belonged (pp. 83-84) deserves serious consideration though in the present
state of our knowledge it cannot be treated as established. Chs. V-VI, which
naturally cover more than sixty pages (90-152), highlight the rise of the
Guptas to imperial power under Candragupta I and Samudragupta. The
suggestion that the Candragupta-Kumārādevī type coins were issued by
Candragupta I himself is preferable to Allan’s attribution to Samudra-
gupta which is followed in several recent writings. We are in agreement
with the author in regarding Kāca as another name of Samudragupta
(pp. 104ff.; 135-40), a view originally propounded by Smith and Allan.
Besides legends to which our attention has been drawn by Agrawal, the
evidence of hoards and weight-standards also supports this equation. The
identification of the enemies vanquished by Samudragupta has been
treated at length. New light on the identification of Maṇḍarāja of Kurāja
is sought to be thrown on the basis of the incomplete Rawan plates of the
Śarabhapuriya king Narendra which refer to Maṇḍarājabhukti which is
believed to have been named after king Maṇḍarāja (pp. 107-08). But as
pointed out by us elsewhere (Inscriptions of the Sarabhapurtias, Pāṇḍuvaiṅtins and Somavaiṅtins, Part II, Delhi 1989, pp. 12-13, fn. 7), in
view of the mention of Kosala king Mahendra earlier in the list of the
Dakṣiṇāpatha kings defeated by Samudragupta it is difficult to relate
Maṇḍarāja with Kosala and the identity of names appears to be accidental.
The Āhīras mentioned as a frontier (pratyanta) state in the Allahabad
pillar inscription are well-placed in the Nasik region (pp. 120-21) instead
of in Central India as generally believed. The Prayāga prāṣasti is well-
taken to represent the panegyric preceding the performance of the horse
sacrifice which should explain the non-mention in it of this great event of
Samudragupta’s reign (pp. 125-28), though we should like to voice our
disagreement with the traditional view followed by Agrawal that
Samudragupta did not perform more than one Aśvamedha sacrifice. Chs.
VII-VIII dealing with Rāmagupta and Candragupta II make a valid reappraisal of the circumstances accompanying Candragupta's accession and his military achievements. He did achieve some conspicuous success against the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Western India as indicated by his silver coins, but that he did not succeed in completely annihilating them and that it was left for his son Kumāragupta I to achieve it is indicated by some recently noticed dates on Rudrasimha II's coins (the latest being Śaka 337) which go well beyond Candragupta II's reign. It is not possible to agree with Agrawal in acquiescing in A. S. Altekar's laboured suggestion to take the legend rūpakṭiti occurring below the couch on one of the varieties of Candragupta II's Couch type gold coins to refer to his skill in dramatic compositon (pp. 166-67, 173); it obviously aims at glorifying his exceptional 'beauty and form' as is clearly indicated by the longer legend ending in genitive singular unlike most other legends terminating in nominative singular (Ajay Mitra Shastri, "The Couch Type Coins of Candragupta II", JNSI, XLVI, pp. 86-90). The inclusion of Govindagupta in the imperial line as successor of Candragupta II (Ch. IX) merits serious consideration but cannot be treated as established. We agree that during Kumāragupta I's reign the Gupta-Vākāṭaka relations were cordial (pp. 196ff.) and are of the view that they continued to be so throughout their existence. But the expression occurring in Prthivīśeṇa II's copper-plate grants (now numbering 4) is dvi-magna-vainśoddhartuh, and not nimagna-vainśoddhartuh (p. 197), and refers to him as res ver of his family twice (for discussion, see our Early History of the Deccan, pp. 61-62). The so-called discovery of a hoard of Kumāragupta's silver coins at Satara in Maharashtra has sometimes been taken to indicate a south-ward expansion (p. 196), but this just illustrates how some erroneous recording of provenances results in unfounded notions; for no silver issues were actually found at Satara but at Sanaud in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat as pointed out by P.L. Gupta (Gupta Sāmrāja, Varanasi 1970, p. 92). The author has well concluded that there is really no evidence to warrant the assumption that the death of Kumāragupta was followed by a struggle for succession and that his son Skandagupta, who was his undisputed successor, proved to be the greatest (one of the greatest, if not the greatest) hero of his family (Ch. XI). Jagannath Agrawal's suggestion, accepted by the author (p. 204), to amend Fleet's reading of the last quarter of verse 7 of the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta, i.e., gitalī═ca stutibhī═ca vandaka-juno yahi pra-payaty-āryyatām, to gitalī═ca stutibhī═ca vṛīṭa-kathane yahi hṛe-pa-yaty-āryyātā yields a better sense and is therefore preferable, but Prakāśāditya cannot even be regarded as a bṛūda of Purugupta (p. 223) for we now have a gold coin of Bhānugupta which has Prakāśāditya as the reverse legend, showing that the two were identical. The tenuous problem of the succession after Skandagupta and the last phase of the history of
the glorious Gupta house which emerging as a modest power gave a great empire to the country and finally disappeared from its political map about mid-sixth century A.D. form the theme of Chs. XIII-XIV and XVI, while the intervening chapter is devoted to a detailed study of the feudatory powers like the Aulikaras, Maitrakas, Parivrājakas and Uccakalpa-mahārājjas who along with the Maukharis and the Later Guptas began as vassals of the Guptas and later taking advantage of the decline of their power declared their independence and contributed to the downfall of their erstwhile masters. The work ends with a well-documented and fairly comprehensive dependable list of readings on the subject which should serve all serious students well.

Most of the above differences of opinion are due to discovery of important evidence subsequent to the preparation of the press copy of the book and only serve to highlight the necessity of undertaking periodical updating at regular intervals. They do not in any way minimise the great value and usefulness of the book under review which should serve as a standard work on the subject for decades to come. Serious students of early Indian history in general and of the Gupta age in particular will ignore it at their own risk.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Temple of South India, J. Ramania, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi 1989, Pp. xxiv+358 including pp. 279-354 containing 148 half-tone photographs, Rs. 300/-

The present work, which is based on the author’s thesis approved by the University of Hyderabad for its Ph. D. degree, forms a case of grossly misleading title which refers to South India as a whole but actually deals only with the temples of the Karimnagar District of Andhra Pradesh which can by no stretch of imagination be said to represent the whole or even a substantial part of South India. Even the sub-title ‘A Study of the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist Monuments of the Deccan’ does not match with its contents. A more appropriate caption would have been ‘Temples of the Karimnagar District’ or, if it was intended to make it more appealing though not quite justifiable by its contents, ‘Temples of the Deccan’ (with special reference to the temples of the Karimnagar District).

The book does full justice to its limited scope. It is divided into eight chapters, the first two dwelling upon the topography and political history of the region being introductory. The third chapter provides a fairly detailed account of the major temple sites and describes in
brief most of the temples as well as loose sculptures found there. It
naturally covers as many as 106 pages, the largest for any chapter.
Architectural details like the general features of the site, ground plan,
adhisthānaupapitā, columns, walls, doorways, roofs and superstructure
are dealt with in the next chapter, while deity-wise sculptures are reserved
for treatment in the following chapter. This account, albeit brief, is quite
dependable. The last three chapters are of considerable interest for a
reader keen on studying the religious, socio-cultural and economic aspects
of early mediaeval South Indian temples as the Karimnagar temples
epitomise, in a general way, the all-pervading role played by the temple
in the socio-economic life which centred round it. At the end we have a
useful glossary of select Sanskrit-Telugu architectural terms and three
appendices, two of them giving an account of a couple of Kākatiya stone
inscriptions discovered by the author in course of his explorations and
the last one listing minor temple sites in the Karimnagar District. The
bibliography, though quite useful, omits some very useful titles bearing
on the subject, two of them being our India as seen in the Brhaspatihita of
Varāhamihira, Delhi 1969 (the book refers to the Brhaspatihita in connec-
tion with the selection of the temple-site at p. 159) and Ismail Kellelu’s
Karnataka Temples : Their Role in Socio-Economic Life, Delhi 1984, the
latter dealing in detail with the topics dealt with by Ramaniah in the
work under review. The printing and get-up are good, but the lack of
diacritics, and the use of ordinary paper plates are quite disturbing.

Notwithstanding the drawbacks noticed above, the book, based as
it is on on-the-spot study of the temples and epigraphic records, will be
found quite useful by all students of Indian temple architecture in general
and those of South India including their socio-economic functions.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, Ramendra Nath Nandi,
K.P. Bagchi & Company, Calcutta 1986, pp. xviii+218, Rs. 125/-. 

During about last three decades there has been a growing aware-
ness of the socio-economic history of India, and in recent years quite a
few works and monographs dealing with this aspect with special reference
to ancient India have been brought out. However, though the role of
productive forces in shaping the forms of religious expressions has been
generally recognised by materialist historians and has been stressed in the
case of certain civilizations, in the context of ancient India it has rarely
received the attention it deserves so well. The present work meets this
desideratum to some extent, and herein lie its originality and value.
The book comprises updated revised versions of some of the papers of Dr. Nandi earlier published in their original form in certain journals and other occasional publications. The work includes fifteen studies divided into three sections. The first six chapters grouped under Section I called 'Brähmanism' deal with four centuries, from the third to sixth, marking the disintegration of towns and market economy and its gradual substitution by a subsistence economy of large villages and petty dynastic centres due to decentralisation of administrative and fiscal authority and thereby preparing ground for the development of feudalism. It has been pointed out how priest-client relationship underwent a change due to economic factors like disintegration of market economy and the consequent emergence of subsistence economy of villages which encouraged land-grants and gave rise to conflict and differentiation among Brahmanical priests. It has also been suggested that the decaying towns were declared as tirthas (pilgrimage centres), a suggestion which is not so well-based. While the focus of this section is North India, Section II comprising an equal number of studies deals with certain problems of the history of Vaisñavism, Saivism and Jainism in South India in the perspective of early feudal development in the seventh-tenth centuries. Specially interesting are the last three studies (10-12) showing how Jainism also could not remain unaffected by feudalism and came under a strong impact of Brähmanism. The last three studies revolve around certain aspects of ViraSaivism or the Lingayata sect which is viewed as a revolt against the feudal chiefs, Brähmana freeholders and temple priests as the land-owning surplus appropriating classes. The work ends with a fairly exhaustive bibliography and index making inroads into the work easier.

There are some assumptions which need reconsideration. For instance, rethinking appears to be called for by recent trends based on strong grounds, literary and archaeological, regarding the now apparently outdated theory that the Ārya-varṇa and Dāsa-varṇa represented a binary division of the Rgvedic society based on physical rather than functional differentiation (p. xv). Similar appears to be the case with the postulate that Kali represented the emergence of mediaevalism (p.13) and that land-grants became an integral part of the rural economy from the fifth century A.D. (p. 13), for it is well known that during the Śatavahana and Śaka-Kṣatrapa period also land-grants accompanied by the usual privileges were fairly common. The yet unestablished hypothesis about the decay of towns after the third century A.D. appears to have been over-emphasised and too much uncalled for inferences drawn from such literary evidence as the astrological texts like the BrhatSaṁhitā of Varāhamihira which refers to the possibility of the desertion and destruction of towns owing to drought, scarcity, invasions and shifting of the river courses (p. 22) for such predictions are quite common in an astrological text. The social
significance of iconography in connection with the images of Lakulīśa is overdone, and certain attributes of Lakulīśa, particularly his lakula or staff which is regarded as an offensive weapon, are taken to represent the offensive attitude of the Pāśupatas against the Jainas (pp. 102-05), which is certainly uncalled for as many other divinities of Hinduism also had such attributes earlier and later and no such significance attaches to them. The author seems to be inclined in favour of late dates for the Grhyasūtras whose lower date limit is said to coincide with some inscriptions of Nahapāna who flourished in the second century A.D. (p. 8). Likewise Lakulīśa, the reviver of the Pāśupata system is said to have lived about the third-fourth centuries A.D. (p. 102), whereas a date around mid-second century for him is well established by the Mathura pillar inscription of the time of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II of which the author is well aware.

But these illustrative drawbacks only serve to warn against drawing conclusions from inadequate evidence and don't in any way detract from the merit of the present work which has involved hard work and perseverance on the part of Dr. Nandi and is one of the pioneering studies on the subject. We are happy to commend it to the attention of all serious students of the socio-economic-religious history of ancient India.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Pāṇini: His Work and its Traditions Vol. I (Background and Introduction), George Cardona, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1988, pp. xxiv+671, Rs. 175/-.  

Pāṇini's celebrated grammar occupies a unique place in the annals of grammatical studies. No other grammar can match it in presenting a systematic and scientific analysis of the Sanskrit language in the briefest possible form. The intricate system and algebraic terminology of the Pāṇinian grammar can scarcely be mastered without the guidance of a competent teacher. According to the ancient Indian tradition, Pāṇini himself taught the text and the technique of his grammar to his pupils who in turn transmitted the same to their pupils. Thus the knowledge of the Pāṇinian grammar was handed down by communication from teacher to pupil from generation to generation. When doubts arose about the interpretation of certain Sūtras, the commentaries were composed by eminent Āchāryas to facilitate the understanding of the Asāțādhyāyī. In course of time the commentatorial literature came to form an important part of the Pāṇinian system of grammatical studies.
In modern times the Pāṇinian grammar and its commentaries have been translated into various languages and subjected to critical studies by eminent scholars in India and abroad. The present work, which forms the first part of Professor Cardona’s 8-volume project to treat the Pāṇinian grammar, is an attempt to deal with a representative part of the celebrated grammar with a view to explain its general structure and the system of its operation. In this volume, which is “fairly rudimentary” in the words of the author, he has taken up for discussion nearly one-third Sūtras of the Aṣṭādhyāyī to throw light on some important aspects of Pāṇini’s system. In order to achieve this object Prof. Cardona has divided this volume into four chapters. In the first chapter entitled “Pāṇini’s work” the author gives a brief account of the various categories of Pāṇini’s Śūtras, phonological classes, grammatical elements, Pragṛhya class, Pratyāhāras, dhatupātha and ganapātha. The second chapter, “Pāṇini’s derivational system” is devoted to the treatment of Kāraṇas, case-endings. Lakāras, feminine affixes, desideratives, denominatives, Kṛ and Kṛtya affixes, compounds, Taddhita affixes, the rules of replacement and augmentation, internal Sandhi, and accentual rules. In Chapter 3 entitled “General Principles observed in the grammar”, the author explains the relationship between the general rules and the relevant exception, between the antarāṅga and bahtrāṅga operations, and between the nitya and anitṛya operations, and the suspension of certain rules depending upon their position in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (e.g. in the tripaḍi). In the final chapter, “The Background of Pāṇini’s System,” Prof. Cardona discusses the basic forms of nominal endings and verb endings as deduced from analytical reasoning.

Prof. Cardona’s treatment of the subject is erudite and illuminating, his explanation of the the Śūtras is correct and clear, and his exposition of the procedural niceties of the Pāṇinian system is lucid and laudable. There is no doubt that Prof. Cardona’s work will be of real help to the students of the Pāṇinian grammar.

However, the treatment of the Pāṇinian Śūtras relating to the Vedic usage and the accentuation of Vedic words and passages cited in the book leave much to be desired; for the explanation of such Śūtras is perfunctory, and several Vedic words and passages have been incorrectly accented. Besides, some translations need improvement. For instance, on pages 504-505 of the book the Sanskrit sentences भिष्मज्ञस्त्र तिर्थे नति and भगवंश तिर्थे नति have been inaptly translated as “The priests are remaining there” and “The priests are remaining here”. I hope necessary corrections will be carried out in the next edition.

It is, on the whole, a scholarly contribution to the study of the Pāṇinian grammar and a welcome addition to the modern studies on
the subject. The learned author deserves our cordial congratulations on his worthy achievement.

Ram Gopal

Bhavabhūti our unki Nātya Kalā, Ayodhya Prasad Siṃh, Moti Lal Banarsi Das, 2nd ed. Delhi 1988, pp. 19 + 376, Rs.100/-. 

This is a comprehensive study of the life and Dramatic art of the great Indian dramatist of classical Sanskrit, Bhavabhūti, in Hindi. The work is divided into 9 chapters, together with some concluding remarks, a bibliography and a glossary of words.

The first chapter is devoted to a detailed account of Bhavabhūti’s personal life and a full-fledged discussion of his date. In the second chapter are discussed some basic elements of the Sanskrit drama. The third chapter contains an account of the two Rama plays—the Mahāvīracarita and the Uttarārāmacarita. The author has summarised the plot of the Mahāvīracarita, and discussed its sources, the problem of its textual criticism and the form and content of the dramatic plot. Of the second play, the Uttarārāmacarita, the author describes the plot and discusses its sources. In the fourth chapter the special features of the two foregoing dramas have been discussed. One complete chapter—the fifth—is devoted to the social play, the Mālatīmādhava, which is critically examined as a specimen of the dramatic type called Prakaraṇa. The author has tried to establish the absolute originality of the plot of this play. He is also compared it with the other famous social play in Sanskrit, the Mrčchkaṭika. He has further noted the combination of the political and the love elements in the plot.

In the sixth chapter the attitude of Bhavabhūti towards nature has been discussed in its varied aspects. In the 7th chapter the aesthetic pleasure derived from the plays has been carefully brought out. The language and style of Bhavabhūti forms the subject of chapter 8. In chapter 9 some special traits of Bhavabhūti’s plays, such as the absence of the Vidūṣaka, the preponderance of Sanskrit language in the dialogues, the dramatic value of the use of fainting fits, etc. The author has made some cogent remarks about Bhavabhūti’s originality, his general feeling of revolt toward his critics, and Bhavabhūti’s influence on later Sanskrit drama.

The author of the work under review has done full justice to the subject of Bhavabhūti’s dramatic works and art, and deserves a great
measure of praise for producing such a critically written appreciation of one of the great dramatists of classical Sanskrit. While these subjects have been dealt with in English, by eminent scholars like S.K. Belvelkar, there is a dearth of similar works in Hindi and we hold the view that the present work goes a long way in fulfilling this need. We congratulate the author whose work has gone into a second edition, and the publishers for the very nice printing—inspite of the proof-readers' lapses—and fine get-up of the work.

Jagannath Agrawal


"In a man's letters his soul lies naked" These words of Samuel Johnson apply most befittingly to the present volume of Selected Letters of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

For the pleasantly revealing picture of Coomaraswamy's personality that emerges out of the selected four hundred letters written to prominent personalities of his time the admirers of the great savant have to be grateful to the editors and Mrs. Kapila Vatsyayan through whose enterprising efforts this volume appears as the first in the series of the collected works of A.K. Coomaraswamy. The Editors, one of whom is the son of Coomaraswamy, have defined their purpose in offering these letters as "to help reintroduce western readers and especially Christians to their own proper tradition, to point out to them again the well-springs of our faith and to offer some small glimmer of the splendour of truth." In pursuance of this purpose the Editors achieve much more. They present us a unique personality of a versatile scholar and a very superior human being who with his deep erudition, encyclopaedic knowledge, staunch convictions, tolerant outlook, religious humanitarianism and sage-like compassion, shines like a beacon of soothing light.

Almost every thinkable aspect of Coomaraswamy's personality appears out of these pages in its fullest refulgence. He is a professional 'Orientalist' interested in presenting truth in an orthodox manner (p. 27). For doing so he equips himself most perfectly. He actually thinks in both Eastern and Christian terms, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Pali and to some extent Persian and even Chinese (pp. 14, 19) and insists on expoun-
ding every doctrine from all available original sources (P. 112). Naturally he is deeply interested in word meanings (P. 221) and a stickler for accuracy in translation. He is not satisfied with the rendering of “Pūnāna” by “perfect” but must translate it as “Pleroma” and “Aparokṣa” is “not out of sight” but “not beyond our ken.” (P. 263). He despises the so-called intellectual honesty of modern education which makes college-men unbelievers (P. 4). His intellectual preparation demands the study of Plato, Philo, Plotinus, Hermes, Dionysius, Eckhart, Boehme; some of John Scotus Eriigena, Nicholas of Cusa, St. Thomas Aquinas (e.g., at least the first volume of the Summa in translation), St. Bernard; The Cloud of Unknowing. Also some of the American Indian origin myths; all of Irish mythology; and the Mabinogion. Folklore generally. From the East, all of Rumi, Attar and other Sufi writings including Jamī’s Lawāīh; The Bhagavad-Gītā (in various versions, until you know it almost by heart); the Śatapatha and the other Brāhmaṇas and you know what of Chinese and Japanese yourself. When you have assimilated all this and begin to act accordingly, you will have got somewhere and will find that much of the internal conflict—“which shall rule, the better or the worse, inner or outer man”—will have subsided (P. 325).

His knowledge of Eastern and Western literature on Art, Religion and Philosophy is encyclopaedic. An idea of the books he would advise one to study can be had by a glance at pages 404 to 414. The catalogue of the positions conferred on him by academic organisations all over the world is therefore but proportionate to his achievements.

Coomaraswamy called himself a follower of the Philosophia Perennis or more specifically a Vedantin who saw no conflict between religion and science (P. 29). He had equal respect for all religions and believed that different scriptures illuminate than correct one another (P. 102). Therefore he preferred to talk of “Forms of Religion” rather than “Religions”. He contemptuously dismissed the exclusive claims of any one religion to Truth and did not hesitate to proclaim this. He agreed with Jung that “to flatter oneself that Christianity is the only Truth, the white Christ the only redeemer is insanity”. He would in fact call it Paranoia (P. 76). To him the solution to the Hindu-Muslim Problem in India could be found. “Starting from the position unequivocally affirmed by Jahangir and Darashikoh that their Vedanta is the same as our Tasawwuf” (P. 113). All proselytising was therefore anathema to him. A preacher could be a gentleman but not a proselytiser (p. 77). His interest lay in doctrinal equivalences. Therefore in his eyes “an interpretation of the Vedas is not really an interpretation of Indian Metaphysics, but of Metaphysics and it was possible to add very much to the understanding of western scriptures if they are
read in the light of Indian Ātmavidyā”.

He possessed the courage of his conviction and did not hesitate to express himself boldly even on most controversial issues. He regretted the spread in India of the class distinctions that are so characteristic of Western democracies. He would rather see the caste system intensified, especially so as regards the Brahmans, who should be demoted if they do not fill the bill; should be made Vaiśyas if they go in for money making and Śūdras when they become engineers (P. 32). To him “caste is the only system that provides the dignity of all men, whatever their occupation, the only way that integrates all men into a certain royalty, provided it is not imposed upon them merely by economic necessity” (p. 324).

The status of a person did not matter to him in the assessment of his views and he could afford to be brutally frank in expressing himself. He bluntly tells Schweitzer that his book “Christianity and the Religions of the World” was fundamentally a dishonest work.

The letters contain many utterances of Coomaraswamy on Art also. But except in one case, we are not referring to them since he is too well-known as an authority on Art, While defining Art, in the characteristic humility of the learned he says that he has no views of his own to propound but those which he had made his own (p. 385).

The letters of Coomaraswamy project him as a true intellectual par excellence and present to those having any inclination towards intellectual pursuits and particularly to his admirers a veritable feast for soul. It is really sad that Coomaraswamy’s plan to retire to the Himalayas was upset by the cruel hand of Fate. By his nature, academic equipment and intellectual pursuits he was a Rṣi in the true Indian tradition and would have enriched the treasure of works on Art and Philosophy with many more invaluable gems.

The volume carries a Foreward by Whitall N. Perry, a Preface, Acknowledgements and an enlightening Introduction. The learned editors of the volume have provided notes on personalities, works and even observations of Coomaraswamy which are very helpful. The volume is neatly printed and handsomely presented in khadi binding with a sketch of Coomaraswamy on the front cover of the jacket and his photographs at the ages of 52, 58 and 70 years as well as a photocopy of his letter to Eric Gill. There are also two photographs showing his study in his home at Needham, Massachusetts and a room in Norman Chapel, his home at Broad Campton, Gloucestershire apart from a photograph of
Albrecht Dürer's "Virgin on the Crescent" from his "Life of the Virgin" (1511) which will be received with gratification.

The Editors and the Secretary of Indira Gandhi National Centre have, with this volume, not only earned the gratitude of their readers but also whetted their appetite for more stuff of the same high standard.

O.P. Bharadwaj

_Indian Buddhism, A Survey with Bibliographical Notes_, Hejime Nakamura, 1st Indian ed., Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1987, pp. 424, Rs. 150/-. 

This remarkable work of the renowned scholar Dr. Nakamura appears as the first volume in the "Buddhist Traditions" Series being published by M/s. Motilal Banarsidass under the learned editorship of Prof. Alex Wayman. It was first published in the year 1980 from Japan and we have to thank the enterprising present publishers for making it available at a reasonable price in India.

The work is the fruit of Nakamura's "labours of twenty years" and presents a running survey of Indian Buddhism with exhaustive bibliographical notes which can well be described as encyclopaedic. As Nakamura explains in his Preface the work was originally intended to introduce recent studies on Buddhism by Japanese scholars. However, their proper evaluation necessitated attention to the works of the Western and Asian especially Indian scholars also. They have also therefore been included.

The contents are divided into six chapters, first presenting a general survey of Buddhism, second dealing with early Buddhism, third on conservative Buddhism and transition to Mahāyāna, fourth on Mahāyāna Buddhism, fifth dealing with logicians and the sixth covering esoteric Buddhism. Each chapter has been further sub-divided conveniently into suitable sections devoted to various aspects of the main subject. The work is supplemented with thirty-six pages of a very helpful addenda and corrigenda, seventeen pages of abbreviations and periodicals, an Index running into twenty-seven pages and an Errata.

While covering various aspects of Indian Buddhism in a fairly detailed manner the work supports every statement in the main text with
references to books, articles and notes relevant to it. The exhaustive nature of the bibliography that becomes available to the student in this manner can be appreciated only by a study of this unique work. The magnitude of the labour put in by Nakamura can be imagined by a glance at the very opening chapter which contains only about ten lines of texts which is supported by eleven pages of notes and references. The author does not stop at giving only the particulars of a work but often adds notes about its contents and a brief appraisal of the same. He goes even to the extent of citing the reviews of the work. It is of course true that works of this nature would always require regular revision to inlude fresh studies on the subject and the division and arrangement of topics may also have scope for further expansion, but the immense utility of Nakamura's work will be undisputed. Starting with his survey a conscientious student of Buddhism has before him an inexhaustible treasure of information on relevant literature in the light of which he can delve deeper into the points of his interest and draw his own conclusions.

This neatly printed and reasonably priced book is an invaluable aid to Buddhist studies.

O.P. Bharadwaj

_The History and Principles of Vedic Interpretation_, Ram Gopal, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi 1983, pp. 208, Rs. 90/-

This book is a very welcome addition to the works on Vedic Interpretation. With his deep knowledge of Vedic grammar and long experience in Vedic exegesis Dr. Ram Gopal is eminently qualified to pronounce on the subject and this work does full justice to it.

Opening with a Preface and List of Abbreviations the book has been divided into ten chapters. We are introduced to the subject in an Introduction of five pages. The second chapter presents the problem of Vedic interpretation and the next four deal with various schools of Vedic interpretation. The Yajñika, Aitihāsika and Nairukta have been dealt with in separate chapters while the remaining four, viz. Parivrajaka, Vaiyākaraṇa, Legal and Naidāna are covered in the sixth chapter. The seventh deals with as many as 37 ancient and medieval Bhāṣyakāras while the eighth gives an account of modern studies in Vedic exegesis in India as well as in the West starting with Ram Mohan Roy and Swami Dayānanda on one side and H.T. Colebrook on the other. The ninth undertakes a
comparative assessment of the Bhāṣyakārās and the modern interpreters, while the last concludes the work by clearly formulating principles of Vedic interpretation. There is, at the end, an Index of four pages.

Throughout his treatment of the book Dr. Ram Gopal presents a balanced appraisal of the work of Eastern commentators and Western interpreters bringing out clearly their good points as well as their limitations. The book contains a wealth of information and is full of illuminating remarks and interesting conclusions. He accepts Grassman’s Dictionary as unparalleled in the field of Vedic lexicography and points out that Grassman’s own translation of the Ṛgveda often differs from his Dictionary with regard to the meaning of Ṛgvedic words (p. 145f). He does not hesitate to criticise the prejudices and preconceptions and sometimes the religious bias of some Western scholars and to highlight their weaknesses. He rightly observes that until and unless a Vedic interpreter is thoroughly acquainted with the topography, mountains, lakes, rivers, climate, and flora and fauna of the region where the Ṛṣis saw the vision of their hymns, he cannot understand the subject-matter of the Veda. He cites Ṛgveda III. 23.4 on which Sāyana’s commentary, for lack of familiarity with the region, explains the rivers Dṛṣadvatī and Āpayā as ‘certain rivers’ (Kāchn Nādi) without identifying them and offers an utterly baseless interpretation of Mānuṣa, which is actually a lake in the Kurukṣetra region.

While underlining the principles of Vedic interpretation in the last chapter, Ram Gopal describes the intellectual equipment of an interpreter and emphasises the necessity of examining authorship and genesis of Vedic hymns, ritual application of Mantras, Metre, Devata (subject-matter), Padapāṭha, grammatical explanation of words, the meaning of words, accent, etymology, metaphors, unattached epithets and secondary sense of words. He appropriately concludes the book with the memorable observation of Abel Bergaigne that “without neglecting the light which might be shed by other sources the best method of understanding the Ṛgveda would be to read it incessantly, not hymn by hymn, but verse by verse and in a manner even word by word”.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that a careful study of this enlightening book will enable the students and scholars entering upon a study of the Veda to avoid many a pitfall in their difficult task.

O.P. Bharadwaj
Kalidasa-His Art and Culture, Ram Gopal, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi 1984, pp. xii + 153, Rs. 70/-.

Kalidasa, acknowledged as the greatest Indian poet and dramatist and often described as the Shakespeare of India, has inspired many scholars and critics to write on his life and work. Yet there will always be scope for more works to appear in future and each good work should be equally welcome.

The present work has its own distinctive features. The author’s Preface is followed by Contents and a List of Abbreviations. The seven chapters of the work deal with the life and works of Kalidasa, his date, poetic art, dramatic art, language, style and imagery, treatment of nature and concept of beauty and love. There is a Select Bibliography and an Index at the end.

Ram Gopal’s study fully bears out his observation that Kalidasa’s plays and poems not only represent the best models of belles-lettres but also convey in a subtle and charming manner, the eternal message of moral virtues and present a unique blend of fine art, refined culture, religious fervour and elevating thought (p. 12). Ram Gopal does not insist on advancing or adopting any particular view about the birth-place of Kalidasa and while acknowledging the poet’s deep attachment to Ujjayini he rightly points out that Kalidasa had widely travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and had fully imbibe our ancient Indian culture.

A speciality of Ram Gopal’s book is his comparative study of the works of Kalidasa and Aśvaghoṣa and his conclusion that the latter borrowed not only ideas and themes of description but also verbatim passages and phrases from the former. He has assembled an impressive array of parallels which are too striking to resist a conclusion that one of them must have borrowed from the other. In the opinion of Ram Gopal the borrower has to be Aśvaghoṣa and mainly on this ground he assigns to Kalidasa, a date tentatively between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. This view may not be acceptable to many scholars since Kalidasa is now generally associated with the Gupta period of Indian History.

Ram Gopal follows up his detailed description of Kalidasa’s poems and plays with his critical appreciation of the great poet’s style, treatment of nature and concept of beauty and love, supporting his observations with copious references to the texts. Kalidasa’s language is flawless, and his metrical skill of the highest order. His use of imagery reveals his power of imagination, refinement of thought and aesthetic taste. his
outlook on life, his keen observation of life and nature and his mastery of various branches of knowledge. The variety of his similes is unparalleled (p. 105 f). The excellent and elevating description of nature is the very soul of his poetry (p. 119). And, as if in the poet's own style, Ram Gopal observes that "like Śiva who swallowed poison churned out of the ocean for the welfare of the world, Kālidāsa swallows ugliness and unpleasantness and offers only beauty and delight to his readers" (p. 133).

Lovers of Kālidāsa in particular and Sanskrit literature in general will find a perusal of Ram Gopal's study interesting as well as profitable.

O.P. Bharadwaj


The author of this book, Rohit Mehta, (born 1908) is well known as a freedom fighter, socialist and theosophist. His present book deals with the problem of man's self-transmigration in the midst of artificial and soulless civilization. The author seeks the solution of the problem in the synthesis of Yoga and Tantra. Yoga and Tantra are the two principal traditions of India. According to the author only a successful synthesis between the two will lead to the full flowering of the individual and only a transformed individual can become a nucleus for fundamental social change. The author has his own philosophy of science which he tries to bring into harmony with his philosophy of human individuality and society. He aims at restructuring the world in such a way that man will outgrow the technology and rise up as a master of his free self.

The book is divided into twenty chapters. Some of the interesting chapters are: the energy crisis, the spiral movement, the mind-brain syndrome. The stream consciousness, union with oneself, etc. The book contains a select bibliography and index.

It should be remembered that the present book is not a product of an Indologist-academician but of an independent thinker and mystic. When seen from this point of view, it will definitely make thought-provoking reading and give satisfaction to those who seek for glorious mysticism.

G.U. Thite

It is the most popular introductory text for the beginners of the Mīmāṃsā studies and as Edgerton observes "its possible rival is the *Arthasastra* of Laṅgākṣi Bhāskara", (ibid, Preface, p. v). It is happy to note that one of the above-mentioned two works or both the works appears/appear as a textbook/textbooks at one or another level in the courses of Sanskrit of various universities in India. The importance and popularity of the "Āpadevi" may easily be understood from the two commentarial works of the twentieth century thereon, viz. one called "Śārvivecini" by MM. Cinnaswami and another called "Prabhā" by MM. Vasudeva Shastri Abhayankar.

Edgerton published the first edition of the *Āpadevi* in 1929 A.D. from New Haven and it was out of print for a number of years. It is true that there are some other editions of it; but this edition has its own significance and Sri Satguru Publications has rendered a valuable service to the world of Sanskrit studies in particular and Indological studies in general by publishing this Indian edition.

For ready reference it may be noted that the book under review contains the Preface, Introduction (pp. 1-35), English translation of the text (pp. 37-189), the Sanskrit text in the Roman Script (pp. 193-273), Indices : Glossorial Index of Sanskrit words (pp. 277-298), Index of Quotations (pp. 299-302), and Index of English Words (pp. 303-308).

The Introduction (pp. 1-33) discusses the following points: the constitution of the text printed in this edition; contents of the work; the author, who flourished "if the early part of the seventeenth century" (ibid, p 18; P.V. Kane assigns him to 1610—1680 A.D. ibid, p. 1199), sources: Vedic references; (i) from the Taittirīya school, (ii) Maitrāyaṇiya school, (iii) Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa and (iv) Vājasaneyin School.

The present edition is an offset edition of the earliest edition and hence there being no new material or revision there is nothing special to comment on this edition; one, however, would wish that when the next
edition, *i.e.* the third edition, is brought out by the publishers, they may give the Sanskrit text in the Devanāgarī script in an appendix to facilitate the easy consultation of the Sanskrit text for those who have not much practice of consulting the Sanskrit text in the Roman script.

The publishers deserve our heartiest congratulations for bringing out this Indian edition. It is hoped that they will bring out Indian editions of other works which are now out of print and not available and thus serve the cause of Sanskrit and Indological studies.

S.G. Kantawala


2. *An Evaluation of the Vedantic Critique of Buddhism*, Gregory J. Darling, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1987, pp. 393, Rs. 175/-.  


The clustering of the above-mentioned four books can be justified by pointing out that their common ground is the intellectual traditions of India. The multi-dimensional disposition of India’s intellectual traditions offers an infinite range of potential speculation and deliberation. Knowledge being *anatapāra*, i.e., boundless, India’s intellectual exercise has been a never-ending continuous process. Although, in view of this, there are no linear frontiers of Indian intellectual traditions, the question which often is being asked these days is; was there a hard-core intellectual tradition in India? The identification, and perhaps also the appreciation, of the putative nucleus of India’s intellectual traditions seems to be one of the basic concerns of the volume edited by Daya Krishna. The books by Darling and Hoffman have one thing in common, viz., Buddhism, as the theme for the discussion. The former tries to detonate the critique of Buddhism by way of pointing out the contradictions inherent in the critique, while the objective of Hoffman is but
to highlight the intellectual essence of early Buddhism as envisaged in
the Pāli Nikāyas. The book on the medieval trends in Indian painting
belongs altogether to a different genre. It deals with the objective and
subjective speculation on a possible change that characterised the paint-
ings of mediaeval India.

Daya Krishna's book is a compilation of twelve articles contribu-
ted by as many authors, one article being of joint authorship and two
by a single author. These articles were presented by the scholars at
Seminars and Group Meetings organized by the Indian Council of
Philosophical Research. In addition to these articles, the book contains
a thought-provoking introductory essay by the editor himself, and this
is followed by a summary of the discussions of the preliminary meeting
on India's Intellectual Traditions. At the end, there is a detailed index
of the subjects and personalities of the discussion and a brief chronologi-
cal chart of the different strands of criticism in India, sixth century B.C.
to eighteenth century A.D.

Although the Smṛti texts, and also the Arthāśāstra, have been the
sources of the discussion in some of the articles, the pivotal role seems
to have been played by the Nāṭyaśāstra. Daya Krishna has, in his
article, explained the reason why the scholars preferred this text as the
premise. In spite of the fact that there are some overlappings in these
articles concerned with the Nāṭyaśāstra, it has to be admitted that they
have struck some fundamental issues and have put forth the inter-relationships
of the concepts in the Indian context and also in the world perspec-
tive. Ancient Indian thinkers and authors made fundamental contribu-
tions in different areas of Man's thought and culture, both spiritual
and material. In the intellectual galaxy of India, and perhaps in the
world wisdom, many names have been enshrined for ever. One such
name is no doubt that of Bharata, the author of the celebrated Nāṭyaśāstra.
Of the other celebrated figures the names of Kauṭilya, the author of the
Arthāśāstra, of Vātsyāyana, the author of the Kāmasūtra are equally
important. These texts should also be explored in order to grasp the
true import of the intellectual traditions of India. F. Max Muller
observed that "there are only two nations in the whole history of the
world which have conceived independently, and without suggestions
from others, the two sciences of Logic and Grammer, the Hindus (i.e.,
the Indians) and the Greeks". The Indians "excel in accuracy and the
Greeks in grasp". The essays of the volume under review initiate the
probe to discover the logical and structural accuracy of Indian intellec-
tualism manifest in some of the treatises that have preserved it for the
posterity. All the articles, though not of the same standard of
academic excellence, are the results of serious research of competent
authorities.
The volume edited by Daya Krishna has obviously a very modest aim and does not pretend to have made any exhaustive treatment of the subject. But it will be able to inspire the readers to explore deeper into the intellectual traditions of India. We look forward to the follow-up Seminars of the type from the Indian Council of Philosophical Research.

The Brahmasūtra, also known as the Vedāntasūtra or Śāṅkara Śāṅkara śāstra, is of the category of Uttara-mimāṃsā which is essentially investigative in nature. The investigation pertains to the nature of the Brahman. The second section (adhyāya) of the Brahmasūtra has been interpreted by Śāṅkara, Madhava, and Rāmānuja, and their interpretations have been construed to refute Buddhism. This refutation having had the distinction of the stamps of authorities like Śāṅkara and others, was hardly questioned. But Darling refuses to accept the critique without evaluating the merit of it in the light of an analytical vivisection of the relevant section of the Brahmasūtra. With this end in view, Darling compares the conflicting interpretations of the three commentators and brings out some of the subtle and gross fallacies involved in their expositions. Moreover, Darling discovers that these commentators have often misinterpreted the positions of Buddhism upheld in its texts. He has pointed out that, not infrequently, the positions of Buddhism were even distorted by them in order to suit their own postulates. Whether this was done out of their ignorance of Buddhism, or with a covert motive, Darling is of the view that their critique of Buddhism is for the most part misdirected.

Darling also comes out with some revelatory expositions like the parallelisms existing between Śāṅkara’s Vedānta and Buddhism. He even envisages historical relationships between the two. Although some aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism bear semblance of reflections of the Upaniṣadic tenets, and thus Śāṅkara’s Vedāntic expositions do not seem to be far removed from the Mahāyāna Buddhist ethos, it should be admitted that the alleged similarity is more apparent than real. Darling’s detailed analysis of the Brahmasūtra II. 2.18-32 in the light of the interpretations of Śāṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhava has brought out the similarities and differences among the three commentaries, and also the contradictions within each of them. This part of the study by itself is an important contribution of Darling. However, there are a few instances of repetition of statements in his text. On the front face of the jacket of the book is shown the photograph of a seated image of Brahmā. We hope that it is there merely to serve the decorative purpose, and it does not have any illustrative role to play. After all, the god Brahmā and Brahmā—the theme of the Brahmasūtra—are not interchangeable concepts.
Hoffman has defined "early Buddhism" as "the Buddhism of the five Nikāyas". These are the Digha, Majjhima, Anguttara, Samyutta and Khuddaka Nikāyas. He has studied the topics like Rationality and Logic, Rationality and Pessimism, Mind and Rebirth, Mind and Verification, and the Deathless (Ātma) with reference to these texts of Buddhism. Not only that. He has tried to reconstruct the thoughts in terms of the points of view of the contemporary philosophy of religion. Fortunately, he has not tried to transpose contemporary thoughts to the ideologies of early Buddhism or vice versa. He has not only restricted himself to the texts and the relevant contexts, but he has authenticated the discussion with copious citations from established authorities, textual and scholarly. The book is primarily addressed to the students of Buddhism. But researchers and scholars of philosophical or religious studies will also find the book extremely useful.

The book on Medieval Trends in Indian Paintings by Srivastava does not bear the standard of scholarship presented in the three books mentioned above. It is the published version of a poorly researched Ph. D. thesis. The author claims, in his Preface, that it is the revised version of his (Ph. D.) dissertation. One wonders what was the quality of the thesis, that means the unrevised version of the present book, which earned him the Doctorate from the Central University like the B.H.U.!

The book is written entirely on the basis of secondary sources. The author has not even cared to consult the available published materials on the subject. Although he has mentioned fifteen publications in his Bibliography, he seems to have actually consulted only five books, as the notes given by him at the end of the chapters will bear out. His ignorance about many notable publications that could make him conscious about his limitations is responsible for the publication of such a book of extremely poor standard.

It will be an unworthy exercise to analyse the contents of the book. But I quote below the opening paragraph of the book by way of a sample of the things that the reader is destined to find in the pages (fortunately another fifty-nine only) that follow:

"The earliest trends of individualism in Indian painting is noticed in the murals of the Kailasanath temple at Ellora. Here the paintings have been found in two layers among which the first layer belongs to about 8th century and the later one which has done between 9th century and 10th century A.D. In the first layer of Ajanta is having still some tendencies. Among these some new tendencies the excess of the length of
the nose and the farther eye both of which protrude outside the limit of three quarter profile (Pl. I)"

It is a pity that such books are written, and they get published too!

D.C. Bhattacharyya


_Nitya-sumangali_ (‘Ever-auspicious-female’), a Ph. D. dissertation of the University of Utrecht (1984), forms a highly interesting and instructive survey of the tradition of _deva-dāsis_, being female dancers and songstresses, dedicated to the services of South Indian temples, a system which was current till about the early decades of this century. The book is a product of the author’s inquisitive, appreciative and sympathetic study of both tradition and everyday life of these artistes, for nearly ten years from 1975. There again, this study, as the author notes, is not intended to be a sociological, historical or philosophical description of the phenomenon; it is, rather, an attempt to depict the practical training of the performers with an understanding of its aesthetics. Towards this, the author has read extensively into early Sanskrit and Tamil sources and also contemporary writings, besides doing substantial field-work by witnessing performances in temples and living with _devadāsi_ families. This latter aspect has given the work a touch of authenticity to what it depicts.

In the introductory chapter (pp. 1-85), the author provides a well documented account of the presence and function of the danseuses in South Indian temples and royal courts, from the Sangam period down the times of the Pallavas, Colas and Pāṇḍyas. She indicates how the art attained maturity during the Vijayanagar hagemony and how, at the disintegration of that hagemony, the art got entrenched in the Naik and Maratha courts at Tanjore.

The prime contribution of the work is contained in Ch II (pp. 87-117), wherein is given a well-documented account of the function and form of the _devadāsi_ tradition in the temple ritual. The author bases herself on the _Āgamas’ Sanhitās, Tantras and Paddhatis_, both in Sanskrit and in Tamil, towards identifying and describing the several rituals, performed daily, monthly or yearly, as the case might be. This is supple-
mented by her impressions at witnessing personally the performances in temples and by the descriptions given to her by members of the devadāst families. The choreography of some of the songs used during the rituals, as set out by the author, is also instructive.

An analysis of the rites and rituals employed in the initiation of an ‘ordinary’ girl towards transforming her into a devadāst ‘proper’ forms the burden of the Thrid Chapter (pp. 170-209). The marriage of the girl to a sword, spear or trident as proxy to the deity is also described. It is also indicated that this initiation makes it obligatory on her part to perform certain duties connected with the worship in the temple, and that, in return, she enjoys certain rights throughout her life and even in the matter of her absequees.

It goes to the credit of the author that she has supplemented and correlated the material on the devadāst tradition culled from literary sources with information collected from the living tradition. The book is thus a valuable addition in the field of temple worship in South India and also a contribution to sociological studies allied to this tradition.

K.V. Sarma


The monumental five-volume History of Indian Philosophy by S.N. Dasgupta (1857-1952), while establishing his reputation as one of the foremost historians of Indian philosophy, has had, perhaps, the effect of shutting out from popular credence his versatility, deep knowledge of Sanskrit and his interest in the scientific disciplines of ancient India. The book reviewed here is welcome as much for this reason as for its setting out certain aspects of early speculations in the sphere of physical sciences. It comprises of two long papers of Dasgupta, the first entitled ‘Matter and motion’ and the second ‘Theories of cosmic changes’; to the latter is added an appendix ‘Genesis of the tattvātrās’. The papers were originally written in different context at the instance of distinguished compatriots like Dwaraka Prasad Sarvadhikari, J.C. Bose and Ashutosh Mookherji.
A word of caution is needed to the unwary reader who might expect in the book an exhaustive treatment of the several scientific disciplines which the title *Natural science of the ancient Hindus* might suggest. While the author himself expresses his doubts on the matter, in the words: "It was with some degree of hesitation that I had to choose the title of this book. I do not know if I have done it rightly" (Author’s Preface, p. vii), the Editor explaining the position in so many words says, "Apparently it was more of the nature of casual talk than a really scholarly work on the scientific activities of ancient India. Besides, its scope is somewhat limited. Dasgupta concentrates in this work mainly on the scientific potentials of some of the prominent philosophical texts and hence does not take note of many important dimensions of the scientific activities in ancient India, like mathematics, astronomy and even medicine." (Editors's Note, p. vi).

Within the limitations indicated above, the volume is an extremely informative and thought-provoking monograph. The author, with remarkable forensic skill, analyses the speculations, definitive statements and observations recorded in early Indian philosophical texts and weaves his findings in a logical manner and presents a comparative and sequential account of the scientific thought currents of early India.

In the first essay, 'Matter and motion', the author analyses the different views advocated by different philosophical schools, bifurcating them into two, the 'Evolutionists', represented by Sākhyā, Yoga and Vaiṣṇavism, and 'Realists' represented by Nyāya, Vaiśesika, Mīmāṁsā and Jainism. As study of these on comparison with the theories and speculations made by Western scientific philosophers, especially those of the post-Reformation age, like Boyle, Priestly, Kelvin and Faraday, shows, according to Dasgupta, that, while in the West the stress was on the scientific interest of solving the problems of the physical world or finding out means and ways for adapting any knowledge about them for the utility of the community or, at least, to give a rational explanation of the work the stress in India was on explaining the physical world in strict consistency with their views on metaphysics. He goes even to the extent of saying that "There is practically no indication in the whole field of Indian literature that any investigation regarding the laws of nature or the chemical properties of matter merely for their own sake was pursued, except what we find in Hindu astronomy and medicine." (p. 3).

The second essay on 'Theories of cosmic changes' (pp. 51-83), for which the author had originally given the more self-explanatory title, 'Evolution theories of the Hindus' (Author's Preface, p. viii), forms an analytic statement of the evolution of the universe as digested from
three sources, including the Vedic, Purāṇa and philosophical literatures. The third is particularly noteworthy in that it identifies the theories set out by different philosophical schools, often one compared with the others. The Appendix to the volume on "Genesis of the tattvārthas" (pp. 85-94) is really an elaboration of the Sāśkhyā view mentioned in the second essay.

The worth of the book rests on the fact that we have, herein, an authentic account of the views on Matter, Motion and Evolution held in Indian tradition, presented in a matter-of-fact manner. They are also compared and contrasted among themselves and with the corresponding views held by philosophers and scientists in the West. While the book is nicely produced and got up, the price of Rs. 50 for a book of about hundred pages seems to be rather on the higher side.

K.V. Sarma

Golādhyāya From the Siddhāntaśiromani of Bhāskarācārya, Ed. with his own Vāsanā-bhāṣya, Marici of Muṇiśvara and an original Hindi commentary by Pt. Kedar Datt Joshi, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1988. pp. 5+95+619, Rs. 120/-.

The Siddhāntaśiromani of Bhāskarācārya II (born A.D. 1144) is, perhaps, the most popular textbook in traditional mathematics and astronomy in India from when it was composed about A.D. 1150 till today. The main reasons for this are well known, but are worth repeating. First, it is a 'complete' work, comprising of Arithmetic and Geometry in its First Part, Lilāvati, Algebra in its Second Part Bijaganita, Calculatory astronomy in its Third Part, Grahagāntītādhyāya and Spherical astronomy in its Fourth Part Golādhyāya. Secondly, the Four Parts, together portray the acme of mathematical and astronomical knowledge reached at that period. Thirdly, the author himself supplies his own notes and illustrations, so that what was in his mind, as expressed through the sūtra-like verses, is explained by himself. And, fourthly, the work is couched in mellifluous verses, which it is a pleasure to read and remember. The large number of commentaries written on the work and the profuse manuscripts of the work obtained from all parts of the country is but a corroboration to the above.

The volume reviewed here contains the Fourth Part of Siddhāntaśiromani to which Pt. Kedar Datt Joshi has added the Vāsanā-bhāṣya of
Bhāskarācārya himself, the highly instructive commentary *Marici* of Muniśvarā _alias_ Viśvaśīma (A.D. 1603) and a detailed Hindi commentary written by the Editor himself. This last is particularly useful to students in that it adds a number of worked out examples besides annotating the textual verses. The Editor has also added a detailed Introduction which gives a resume of the the Four Parts of *Siddhāntaśṭhāpatī* highlighting the specific contributions made by Bhāskarācārya in each Part, besides some information about early astronomers of India and some later workers like Sudhakara Dwivedi and Bapudeva Shastri.

The present edition of *Golādhyāya* would thus form an excellent textbook for students of Indian Astronomy. However, towards making the edition more handy and effective to the students as well as to the interested scholar, the undermentioned suggestions might be kept in view when a new edition of the work is contemplated. (1) In place of the 'sparse' Table contents giving merely the names of the chapters, a 'detailed' contents could be added indicating the topics dealt with in each chapter. (2) Topical headings have to be added to the 95-page Introduction and the text itself as also the commentaries, (3) Add a Subject Index to the volume. (4) Add also other useful referential indexes like the Index of quotations in the commentary with the identification of the sources thereof.

The volume is not free from misprints, especially the Introduction, and there too the Sanskrit passages quoted, which thereby become mutilated and nonsensical in many cases. See, for instance, p. 69, शुचः; for शुचः शुचाणः for शुचाणः; लोम for लोम; बिलोमः; for बिलोमः; आयाम for आयामः; कला for कला; प्रार्य for प्रार्यः; etc. Often single words are broken up into two (e.g. सुर्य सिद्धान्त p. 69) and separate words put together (e.g. कलस्मयथिन्यः). Sometimes letters and words in verses are omitted (e.g. आयामःच्छ्रोतित्वं for आयामःच्छ्रोतित्वं and दक्षिणाभिक्षु for सार्वेद्य दक्षिणाभिक्षु, p. 65. At times unnecessary letters are inserted, e.g. मनोहरे for मनोहरे p. 14.

It is to be hoped that the suggestions give above will, when effected, render the present edition as one of the best in the field of this highly important work on Indian astronomy.

K.V. Sarma
Elements of Indian Architecture, José Pereira, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1987, pp. 147-47 illustrations, Rs. 150/-.

Architecture is the matrix of civilization. The architecture of a country provides the principal visible and material records of the intellectual evolution of its people and since every significant cultural movement makes its particular contribution to the art of building, it also gives a glimpse of the aspirations of the people and their way of life through its various substantial forms. India is lucky to possess a rich architectural heritage which few countries in the world match. Even a superficial study of the ancient monuments would reveal that the outstanding quality of Indian architecture is its spiritual content and that the fundamental purpose of the building art was to represent in concrete form the prevailing consciousness of the people. It is mind materialized in terms of rock, brick or stone.

India has a long history. The chalcolithic Harappan (or Indus) Civilization which evolved here during the third millennium B.C. was the most extensive of the contemporary world. The Harappans have left some very important examples, mostly in brick, of the military, hydraulic and civic architecture. The art of brick-buildings seems to have subsequently been replaced by wooden construction which accounts for almost a complete paucity of monumental relics till about the time of the Buddha when the use of brick was revived. The monumental Asokan pillars of polished Chunar sandstone and the late Mauryan rock-cut caves reveal alien impact and the existence of xylic prototypes. It is from this period that the story of Indian architecture runs incessantly and we see the evolution and devolution of certain architectural forms and features in the numerous extant monuments which have survived the vicissitudes of time and clime.

The book under review deals with one such element, the column or the pillar, as its specific theme, and not with the different elements of architecture as the title would suggest. With obvious emphasis on typology in architecture, the author acquaints us with his approach based on the visual method, which is concerned more with objects than with texts and a distrust of theosophy in art criticism. He has evolved his own terminology to explain the different components of the column and its evolution. Quite in consonance with the western viewpoint, the author holds that the column in India evolved under the western impact, though the Indians made some innovations here and there. We may or may not agree with all that has been said in this monograph, but it goes to the credit of the author that he has tried to give some logical order to the evolution of the 'order' seen in its myriad forms in Indian monuments. His language and style is lucid and the large number of line-
drawings help us understand his viewpoint. The applicability and superiority of the typological and mathematical approach for the study of art and architecture, however, have to be duly considered before declaring any method as more efficacious and absolute.

The printing and get up of the book are satisfactory and the price reasonable.

Devendra Handa

*A Study of Patañjali*, Surendranath Dasgupta, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2nd Ed. 1989, pp. xv+181, Rs. 100/-.

In the galaxy of Indian Philosophers who have contributed a lot in the field of history of philosophy the name of late Prof. Surendranath Dasgupta would always be remembered with great honour. His views and remarks on ancient Indian philosophy are regarded as systematic and authentic ones and studied and quoted by both Indian and Western scholars alike with great zeal.

The book under review was first published in 1920 by the University of Calcutta on the eve of author’s visit to England. It may be pointed out that this book was the first of the author’s many works on Indian philosophy. It was basically written as the Griffith Memorial Prize Essay as early as in 1914. It gives an authentic account of the Yoga system of thought as contained in the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali as interpreted by Vyāsa, Vacaspati and Vijñānavabikṣu with casual references to the views of the other systems. Notwithstanding the fact that the author has dwelt on the subject in a more advanced and comprehensive manner in his another book entitled *Yoga Philosophy in Relation to other Systems of Indian Thought* (University of Calcutta, 1930 reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi), this book, giving a brief outline of the Yoga system of Patañjali, proved to be very useful to the students of Yoga Philosophy. In a very short period it was out of stock and remained out of print for a long time. Judging the merit of the book the Indian Council of Philosophical Research, New Delhi took it up for its immediate publication. Since the book was published in 1920, Mrs. Surama Dasgupta, the wife of late Prof. Dasgupta, herself revised it thoroughly and prepared the press copy for its republication. Originally, the book was in the form of a long continuous essay. It had no chapter-division. But this edition comes as an improvement upon the previous one. Now it is divided into ten chapters with headings and sub-headings. The quota-
tions from Sanskrit sources, originally given in the body of the book, have been transferred to the footnotes. A few explanatory notes, too, have been given mostly in footnotes or in brackets. The Sanskrit words have been transliterated with suitable diacritical marks. Though all passages from Sanskrit texts have been given in Roman script in the body of the book, however, in the footnotes all Sanskrit passages are given in Devanāgarī.

The book, in ten chapters, discusses, in brief, almost all important topics pertaining to the Yoga philosophy in a very systematic way. The introductory chapter deals with the problems relating to Prakṛti, Puruṣa and their mutual relationship as found in Vadānta, Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Here it has been conclusively established that there is a seeming reflection of Puruṣa in the Buddhi that appears as the ego, the cogniser of all our states, pleasures and sorrows of mind. The Puruṣa is altogether different from the Buddhi in as much as it is the pure intelligence and absolutely free, while the latter is non-intelligent and dependent on the Puruṣa’s enjoyment and release. The pure Buddhi can adapt itself to the pure form of the Puruṣa which is almost identical with state of Kalvalya. The second chapter deals with the Puruṣa and the gunas in Sāṅkhya-Yoga cosmogony. Here the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta doctrines in the context of plurality of Puruṣa and the evolution of gunas have been discussed in detail. In the third chapter the author has discussed the nature of cosmic evolution. The fourth chapter deals with the theories of evolution and God. The fifth chapter contains discussions on the ethical doctrines such as Vṛtti, Sanskāra, Avidyā, classification of Karma, etc. The sixth chapter gives an account of ethical practices which lead to salvation. The seventh chapter deals with the Yogic conduct of life, namely, yama, niyama, āsana prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi. The eighth chapter gives analysis of miscellaneous doctrines relating to Yoga philosophy of Patañjali in comparison to western concepts. The psychology of Yoga has also found place for discussion in this chapter.

Patañjali is not only an expounder of Yoga philosophy, but also a grammarian-philosopher. In his Mahābhāṣya he has discussed many topics pertaining to philosophy of grammar while explaining the sūtras of Pāṇinī’s Aṣṭādhyāyī. What is a ‘word’ and what relation it has to its ‘meaning’ and the ‘object’ which it signifies all have been the main problems of philosophy in almost all branches of thought, and many theories have been propounded in this regard. Patañjali, the grammarian as well as philosopher, has propounded the theory of sphoṭavāda to explain the concept of ‘word’ and its relation to ‘meaning’ and ‘object’. This theory of sphoṭa has been discussed in the ninth chapter. The views of Vaiśeṣikas, Mīmāṁsakas and grammarians have also been
elucidated in brief for comparison. But due pronouncement has been given on the spheṭa theory of Patañjali. The tenth chapter as a recapitulation, in a nutshell, presents a very clear idea of Patañjali’s Yoga philosophy as discussed in previous chapters.

The well-documented work contains an index giving the technical terms, proper names referred to and topics discussed in the book.

The get-up and printing of the book are excellent.

B.B. Chaubey


The Vedas are the most ancient literature of the world. Though they are traditionally regarded as apauruṣeya or the composition of God Himself, or eternal, the language used, shows a tendency of its being a spoken language of the time. The richness and variety of the uses evidently prove that it was a language of speech. A language, by nature, is originally used in the society and has no restriction of grammar at all. But with the growth of time gradually it becomes systematic throwing away the plurality of usages. For correctness uniformity of usages becomes a necessity, and as a result of this, many a word and usage gradually become obsolete. In a country where ancient literature is not preserved or connected with the culture of the people such words and usages do not matter much. But in a country like India where its most ancient literature, viz., Veda is regarded in high esteem, it is but natural that people should make effort to preserve and explain the original words, howsoever difficult and unintelligible they might have become. By the time of Yāska the Vedic language had become out of use and received a designation Anvadhāya, i.e., ‘a language for study’ in comparison to the then spoken language called Bhāṣā. Yāska concentrated upon the explanation of Vedic language and gave etymologies of hundreds of such difficult words. On the basis of unintelligibility of such words people like Kautsa and many others had openly begun to declare that Vedic mantras were meaningless, as words used in them had no meaning at all.

Thanks to the efforts of Yāska and his many predecessors whom he has quoted in his Nitrūkta Vedic Mantras were saved from their being
declared as meaningless. However, Yāska could not give a systematic explanation to Vedic usages which had become quite different from the Bhāṣā. It was Pāṇini who for the first time made comprehensive study of both Vedic and post-Vedic (generally called classical Sanskrit) languages and wrote his monumental work, viz., Aṣṭādhyāyī. Though Pāṇini has given special emphasis to the Sanskrit language, which was spoken and written in his time, the treatment of Vedic language is not neglected at all. He tried to justify the Vedic usages in addition to their Sanskrit usages. However, no separate treatment of the two languages was made by Pāṇini.

After Pāṇini, Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya and Jayāditya and Vāmana in their Kāṭikā, too, follow the same process of treatment of the two languages. It was Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita who for the first time realised the necessity of dealing the grammar of two languages separately and accordingly he made a new arrangement of Pāṇinian sūtras according to the topics. In his Sūḍhāntakaumudi he gave a separate section called Valdiki Prakṛtyā collecting all the sūtras of Pāṇini dealing with the peculiarities of Vedic language. Since then the Valdiki Prakṛtyā has been the subject of study for those who wanted to study Veda through Pāṇinian system. No doubt many a work has now come to light challenging the Pāṇinian treatment of Vedic language, however, the importance of the Pāṇinian system cannot be overlooked for the study of the Vedic language.

The present work under review being a critical, comprehensive and authentic commentary in Hindi of the Valdiki Prakṛtyā of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is an important piece of work for the students of Veda to understand the sūtras of Pāṇini on Vedic language. Each and every Vedic word quoted by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita to illustrate its linguistic peculiarity, has been fully explained by the author in a very systematic way. What is the effect of a particular suffix added to the root in forming a word has been clearly shown in comparison to the formation of a classical word from the same root. What are the functions of anubandhas in the formation of words have been illustrated in a very systematic manner quoting the relevant sūtras of Pāṇini. At places where there is controversy about the correct meaning of the sūtras, or formation of the words, various opinions of scholars have been quoted and effort has been made to give the correct interpretation in this regard. Not only the old texts like Kāṭikā and Brhacchadbendutekharā but modern authorities like Whitney, Wackernagel, Macdonell, Ramgopal and many others have been quoted and their views discussed.

I would like to point out certain discrepancies so that the same may be removed in the second edition of the book, when it comes out
(i) While interpreting the words ब्रह्मनि and क्षत्रवनि the author renders them as: (i) ब्रह्मनि = ब्रह्मक भविष्यति करते वाला या ब्रह्माणि को भविष्यति करते वाला.

(ii) क्षत्रवनि = क्षत्रवनिम् (क्षत्रियों की भविष्यति करते वाला) (p 25). These renderings of ब्रह्मनि and क्षत्रवनि are not correct. Both Uvaşa and Mahidhara explain these words as ब्रह्म एवं यदृ वनीति संज्ञाते तत्कष्ट ग्रहक्षत्रवनि—Uvaşa (that which attains brahma). ब्रह्मण्या ब्रह्मणेन वा वन्ये पुरोदा-पतिष्टवयम् स्वीकृती इति ब्रह्मनि—Mahidhara (that which is accepted by brahma or Brähmana for baking of Purodāśa).

MWD takes ब्रह्मनि to mean ‘devoted to Brahmans’ on the authority of Mahidhara, and क्षत्रवनि to mean ‘favourable to the princely order’.

On p. 26 the author explains ब्रह्मनि and क्षत्रवनि as ब्रह्माणि को जीतने वाला (the winner of Brahmans) and क्षत्रियों को जीतने वाला (the winner of Kṣatriyas) on the authority of Dr. Ramgopal (*Vāldika Vyākaraṇa*, p. 801). This rendering refutes the previous one as given by the author on p. 25.

It may be pointed out that the reading of the mantra text is ब्रह्मनि यज्ञा क्षत्रवनि यज्ञा (YVM. 17), not ब्रह्मनि यज्ञा क्षत्रियों यज्ञा as quoted by the author.

On p. 13 the mantra यज्ञा ब्रह्मनि यज्ञा (Tait S.I.1.4.1) has wrongly been quoted as मा हृदिया यज्ञा क्षत्रियों यज्ञा Moreover the rendering ‘यज्ञाः मां स्त्रियाः ग्रहितां धन्य करो’ as given by the author is faulty. Actually मा हृदिया is one mantra and हृदिया यज्ञा यज्ञा समीक्ष्ये is another one. The correct rendering thereof should be: ‘(O pot) do not be crooked/curved. I look unto you with the eye of a friend’.

Besides, there are so many Vedic mantras which are wrongly quoted and translated by the author in the book. These should be checked and corrected in the next edition.

(ii) While giving the grammatical formation of आप्रां: on p. 15 in the mantra आप्रां तपाण्योविधी अन्तरिक्षम् (*RV* I.115.1) the author takes it as one word. He says that according to the aphorism ‘वृद्धिष्टिः कृष्णद्वस्य’ is added to the root आप्रां, and in Aorist 3rd sing. the form is श्र-आप्रां-तु and by dropping the final तु according to the aphorism हुल्ला वाघ्यो etc., the verbal form आप्रां is obtained. But this view of the author does not seem to be correct. आप्रां is not a single verbal form. The author of the *Pada-text*
separates अभाषः as two words अभा and अभ्य। (see Padapātha अभाज्ञा). Sāyaṇa too, takes अभाषः to mean अभा समतात् अपूर्वत् and accordingly derives it as : अभाषः । पुरवणः लक्ष पुत्रवेच्यः । Here in the mantra-text the verbal form is अभाषः which is in 2nd sing. in the Aṣṭīṣ. He takes it as Puruṣavatayāyā. The interpretation as well as the grammatical formation of अभाषः as given by Sāyaṇa is correct. Macdonell takes अभाषः as a form in 3rd sing also.

In spite of these discrepancies the book is very useful for the students of Vedic grammar. We welcome this work. I hope similar works will come out from his pen on various branches of Vedic grammar.

Printing and get-up of the book are fine.

B.B. Chaubey

Sati, Historical and Phenomenological Essays, Arvind Sharma and Others; Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1988, pp. xvii+129, Rs. 75.00.

The fire which was supposed to be extinguished by an official promulgation of the 4th December 1829, continued to simmer for sometime before it was taken to be at final rest in the post-independence India. The blaze was seen again in 1986 at Deorala, when Roop Kanwar was burnt on the funeral pyre of her dead husband, which set aflame a controversy amongst intellectuals and masses alike on the practice of Sati—an age old custom (rite) in India. Recently there have been media reports, articles, seminars and legislative debates on this topic, which ultimately resulted in a legal ban on the glorification of Sati, but it has not set the problem at rest. In these circumstances, a work on Sati in its historical perspective from the pens of Dr. Arvind Sharma of the McGill University, Montreal and his colleagues Drs. Ajit Ray, Alka Hejib and Katherine K. Young is a welcome addition to the already existent literature on the topic.

The book contains twelve brief essays on various aspects of Sati ranging from its antiquity and scriptural sanction in Hinduism to its abolition in the 19th century; and from the indigenous sanctions for the commission of Sati and protests against it to the Western and Indian reactions to this practice in the modern times. Of its twelve chapters, nine have been contributed by Dr. Sharma, two by Dr. Ray and the last by Dr. Hejib and Dr. Young.
In the first chapter of this work, 'A study of the Western reactions', Dr. Sharma has analysed the attitude of the Europeans towards the custom of Sati and has pointed out that it was not always of condemnation of the practice, but it was often admired for the spirit of bravery and heroism demonstrated by it. In the second chapter on 'the tradition of indigenous protest against Sati' he has shown that the rite was not always supported by the Indians, as is generally believed, but was vehemently opposed right from the beginning down to modern times by enlightened writers and intellectuals like Bana, Medhatithi, Viraja and others. In the third chapter he rightly concludes, 'the reactions of admiration and condemnation towards Sati do not divide along cultural lines; in fact they cross cultural lines. There have been admirers of Sati among the Greeks, the Muslims, the British; there have been critics of Sati among the Hindus'.

A very important and controversial question of scriptural sanction behind this custom has been dealt in a critical manner in chapter six, where Dr. Sharma rightly concludes that it does not have the sanction of the shruti literature at all and the smriti literature sanctions it only partially. Actually the literature of the pre-Gupta period is completely silent about the prevalence of this rite. It would have been better also to pick up the questions whether Sati originated in India or the custom came from some foreign land; and whether we get instances of a parallel institution elsewhere in the world also, as these are highly important for the presentation of a correct picture of the whole phenomenon. The role of Brahmans and the position of the Brahman widows with reference to the subject have been highlighted in the fourth and fifth chapters respectively. Talking of the various interpretations of the Bhagavadgita by modern scholars including Rammohun Roy, and the latter’s role in the abolition of the Sati-practice in comparison with that of Balgangadhar Tilak, Dr. Sharma has shown the scholarly acumen expected from a deep Sanskritist and a critical student of history.

In the first of the two essays contributed by Dr. Ajit Ray, the author has laboriously presented the data of the medieval and modern times, of the Indian opposition to the rite of Sati, thus bringing to the fore the efforts of various Hindu and Muslim reformers to end this practice. The role of the Christian missionaries in the abolition of Sati in India, taken up in chapter X, however, seems to be overemphasized. His remark that, 'to an independent observer of Indian history, the contribution of the missionaries to India’s social and religious reforms cannot be overlooked. It was the missionaries who kept the issue alive in the conscience of the people in both India and Britain and it was they who helped indirectly to organise a Hindu response for abolition which as an internal force played an important part for the termination of the
rite”, is not beyond question. As pointed out by Dr. M.N. Srinivas in the foreword of this book itself, “his verdict is not unequivocal”. Actually the Christian missionaries were less concerned with the humane aspect of social and religious customs of this land and more about their motivated propaganda. If one turns the pages of their history during this period, one finds them silent spectators and sometimes even supporters of many inhumane traditions in their own home-land.

Dr. Hejib and Dr. Young, in their last article on ‘Sati, Widowhood and Yoga’ have taken more conservative view of this rite and materially differ from Dr. Ray.

Overall the book provides an interesting reading to a general reader as well as a scholar working on the subject. Though fresh interpretations of the source material on Sati have not been offered yet the copious notes and references to the original sources as well as modern works on the topic have made the work very useful.

The book is tastefully printed and the get-up is very attractive. The reasonable price in these times of soaring cost of printing and paper has kept the book within easy reach of interested readers. For all this the publishers deserve our hearty compliments.

Ashvini Agrawal

_Heritage of Haryana II—Buddhist Remains_, Devendra Handa, Deptt. of Archaeology & Museum Haryana, Chandigarh, pp. 7+30+31 Plates and line drawings, Price—Not given.

This small brochure pertains to the study of the Buddhist remains in Haryana which anciently included most part of the Kuru _Janapada_. The author has consulted various literary traditions and references available in the _Jātakas, Divyāvadāna, Mahāvamsa_ and the accounts of the Chinese travellers concerning the spread of Buddhism. He has come to the conclusion that Buddhism flourished in the Kuru _Janapada_ from the time of the Buddha to the fourteenth century A.D. He has elaborately described the archaeological relics of the Buddhist _stūpas_, discovery of the Āśokan pillars (which were erected at a few sacred Buddhist sites and centres) and a few terracottas and stone sculptures. The sojourn of the Buddha in the Kuru region, which is mainly described in the later texts, is still a debatable issue. It is also difficult to accept the identifications of a few structures with the Buddhist _stūpas_, and representations with the Buddha
or Buddhist themes. The only evidence of a Buddhist monument in Haryana is a big stūpa at Chaneti near Jagadhari in Ambala district now in a dilapidated condition which unfortunately still awaits for its preservation as a cultural property extant in the whole of north-west part of India. The so-called stūpa remains at Thanesar (near Brahmavar) need a systematic and thorough archaeological confirmation. The published line drawing of the Asandh structure has nothing to do with the stūpa architecture in my view.

Leaving aside some doubtful sculptures, there is no dearth of ancient Buddhist remains in Haryana. The railings from Bhadas, Hathin (sub div. Palwal), cross bar from Lalpur a site close to Rohtak, a pillar from Bhuna (near Fathabad, district Hissar) inscribed image of Kanakamuni Buddha from Brahmanwas, Kushāṇa Buddha torso from Rohtak, the terracotta Bodhisattva head from Agroha, plaque representing Buddha from Sugh are unquestionably related to Buddhist creed. Of these the railing from Bhadas depicted the dream of Māyādevi, the mother of Gautama, on its upper part with a Yakṣa occupying the major portion of the railing. Interestingly the side of the scene has a short Brāhmaṇi legend Padayikā in the characters of 1st century B.C. The legend is a corrupt form of Paryankikā which may refer to the lady (i.e. Māyādevi) lying on the Paryakha, the couch. This inscriptive evidence has casually been referred to in the monograph. The cross-bar from Lalpur shows a stūpa decorated with garlands inside a medallion. It has a cylindrical dome with railing decoration, and harmikā on the top. The above evidences suggest the existence of several Buddhist centres in Haryana during the ancient period. In terms of date these indicate the existence of the Buddhist relics from 3rd century B.C. (if the Aśokan pillars were erected near the Buddhist sites and centres are also taken into consideration in this connection) to the time of the Guptas. Despite the royal patronage received from the Vardhana rulers Buddhism showed the signs of decline, and gradual decay if we accept the accounts of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. The bronze image from Hansi can be dated with some certainty only after its chemical treatment. Likewise the terracotta Buddha figure from Taraori, placed in the fourteenth century A.D. by Shri Handa, appears to be a modern specimen. Thus, the existence of Buddhism in Haryana could not be traced beyond eighth century A.D.

On the whole the present monograph on the Buddhist remains by Handa is a welcome attempt providing a glimpse of the extant materials available in Haryana. It is well-documented with illustrations and exhaustive footnotes. He deserves congratulations for it.

The brochure is nicely brought out with careful arrangement of the text and plates printed on art paper. A few photographs of sculptures
housed in the Deptt. Museum, are, however, not up to the mark, which, it is hoped, will be replaced by better ones in the next edition of this issue. The Department of Archaeology and Museum Haryana, deserves our special tributes for bringing out this issue on the Buddhist remains. It will be welcomed by the serious students of art and religion and the general public alike.

S.P. Shukla

सिस्मु-घाटी सम्पत्ति के सूजनकाल—शृष्टि और विभाग, नवम संवादी, अनुसंधान प्रकाशन 518 सीतापुर, जुलियाना 1985, पृ. 311 (अनुदानकार सहित), 95.00 रु. से.

प्रस्तुत वंच पद्धति अध्ययनों में विभिन्न है। इसमें कामाद्: सिस्मु घाटी सम्पत्ति का संक्षिप्त इतिहास, हृद्धृणाइ की जीवने के ? सिस्मु सम्पत्ति का आरोप, नवम संवादी में सिस्मु घाटी सम्पत्ति का वर्णन व वास, आरोप जाति तथा उसके मूल निवास की समस्या, दृढ़त्व में आरोप तथा तात्कालिक के मुद्दे, बाबी साधनों का उपयोग, संस्कृत प्रथाओं में भूमि की विभिन्न उपस्थितियां, मूर्तियों की ऐतिहासिक उपस्थिति, समाजवादित्वों के अनुसार वर्ण व्यवस्था व भूमि की उपस्थिति, हृद्धृणाइ को संबंधित रूपकालिक इतिहास, मानव बंध शास्त्रीय प्रमाण, जैविक शास्त्रीय प्रमाण, शृष्टि की उपस्थिति पर इतिहासवर्गों के विचार और उनका ध्वज और उपसंहार (बाबी व जाति व्यवस्था उपविवेकवादी) विषयक अध्ययन है।

उपरोक्त अध्ययनों के संयोजन से स्पष्ट है कि इस पुस्तक में बहुत-सी सामग्री अनावश्यक रूप से जटिल गयी है। इस पुस्तक का उद्देश्य एक विशेष रत्न का उपलब्धि करना है। लेखक ने पुस्तक की पृष्ठभंडार में स्पष्ट किया है कि “भारत के प्राचीन काल पर सिस्मु इतिहास आर्थिक, जाति तथा राजपूतों का संबंध बन कर रहा गया है। उसके बाद का राजपूतों का इतिहास भी उच्च वर्ग का इतिहास ही कहा जा सकता है। तुरारांज दुलाल संलग्न साहित्य नवम संवादी, जाति और अन्य में अर्जुन शाह का इतिहास लिखा गया है। सगर इस देश में भूमि तथा विभागों का, जिनकी संस्कृति देश की कुल जनसंख्या का 85 प्रतिशत है, इतिहास कभी नहीं लिखा गया। इस प्रकार यह पुस्तक भूमि (वृत्ति) की उपस्थिति व इतिहास पर लिखी गयी ध्वज कुछ भी संकेत नहीं कहां जा सकती है।” ऐसी स्थिति में लेखक इतिहास तथ्यों के वैज्ञानिक विश्लेषण एवं निष्कर्षों की अपेक्षा नहीं की जा सकती।

सिस्मु सम्पत्ति के विकास एवं प्रसार में समाज के कई वर्ग (शास्त्री, धार्मिक नेता अर्थिक, व्यापारी एवं सिस्मु शाह) का योगदान रहा था। यह सम्पत्ति आर्थिक जन की बी अर्थव्यवस्था द्रुढ़ियों के यह निश्चितत कहें कहें जा सकता। विशाल बाबी इस समय में आर्थिक संकट के तत्कालिक वास्तव में विश्वासन है। एवं इस समय के अंतर्गत, पुरातत्विक तथ्यों के प्रकाश में, आर्थिक त्रिकोण बी नहीं है। हो सकता है कि इस विषय में सिस्मु सम्पत्ति की विभिन्न रूप के उद्विषेष से कुछ जानकारी प्राप्त
बालमीक के ऐतिहासिक राम (दो भाग), विश्वनाथ लिमये, सतूमार्गियों प्रकाशन, विश्वनाथ 1987, पृष्ठ 180 (प्रथम भाग) + 308 (द्वितीय भाग) साधारण संस्करण : 25 रू. 35 रू., पुस्तकालय संस्करण : 35 रू. 50 रू. प्रेमः।

जैसा कि नाम से स्पष्ट है लेखक ने दो भागों के इस ग्रन्थ में बालमीक की रामकथा को ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोण से प्रस्तुत किया है। प्रथम भाग का शीर्षक सत्याग्रही राम और दूसरे का शस्त्रालाखी राम है।

प्रथम भाग में दो मानचित्र हैं: एक मुख पृष्ठ के चीतर की ओर प्राचीन भारत तथा लंका का और दूसरा पृष्ठ के बन्धत न पत्र सारा बर्ष पूर्व विश्व का जो एक 60 मील के विश्व-इतिहास से लिखा गया है। प्रथम भाग में पाँच अध्याय हैं—पहला रामकथा की ऐतिहासिकता, दूसरा अवतार-परम्परा तथा तीसरा सूर्यवंश का वर्णन करता है। चौथे और पांचवें भाग में बालमीक रामायण के बालकाश तथा अवोधाकाश के अनुसार रामकथा वर्णित है। परिभाषाओं में घटनाओं का तिथिकामण, राममुहु, मानव अवधारणा मनु-मुग, हर्ष मुक्ति तथा रामायण, आदर्श के रूप में रामकथा का महत्व तथा महत्व अर्थित के मतानुसार रामायण और महाभारत की तुलना, विवेश रूप से उल्लेखनीय है।

दूसरे भाग में बालमीक रामायण के शेष पांच अध्यायों की कथा दी गई है। मार्क्स्में प्रस्ताबम और अन्य उपस्थताओं है। राम के वन्धु भाग का एक चित्र है और पांच वर्षिक विषय हैं जिनमें लंका की निधित्व, रामायणकालीन मूर्तिपूर्तिप्रती, संस्कृति-साहित्य में रामकथा, भारतीय भाषाओं में रामकथा तथा विदेशों से रामकथा पर विचार किया गया है।

लेखक का उद्देश्य राम के व्यवस्थित के दो पहले प्रस्तुत करना है—एक सत्याग्रही और दूसरा योद्धा के रूप में। यह कथा ऐतिहासिक पुरातात्विक राम की है और लेखक ने राम और सोता के चरित्र को वृद्धि देने के प्रस्तुत किया है। राम पायण-परिवर्तन अहुल्या
Asura in Early Vedic Religion, Wash Edward Hale, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1986, pp. xvi+226, Rs. 85/-.

Dr. Hale's learned study of Asura was his thesis for the degree of Ph. D. from Harvard University and it can be said straightaway that it lives up to the great reputation of that august seat of learning and of his renowned adviser Dr. Daniel H.H. Ingalls. The objective of the author is to settle the meaning of the word Asura in its earliest Indic usage and to trace the change in its meaning to that found in classical Sanskrit.

The work is divided into thirteen chapters which are preceded by Acknowledgements, Abbreviations and an Introduction and followed by a Conclusion and an Appendix on Ahura in the Avesta apart from an Index of verses, Bibliography of texts, secondary works and translations and an Index. Of the chapters the first deals with previous theories
about Asura, the second with Asura in the family books of RV, the third with derivatives and compounds of Asura in the family books of RV, the fourth with Asura in books one, eight, nine and ten of RV, fifth with derivatives and compounds of Asura in these books. The sixth with Asura in the Atharvaveda, the seventh with the derivatives and compounds of Asura in the Atharvaveda, the eighth with Asura in the Sāmaveda Śamhitā, the RV Khila and the Mantra portions of the Yajurveda and the ninth with the derivatives and compounds of Asura in these sources. Of the remaining four chapters three deal with allied topics viz. Rakṣas in the RV (x) Dasyu in the Śamhitās and Brāhmaṇas (xi) and Dāsa in the Śamhitās and Brāhmaṇas (xii). The last chapter (xiii) deals with Asura in the Brāhmaṇas.

While dealing with the previous theories about Asura in the opening chapter the author examines the views of as many as thirty five scholars. Each view is followed by its criticism in brief. Similarly the etymologies of Asura suggested earlier are briefly described and subjected to criticism. The survey of previous theories on the meaning of Asura leads the author to the conclusion that further research on this topic is justified and he proceeds to undertake it in the remaining part of the book.

While explaining his method of conducting this study in the Introduction the author says that he has "examined every passage in which the word Asura—or its derivatives or compounds appeared in all the Śamhitās and all the Brāhmaṇas in Vedic literature. For the mantra portion of the Śamhitās the original text was examined in each case. However in the Brāhmaṇas and the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Black Yajurveda Śamhitās the word seemed to be already established in its later meaning, so only translations were examined (when they existed) unless the passage seemed especially interesting". The passages which were repeats of passages from the RV were not looked up. Every verse from the mantra portion of the Śamhitās listed as containing Asura—or its derivative or compound in the HVRI Index has been quoted and translated by the author unless it was a repetition. This is fully borne out from the book.

The discussion in each chapter is followed by a conclusion, often accompanied by instructive remarks. It is noted at the end of chapter V, for instance, that decrease in the use of compound derivatives in other than family books of RV seems to have occurred shortly before the connotation of the word Asura shifted from good to bad. His study leads the author to the conclusion that in its earlier occurrences in the RV Asura meant something like 'Lord' who could be human or divine, although more often divine since the RV consists of hymns to gods. An
Asura or Lord should normally have a force of fighting men (Vira), keen planning ability or insight (Kratu), and in general the characteristics of a good leader. The author notes that the usage of this word was not restricted to friendly leaders and gods but even an enemy leader could be and sometimes was called an Asura.

The Rákas or Ráksáses emerge as the force or the beings by which the evil sorcerer carries out his injuries. Dasyu referred to a member of tribe or race distinct from the Aryans and against whom the Aryans often fought. The author makes an interesting observation that the word Dasyu drops out of usage about the same time that Asura begins to be used in the pejorative sense. Asura in this meaning seems to replace Dasyu. On Dása the author finds that they are indigenous people like the Dasyus but Dása has the further connotation of being inferior and thus slaves or servants. According to the author the Ahuras in the Avesta and Asuras in RV are alike, both appearing to be powerful, respected lords with some kind of military force in their command although the Asuras seem to have been selected by the people and installed in this position while the Ahura lordship may have been passed down from father to son in Iran.

The connotation of Asura has given rise to a host of different views in the past and Dr. Hale’s conclusions may not be accepted by many scholars as the last word on the subject. This however will not detract from the great merit of his well-reasoned and exhaustively documented thesis which, apart from his refreshing treatment of the subject, also provides a wealth of material for future researchers in the field. The author and the publishers both deserve to be congratulated on this publication.

O.P. Bharadwaj

*Tales of Sex and Violence*, (Folklore, Sacrifice, and Danger in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa), Wendy Doniger O’ Flaherty, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi 1987, pp. xiv + 145, Rs. 60/-.

Those interested in Vedic literature would be quite familiar with Wendy Doniger O’ Flaherty who is known world over as the author of the English version of selected Hymns of the Rigveda brought out by the popular Pelican House of publishers. This monograph from her presents a very interesting study of the “Folklore, Sacrifice and Danger in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa” which, considering the seriousness of the subject, would perhaps have been a better title than the somewhat bizarre “Tales
of Sex and Violence” even if the latter might perhaps entice even the general reader to peruse it.

The work opens with the Contents, List of Abbreviations and Acknowledgements which are followed by the main text running into seven chapters.

The author has three helpful Appendices giving a list of Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa stories translated in the book along with names of Sanskrit chants and variants in other Vedic texts and in the Mahābhārata, secondary literature on each Jaiminiya story in the book and tale-types and motifs respectively. There is a bibliography and an Index at the end.

The contents are fairly detailed and the title of each story is given under the classification which makes the title for each chapter. Thus chapter two deals with folktales illustrating fear of death, chapter three with folk-tales woven around the fear of God, chapter four with folk tales relating to the fear of the father, chapter five with those illustrating the fear of wives and chapter six with folk-tales categorised as expressing fear of demonic women. A comprehensive introduction in chapter one deals with folklore and dreams in 900 B.C., the date to which the author assigns the early Brāhmaṇas and which may not find general acceptance. The author describes the Western scorn for the Brāhmaṇas which were considered “in general tediously discursive, verbose and artificial, and in no small part absolutely puerile and inane” (p. 5) and explains it as a result of focus mainly on the sacrificial formulae which were difficult to appreciate for their elegance is obscured by a terminology and web of cultural assumptions that eluded most scholars. With the recognition of the importance of folklore the old indifference towards the Brāhmaṇas is vanishing. The author then proceeds to discuss the history of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa in the West, folklore and sacrificial danger in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa and its individuality, outlining in the end her method of processing each tale.

After giving the text of each story with its English translation the author traces its history backwards upto the Rgveda, forwards in the Epics and Purāṇas and side-ways in other Brāhmaṇas. In addition to this she has traced the link of the folktales to Stith Thompson’s Indexes of Tale-Types and Motifs and her Index of Tale-Types in Appendix-3 facilitates a cross cultural comparative study. She also goes into the deep meaning of a folk-tale through its analysis in the light of world literature, Indian culture, Vedic mythology and psychology.

In all twenty-seven stories have been analysed in the book which include some well known tales involving Tṛta and his brothers, Kutsa
and Indra and the divine bitch Saramā and the Paṇīs. While being a pio-
near study in itself this interesting book also successfully projects, the
hitherto ignored Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa as a source-book of ancient Indian
folklore and gives us reliable English rendering of many Brāhmaṇa
passages which are not quite easy to translate. We should hope that
it will encourage more scholars in the field to undertake similar studies.

O. P. Bharadwaj

_The Nighaṇṭu and The Nīruktā_, Lakshman Sarup, Motilal Banarsi-
dass, reprint, Delhi 1984, pp. 71+248+287, Rs. 130/-.

The Nirukta of Yāska, is acclaimed as an indispensable tool for
students desirous of entering into a study of the Veda. Although a
follower of the Nairukta or etymological school of interpretation Yāska
frequently cites the views of other schools like the Yajñikas, Parivrājakas
Aitihāṣikas and Nādānas in his work. His etymologies have been hailed
as having a sound scientific basis and his grasp of phonological principles,
vast learning and catholicity of outlook make his method truly scientific
and modern. He is regarded as a remarkable etymologist far in advance
of the greatest ancient Greek writers like Plato and Aristotle and it is
acknowledged that his work has not yet yielded all it might be able to
yield.

Dr. Sarup gave us virtually the first really critical edition of the
Nighaṇṭu and the Nīruktā. It is divided into three parts which first appea-
red between 1920 to 1927. The first part contains an elaborate Introduc-
tion giving a detailed description of manuscripts of the Nighaṇṭu and the
Nīruktā, their authorship, earlier editions, commentators of Yāska and his
contributions to etymology, philology and semantics among other topics.
It also deals with the date of Yāska and general importance of his work.
The second part contains English translation of the Nīruktā which
follows a Preface and a List of Abbreviations and carries explanatory
notes in the light of interpretations of Indian commentators and Western
scholars in addition to other helpful information.

Then we have detailed exegetical and critical notes chapterwise. There
is an Appendix containing an alphabetical list of stories related in the
Nīruktā, Index of authorities cited in the Nīruktā and a List of quotations
occurring in the Nīruktā, arranged in the order of the Samhitās. The third
part carries the critically edited text with further details of more manuscripts utilized by the author. This part also carries an Appendix showing relation of the Nirukta to twenty-five Vedic grammatical and philosophical texts and even the Arthaśāstra of Kaṭyāyana. Five pages of Additions have been given at the end.

From the time of its first publication Dr. Sarup's work has remained an indispensable aid to scholars engaged in Vedic studies. Its importance has not lessened in anyway during the last eighty years. A reprint brought out in 1967 had been unavailable for several years past. The publishers have therefore earned the gratitude of the Sanskrit world by making it available in this handy and compact single volume which is handsomely produced and reasonably priced.

O P. Bharadwaj

*Kāṭhaka-Saṃkalana*, Surya Kanta, Meharchand Lachhmandas Publications, New Delhi 1981, pp. iv+Liii+142+46, Rs. 100/.

The late Dr. Surya Kanta had put in much labour in compiling the excerpts of the Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa and Kāṭhaka Śrautasūtra from various sources and also collected excerpts of Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtras which are not found in the extant text of Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtras which are included in this invaluable collection.

The book opens with the Publishers' note and a Preface by the author, which is followed by the Contents, important Abbreviations and an elaborate and informative Introduction of Liii pages. The text of excerpts from the Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa runs into 142 pages and that of excerpts from Kāṭhaka Śrautasūtra into 36 pages. An appendix covering the remaining 10 pages contains references to Kāṭhaka-Gṛhya in various sources. The text is accompanied by copious notes which would be very helpful to scholars. In the Introduction the learned author has brought to bear upon the question of identify of the Kaṭhas, their importance, their westward migrations from India and their decline, his vast study and deep knowledge of Vedic literature. Supported with exhaustive notes and references the Introduction makes a delightful reading and invests with probability the interesting equation of the Indian Kaṭhas with the Hattis or Hittites and of the Maitrāyaṇas with the Mitannis.

Considering the fact that the first edition of this collection consis-
ting of barely 150 copies could hardly reach more than a fraction of Sanskrit scholars this new edition, in a well-printed, handsomely bound and reasonably priced volume is most welcome. The publishers need to be congratulated for meeting a long standing need.

O.P. Bharadwaj

Kalhana’s Rājarāṇīṅgi, Vol. III (Sanskrit text with Critical Notes), Ed. M.A. Stein, Motilal Banarsidass, Bungalow Road, reprint, Delhi 1988, pp. xxi + 296, Rs. 150/-.

The publishers have done a great service to the cause of ancient Indian history in particular and Sanskrit literature in general by publishing this reprint of the text of Rājarāṇīṅgi after almost a century of its first appearance in 1892. It is the first of a set of three volumes the other two of which containing comprehensive notes and English translation were reprinted some time back.

Well-known as the oldest written authority for the history of the various dynasties which ruled Kashmir from the earliest period down to the time of Kalhana, who began its composition in A.D. 1148, the Rājarāṇīṅgi comes closest in character to the class of works which fit into the definition of history in its western conception. The importance of the critical edition of its text is therefore obvious even with the long interval after its first appearance. A twenty-one page Preface by the late Sir Stein gives information about the manuscripts used and the help received by him from various sources. The Contents and List of Abbreviations is followed by the text of the eight chapters (Taraṅgas) of Kalhana’s immortal work with extensive textual and critical notes. Two pages have been added as Corrigenda and Addenda to take care of minor mistakes and lapses.

The volume is neatly printed, well-bound and attractively got up. At its very reasonable price it is bound to find a place at the desk of every student of ancient Indian history and Sanskrit literature.

O.P. Bharadwaj
The Mauryas Revisited, Romila Thapar, K.P. Bagchi and Company for Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta-New Delhi 1987, pp. 61, Rs. 25/-.

The Centre of Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta have done well in making available to students of ancient Indian history, in this paperback, the two lectures delivered by the well-known historian Romila Thapar, as the Deuskar Lectures at the Centre in December 1985. In the first lecture the learned author undertakes an assessment of the extent to which the Mauryan state was an empire and its duration as such. The second lecture attempts to offer a fresh explanation of the well-worn theme of the seven castes of Megasthenes.

The author takes note of discussions on the concept of empires in the ancient world during the last couple of decades and concludes that the Mauryan state was an empire to the extent that it did control a large territory with culturally differentiated peoples and its nucleus, the state of Magadha, was enriched by the flow of revenue and resources from other regions and it was short-lived perhaps because it was unable to restructure to a greater degree the economy of the core and peripheral areas. On Megasthenes the author has taken trouble to study the original Greek and German texts with the help of specialists in the two languages and she feels that his confusion lay in identifying the seven divisions, probably the mere, with the notion of social divisions in India constituting an endogamous unit and governing hereditary occupations rather than with the names of varṇas or jātis.

Considering the paucity and nature of source-material on ancient Indian history there will always be scope for re-examination and revision of prevailing views for illumination of its dark corners. Exercises in this direction by specialists of the stature of Romila Thapar will therefore be welcome not only for their own value but also for stimulating healthy and constructive discussions. Therein lies the justification for this publication.

O.P. Bharadwaj
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   The first issue is enriched by the scholarly and studied contributions of the well-known Indologists...
   I wish it bright future.

6. Prof. Dr. J.L. Brockington, Department of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.
   I was most impressed by the contents list of the first issue..... the wide-range of subjects covered by the various articles, which should help to encourage a wide readership.....am pleased to see it make such an excellent start.

7. Prof. Dr. K.K. Dasgupta, Deptt. of Ancient Indian History & Culture, University of Calcutta.
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