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JAVIER RUIZ CALDERÓN

ADVAITA VEDĀNTA WITHOUT
TRANSCENDENT METAPHYSICS¹

I

Advaita Vedānta presents itself primarily as a spiritual path whose goal is to lead the individual from bondage to liberation, which can be attained through direct knowledge of *brahman* (the Absolute). This spiritual path incorporates a set of metaphysical beliefs or ideas about the world, the soul, the Absolute, rebirth, the law of *karman*, etc., which together constitute Vedāntic metaphysics. The acceptance of the truth of these beliefs depends on the acceptance of the validity of Vedic revelation. This belief system is the “theology” of Vedānta – understanding theology to be a set of statements about reality that depend on the truth of a particular revelation or religious experience. Besides, the thinkers of this school try to prove the truth of these metaphysical ideas by reasoning from common human experience, thus giving rise to what we can call Vedāntic “philosophy” – where philosophy is understood as an attempt to describe the general structure of reality without presupposing the truth of any particular religious revelation or experience. In short: Vedānta is primarily a spiritual path, but it also incorporates a revealed theology and a rational philosophy.

According to Vedānta, the Veda is the means of knowledge (*śruti pramāṇa*) that enables competent individuals to reach direct knowledge of the Real, which is beyond perception and inference. The problem with this is that something similar is

¹ Paper presented at the *International Conference of Indologists*, Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi, India, 21-23 November 2015.

claimed by believers in other alleged religious experiences or revelations, such as those contained in the Purāṇas, the Tantras, the Buddhist and Jain *sūtras*... not to mention the Bible, the Koran, etc. How does one know if any of these contradictory “revelations”, or more than one, are a valid means to metaphysical knowledge?

One might object that Vedānta is neither a theory nor a mere belief, but involves direct experience – however, all spiritual traditions make similar claims. They are all based on certain metaphysical beliefs, and culminate in supposedly direct mystical experiences, whose content depends on the beliefs they are based on and the practices through which they are reached. For instance, in Theravāda Buddhism the mystic eventually experiences the absence of *atman* (self); in Madhyamaka Buddhism, one experiences the insubstantiality (*śūnyatā*) of everything; in Sāṃkhya, classical Yoga and Jainism, it is the difference between soul and matter; in theistic traditions, it is communion with the Divine; in Advaita Vedānta, Kashmir Śaivism and Yogācāra Buddhism, identity with or dissolution in the Absolute, and so on. In all cases the allegedly “direct” experience confirms the belief it arises from. It cannot be otherwise because the experience is based on that belief.²

II

Let’s see what can be said about the metaphysics of Advaita Vedānta from a philosophical standpoint. Often, the masters of the school try to prove their assertions, employing arguments based on what we may call “transcendent metaphysics”. Transcendent metaphysics seeks to reach conclusions about hypothetical transcendent entities by reasoning from premises that refer to immanent entities. This kind of metaphysics has been common both in Indian and Western philosophy, and

² For decades now Stephen T. Katz has been the main representative of this “contextualist” approach to mysticism. See Katz, S. T., “Language, Epistemology, and Mysticism”, in Katz, S. T. (ed.), *Mysticism and Philosophical Analysis*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1978: 23-74.

remains so even today. Unfortunately, this form of reasoning is wrong, since the content of the conclusions cannot go beyond the content of the premises. Therefore, one cannot draw transcendent conclusions from immanent or worldly premises. Transcendent metaphysics is thus impossible.³ In Kant's words, it is like a dove flapping its wings in the void, trying to fly without being supported by the air of experience.⁴

But there is another form of metaphysics: "transcendental" metaphysics, which merely tries to describe the structure of our common experience of reality. This kind of metaphysics has been employed throughout the history of philosophy, but it was first systematically laid out by Kant. Both he and Husserl – and, employing another terminology, Nicolai Hartmann and Peter Strawson⁵ – have distinguished between the two forms of metaphysics, denying the possibility of speculative metaphysics while affirming the possibility of a descriptive metaphysics of common experience.⁶

III

If these authors were right, should we reject all Vedāntic metaphysics outright? No. There is another possibility: that of reinterpreting transcendentally the transcendent metaphysics of

³ A similar argument was made by Dharmakīrti and other Buddhists in their criticism of the Nyāya arguments for proving the existence of God (see Vattanky, J., *Development of Nyāya Theism*, Intercultural Publications, New Delhi, 1993); in the West, this criticism was made by Hume, Kant and many others after them.

⁴ *Critique of Pure Reason*, Introd. III.

⁵ Hartmann used to distinguish between synthetic and constructive metaphysics, typical of scholastics and rationalists, and his own "new ontology", which is analytical and critical (see Hartmann, N., *Neue Wege der Ontologie*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart, 1942). Strawson opposed "revisionary" metaphysics, which aims to correct the ordinary way of thinking about reality, while he accepts "descriptive" metaphysics, which merely attempts to describe our actual way of thinking about metaphysical notions (Strawson, P. F., *Individuals: An Essay in Descriptive Metaphysics*, London, Methuen, 1959).

⁶ On the possibility of a transcendental philosophy from a Phenomenological perspective, see Mohanty, J. N., *The Possibility of Transcendental Philosophy*, Martinus Nijhoff, Dordrecht, 1985. Some objections to his proposal can be found in Kirkland, F. M. and Chattopadhyaya, D. P. (eds.), *Phenomenology East and West. Essays in Honor of J. N. Mohanty*, Kluwer, Dordrecht, 1993:1-91; his reply is at 269-277.

Vedānta. That is, we cease considering the metaphysical assertions of Vedānta to be ontological claims about “objective” reality, independent of our knowledge of it, and instead we interpret them only as descriptions of our common subjective experience of reality. We find something similar, for example, in the thought of Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya and of Debabrata Sinha. The philosophy of Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya⁷ starts with a transcendental philosophy like that of Kant but – as also happened to Kant – it falls back into transcendent metaphysical speculations about the pure subject or the Absolute. These ideas cannot be reached by a merely descriptive philosophy, and are based on prior religious beliefs. Debabrata Sinha, in his 1986 work,⁸ accepts that the phenomenological reconstruction of Vedantic metaphysics that he is attempting can only be completed through faith in the scriptures as an essential step towards direct knowledge of the Absolute. In both cases, an interest in preserving the transcendent content of Vedantic metaphysics leads them to combine genuine transcendental description with prior religious beliefs. Whether consciously or not, the authors are jumping from rational philosophy to revealed theology.

IV

In fact, pure transcendental philosophy, without any admixture of religious beliefs, can only describe the general structure of reality as it appears in common experience; that is, it can describe a general and rather empty frame that says nothing – because it cannot do so – about “strong” metaphysical questions about God, the nature and destiny of the soul, etc. Transcendental metaphysics is thus a “weak”⁹ metaphysical

⁷ See in particular “The Subject as Freedom” in Bhattacharyya, K. C., *Studies in Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1983²: 367-454.

⁸ Sinha, D. B., *The Metaphysics of Experience in Advaita Vedānta. A Phenomenological Approach*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1983.

⁹ In a sense similar to the “weak thought” of G. Vattimo (see Vattimo, G., and Rovati, P. A. (eds.), *Il pensiero debole*, Feltrinelli, Milan, 1983).

frame within which different strong metaphysical systems can coexist if their claims are plausible or reasonable. That is, provided they are consistent with this general metaphysical frame and with the commonly accepted contents of ordinary knowledge and of the particular sciences. Accordingly, there may be different plausible alternative metaphysical systems, both religious – i.e. those which affirm the reality of a divine transcendence in the form of God, the Absolute, Liberation, etc. – and non-religious. Therefore, the idea of a weak transcendental metaphysics leads to a “perspectivism” or an “epistemological pluralism” similar to those found in Nietzsche, William James and José Ortega y Gasset in the West or in the Jain *anekāntavāda*, Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya and his son Kalidas Bhattacharya in India.¹⁰

The metaphysics of Advaita Vedānta is just *one* of those plausible alternative metaphysics.

V

It is not, therefore, possible to prove rationally the truth of Advaita Vedānta metaphysics, i.e. its cognitive value. Perhaps, however, it may be shown to have some practical value for human life – i.e. whether or not it is useful and beneficial to humans, individually and collectively. In asking this, we are adopting a pragmatist approach: since we cannot know if certain plausible metaphysical beliefs are true or false, all that can be determined is whether they are beneficial or harmful in practice.

Like other religious and non-religious worldviews, Advaita Vedānta might be useful for human life when correctly applied. The Chinese philosopher Xunzi, as early as the third century BCE, said that only the ignorant believe that rituals are offered to the spirits and to Heaven, understood as meaning a personal God. The wise, however, even while not believing in those

¹⁰ See “The Jaina theory of Anekānta” and “The Concept of the Absolute and Its alternative forms” in Bhattacharya, K. C., *Studies in Philosophy*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1983²: 329-343 and 483-506; and Bhattacharya, K., *Alternative Standpoints in Philosophy: An Enquiry into the Fundamentals of Philosophy*, Dasgupta, Calcutta, 1953.

entities, perform rituals because they know they are beneficial for personal and social harmony¹¹. Despite not accepting the metaphysical content of religious beliefs, some classical pragmatists – like William James and Hans Vaihinger – defended the value of religion. William James described the state of saintliness in his work *The Varieties of Religious Experience*¹² and he recommended it highly for everyone, to the extent of their ability. Similarly, for Vaihinger¹³ religious beliefs are useful fictions that, despite their unknowable truth or falsity, can guide and improve individual and collective human life.

The metaphysics of Advaita Vedānta, then, might contribute to the order and welfare of human life and society, as do other religious and non-religious belief systems. In addition, besides the possible psychological and social benefits, the believers of advanced religions – the so-called “religions of salvation or liberation” or “post-axial religions”¹⁴ – such as Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Islam, claim that the specific value of their religions is that they allow humans to achieve a state of ultimate fulfillment called salvation or liberation, which is said to be the ultimate end and supreme good of human life. This state is often said to come about in a hypothetical life after death, in which case this idea would belong to what we have called “metaphysical beliefs”. But, on the other side, all these religions also offer a practical goal to be reached while still living in this world, before death: the state of religious perfection, variously called saintliness, liberation in life, Nirvāṇa, etc. This would be a specifically religious, this-worldly supreme value. Henri Bergson, in his book *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion*¹⁵, distinguishes between two aspects of religion: static religion, whose only purpose would be to maintain

¹¹ See Watson, B., *Xunzi: Basic Writings*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2003.

¹² James, W., *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Longmans & Green, New York, 1902. See lectures XI-XV, on the nature and value of saintliness.

¹³ See Vaihinger, *Die Philosophie des Als Ob*, Felix Meiner, Leipzig, 1911.

¹⁴ See Hick, J., *An Interpretation of Religion*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2004².

¹⁵ Bergson, H., *Les Deux Sources de la morale et de la religion*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1932.

psychological and social order, and dynamic religion, whose goal would be to help human beings attain total freedom and personal fulfillment. These two aspects of religion correspond roughly to what in Hinduism are the two religious aims of human life (*puruṣārthas*): *dharma* or harmonious living and *mokṣa* or liberation. The first aim may be shared with non-religious belief systems, such as ideologies, as well as by religion in general. The second purpose, bringing the individual to religious perfection, is specific to post-axial religious systems.

In the case of Advaita Vedānta, its specific value would be its ability to liberate the individual in this life (*jīvanmukti*) through knowledge of *brahman*. The beliefs and ideas contained in its theology and its philosophy, regardless of their truth or falsity, would have the practical value of being sufficient means for bringing qualified individuals to the state of complete freedom.

VI

Religion, in its two aspects of protecting individual and collective order (*dharma*) and of giving access to spiritual perfection (*mokṣa*), is essentially a practical matter. Buddhism has emphasized the importance of the practical side of religion and the need to avoid time-wasting activities, such as speculating and debating about metaphysical problems, which are both insoluble and irrelevant. In the oldest texts of the Pāli Canon, when the Buddha explains the Four Noble Truths, he always states that he *only* teaches the reality of suffering, its origin, its cessation and the path to the cessation of suffering.¹⁶ It is, therefore, an eminently practical teaching in which beliefs are only considered valuable if they are useful for spiritual practice. This is why the Buddha refused to talk about metaphysical problems that lacked direct practical relevance. He explicitly refused to answer questions about the world (its eternity or temporal existence, its finitude or infinitude) and about the soul (its relationship with the body, the existence of the soul of the

¹⁶ For example, in *Samyutta Nikāya* 56.31.

saint after his death). These are the so-called “ten unexpounded (*avyākṛta*) questions”.¹⁷ In addition, he says nothing either for or against the existence of divine transcendent entities, about God or about the Absolute. The only transcendence he affirms is Nirvāṇa, the transcendence of ignorance and suffering, the awakening (Bodhi) to wisdom. This personal experience or state is what takes the place of divine transcendence in Theravāda Buddhism.

The oldest recorded type of Buddhism is, thus, pragmatic and metaphysically agnostic. However, this agnosticism is not so pure if we consider that Buddhism accepts such metaphysical beliefs as rebirth and the law of *karman*. I think this may be because in *śramaṇic* (ascetic) circles at the time of the Buddha, belief in rebirth and *karman* were already universally accepted doctrines, raising no controversies and not leading to excessive speculation. This is similar to the question of the existence of God in medieval Europe, where Jewish, Christian and Muslim thinkers debated all manner of issues but not the existence of a supreme being, which was accepted by all of them. Similarly, the Buddhists, Hindus, Jains and Ājīvikas of ancient India might well disagree on the existence and nature of the *ātman* (self) and *brahman* (the Absolute), the character of the spiritual path, etc. They did not, however, argue about the reality of spiritual bondage (*saṃsāra*), rebirth, the law of *karman* or the need for liberation (*mokṣa* / *nirvāṇa* / *kaivalya*), which all the schools accepted and took for granted.

What the Buddha says is that we must ignore metaphysical questions not so much because they are insoluble but because they are pragmatically useless: they do not contribute to the overcoming of suffering, which is the ultimate goal of human life. Indeed, they can even be harmful, since they distract from the essential issue, a spiritual practice that leads to spiritual Awakening. In the Buddha’s time the law of *karman* and rebirth were not controversial issues: they did not give rise to debates or excessive, time-wasting speculation or to an abandonment of spiritual practice. Therefore, from a pragmatic point of view,

¹⁷ Cfr. *Majjhima Nikaya* 63 and 72, *Anguttara Nikaya* 10.96 and *Samyutta Nikāya* 44.

they could be accepted without harm.

However, in our day and age all beliefs about life after death are controversial. They have become what the Buddha considered idle metaphysical questions and, for that reason, in contemporary Buddhism there is a growing tendency to dispense with all metaphysical beliefs, including eschatological ones, and to focus instead on religious practice and the few non-metaphysical ideas that are necessary to support that practice.¹⁸

VII

This agnostic, pragmatic interpretation of religion is not confined currently to certain sectors of Buddhism, but is also characteristic of certain important Western philosophers of religion. David Griffin, for example, defends religion's compatibility with a naturalistic vision of reality that completely dispenses with belief in supernatural entities and processes. Dewi Phillips, for his part, interprets religion from an agnostic, practical and experiential perspective which refrains from taking sides on matters of transcendent metaphysics and thus rejects both metaphysical naturalism and supernaturalism.¹⁹

Following this line of reasoning, we can assert that all religious metaphysical beliefs about the soul, the world, transcendence and eschatology, are not only rationally unfounded but also unnecessary for religious practice. They can even be harmful, if one spends too much time speculating about and discussing them, instead of devoting that time to activities conducive to personal and social welfare. From this perspective, and taking into account what was said in the preceding paragraphs, there are several possible and reasonable alternative attitudes towards this kind of metaphysical belief: 1) to abandon them as unfounded

¹⁸ Perhaps the most representative work in this line is Batchelor, S., *Buddhism Without Beliefs*, Riverhead, New York, 1997.

¹⁹ See, for example, Griffin, D. R., *Reenchantment without Supernaturalism. A Process Philosophy of Religion*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca (New York), 2001, and Phillips, D. Z., *Religion and the Hermeneutics of Contemplation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001.

metaphysical beliefs without any cognitive value; 2) to tolerate them as plausible alternative views of reality; or 3) to accept them as fictions which can be pragmatically useful for spiritual practice and human life in general.

VIII

In the case of Advaita Vedānta this operations should be carried out 1st) on beliefs about rebirth and the law of *karman* and 2nd) on beliefs about the *ātman* and *brahman*. Rebirth and the law of *karman* are not essential to practice because they are not directly related to the Higher Truth (*pāramārthika satya*), according to which only the indivisible *brahman* exists. Therefore, rebirth and *karman* can be dispensed with without significant harm to the practice of Vedānta. But, if the metaphysical truth of *brahman* is rejected, how can the spiritual path of Vedānta continue to function? Recall that this path consists mainly in the study of the scriptures relating to *brahman*, through which study a direct and liberating understanding occurs.

The answer is that one can continue studying, reflecting and meditating on the identity of *ātman* and *brahman* even though one doesn't believe in the literal truth of these ideas. The practitioner would instead take them as symbols of or pointers to the state of personal freedom (*mukti*), and employ them as useful fictions for reaching that state. For traditional Vedānta the gods (*devatās*) are symbols of aspects of God (*Īśvara*), *Īśvara* being a relative and ultimately false representation of *nirguṇa brahman*, which entirely lacks attributes. Nevertheless, even knowing about this ultimate falsehood, Vedānta employs these ideas for the purification of the mind through worship and devout meditation (*upāsana*). Likewise, my proposal for reinterpretation takes the Vedāntic metaphysics of the Absolute (*brahman*) and the self (*ātman*) as providing a set of ideas useful for contemplating ordinary experience from a non-dual perspective. When it becomes spontaneous, this perspective allows humans to transcend attachment and suffering and

achieve inner freedom.

But, how are you to study, reflect and meditate with the required intensity on ideas that you believe are not literally true? The answer is that it is enough to believe they are a suitable means to attain liberation. For pragmatism, the true is what is expedient for action. If you believe that the cultivation of ideas about the non-dual *brahman* and its identity with the *ātman* can lead to total freedom, those ideas are pragmatically true for you and can become the solid foundation of a spiritual practice as effective as that of those who believe in their literal truth.

IX

Thus, while the metaphysics of Advaita Vedānta might not be an adequate representation of reality, it can still be a means for spiritual practice, and its concepts and propositions can be taken as useful fictions, symbols of or pointers to liberation in life. Therefore the only essential literal belief for a critical interpretation of Advaita Vedānta is belief in the possibility and the supreme value of liberation in life. Everything else is either a symbol or a practical expedient.

This conclusion can be extended to all forms of religious metaphysics: ideas of the divine, eschatological beliefs, etc. These ideas will symbolize the personal state of saintliness or religious perfection, and are therefore useful for religious practice. Consequently, the only essential religious belief pointed to and symbolized by all other religious beliefs, practices, institutions, etc. is the belief in the possibility and the supreme value of the state of saintliness.

SERGIO MELITÓN CARRASCO ÁLVAREZ

THE AGNI MARGA¹

I. The very early mist

The last Glacial Period ended when the extremely low temperature was broken, and began a gradual rising of heat. Such a thing happened about 18.000 years ago. The tiny but continuous warming produced an uniform melting of the huge ices of the Arctic with a consequent colossal increase of flow in all the major rivers of the Northern hemisphere. In those days was born The Great Caspian.² However, the lilting rising of heat was stagnated and remained flat between the 8th and 5th millennium B.C. (*Nature* N° 400, 22 July 1999, pp. 344-348; Barber, D. C., and others, “*Forcing of the cold event of 8.200 years ago by catastrophic drainage of Laurentide lakes*”). This thermal process with flat temperatures and climatic regularity was the ideal scenario that allowed the boosting of the agriculture. But this ideal weather ended with a sudden new increase of heat, which could happen around the 5000 B.C. It could be a fast event (in a few years). The result was that the remaining great Arctic was melted completely (and also other large glaciers there were in the Tibet-Himalayas). The flood and disaster is remembered in the Eastern oral traditions as the great atonement and God’s punishment, or «Great Deluge».

¹ Paper presented at the *Second International Conference of Indologists*, Shenzhen, Guangdong, China, 11-13 November 2016.

² This subject has been our hypothesis, presented twice at the “Hispanic Community of Indo-iranian Studies”, at their congresses of the year 2014 and 2016, in Sevilla, and Murcia, Spain.

The Great Caspian maintained its huge extension while there was regularity in the cadence of ice-melting. The time between the 8th and 5th millennium, marks the beginning of the retreat of the great Caspian. “The flood” is the highest peak in height and extension; then again begins the involution and retreat of the waters, to be what it is today: a lake bottom barren and dry.

I.1. The image of fire

We know little of the characteristics of the human population of the post-glacial period. But, we can infer that human triumph over nature was due to the rapid adaptation to change without requiring physical mutations; the intelligence applied to social organization, the making of instruments, the use of traps, wrap with skins, and especially because they had control and mastering in the use of the fire.

In the northern hemisphere, the groups who were affected by the icing climate were intrinsically linked to the use of fire. The fire was the silent cry of triumph, the symbol of the determination to live and subdue a terrible nature. The dancing of the flames expresses joy, success, fortune. The fire is the tribal unity. When the blizzard, hail, or wild beasts could well end the fragile human existence, the fire was light and freedom. The fire was printed in the depths of the *psyche*; the fire covered the human soul as warm clothes, and protected the being as a shelter of Hope.

I.2. Map of decreases: swamps, marshes, mangroves

The end of the Glacial Period involved the opening of huge tracts of land, which were transformed into marshes and wetlands. In a geologically rapid process, the world changed. Huge and dark forests grew in Europe, large grasslands in Asia where herds of cattle and other herbivores were multiplied. The human groups also prospered. However, the “Great Caspian” basin was one of the favorite areas where the human groups

expanded. The broad edge and through the marshes roamed herds of animals, followed by hunters who in that area had abundant food. In those times the human diet was better. It included now fruits and eggs of birds of the mangroves; there were many materials to make baskets and utensils for the capture, and for the conservation of food.

Personally, I am convinced that between 15000 to 5000 B.C. is the time of consolidation of the primary level of the Indo-European languages. It is in this precise great zone where was developed the base of what Bopp called *Ur-Sprache*. Definitely, this is the scenario in which was born and develops the “language of the fire”.

The great flood did not affect significantly the Central Asian region. There is no memory of such event in any *indoaryan* tradition, as yes there is in the farmers of Middle-East southern regions. However, the beginning of the 5th millennium marks the reduction of the Great Caspian. The margins are smaller and the circle of hunter-gatherers is narrowed. Note that the tribes that frequented the banks were moving through a strip of not more than 100 Km around the *Great Caspian*. Without touching the ethnological problem, I dare to say that the area was already inhabited by a certain ethnic type with some similarity, which tends to be standardized because the increasing closeness and mixtures. Smaller was turning the Caspian Sea, narrower were the concentric areas of contact. The millennium between 3000 to 2000 B.C. was the time of greater coexistence; then, begins the dispersion of the Indo-European people.

What is decisive for the following developments, however, is to turn the contact of these nomadic societies with societies of sedentary farmers already existing in the Bactria.

I.3. The old Bactrian civilization of the Oxus

The findings of Viktor Sarianidi (1976) were known only into the interior of the Soviet Union (URSS). But, from the 90', Sarianidi's works were translated to western languages, and his discoveries have been truly appreciated. Sarianidi located accurately a culture in the Margiana region named *Oxus Old Civilization*, or *Bactrio Margian-Ancient Civilization*, or *BMAC*, and he set a timeline for its flourishing period, which is from 3.000 to 1.700 BC.

The *BMAC* would have been a sedentary culture with full use of bronze. The same area had been explored by Aurel Stein between 1940 and 1950. Stein suggested the existence of cities that had a fluent exchange with the Indo Valley civilization, and also with cities of Mesopotamia. Aurel Stein found sufficient evidence showing the existence of strong influence, to one side and the other.

However, Sarianidi's excavations revealed the existence of a degree of original development. The cities are of big size, with walls and fortifications which suggest a sense of defense and high organization in a dangerous zone; and on the other hand a great ability to develop indigenous technology. We argue that there is a parallel between the *BMAC* with both contemporaries: the civilization of Mesopotamia and the Indo, and these three generated a triangle of civilizations, where there was intense commercial exchange.

Without delving into the characteristics of the *BMAC*, we want to highlight the fact the dynamism and simultaneousness existing between nomads and sedentary societies that inhabited the ancient Great Caspian basin. To the extent that has been found old settlements, they show that there is not a logic of exchange East-West resembling something as "a silk route of the Neolithic" as was the proposition of Aurel Stein. We think that despite the trade with Mesopotamia or with the Indo Valley, the *BMAC* had a local intense life, with their own problem of interrelation with nomads of the Basin. With them, they exchanged all types of goods, or in other moments was a hostile

relation. The nomads of the Caspian sometimes were pacific, other times nomads were the worst enemies of the Oxus cities.

Therefore, we propose just as a working hypothesis suggesting the existence of many groups of Indo-Iranian stock opposite to the Oxus civilization established around or in some proximity. And therefore the cities mentioned in the *Avesta* or in the *Rig Veda*, are not those of the Indus Valley but those of Bactria. Therefore, the legend about the friction between *indoaryan* tribes and urban people could be very much before the arrival of these same *indoaryan* to India. Therefore, the story of Rudra and his Fire sacrifices are related to the years in the Caspian-Oxus world, between 2500 to 2000 B.C.

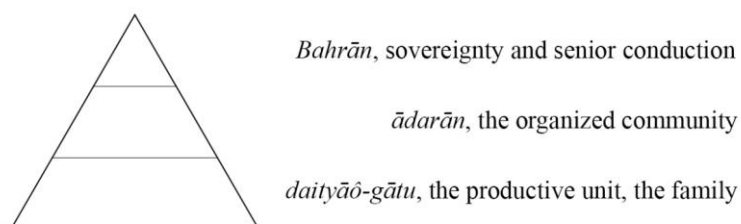
II. The triadic value of fire: wood, air and spark; a foundation for superior thought

Since the oldest times, when the knowledge about the fire was apprehended, it was understood that its magic operated braiding three elements: air, fuel, and initial spark. On a wet and cold media, with scarce dry wood, men learned to search the proper fuel, blowing out using their own warm breath, and doing sparks with stones. The miraculous fire was a heavenly possession. They used charcoal, and even oil in natural state which are in dirty pools in the Caspian Basin; this one material comes from the land. The breath was the human contribution. The spark was the inexplicable divine gift coming from the sky, as the lightning which sometimes is discharged from the heaven and burns the forest.

The sacred fire allows the life, it gives food; feeding with hot meals that are the best food. It lit the body, it gives heat. If the man is warm and healthy, the evilness does not affect (*Avesta*). The fire scares and makes run away to the demons (*spanjagrya*). The fire, is good, and exists in all parts; but the brilliant man (*aryan*) is who carries it doing light everywhere he goes. That is the fire *Âtar*, with the time called the son of Ahura Mazda (*Avesta, Yazna 17*). That is the portable fire; it's like lightning

falling from the sky burning trees in the middle of the rain. The fire which is like a sword is the characteristic of the warrior; in contrast to the inhabitant of the villages, who hides their fire for cooking.

He, the fire, was a fanal, a mark of pride, and of location (still are done in Iran). In a parallel process to the development of expansion of the *aryan* tribes in India, the Iranians in the Iranian plateau, they installed fires in each town that they inhabited. They called to such fires *Bahrān*; the fire that marks a place, and declares it real possession. In a process several centuries, was born an order, consisting of three areas or functions:



The three hierarchic fires have been studied by Wikander and George Dumézil. Dumézil, properly, with his well-known theory of the triple functions, which he saw in any association or institution of *indoeuropeans*. The fire, as a central and monolithic entity of course has a trivalent symbolism. The fire is the essence of the Iranian cosmos, and it was made a permanent part of any social structure. The sacred fire, is the essence of the Iranian theology, and is present in all the *Avesta*, and in all sacred literature,³ even in so tardy works as the *Shah Namah* of Firdousi⁴ (s. X).

³ Dhalla, M.N., *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914.

⁴ Carrasco-Alvarez, Sergio Melitón, *The Shah Namah of Firdousi*, UCV, Valparaiso, 1985.

III. The Agni immigration to India versus the fire as meal in the Indo valley community

In India, the value of the fire had two aspects: *aryan* and non-*aryan*. But, it should be noted, that the *aryan* contribution came already advanced in a mental structure which did contain the archaic experience “of the era of the *Great Caspian*” plus the early contact with the Oxus civilization.

The Indo Valley Civilization developed his own fire symbolism from also very old times. The fire was for them just a working tool; fire had no magical or sublime connotation, nor was a central deity. Their fires were completely assimilated in the domestic economy and tasks. The warm fire was a homely fire. Or, it was part of very specific works. The fire was associated to the cooking of food, preparing the daily meal; or for manufacturing ceramics, firing bricks; but, always it had no ritual or ceremonial value. In the bids ancestral, more than fire had importance the light (*dipā*), symbol of festivity and joy.

In any *pūjā*, or any hindu-dravidian sacrifice (in the understood of the studies from Robert Caldwell, and followings; or T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneause, *Dravidian etymological dictionary*) is offered water, light, fruits, particularly coconuts, leaves of betel, incense; however never are offered hot meals. All the gifts, presentation or donations, are part of an ancient and extremely complex symbolism of giving and receiving (*dāna*). This way of transaction was the millenary manner of building and managing the world; for humans and gods. And it is the basis of laws of cause and effect, and the Karma doctrine. In what moment it was produced the fusion of both concepts, the *indoaryan* type of sacrifice, and the ceremony of offerings fruits, the calling to deities and the forces of nature?

It was when the threefold *indoaryan* key was transformed into the fivefold key, and included the mathematical conception of the world already existing in the mind of the Indus. New key to open a new time! The process is reflected in the first stage of the development of the *Vedas*. We can see in the oldest sections that they are purely triadic, instead that the most recent are pentadic. Such development is chronologically datable between

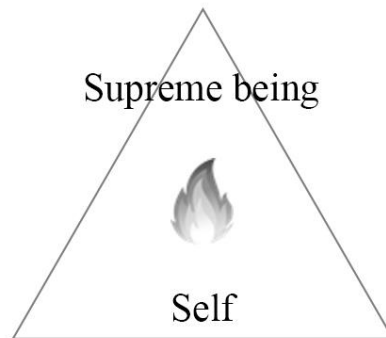
1500 to 1000 B.C. and was due to the need to organize the new Brahmanic cosmos and fully incorporate into it to the Dravidian society. Just as example, the sage Gautama (*Chandogya Up.*, “Doctrine of the five fires” or *pañcāgni vidyā*), explains the fivefold system, enumerating the five most important things:

- i. *Loka*
- ii. *Parjanya*
- iii. *Pṛthvī*
- iv. *Puruṣa*
- v. *Yoṣa*

Gautama says that the order of the cosmos is synchronized with the order of sacrifice; and that such a primary order was established by the gods with their own initial sacrifice. All the gods as the form of *Agni* offered faith and produce *Soma*; the *Soma* inseminates the sky and caused the rain. The rain spilled over the burning soil, and cause that sprout plants (*varsa*). The men collected the food, feed and produce semen. Semen, in the heat of the womb of the woman generates the life of the embryo (*retas*) that develops and is born (*garbha*). Everyone repeats the cycle, doing any of the many type of five actions that are the *pāñcakarma*, until the man is consumed by the fire, in the funeral pyre.

III.1 The Vedic Fire (*Agnihotra*)

David Knipe (*In the Image of Fire*, 1975) asserts that all doctrine and original Vedic structure is triadic and only focused on the ceremonial fire: the *Śrauta* ritual.



Ch. Up. 6. 1-5 Threefold *Agni rūpa* (the three forms of *Agni*)

But, in the miscegenation Aryan + Dravidian = the tripartite fire, is transformed into the pentadic, to incorporate the fivefold new *Brahmanical* order.

- Five materials of the world: earth, air, water, light and *ākāśa*.
- Five winds.
- Five *lokas*.
- Five moons.
- Five peoples.

In the *Śatapatha Brahmana*, a significant proportion of the corpus is dedicated to the *agnicayana*, the procedure of construction and layout of the altar of five levels. In general, the *Samhitās*, have structure, nomenclature and symbolism for the pentadic *yajña* (fivefold sacrifice) and invocations (*Āhvāna nāmah*) or the calling to the deity by his/her name (*Agnihotra* invocation). In the process of development of the Vedic literature, in the same time that were incorporated more indigenous elements, was being reorganized the tri-cosmos into a new pentadic cosmos (as also did happen in Greece with the idea of the *diakósmesis*); while the ritual made increasingly more complex (*pañcāvarga*). With the passage of time, and the development of speculative thought, adopts the pentadic

doctrine as it is already enshrined in the *Upaniṣads*, that fire has been converted into the mystic sacrifice: *pāñcatapas*.

The Sanskrit literature of the centuries 8th to 3rd explores the doctrine of the five sacrifices; and is in many things that are arranged in five levels or *vyūha* doctrine. In the *Mahābhārata* and its miscellany presentation, there are a clear number declared with the five Pāṇdavas.

IV. Agni / Soma

The period of convergence of both forms of worship and pay tribute to the deities is during the first phase of consolidation of Brahmanism, and accumulation of the oldest *mandalas* of the *Veda*. By then, merge into gradual embrace, ideas of synchronicity and mutual relationship between the human nature (*Yoga*) with the *Aryan* sacrificial piety.

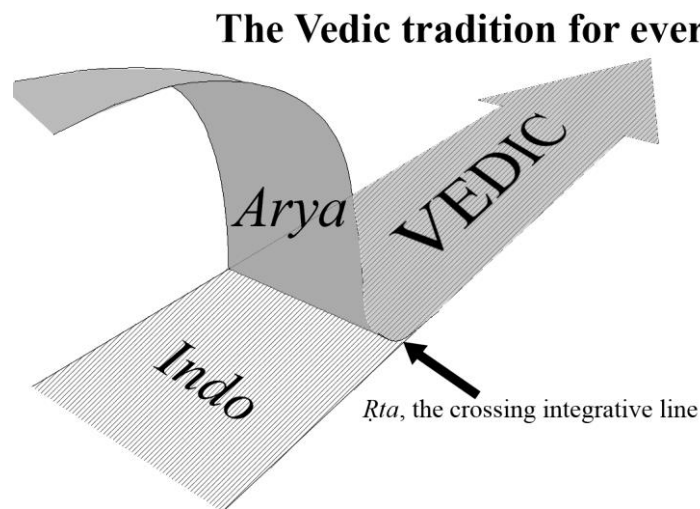
The crossing is manifested in the ritual fire (Agni) that produces the Soma (*Rta*). This unity, duality, and trivalent spirit resolves all aspects that worried and should be formulated every day, every morning, every evening by members of the new society in the process of mixture. Again, put this convergence of the two perceptions, the *Aryan* and the *Dravidian*, between 1500 to 1000 B.C. However, this process with its speculative explain was taken and ordered later, throughout the first Millennium B.C., in special manner in the *Upaniṣads*. Agni, the archaic fire, with its load of millennia; symbol of social life, and freedom of the man over the terrible nature, transmuted in the vertical and hierarchical symbol of the new Brahmanic society.

The Soma, the divine elixir that is poured out upon the human or physical (*prakṛti-bhumi*), is the horizontal flow; is a river that flows slow but deep. Agni and Soma, were the two aspects of the harmony, through the shaft of the ritual. Was in that way organized a new triangulation, absolutely own of the Brahmanic India, then mixed and turned into the original power of creation in the triad Agni-Rta-Soma; the new doctrine of Brahmanic sacrifice that absorbed and reissued the history of *Aryans* and non-*Aryans*. Said the relationship between the world

and sphere of the gods (*Para-prākṛti*), and the human; then, is the key to apply and realize the obvious structures, such as the order of the society. This triad derivate into five forms, five fires, the five steps (*pāñcapādāni*).

In the initial Vedic phase, the mayor *śrauta* rituals maintain strictly the essential triadic structure. Agni is threefold (R.V., 3.20.2; 2.36.4; 4.1.9). Agni is always present in three locations; in the Heaven, in the Sacrifice, and in the Man.

This creation is what has amazed to researchers, that have seen in the fineness and complexity of the Veda a perfect expression, physical and mathematical.



Tad ekam = the one who is two, and three, and the four critical element, to be finally the five, the perfect equilibrium.

Brahmanic society, his account of the world and its three *vārnas*, is enriched (Knipe says that it is “disturbed”) by the *sudra vārna*; with that completed and closed society, being whole, five-this process, since the Vedic times is the development of tripartite ritual (*trīṇi padāni*) and the fire in the penta-ritual and its fire with five parts (*pāñca padāni*). This is the *Agnicayana*; the reconstruction of the Universe, which is

One and also is Three, it is destabilized and finally is Five. *Sattapatha Brahmana*, 3.1.25, refers to the *Agnicayana* as “The three parts of Agni that overcome five through the correspondences (*te pāñcasampadā bhavanti*)”.

Agni, the fire that manifests the vibrant life (make real the unmanifest Being), that sacrifice is transformed into zeal for the correct duty, the energy that moves the wheel of Destiny and makes the Dharma, is present in all:

- Five times
- Five places (*lokas*)
- Five steps of the sacrifice (*pāñcapāda*)
- Five original tribes
- Five elements
- Five parts of the body, five colours, flavours, smelts,
- Five *kendriyas*, etc.

And the returning path is the one as it is explained in the *Svestasvatara Up.* 2.12: “When it has been transcended all five types of things, the Fire is the Union (Yoga) and everything returns to its origin”.

V. The ritual reassembly of Agni Prajāpati

Unlike of the Iranian cosmos where the fire kept its primordial image intact, in India the whole image and the deep symbolism was affected by a series of modifications and evolved from a formal ceremonialism (with much social significance), to a progressive personal and ecstatic sense. Curiously, the strong communitarian sense of the millenarian tradition of the Indus created the new condition for the process of individualization of the “fire experience”. The *Agni Path* reflected perfectly the incorporation of many indigenous traditions and is the reflection of the new Hindu order. The “ceremonial fire” is the image of a burning *cāturvarṇya* system, dynamic and powerful as a pregnant being capable to create new situations and moving forward in the middle of the historical

changes. The “ceremonial fire” is the power of the changing world.

On the other hand, the personal “ceremonial fire” is the mystical path, the yogic way, Agni in the road to be also the burning hearth of Śiva, or Viṣṇu, or Brahma. Under that fine shape is present in all the literature classic; from the *Samhitā*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, *Upaniṣads* and subsequent Sūtra literature.

However, the essence of the Fire concept was never altered because the Great Agni always has been the axis, reason and purpose of the sacrifice (Sylvain Levy, *The Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brahmanas*, 1898). The religious History of India, is the sequence and process of the sacrifice of the humankind, from the oldest times to the political concepts of freedom and fighting as it was used by the founders of the modern India. As Bergaigne has said, from the oldest times, since the pre-Vedic doctrine of sacrifice, India has searched for the path of the Supreme organization. Achieves it correspondence between the sacrificial and its object, through its transformation of the self in the victim, and the sublimation of his/her own soul when is consumed by its own internal fire (*tapas*). Thereby causes the complete communication with the Supreme Being, the *Atman*, achieving the perfect *Yoga*.

For other scholars of Vedic literature, that same Vedic doctrine of the correspondence reaches its zenith in the *Upaniṣads* and following philosophical literature. The realization of correspondences, the synchronicities, and the equivalences is the subject of the high Indian philosophy of early medieval period, as Madhva, Ramanuja or Śankara.

Tapas, the renunciation, have two aspects: the “energy saving” of indigenous origin, and the generous donation of *Aryan* precedence; donation and delivery to the cause. On the long experience of the Indus civilization, the varied expressions of the restriction and reduction of consumption to save and provide food, was the basis for the development of the resignation as individual process of mortification for the control of the personal life, the social, and universal life.

But, India was the divine abode for the process we are trying to explain. The *Aryan* experience of Fire, also is the expression of building equality among the tribal members to achieve the tribal unit, also meant a road of perfection (in contrast with the strong individualism manifest in other indoeuropean people, as the *hybris* in the Greeks).

Tapas, as personal sacrifice, evolved from Vedic times as total control of the life, for living the life as continuous sacrifice. Agni, the mystic fire, was from the beginning the inner sacrifice of the human being, in active correspondence and super synchronicity with the universal Cosmos. *Anorāniyān-Mahātomāniyān* The macrosmos and the microcosm, in harmony and concordance. In the early Vedic times, the *asvāmedha*, had that value of recomposing the cosmic order from a huge sacrifice. With the passage of time, the possibility of influencing the immediate cosmos, was through the exercise of the mystical action (*karmakānda*) daily that the sacrificer achieved through his/her small immediate universe. The *Aitatreya Brāhmaṇa*, says that success in the action is when the action is carried out precisely in the right place. And the best place, is the inner own silence, where it consumes the ego in the inside fire of the *samādhi*. This is the perfect Brahmanical concordance.

VI. Agni, in the Bhagavad-gītā⁵

In the Chapter V of the *Gītā* “The Path of Renunciation”, Śrī Kṛiṣṇa answered to the question of Arjuna, making the difference between Sāṅkhyayoga and Karmayoga. Śrī Kṛiṣṇa describes the glory of the Sāṅkhyayogī and Karmayogī, and says that *Dhyānayoga* (meditation) permits to attain the supreme peace through the realization of the Being and that is the goal of all sacrifices.

⁵ *Srimad Bhagavadgita*, by Jayadayal Goyandka, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, India, 1993 (1969).

In the **V Chapter**, Śrī Kṛiṣṇa says:

*..bhoktāram yajñatapasām sarva-loka-maheśvaram
Suhṛdam sarva –bhūtānāmjñātvā mām śāntim ṛcchati*
[5.29]

Me (the Lord) I am the celebrant priest of the sacrifice, I am the sacrificial fire and I am also the victim. Me (the Lord) I am the purpose of any and all waiver and the object same of all hardship and penances and of the disinterested actions. I am the fire of the beginning and the fire of the end.

In the **VII Chapter**, Śrī Kṛiṣṇa says:

*Puṇyo gandhaḥ pṛthivyāmca, tejaś cāsmi vibhāvasau
jīvanam sarva bhūteṣu tapaś cāsmi tapasviṣu* [7.9]

I am the original fragrance of the Earth; I am the heat in Fire. I am the life of all the Lives, and I am the penances of all the ascetics.

In the **IX Chapter**, Śrī Kṛiṣṇa says:

*Aham kraktur aham yajñah; svadhāham aham auśadham
mantra 'ham aham evājyam aham agnir aham hutam*
[9.16]

I am the ritual, I am the sacrifice. And I am also the oblation, I am the offering sacred and the recitation of the mantras, I am the (ghee) butter melted, I am Agni, the fire sacrificial. I am the Being and I am Agni.

*Agnim īle puróhitam yajñasya devam ṛtvijam hotāram
ratnadhā tamam. R.V. [I,1]*⁶

⁶ Sri Aurobindo, *Hymns to the Mystic Fire*, Published by Sri Aurobindo Memorial Fund Society, Pondicherry, India, 1972. Available on line:

http://www.aurobindo.ru/workings/sa/11/hymns_to_the_mystic_fire_eng.pdf

Cfr. *The Rig Veda Samhita*, by Dayananda Saraswati (ed), Paropakarini Sabha, Ajmer, 1984 (2041 Vikrami).

B.B. LAL

MANU'S FLOOD: A MYTH OR REALITY

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1.8.1) there is a parable which states:

In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands. (1)

It spake to him the word. "Rear me, I will save thee!" "Wherefrom wilt thou save me?" "A flood will carry away all these creatures: from that I will save thee!" "How am I to rear thee?" (2)

It said, "As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us; fish devour fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in that. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction." (3)

It soon became a *Jhaṣa* (a large fish); for that grows largest (of all fish). Thereupon it said, "In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (i.e. to my advice) by preparing a ship; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter the ship and I will save thee from it. (4) (Sarasvati 1988: 301-02.)

The fish had predicted a flood that was to come in a particular year. The prediction came to be true. On the advice of the fish, Manu got a ship prepared, and entered into it. The fish then swam up to him; to its horn Manu tied the rope of the ship and with the help of the fish sailed swiftly up to the northern mountains. Again, as advised by the fish, Manu fastened the ship to a tree, and took shelter on the mountain. When the flood subsided, Manu gradually descended from the mountain (and, therefore, the slope of the northern mountain is called “*Manu’s descent*” (*Manoḥ avasarpaṇam*). (Sarasvati 1988:312.)

The first question to be answered is: What is the date of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*? It is a very knotty question, since the dating of the Vedas to circa 1200 BCE by Max Muller had created a great deal of confusion. However, later on Muller surrendered by saying (*Physical Religion* 1890, reprint 1979):

If now we ask how we can fix up the dates of these periods, it is quite clear that we cannot fix a terminum qua [sic]. Whether the hymns were composed [in] 1000 or 1500 or 3000 BC no power on earth will ever determine.

The great pity is that in spite of such a candid confession by Max Muller himself, his blind followers even now continue to harp on the date of the Vedas as 1200 BCE.

Anyway, it has now been duly established that the *Ṛigveda* is pre-2000 BCE (Lal 2015:122). Thus, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, being later than the *Ṛigveda*, is likely to be post-2000 BCE. At the same time, it is difficult to assign a precise date to it. It can only be an approximation. It is agreed to on all hands that the *Upaniṣads* and the *Sūtras* were the products of the first millennium BCE. Thus, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, being earlier than the *Upaniṣads* and *Sūtras*, has to be placed somewhere in the 2nd millennium BCE, most likely in the first half of that millennium.

Since the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to Manu’s flood this event must have occurred before the composition of that text. Further, since there is no mention of any flood in the *Ṛigveda* it

is most likely that the event did not take place during the R̥gvedic times. Thus, on purely literary grounds, the flood will be assignable to the 2nd millennium BCE, more likely to its beginning.

We may now turn our attention to the evidence of archaeology. There is a culture-complex known as the Copper Hoard Culture, because of the fact that the copper artefacts comprising this culture have often been found in hoards. Typologically, these artefacts include antennae swords, hooked swords, harpoons, anthropomorphic figures, shouldered celts, bar celts, rings, etc. Most of the time, these hoards had been found accidentally, either while ploughing an agricultural field,

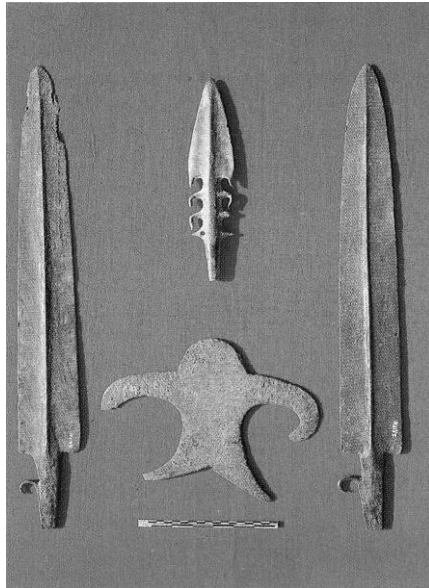


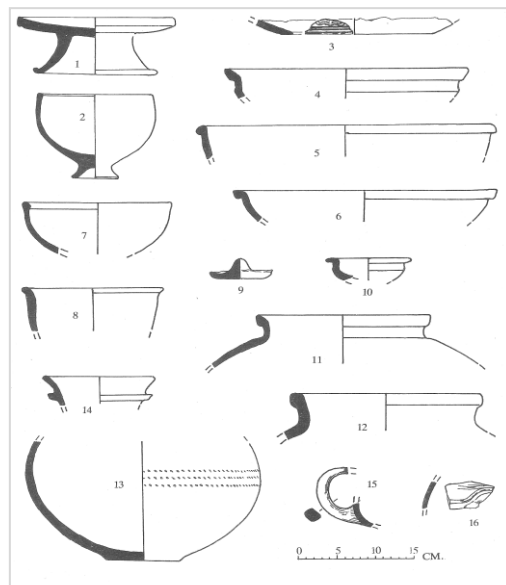
Fig. 1. Sapai: 'Copper Hoard' artefacts.

or digging the foundation trench for a house or digging a canal and so on. Up-to-date, there seem to be only three sites where there is duly excavated evidence to place the hoards in association with other objects. These are Sapai in District Etawah, Bahadrabad in District Haridwar and Sanauli in District Baghpat, all in Uttar Pradesh. While some of the Sapai artefacts (Fig. 1) were found accidentally, others were actually found in a regular excavation (Lal 1972).

But what is important is that in the same deposit some pottery was also found. Since, on handling, the pottery left ochreous marks on the fingers, it was initially given the name 'Ochre Colour Ware/Pottery' (OCW/P). However, now we know that it was a red ware, often slipped and sometimes painted with designs in black pigment. It was due to water-

logging that the slip peeled off and the paintings got obliterated. Besides pottery and copper artefacts, the excavation at Sapai yielded balls, pounders, querns and rubbers – all of sandstone – and lumps of clay with impressions of reed. These lumps indicate that the houses were made of wattle-and-daub. In this context it must also be mentioned that the soil deposit in which these copper artefacts, pottery and stone objects were found was completely bereft of any regular habitation layers, such as floors or ash or charcoal deposits. The entire deposit, about one metre in thickness, was a mass of reddish brown clay merging with the natural soil underneath.

At Bahadrabad, the Copper Hoard was found while digging a canal. On receipt of information, Y. D. Sharma (1989) carried out excavation in the area and found a lot of pottery (Fig.2) but



no more copper objects. The 1 ½ metre- thick deposit which yielded the pottery showed no stratification. It was a mass of brownish earth, without usual habitation layers, such as floors, charcoal, ash, etc. Of further interest was the fact that this pottery-bearing layer was overlain by about 6-metre thick deposit of sand and pebbles.

Fig. 2. Ochre Colour Pottery from Bahadrabad.

Sanauli, being on a higher level, has escaped the ravages which the afore-mentioned two sites had to suffer from. It is a burial site and in one of the graves an antennae sword has been found in association with the dead body. The pottery is a red

ware, often painted (D. V. Sharma, et al. 2006: 166 ff.)

As to the chronological horizon of the Copper Hoard-OCP Culture, it may be mentioned that we do not have any C¹⁴ dates, for the simple reason that no regular habitation levels which would have yielded charcoal or charred grains have been met with at any of the sites concerned. Thus, we have to depend on thermoluminescence (TL) dating of the OCP itself. Sherds of this ware, from four sites, namely Atranjikhera, Lal Qila, Jhinhana and Nasirpur were subjected to this method and eight dates received. Of these, three fall broadly between 2500 and 2000 BCE; two between 2000 and 1500 BCE; and two are later than 1500 BCE (Lal 1972). Thus, this Culture may approximately be assigned to the last quarter of the 3rd and first quarter of the 2nd millennium BCE.

Such a dating is also suggested by another kind of evidence. At Lothal, the well known Harappan site in Gujarat, a part of an anthropomorphic figure was found in Phase IV (Rao 1985: 536), which would mean that there was some contact between the Copper Hoard Culture and the Harappan towards the last quarter of the 3rd millennium BCE. A similar dating for the Copper Hoard is suggested by the occurrence of a terracotta tablet at Harappa, which depicts a man wielding a harpoon for sacrificing a buffalo in front of Śiva (Kenoyer 1998: Fig. 6.24).

From the foregoing it is clear that the Copper Hoard-OCP Culture may have existed in the last quarter of the 3rd millennium BCE and continued into early 2nd.

We now pass on to the most crucial aspect of the issue. It relates to the nature of the deposits in which the Copper Hoards and/or OCP have been found. To recall, measuring from ½ to 1 ½ metres in thickness, these deposits are completely bereft of any structures, floor-levels, ash, charcoal, etc. The soil is usually dark brown earth sometimes mixed with sand in which the potsherds lie in a higgledy-piggledy manner. More or less similar is the case with the copper artefacts. This soil imperceptibly merges into the natural soil underneath. If this was the situation just at one or two sites we would have thought it to have been an aberration. But the fact that this is the situation at all the sites, from Bahadrabad in the north to Sapai

in the south and from Jhinhana in the west to Ahichchhatrā in the east – an area covering almost 60.000 square kilometres, sets one thinking about the probable cause(s) of such a situation. [In fact, there are many more OCP sites, further to the east, not shown on the map; Fig. 6 below]

The late Dr. B.B. Lal, Chief Archaeological Chemist of ASI, and his colleagues who examined the soil-samples from Jhinhana, Nasirpur, Ahichchhatrā, etc. were of the view that the deposits may have been ‘water-laid’. Professor Fakhruddin Ahmad, the then Head of the Department of Aligarh Muslim University, who studied the samples from Atranjikhera, opined that ‘the area had been flooded by the river and remained water-logged for a considerable period which may explain the absence of the usual habitation marks.’

This suggests that most likely there was incessant rainfall over a long period or/and a heavy discharge in the river-systems which inundated these sites. As a result of this ‘deluge’ all the lighter material, like ash, charcoal, mud-floors, was washed away, while the heavier material, like copper artefacts, pottery and stone objects, settled down locally, though in a haphazard manner. Such a thing happens even now almost every year when heavy floods due to incessant rains for even 4-5 days engulf villages with wattle-and-daub houses. After the flood what remains on the spot are only a few odd objects telling the story.

While we do not have any data about the rainfall in ancient times, we do have some important evidence about an unusually high water-discharge into the Yamunā-Gaṅgā system, which is as follows.

It relates to the history the Sarasvatī, which is a river par excellence in the *Rigveda*. She has been eulogized as the best of mothers (*ambitame*), the best of rivers (*nadītame*) and the best of goddesses (*devitame*) [RV 2.41.16]. She originated in the mountains and went all the way down to the sea (*yatī giribhya ā samudrāt*) [RV 7.95.2]. She was so powerful that she shattered the mountain peaks with her fast and powerful waves (*iyam śuṣmebhir bisakhā ivārujat sānu girīṇām taviṣebhirūrmibhiḥ*) [RV 6.61.2].

V.M.K. Puri and B.C. Verma (1998), who have done a thorough study of the Sarasvatī in the Himalayan terrain, have shown that it originated from the Sarasvatī, Jamadar and Rupin Glaciers and, winding its way through the hills, pierced the Shiwalik range at Adh Badri and descended on the plains (Fig. 3).

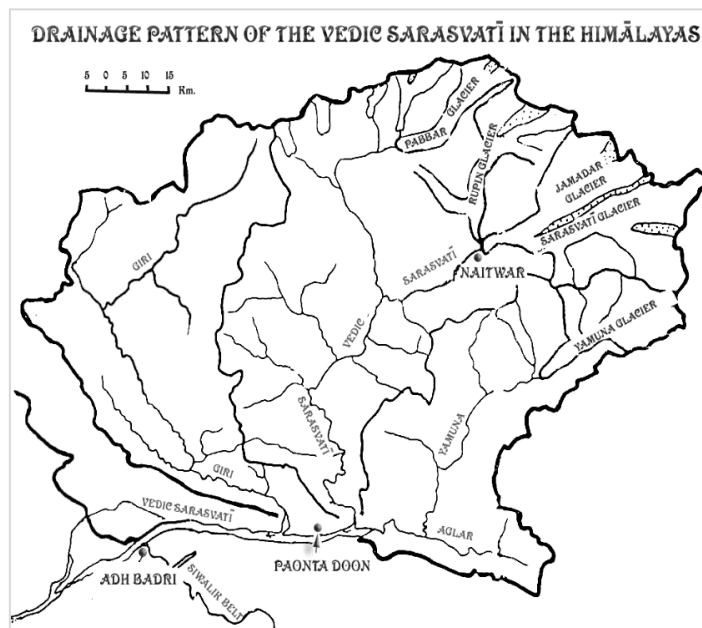


Fig. 3. Drainage Pattern of the Vedic Sarasvatī in the Himalayas.

Descending on the plains, the Sarasvatī waded its way through Haryana and Rajasthan in India and then entered Pakistan where it coursed through Cholistan and Sindh, finally debouching into the Arabian Sea.

In its basin in Haryana, Rajasthan and Cholistan, a large number of sites, ascribable to various stages of the Harappan (also known as the Indus or Indus-Sarasvatī) Civilization, have been discovered, many of which have also been excavated. One of these is Kalibangan, located on the left bank of the Sarasvatī in Hanumangarh District of Rajasthan (Fig. 4).

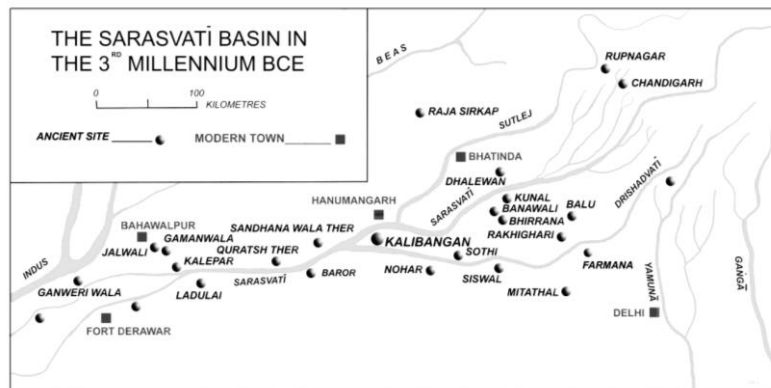


Fig. 4. The Sarasvatī Basin in the 3rd millennium BCE.

The river is now dry. It was, therefore, natural for us to find out when and how it dried up and what were the consequences. Thus, a team of Indian and Italian hydrologists, under the leadership of Robert Raikes, bored several holes in the bed of the river. Summing up his findings, Raikes published a paper in *Antiquity* (1968) which he captioned ‘Kalibangan: Death from Natural Causes’. Kalibangan had to be abandoned because of the drying up of the Sarasvatī. According to the C¹⁴ dates, the abandonment took place around 2000-1900 BCE (Lal 1997: 245-46).

Though we duly got the answer to the ‘when?’ of the drying up of the Sarasvatī, the answer to ‘how?’ had yet to come. In this context, we refer back to the paper of Puri and Verma (1968). In the course of the field work, these geologists discovered that, owing to severe tectonic movements in the Himalayan region there shot up a 30-metre high ridge, known as the Bata-Markanda Divide, which blocked the passage of the Sarasvatī. Since water must find its way out, the river had to reverse its course. Finding an opening in the form of the Yamunā Tear near Paonta, the river entered it and joined the Yamunā itself (Fig. 5).

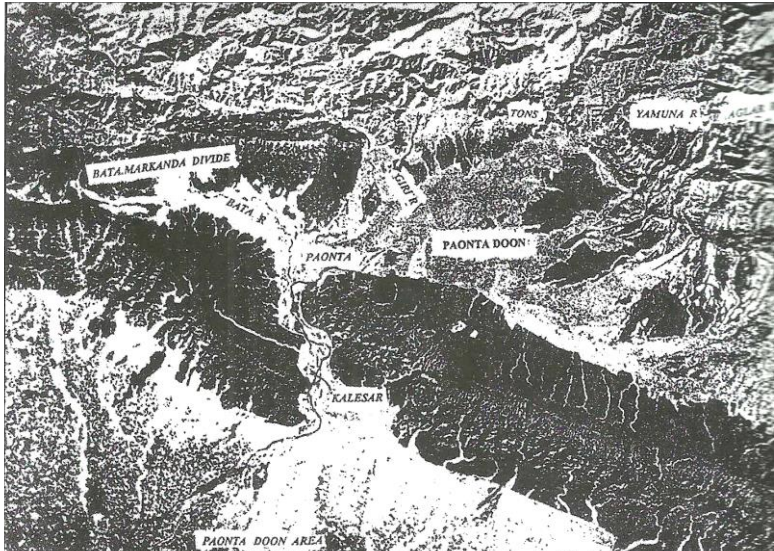


Fig. 5. Appearance of the Bata- Markanda Divide which blocked the passage of the Sarasvatī. The river had to reverse its course and, passing through an opening near Paonta, joined the Yamunā. The result: A Deluge in the Yamunā-Gaṅgā basin.

What must have been the horrendous affect of the Sarasvatī joining hands with the Yamunā is beyond imagination – a mighty deluge affecting a major part of the upper Yamunā-Gaṅgā basin. As a result, hundreds of settlements must have been drowned and even washed away. This is exactly what did happen as evidenced by the total destruction of the OCP-Copper Hoard sites in the upper Yamunā-Gaṅgā basin (Fig. 6).

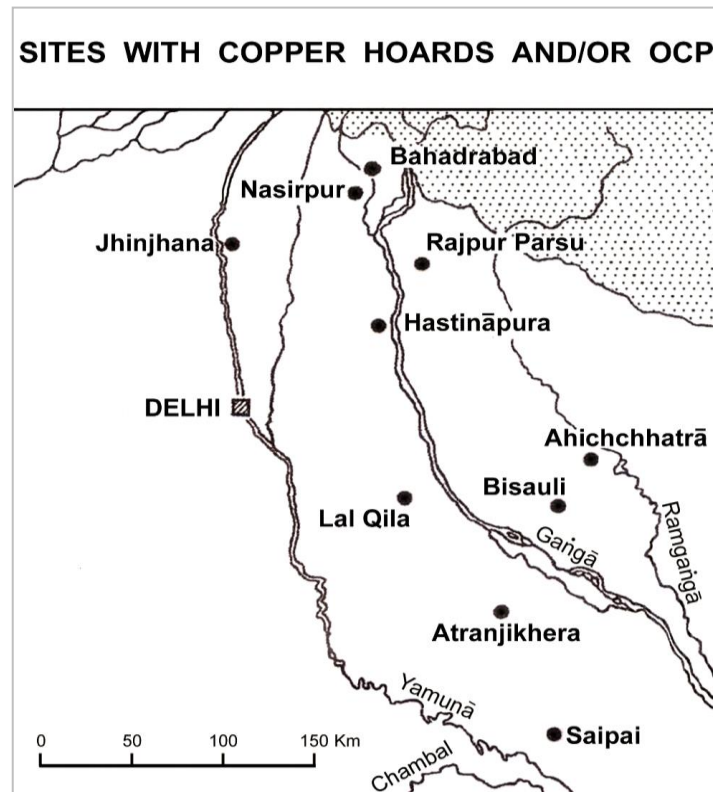


Fig. 6. All the Copper Hoard and/or OCP sites shown on this map were severely affected by the deluge which occurred at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BCE.

Archaeologically, this event took place around 2000-1900 BCE or say broadly in the first quarter of the second millennium BCE. This was exactly the time of Manu's Flood, which, as shown in the earlier part of this paper, occurred after the *Ṛigveda* and before the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* i.e. in the first quarter of the second millennium BCE.

Should we still call Manu's Flood a myth?

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STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT

INTERPRETING THE VEDIC TRADITION

I. The Sarasvatī, Like the Ganges, Flows from Heaven

The Sarasvatī River is lauded in the *Rgveda* (hence, *RV*) as being a mighty river flowing from the mountains to what has been interpreted as the sea. Fully three hymns are addressed exclusively to her (*RV* 6.61, 7.95, and 7.96), and she is mentioned in many others as well (as, for instance, in *RV* 10.75.5-6 and 3.23.4). She is likened to a deity (*RV* 5.43.11, 2.41.16, 5.46.2, and 1.13.9, for instance), and her munificence is lauded (*RV* 1.164.49, for instance; see Lal 2002: 4-6).

It is generally agreed today that the R̥gvedic Sarasvatī River is to be identified with a river known variously as the Sarasvatī (or, Sarsūti) in Haryana, the Ghaggar in northern Rajasthan, and the Hakra in the Cholistan region of Pakistan. Today it is a mostly dry riverbed, its waters having been captured, it would seem, by the Sutlej and Yamunā Rivers (see Flam 1999: 64b; Possehl 1997: 446, 1998: 341, 343, 345-347).

While this is the generally held opinion today, there are still some scholars who argue for a comparatively late arrival of the Vedic Indo-Aryans into northwestern India, who argue that the R̥gvedic Sarasvatī River is to be identified as the Haraḥvaitī River of the *Avesta*, the modern-day Helmand River in Afghanistan, the Avestan name of which is a reflex of the Vedic Sanskrit “Sarasvatī”; or who still argue that the Sarasvatī is to be identified with the Indus River. For a good response to these latter opinions, and their history in brief, see Lal (2002: 1-17).

Variations on these opinions exist as well.

Maurer (1986: 196-197) argues that the name of the Afghanistani river was transferred to the Indus River, perhaps as an epithet, when the Vedic Indo-Aryans arrived in northwestern India.

Witzel (2002: 172-173) similarly argues that the name was transferred from the name of the Afghanistani river. But he argues it was transferred to the no longer mighty Ghaggar-Hakra complex – which like its Afghanistani counterpart arose in the mountains and terminated in lakes in the desert. (Witzel, following Monier-Williams 1899: 1182b and Macdonell and Keith 1912/2: 434 n. 1, for example, translates “Sarasvatī” as ‘she who has ponds/lakes’. Maurer 1986: 196 translates it as ‘abounding in water’.) Witzel appears to argue (p. 173) that the laudations regarding the mightiness of the Sarasvatī River are typical Rgvedic hyperbole.

On the other hand, Possehl (1998: 341) has noted that in the context of the importance of the Sarasvatī River in the *RV*, on the basis of the dating of the drying up of the Sarasvatī, the usual Western dating for the *RV* seems to be too late. (See Dandekar 1958: 1 – composition of the *RV* ca. 1200 - 900 BCE, composition of the earliest hymns of the *RV* ca. 1500 - 1200 BCE; see Levitt 2003: 341a-342b, and In press¹.)

From an archeological point of view, during Hakra Ware times (3800 - 3200 BCE) and Mature Harappan times (2500 - 1900 BCE) human settlement along her shores, particularly in an inland delta that she formed in the Derawar Fort area, was particularly dense, less so in Early Harappan (Kot Dijian) times (3200 - 2600 BCE) and Post-Urban Harappan (Cemetery H) times (1900 - 1700[?] BCE); and it was especially more sparse in Painted Gray Ware (early Iron Age) times (1000[?] - 500 BCE) (Possehl 1997: 442-447, esp. table II and figs. 9-13; 1998: 340 [fig. 1], 347-350, 352-354 [figs. 5-7]).

Lal (2002: 14-16, fig. 2.2), citing Flam (1999: 58, 65), argues that the Hakra River flowed into the Nara River, and as the Nara River into the Arabian Sea. Flam (1999: 56b-58b), though, is referring to very ancient and pre-historic times. Of the

connection between the Hakra and Nara Rivers in the 4th and 3rd millennia BCE, Flam (1999: 58a) writes:

“There is little doubt and little disagreement that the Hakra-Nara Nadī was a *seasonal river* [italics mine] with perennial characteristics during the fourth and third millennia B.C.”

In different words, the full course of the combined river was already drying up. Possehl (1998: 350), a bit more conservatively, and considering human habitation data for the Dewarar Fort area writes:

“It might be that the river once did flow to the sea, in very ancient times prior to the Hakra ware Stage (3800 - 3200 B.C.), but even this is not certain. ... In spite of the alignment of the Sarasvatī with the Eastern Nara it may well be that these two rivers were never one.”

More recently, Sharma, Gupta, and Bhadra (2005-2006: 189b; see also 192b) concluded on the basis of multi-spectral modern-day satellite data:

“The present findings indicate that the Saraswati flowed as an independent river system parallel to the Indus river and did not change its course and in all probability did not drain through the Nara. ... The present mapped course of the Saraswati is about 40 km east of the river Nara ([see] Gupta *et al.* 2004).”

Further, while they do mention a few channels *originating* from the Sarasvatī that *seem* to meet the Gulf of Kutch, they concluded (190b-191a):

“Prima-facie a look at the channels delineated from IRS WIFS data indicates the Saraswati ending in the Rann of Kachchh in Pakistan area; ... At the present level of evidence and understanding it is difficult to visualize that the Vedic Saraswati itself discharged to the Gulf of

Kuchchh but at the same time one cannot totally rule out the possibility.”

Of late, there has been a great deal of contention with regard to the passage in *RV* 7.95.2 that says that the Sarasvatī River flows from the mountains to the ocean. The passage in question reads:

*ékācetat sárasvatī nadīnāṃ śúcir yatí giribhya ā
samudrāt /
rāyás cétantī bhūvanasya bhūrer ghṛtām páyo duduhe
nāhuṣāya // 2 //*

In the translation of Wilson (1850-88/5: 189-190):

“2. Sarasvatī, chief and purest of rivers, flowing from the mountains to the ocean, understood the request of Nāhusa, and distributing riches among the many existing beings, milked for him butter and water.”

In the translation of Griffith (1896-97; new rev. ed., 1973: 381a):

“2. Pure in her course from mountains to the ocean, alone of streams Sarasvatī has listened. Thinking of wealth and the great world of creatures, she poured for Nāhuṣa her milk and fatness.”

In the translation of Geldner (1951-57/2: 265):

“2. Einzig unter den Strömen hat sich Sarasvatī hervorgetan, von den Bergen zum Meere klar fließend, den Reichtum der vielgestaltigen Welt kennend, spendete sie Schmalz und Milch dem Nahusstamm.”

In the very recent translation of Jamison and Brereton (2014/2: 1003):

“2. Alone of the rivers, Sarasvatī shows clear, as she goes gleaming from the mountains all the way to the sea.

Taking note of the abundant wealth of the world, she has milked out ghee and milk for the Nāhuṣa.”

With regard to the word translated as ‘ocean’, or ‘sea’, *samudrá*, Witzel (2003: 168-169, incl. n. 95) refers to several possible meanings, etymologizing the word as *sam-udr-a* ‘a collection of waters’. So also, Monier-Williams 1899: 1066c gives a translation from a strictly etymological vantage, ‘gathering together of waters’. In the context here, Witzel prefers a meaning ‘terminal lake’ in the desert (p. 170), which he sees as agreeing with Possehl (2002).

Kazanas (2002: 310-314 [2009 ptg., pp. 45-50], 2003: 228-229 [incl. §449(a)], 2007: 30-31, for instance) sees the Sarasvatī flowing to the *samudra*, for which he accepts the usual meaning as ‘ocean’, or ‘sea’, to support his pre-Harappan dating of the *RV* as it was only from such a time that evidence indicates the Sarasvatī might have flowed to the sea.

Thomson (2009: 30-33, 2010: 424-427) has recently argued, on the other hand, that the text is being misconstrued all around. She notes that *samudrāt* is an ablative, and that in all fifteen other instances in the *RV* in which *samudrá* appears in the ablative as *samudrāt*, or *samudrād* before a vowel, the meaning ‘from the *samudrá*’ is intended. *ā*, she argues, an adposition which followed by an ablative in the later *Brāhmaṇa* texts means ‘up to, until’, is not to be construed here with the following *samudrāt*, but with the preceding *girībhyas* (the final *-s* being dropped in the text for reasons of euphonic combination). Adpositions in the *RV*, she notes, are invariably, if not always, postpositions, not prepositions. In this case, a postposition *ā* would add emphasis to the preceding ablative, as happens regularly in the *RV*. She quite correctly notes that the syntax here troubled Wilson so much in his translation of the *RV* that he noted in a footnote, “*Yatī girībhyā ā samudrāt* is the text” (Wilson 1850-88/5: 190 n. 1), for his translation “flowing from the mountains to the ocean”. Thomson construes the phrase as meaning “pure, travelling down from the mountains, from the gathering place of waters” (2009: 33), adopting the strictly etymological translation of *samudrá*, and what she says

is Witzel's translation of *samudrá* as 'together-waters' (with regard to which, see Thomson 2009: 29). Her translation of *samudrá in this context* seems forced to me, though.

Kazanas (2010), has argued against her interpretation as it counters his position that this verse supports his contention that the *RV* is pre-Harappan.

As Witzel (2003: 167) has noted, it is generally under-emphasized that the Sarasvatī, like the Ganges River later on, flows from heaven, which he notes he has discussed in detail in Witzel (1984). As Grassmann (1873: 1483) notes of *samudrá*, "m. *Ansammlung der Wasser, Meer, auch bildlich von Luftraume, ...*". So also, Monier-Williams (1899: 1166c) notes of *samudrá*, "in Veda also 'the aerial waters', 'atmospheric ocean or sky'". Quoting Konrad Klaus, Witzel (2003: 168) gives as one of the possible meanings of *samudrá*, 'heavenly "pond", heavenly "ocean"'. Thus, *RV* 7.6.7 speaks of two oceans, lower and upper; *RV* 10.98.5-6 speaks of a heavenly ocean where gathered together the waters being brought down, stood. *RV* 10.136.5 speaks metaphorically of two oceans.

To relate this more specifically to the Sarasvatī, *RV* 6.61.11 speaks of the Sarasvatī as both on earth and in the firmament, and *RV* 6.61.12 speaks of her as having a three-fold source, which Griffith (1896-97; new rev. ed., 1973: 323b) annotates, "'abiding in the three worlds', that is, pervading heaven, earth, and hell, according to Sāyaṇa, like Gaṅgā in later times". Geldner (1951-57/2: 163 n. to vs. 12a) has a comparable annotation.

In the context of Thomson's observation regarding the syntax here, a more logical translation than hers – or, perhaps, a more explicit translation of the intent, would be, "pure, travelling down from the mountains, *from the heavenly ocean*".

II. The Date of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* on the Basis of *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 2.1.2.3.

Achar (1999), using what he refers to as “Planetarium Software”, has followed through on an earlier observation of Hermann Jacobi with regard to a passage in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (hence, *ŚPBr*) which states that the Pleiades never swerve from the east. But like Shankar B. Dikshit in 1895, and others, he has used the data that he marshals to arrive at a date of *ca.* 3000 BCE for the *ŚPBr*.

Witzel (1999), in response to Achar argues not entirely without force that this was traditional lore passed down, the usage of which was retained in ritual context. He argues, as well, that the traditional lore was still generally correct at the time of the composition of the *ŚPBr* which he argues is an iron age text, which age starts around 1200 BCE in India, from a period when the Vedic Aryans had moved on to central north and eastern India. On the basis of linguistic and other reasons, Witzel would date the *ŚPBr* to just before the middle of the 1st millennium BCE, to just before the time of the Buddha. I think Witzel’s dating of the text to just before the middle of the 1st millennium BCE is way too late. I would date the *Brāhmaṇas* to sometime after the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE to the 1st millennium BCE, *i.e.* 1500-1000 BCE roughly, in large part on the basis of Ancient Mesopotamian parallels, after which we get the *Upaniṣads* (see Levitt 2003: 352a-354b, and *In press*¹).

¹ Further, as I pointed out in Levitt (*In press*¹), and as I pointed out earlier in Levitt (1995-96: 232), which latter paper was marred by an abundance of printer’s errors, we can gain a comparative textual handle on the dating of the *Brāhmaṇas*, in which the highest god is the late R̥gvedic world creator Prajāpati, in that Iranian material on the later *Avesta* Verethragna may be related to material developed for the first time in the Indian tradition, in the *Brāhmaṇas*. I am thinking here of the Pahlavi gloss for Av. *vərəθra* as ‘victory’, which gloss seems to fit the attestations, in the context of *ŚPBr* 5.2.3.7. The passage begins, “And on the following day he prepares a cake on eleven potsherds for Agni and Soma, and offers it in the same way as an (ordinary) *ishṭi* for it was **thereby Indra slew Vṛitra**, and thereby he gained that universal conquest which now is his. And in like manner does this (king, the Sacrificer) slay his wicked, hateful enemy, and **in like manner does he gain victory**. ... [boldface mine]” (Eggeling 1882-1900/3: 45; for text see *ŚPBr* 5.2.2.7 in Chinnaswāmī Śāstrī, Pattābhirāma Śāstrī, and Rāmanātha Dikṣita 1984: 435).

Kazanas (2002: 294-295 [2009 ptg., pp. 24-26]), on the other hand, accepts Achar's archaeoastronomical dating of the *ŚPBr* to *ca.* 3000 BCE at face value, and with it his conclusion that the *ŚPBr* was composed during Indus Valley civilization times for this and other reasons.

Witzel (2003: 174-175) has responded to Kazanas.

In Levitt (In press¹), I referred to still a different interpretation of the data by the astronomer A. Prey of the German University of Prague, who arrived at a date of *ca.* 1100 BCE for the observation mentioned in *ŚPBr* 2.1.2.3, which is reported in Winternitz (1927/1: 298, together with n. 2). Winternitz thinks that this latter interpretation of the text is proven correct by *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra* 27.5. This date, by coincidence, would be more in line with my dating of the *ŚPBr*. As no one will probably take the trouble to reference Winternitz's discussion, I reproduce it here:

“... The passage [Śat. Br. II.1,2,3. ...] in which we read that the Pleiades “do not swerve from the East” should probably not be interpreted as meaning that they rose “due east” (which would have been the case in the third millenary B.C., and would point to a knowledge of the vernal equinox): the correct interpretation is more likely that they remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time – during several hours – every night, which was the case about 1100 B.C. [I am indebted for this explanation to Professor A. Prey, the astronomer of our University, who informed me that, in about 1100 B.C. the Pleiades rose approximately 13° to the north of the east point, approaching nearer and nearer the east line, and crossing it as late as 2^h 11^m after their rise, at a height of 29°, when seen from a place situated at 25° North latitude. They thus remain almost due east long enough to serve as a convenient basis for orientation. This interpretation of the passage is proved to be the correct one, by *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 27,5 (cf. W. Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 37 ff.), where it is prescribed that the supporting beams of a hut on the place of sacrifice shall

face east, and that this direction shall be fixed after the Pleiades appear, as the latter “do not depart from the eastern region.” It is true that, about 2100 B.C. or about 3100 B.C., the Pleiades touched the east line earlier, but they proceeded southwards so rapidly that they were not suitable for orientation.] ...”.

For the context of this discussion, should there be an interest, I must still forward the reader to Winternitz’s *opus*, pp. 294-299.

Kak (2000: 36), I might note, with regard to *ŚPBr* 2.1.2.3 cautiously states that it “points to an earlier epoch”.

III. The Meaning of *āditi* in *Ṛgveda* 1.89.10.

Several Ṛgvedic hymns are used in context in the *Pātityagrāmanirṇaya* (hence, *PGN*), a separable section of the *uttarārdha* of the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* (hence, *Skh.u.*), the *uttarārdha* of which text appears to have accreted various chapters at various times, even within the *PGN* (see Levitt 1982, 1992: 1-2, and In press²). In total, five Ṛgvedic hymns are referred to in *PGN* chapter 9 (*Skh.u.* 17) and in the various manuscripts of this chapter.

It is my contention that seeing the Ṛgvedic hymns in context as used in the Hindu tradition helps us understand better their import. For instance, it is clear from the usage of *RV* 1.89 that it has to do specifically with communal well-being and longevity, which the translation of Wilson (1850-88/1: 227-230) in particular makes abundantly clear. So also, Jamison and Brereton (2014/1: 221) emphasize that the hymn refers to “the favors that the gods will bestow on the properly worshiping humans” and that “the particular favor we desire from them is to secure our proper length of life”.

One verse at the end of this latter hymn, *RV* 1.89.10, Brereton (1981: 248-249), for instance, finds it difficult to interpret either in light of other references to Aditi in the *RV*, or the later Vedic characterization of the goddess. Brereton

considers this verse to be a later addition to the hymn, as had Grassmann (1876-77/2: 445). Similarly, Maurer (1986: 235-237, n. to vs. 10) notes:

“10. This stanza has nothing to do with the rest of the hymn from whose tenor it differs markedly. As it merges everything in Aditi conceived as a universal substrate, it foreshadows the concept of Brahman later to be elaborated in the Vedānta.”

With regard to its content, Geldner (1951-57/1: 114 n.) commented “Theopantistische Strophe”, and Griffith (1896-97; new rev. ed., 1973: 57a, n.) commented “*Aditi*: the Infinite, infinite Nature”. The 14th c. CE commentator Sāyaṇa had noted, “Aditi is hymned as the same with the universe”. Whereas the ancient commentator Yāska, in *Nirukta* 4.23, opined that the hymn declared the might of Aditi. (See Wilson 1850-88/1: 230 n. for the comments of Sāyaṇa and Yāska.)

Very recently, Brereton has backpedaled from his earlier view. Jamison and Brereton (2014/1: 221) view *RV* 1.89.10 to echo *RV* 1.89.3, which refers to Aditi and the various Ādityas, or ‘children of Aditi’. They see *RV* 1.89.10 to identify Aditi “with the most important cosmic features, kinship relations, and beings”, echoing in part Brereton’s earlier characterization of the Ādityas as gods of social principles (1981: viii). Jamison and Brereton (2014/1: 221) see this hymn to have “a pleasing symmetry, especially at the beginning and end”. This goes against the earlier opinions of Grassmann (1876-77), Brereton himself, and Maurer.

This verse, *RV* 1.89.10, in the translation of Brereton (1981: 248) reads:

“Heaven is Aditi. The mid-space is Aditi. Mother, father, and son is Aditi. Aditi is all the gods and the five peoples. What is born is Aditi and what is yet to be born.”

In the more recent translation of Witzel and Gotō (2007: 156-157):

“10. Aditi ist der Himmel. Aditi ist der Laufraum.
Aditi ist die Mutter. Sie ist der Vater. Sie ist der Sohn,
Aditi ist alle Götter, die fünf Völker.
Aditi ist das Geborene. Aditi ist, was geboren werden
wird.”

And in the translation of Jamison and Brereton (2014/1: 222):

“10. Aditi is heaven. Aditi is the midspace. Aditi is the
mother; she is the father, she is the son.
Aditi is the All Gods, the five peoples. Aditi is what has
been born, Aditi what is to be born.”

In context, though, it makes more sense to translate *áditi* in a more basic meaning not as the name of the goddess, but as ‘boundless (in time, might and/or munificence, wealth)’, or just ‘unending’, ‘forever’. Thus:

Heaven is boundless. The *antárikṣa* is boundless. The
mother is boundless. Such is the father. Such is the son.
All the gods are boundless. The five groupings of beings
(or perhaps, the five peoples) are boundless. Those born
and to be born are boundless.

Similarly, Grassmann (1873: 36) translates here, “das *Unendliche*, die *Unendlichkeit*”, perhaps followed by Griffith (1896-97; new rev. ed., 1973: 57a, n.) in his comment regarding this verse mentioned immediately above. But in Grassmann (1876-77/2: 445), where Grassmann suggests that this verse is a later addition, Grassmann translates “Aditi”.

It would seem that usage of this hymn in context, in which it is clear that it refers to communal well-being and longevity, makes the point of this verse clear, and suggests along with Jamison and Brereton (2014/1: 221) that it is not at all a later addition, but is rather an integral culmination of the import of

the hymn; and further that it does not refer to the goddess Aditi, but simply to longevity, might, and munificence.

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STEPHAN HILLYER LEVITT

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF SKT. *ĀNDHRA*

The Sanskrit forms *Andhra* and *Āndhra* refer primarily to a group of people, generally understood to be the Telugu-speaking people of South India. Both forms refer as well to the Telugu country, and to a king of that country (*MW* 45a, 142a; Ghatage *et al.* 1976- /7: 3811b-3812a).

The form with a short initial ‘a-’ also refers to a person of low caste, an offspring of a Vaideha father and a *Kārāvāra* (see *MW* 274b) mother who lives by killing game (see above references, as well). It is this usage which is the oldest, occurring first in *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* [*adhyāya*] 33, [*khaṇḍa*] 6 (Ghatage *et al.* 1976- /7: 3811b; *PW* 1: 259, *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* 7, 18), *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra* 15.26.1, and in the *Mahābhārata* and *Mānavadharmasāstra*, for instance. In the *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* it is placed side-by-side with *Puṇḍras* [the people of Bihar and Bengal, supposed to be descended from (sg.) a son of the *daitya* Bali of this name], *Śabaras* [a wild mountaineer tribe in the Deccan; the son of a *śūdra* and a Bhilli (lex.)], *Pulindas* [a barbarous tribe], and *Mūtibas* [a people].

The oldest usages of the form with a short initial ‘a-’ clearly referring to the Telugu-speaking people occur in the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa* 50(1).6, in the *Mahābhārata*, and in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, for instance. In its usage as referring to the name of the Telugu country, it occurs first in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, and in various *purāṇas*, for instance. The form *andhrī-kṛ-* (Ghatage *et al.* 1976- /7: 3813a) is noted in *Epigraphia Indica* as meaning ‘to translate into the *Andhra* language’.

The two forms, one with short initial “a-” and one with long initial “ā-” are given as alternate forms in the *Mahābhārata* in Sørensen (1904: 37a).

The Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles by Amrit Madhav Ghatage *et al.* (1976-) is not up to “ā-” yet.

MW 142a derives the form with a long initial “ā-” from within Sanskrit from the form with a short initial “a-”, and takes its primary meaning to be ‘belonging to the *Andhra* people’ > ‘the *Andhra* country’, ‘a king of that country’. But as a masculine plural form, it refers to ‘the inhabitants of that country’, which is to say ‘the *Andhra* people’. *PW* 1: 648 understands the form with a long initial “ā-” to be equivalent to the same with a short initial “a-”.

On the basis of the present available sources, the form with a long initial “ā-” would seem to occur first in the *Mahābhārata*.

The Sanskrit forms are without etymology.

Further, while *KEWA* and *EWA* treat *Draviḍa* / *Drāviḍa*, there is no mention of *Andhra* / *Āndhra*.

In the interest of comprehensiveness, I did a Google search for “Andhra meaning in Telugu”. Under “What is the meaning of Andhra in Telugu? / Yahoo Answers”, it is noted that the best answer given, dated December 21, 2009, was “The name Andhra [spelled as in English] means ‘Leader in Battle’”. I can note that this is not entirely discordant with the suggestion to be given below in this paper, as will be seen.

In recent years, Irvatham Mahadevan has suggested that the Sanskrit forms *Andhra* and *Āndhra* are an adaptation of an Indus Valley language masculine singular suffix attached as an honorific to the personal names and titles of the Harappan ruling classes. This suffix came to be generalized as a loan form in Sanskrit to denote the neighboring Dravidian-speaking people (Mahadevan 1970: 174 [§1.22], 179 [§1.41], 1973: 52 [§4.8], 2009b: 101-102 [§4.5; online version, pp. 11-12], 2010: 13-14 [§8], 2015: 20).¹

¹ Mahadevan’s interpretation of this suffix has developed through time. Compare as in the references given immediately below for Mahadevan’s overall interpretation of the “jar” sign, for instance.

Such a development, though, would be very unusual. The more normal development would be, for instance, PDr **il* ‘place’, ‘house, home’ (*DEDR* 494) > the locative suffix *-il* in Tamil, for instance (see Fabricius 1933: 88b, *TED* 1.2: 344b-345a).

The masculine singular suffix in Indus Valley script, according to Mahadevan, is represented by the “jar” sign. This sign has been interpreted before as a post-fixed determinative, as a genitive suffix, as representing the Dravidian oblique or attributive case-morpheme, and as representing a suffixed element such as “servant” used in the formation of proper names. Nor has there been general agreement as to the object represented by the symbol. It has been seen to represent a jar with lip and handles, a stylized pipal tree, or a ship (Mahadevan 1970: 165-167 [§§1.1-1.5]). Mahadevan’s overall interpretation is with more convincing reason. For Mahadevan’s interpretation, see Mahadevan (1970: 165-179 [§§1.1-1.41], 1998, 2009b: 99-102 [§§4.1-4.5; online version, pp. 10-12], 2011: 7-9 [§§1.9-1.13]).

The masculine singular suffix is *-ṅ* in Tamil and *-nru* ~ *-ṅdu*, *-ndu* in Old Telugu, normally *-du* in modern Telugu, with reflexes in other CDr and in NDr, the latter going back to PDr **-nṭ*. The shift in Old Telugu from *nṛ* to *ṅḍ* was well on its way by the 9th c. CE and orthographic replacement of *nṛ* by *ṅḍ* appears from the 10th c. onwards. Zvelebil (1970: 172 [§1.40.6.1]) notes, “PDr **nṭ* remained in all Dravidian languages for a long time after the separation of the various groups and sub-groups. ... The merger of **ṭ* in this cluster with a dental or cacuminal stop began to operate comparatively late, prob. independently in each sub-family and/or language.”

Krishnamurti (1961: 70-71 [§1.165]) derives the sequence **nṭ* < the assimilation of a suffixal *-t-* to a preceding alveolar **n* [ṅ]. See also Zvelebil (1970: 172 [§1.40.6.1]) who notes, citing this reference in Krishnamurti (1961), “The sequence **-n-ṭ-* is to be regarded as PDr. One source of the cluster was probably ***n-t-* through the assimilation of a suffixal **-t-* to the preceding alveolar **n*.” And see Krishnamurti (2003: 94 [§4.3.1]).

The addition of **-t-* can also be seen in the formation of numbers in Dravidian (Levitt 1989: 140-141, 2012: 157). See Krishnamurti (2003: 213 [§6.2.5]) regarding this being the neuter (non-person) suffix, perhaps to be considered the non-masculine gender suffix, rather than neuter (Krishnamurti 2003: 210 [§6.2.2], n.6).

However elsewhere, Krishnamurti accounts for PDr **n̄t̄* as coming from **n + *t̄*, not taking into account the development of this conjunct through a normal operation of euphonic combination (2003: 138 [§4.5.3.2]).

Krishnamurti takes the **t̄* in the masculine singular suffix **-n̄t̄* to be probably a nominative singular suffix or perhaps a nominative marker (1961: 263 [§4.44], 2003: 216 [§6.2.6]). This possibly would not be an inconceivable development from **-t-* in combination with the masculine singular marker alveolar **n [n̄]* in an interpretation of **-n̄t̄* as being in fact ***-n-t- > *-n-t̄-*.

The CDr and NDr masculine singular suffix is seen to reflect the PDr situation, Tamil and other SDr languages having lost the **t̄* of the suffix (Krishnamurti 1961: 263 [§4.44], 2003: 209 [Table 6.2], n. 3, 216 [§6.2.6]) – more properly, the **t* of the suffix.²

² D. Savariroyan (1907-8: 271) has earlier suggested a genetic connection between the singular neuter, or non-human (SDr) and non-masculine (most CDr and NDr) suffix *-t* (*-tu* euphonic) attached to Dravidian demonstrative and interrogative bases such as Ta. *a-tu, i-tu, e-tu*, and parallel Indo-European suffixes such as the Sanskrit nominative and accusative singular neuter declensions of the demonstrative and relative pronouns, Skt. *tat, etat*, and *yat*; Latin *illud, id, quod*; and English *that, it, what* (neuter of *who*). It has not escaped my notice that from a Nostratic vantage, the Brahui development of **-n̄t̄- > s* and the Kurux and Malto development of **-t̄-* to *r* and *s* (Kurux also *rr*), with the Kurux masculine singular third person demonstrative pronoun being *ās* (Malto being *āh*; **c/s > h* in several CDr languages such as Maṇḍa, Kui, and Kuwi), may be in genetic relationship with the Indo-European nominative singular masculine declensional suffix *-s*. This would correlate the masculine singular suffix in CDr and NDr, and PDr, with that in Indo-European. (Brahui has lost gender distinction in the third person demonstrative pronoun, and has extended the non-human, or non-masculine category to the masculine (human), preserving only the number distinction of singular and plural.) See Dolgopolsky (2008: no. 2006), which would connect the Indo-European nominative singular masculine declensional suffix *-s* as well with the stem of the Indo-European nominative singular masculine and feminine demonstrative pronoun **so(s)*, **sā* (Pokorny 1959-69/1: 978-979). Levitt (2014: 165 [2013: 77]), differently, on the basis of the sporadic replacement of **t-* by *c-/s-* in Dravidian, which he

It ought to be noted in passing that alveolar *ɳ* is in evidence only in Tamil and Malayalam. It is not clear whether this indicates two phonemes in PDr, or whether *ɳ* is merely an allophonic variation of **n*. The general consensus today is that *ɳ* is an allophonic variation of *n* in PDr (*DEDR* xii-xiii, n. 5, Zvelebil 1970: 129-130 [§1.28.1], Krishnamurti 2003: 138-139 [§4.5.3.2]).

Mahadevan understands his identification to have homonyms in PDr. See, for instance, Mahadevan (1970: 157-161 [§§0.1-0.7], 1973: 48-49 [§§2.8, 2.10-2.13], 1998: 70) regarding his methodology.

By the rebus method that Mahadevan employs, the “jar” sign is seen to be identified by such supposed homonyms with the PDr masculine singular suffix that signify “jar” as Ka. *aṇḍige*, Te. *aṇḍemu*, *aṇḍiyamu*, *aḍigamu* ‘panier’ (*DEDR* 127); Ko. *aṇḍy* ‘milk pot, bamboo pot’, To. *aḍy* ‘clay pot’, Ka. *aṇḍe* ‘bamboo vessel with handle’, Tu. *aṇḍè* ‘bamboo or nutshell vessel’ (*DEDR* 130); Ta. *antai* ‘an ancient standard weight’ (see *TED* 1.1: 230b, which derives it in that location from *aṇḍai* [= *DEDR* 130] ‘a contraption that squirts water, used on certain festive occasions’ [*TED* 1.1: 169b]). With regard to Ta. *antai*, note that *DEDR* 127 defines Ka. *aṇḍige* as ‘one panier or pack, half a bullock load’, that is, a measure of weight. By phonetic transfer, the “jar” sign is equated with *-*ṇḍi*, the masculine singular suffix added to names and titles in the nominative case (Mahadevan 2009b: 100-101 [§4.4; online version, p. 11], 2011: 8 [§1.12]).³

sees to go back to pre-Dravidian, connects the latter with the regular stem of the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun **to-*, **tā-*, **tjo-* (Pokorny 1959-69/1:1086-1087), listed separately in Dolgopolsky (2008: no. 2310). (The latter, Dolgopolsky connects with the Dravidian neuter [inanimate gender] ending *-tu* in pronouns and numerals [see immediately above] and with the Dravidian etyma in *DEDR* 3196 Ta. *tāṇ* and *DEDR* 3162 Ta. *tām*. Levitt [2003: 184 (no. 30)] has connected the etyma in *DEDR* 3196 and *DEDR* 3162 as well with the etyma in *DEDR* 399 Ta. *āḷ* [as below] through a regular process of metathesis. And Levitt [2003: 179, 2014: 169 (2013: 83)] has suggested a connection between the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun and the Tamil locative suffix *-il*. See in this regard, as well, Levitt [1998: 149 (no. 19)].)

³ I shall not go into Mahadevan’s later “Early Dravidian” identification for the “jar” sign when in compound with the “bearer” sign, which he sees to be related to later Sanskrit

Further supporting his identification of the signification of the “jar” sign, Mahadevan provides such additional forms with the general meaning ‘male, elder person’ that appear to be connected to the masculine singular suffix **-n̄* as Pe. and Mand. *anḍren* ‘male, man’, Kui *anḍra* ‘a male’, Kur. *anḍrā* ‘male (of animals)’, *anḍyā* ‘a haughty man’, Skt. (lex.) *anḍīra* ‘male’ (*DED* and *DEDS* 111); Ta. *tantai* ‘father’, Te. *tanḍri*, (inscr.) *tanri* ‘father’, etc. (*DED* 2494 [*DEDR* 3067]).

And in keeping with his method of parallelisms, he suggests that ultimately derived from the honorific usage of the masculine singular suffix are such personal, clan, and dynastic names of Dravidian rulers as *aṅṭiran* ‘a personal name of Āy, a Vēḷ chieftain (*Puram.*, 129), *aṅṭar* ‘clan name of chieftains of cow-herds’ (*Akam.*, 59), *ātan* ‘a common personal name among the Chēras (mentioned in Mahadevan 1970: 174 [§1.22]; dropped in Mahadevan 1973: 49 [§2.13]), and *āndhra* (Mahadevan 1970), *andhra* (Pkt. *andha*; Mahadevan 1973) ‘dynastic name of Āndhra kings and the tribe’.

Further in keeping with his method of parallelisms, Mahadevan also entertains early on (1970: 171-173 [§1.18]) a parallel with a classical Tamil prefixed and suffixed honorific *a(n)tai* in both free and bound forms, which honorific is derived from the demonstrative pronominal base **a-* (*DEDR* 1), to which he early on sees the masculine singular suffix to be exclusively attached. He cites as examples *antai-y Pikaṅ* (*TBI*, 13) in which *antai* is a prefixed honorific, *Kuvīra antai* (*TBI*, 25) in which *antai* is a suffixed honorific in free form, *Koṅṟantai* (*TBI*, 65) in which *antai* is a suffixed honorific in bound form, *Patiṅ-ūr atai* (*TBI*, 23) in which *atai* functions as a suffix to a place name to indicate a male person’s status therein, and in kinship terms with a pronominal possessive prefix, *tantai-y* (*TBI*, 2). Mahadevan, probably quite correctly, takes **-an̄-* and **-ant-* to be allomorphs of one another.

Mahadevan in due course drops his reference to such forms as in *DED* and *DEDS* 111 when *DEN* and *DEDR*, citing *CDIAL*

Andhra dynastic names (2009a: 28[§2.8], 32-33 [§§2.19-2.20], 2010: 14-16 [§§9-13], 2011: 9 [§1.14], 2015: 22).

50ab (no. 1111), removes these forms from the Dravidian lexicon, viewing them instead to be loan forms in Dravidian from Indo-Aryan (see *DEN* which lists these forms as *DBIA* [=Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan] S1 [p. 477b], *DEDR* App. 7 [p. 509b]). *CDIAL* 1111 includes such forms as Or. *aṅḍirā* ‘male’ and B. *āṅruā* ‘bull-calf’ with such forms as Skt. *āṅḍā* n. ‘egg’ (*R̥gveda*), *du.* ‘testicles’ (*Atharvaveda*), *aṅḍa* (Epic), and its Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan correlates. The latter is often viewed to be related within Indo-European to OSl. *jeḍro* ‘testicle’. See *KEWA* 1: 26, 72, 3: 626, *EWA* 1: 56, 162-163, 3: 9, 21, Levitt (2011: 142, 161). With regard to such a signification as ‘bull-calf’ compare *DED* and *DEDS* 111 and *DEDR* App. 7 Pa. *eṅḍka* ‘young male pig’, Kur. *aṅḍyā* ‘fierce, unmanageable (of bulls, bullocks, and male buffaloes), Malt. *aṅḍya* ‘a bull’. Also compare Skt. (lex.) *aṅḍīra* ‘uncastrated’ as well as ‘manly’, with S. *ānīru*, L. *ānūr* ‘uncastrated’, P. *āṅḍū*, Ku. *āḍu*, N. *āṅru*, H. *āḍū* ‘uncastrated’ (*CDIAL* 1111).

To be noted with regard to the PDr masculine singular suffix that Mahadevan cites, and with regard to the various supporting lexemes that he suggests, is that Mahadevan is often playing fast and loose with phonology. The forms he cites as signifying “jar” in *DEDR* 127 and in *DEDR* 130 reconstruct to PDr **aṅḍ-*, with a retroflex nasal and a retroflex dental, not to PDr **-ṅḍ-*, in which we have an alveolar nasal and an alveolar plosive. The only way in which the two could be homophones is if both **ṅḍ-* and **ṅḍ-* in the target language had resulted in *ṅḍ*, as occurs in Telugu, regarding the timing of such development in which, see above. In NDr, which I have maintained elsewhere Meluḥḥan, or Indus Valley speech is, on the basis of Meluḥḥan words preserved in Ancient Mesopotamian texts and on the basis of Dravidian loan forms in early Sanskrit (see Levitt 2009, 2011: esp. 172-178), **ṅḍ* > Kur. Malt. *ṅḍ*, Br. *s*, while **ṅḍ* > Kur. *ṅḍ*, Malt. Br. *ṅḍ*.

There might be some help in this regard, however, in what I see to be early Dravidian loan forms in Vedic Sanskrit, which may indicate early confusion between alveolars, retroflexes, and dentals due to an alveolar pronunciation of retroflexes and, at the very least in some instances, of what were later considered

in Sanskrit dentals, as occurred in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian (see Levitt 2010: 23-25, 76, 2011: 151, 179-184, esp. 184, with regard to this latter point). Thus, Levitt (2011: 160) sees Br. *glūnt*, *gulōnt*, *klōnt*, in *garrī-glūnt*, etc. ‘rough lizard’ (*garrī* ‘mangy’), *tāzī-glūnt*, etc. ‘common lizard’ (*tāzī* ‘greyhound, swift animal’), < PDr **kav-ul-/*kav-ał-*, to suggest the source for the *Ṛgveda* and *Vājasaneyisaṃhitā* word *kuṇḍṛnācī* ‘house lizard (according to Sāyaṇa on *Ṛgveda* 1.29.6)’, the Dravidian form being collapsed slightly differently so as to obtain **kul-nt* (the *-ō* of the suffix *-ōnt* being structurally a union vowel). So also, Levitt (2011: 161-165) sees Skt. *cāṇḍā*, °ī ‘fierce, violent, cruel, hot, etc.; name of Durgā’, for which the earliest citation is in the *Atharvaveda*, to fall in with *DEDR* 276 Ta. *aṛal* (*aṛalv-*, *aṛaṇr-*) and *DEDR* 3115 Ta. *taṛal* (*taṛalv-*, *taṛaṇr-*), the syllabic loss being involved here being suggested, for instance, by the Kui forms *dlāva*, *dlāba*, *jlāva*, listed here currently with question in *DEDR*. With regard to the semantic match-up here, see the table on p. 165 (=Table II). Normally, *-l + -nt-* > **-nt-* [*l + n > ṅ, ṅ + t > *-nt-*]. Here, **-nt-* > *-ṇḍ-* is postulated. Also note the confusion in *Ṛgveda* manuscripts between *rāṇḍryā* and *rāṇḍyā*, which form occurs only once in *RV* 6.23.6. This form is without clear derivation (Levitt 2011: 142, 195 [Table V], 230-231). It must be noted that **-nt-*, realized in the standard transcription used for Tamil as *-ṇr-*, is in modern formal and higher standard Tamil pronounced as alveolar [ndr] (see Zvelebil 1970: 97, n. 21).

My suggestion with regard to the etymology of the Sanskrit forms *Andhra* and *Āndhra* is founded in part on the names that people give themselves worldwide, and in part on phonological parallels brought out in Levitt (2011).

Thus, the names that tribal groups in the hills around the Assam Valley in northeast India give themselves, such as “Dafla” and “Mizo”, mean ‘people’. So also, Bailey (1959: 109-110) has noted that such ethnic names as “Goth”, the name “Evenki” for the Tungus, and the name “Bantu”, are derived from words meaning ‘man’ or ‘men’. Bailey argues such is also the case for the people called by the ethnic name Ir. *daha-*, OPers. *dahā*. And as well, the name of the Finno-Ugric “Mari”

is said to have been borrowed from such a term in Indo-Iranian ([Anonymous] 2009b; Skt. *marya* ‘man, mortal; *pl.* people’ < PIE **merjo* [MW 791c, Pokorny 1959-69/1: 738-739]). See also Dolgopolsky (2008: no. 66), who attributes a meaning ‘member of one’s own ethnic group’ (→ ‘freeman’) for the PIE reflex of Skt. *ārya*, which carries a meaning in Sanskrit of ‘a respectable, honorable man, a man highly esteemed, noble’ (MW 152b; see Pokorny 1959-69/1: 67).

As well, Levitt (1998: 142-143 [no. 11], 2014: 170 [2013: 84-85]) has argued that Germ. *Deutsch* ‘popular, vulgar [speech]’, extended to an ethnic or national adjective < OHG *diota*, *diot* ‘people, nation’ (in the 15th and 16th c., “Dutch” was used in England in the same way as English now uses “German”, to refer to both the people and the language [OED 4: 1140a]) is genetically related to the name “Dravidian” (Skt. *draviḍa*). This latter is generally seen to be a reflex in Sanskrit of “Tamil” (Ta. *tamiṛ*; by the standard transcription used for Tamil itself, *tamiḷ*), the connection being suggested by the Sanskrit variants *dramiḍa* and *dramiḷa*, and the Pali and Prakrit reflexes *damiḷa*, *daviḷa*, *daviḍa* (see Caldwell 1913: 8-10, CDIAL 378b [no. 6632], EWA 3: 272-273). There have been many suggestions as to the meaning of the name “Tamil”, but a meaning ‘people, nation’ used as well to refer to their common language, is suggested from a literary aspect by Sivaraja Pillai (1936: 344-346; see Levitt 1998 write-up and Levitt 2009: 145, 2010: 22). Levitt also argues that related here is the ancient name “Druid”, for which the present etymologies given are questionable, and are perhaps even fanciful (see OED 4: 1081c, Pei 1962: 223, 227-228, Quiggin 1910: 597a). With regard to parallel examples with inserted and dropped “r”, see Levitt (2014: 170-172 [2013: 84-87]).

Phonologically, Levitt (2011: 175-176) has suggested that Skt. *kúśindha* ‘a trunk [of a tree]’, which occurs only in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Kāṭhakaḡrhyasūtra*, and the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, and which is otherwise without convincing etymology (KEWA 1: 247, EWA 1: 382), is to be related to the etyma in DEDR 1842 Ta. *koṛaṭu* ‘small block or clump of wood, plank’ ... Ka. *koṛaḍu* ‘trunk of a lopped tree, stump,

piece of wood', etc. (PDr $*k[u/o]t-āt-/*k[u/o]t-ant-: *kur-$), in which the Sanskrit form shows the development in North Dravidian of $*-t- > -s-$. Here, also, $*-nt- > -ndh-$.

So also, Levitt (2011: 167-168) has suggested that Skt. *karkāndhu* 'jujube', which occurs in the *Vājaneyisaṃhitā*, the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, the *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra*, and in later Sanskrit, is to be related to *DEDR* 2070 Ta. *koṭṭaiy-ilantai* 'woody-fruited jujube' ... *koṭṭai* 'jujube tree', etc. (PDr $*koṭ-/*koṭt-: *koṭt-$), the Sanskrit form showing stem reduplication in which $-t- > -r-$ as occurs in Brahui and some CDr (elsewhere in NDr, and throughout Dravidian in various languages, $-t- > -r-$, or $-r-$ as well). For parallel examples of such stem reduplication in Sanskrit of Dravidian-derived stems, see Levitt (2011: 167-172). Here, as well, $*-nt- > -ndh-$. Skt. *karkāndhu* 'jujube' is otherwise without etymology (*KEWA* 1: 170, *EWA* 1: 312), though Witzel (2001: 54 [1999 *Mother Tongue* version, 10, 38]⁴) understands it to be an example of an Austroasiatic "Para-Munda" form with a double prefix *kər-/kəl-*. Witzel does not provide a comparable Austroasiatic form, however.

And see the variant Sanskrit forms *puṇḍra*, *pundra*, *puṇḍhra*, *puṇḍa* for a word that first appears in its meaning 'sectarian mark' in the *sūtra* literature (e.g., *Śāṅkhāyanaśrautasūtra*, *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra*). A Sanskrit form *tri-puṇḍhra* occurs first in *Śāṅkhāyanagr̥hyasūtra* 2.10.9. Levitt (2011: 209-211) connects these variant Sanskrit forms with the etyma in *DEDR* 4327 Ta. *puḷli* 'mark, dot, speck', etc. (PDr $*puḷl-/*poḷl-$) and in *DEDR* 4492 Ta. *poṭṭu* 'drop, spot, round mark worn on the forehead', etc. (PDr $*poṭt-/*p[a/u]tt-: *pūtt-/*poṭt-$). In Levitt (2011) it is argued, with abundant parallel examples, that such Sanskrit forms are derived from Dravidian forms the stems of which end in $*-l$ or $*-l$ to which a common Dravidian formative suffix $*-nt-$ has been added ($-l + -nt- > *-nt-$ [$l + n > ṅ, ṅ + t > *-nt-$]; and as noted earlier as well, $-l + -nt- > *-nt-$ [$l + n > ṅ, ṅ + t > *-nt-$], the reflex of the latter pronounced in modern formal and high standard Tamil as alveolar [ndr]).

⁴ The reference to this form on p. 10 of the 1999 printing appears to have been omitted due to a printing error in Witzel 2001 on p. 13.

The phonologically parallel Sanskrit forms that are cited here all occur in late Vedic literature, as do the first references to the Sanskrit form *Andhra*.

The Sanskrit forms *Andhra* and *Āndhra* are seen here to be derived from the etyma listed in *DEDR* 399 Ta. *āl*, which forms mean primarily ‘person’, ‘male person’, ‘manly person’. Thus,

DEDR 399 Ta. *āl* man, husband, servant, labourer, adult; *ālaṅ* husband; (Tinn.) *āliyan id.*; *āṅ* male, manliness, courage, superiority, warrior; *āṅaṅ* manly person; *āṅmai* manliness, virility, courage; *ātavaṅ* man, youth. Ma. *āl* a person, able person, servant, slave; *āṅ* male; *āṅma* bravery. Ko. *a-l* man, servant, husband. To. *o-l* man, Toda; *o-l* coolie (< Ta.). Ka. *āl* servant, soldier, messenger, a grown person in general; *āl*, *āṅ* male, manliness, bravery; *ālike* state of being a person; *ālutana*, *ālṭana* service; prowess, valour; *ālma*, *āṅma*, *āṅba* husband; *āṅmu* to be manly, vigorous; *n*. manliness, vigour. Koḍ. *a-lī* servant; *a-ṅī*, *a-ṅ a-lī* man, male; *a-ṅuṅṅī* male child (< *a-ṅī-kuṅṅī*). Tu. *ālṅ* person, labourer, messenger; *ālmage* servant; *āṅṅ* adj. male; *āṅṅjōvu*, *āṅṅṅvu* a male, a man (*jōvu* child); (Bright and Ramanujan) *āṅṅū* boy. Kur. *āl* adult male, husband, servant, mankind; *ālas* an adult male, person, husband, friend, servant, soldier. Malt. *āl-urqe* to grow up to maturity. Cf. 291 Ta. *aḷ* strength. *DED(S)* 342(a). [PNSDr **āl*-/**āṅ*-/**āt*-].

Note here the Toda form *o-l*, which supports our etymology for *Andhra* and *Āndhra* here as it is used both to mean ‘man’ and as a self-designation of the group.

Also, note that all the forms listed here are either North or South Dravidian – the position of Tulu as belonging together with Central or South Dravidian being ambiguous. And note that the only form with a short initial “a-” in this grouping of etyma is Tu. *āṅṅṅvu* ‘a male, a man’. I feel certain, though, on the basis of the derivations in Levitt (2011) which add for the purpose of deriving Sanskrit forms a Dravidian formative suffix *-nt-* to Dravidian forms that end in either **-l* or **-l* that the

etyma currently listed in *DEDR* App. 7, all of which contain an initial short “a-”, and which contain both CDr and NDr forms, are to be grouped together with *DEDR* 399 Ta. *āl* just as the parallel forms listed in *DEDR* 400 Ta. *āṭṭi* ‘woman, wife’ are so listed.

The forms in *DEDR* 400 reconstruct to PDr **āl-/*āt-/*āṭṭ-/*āṇṭ-* : **āt-/*āṭṭ-* : **ār-*. Several of the CDr forms here reconstruct to **āl-*, such as Te. *ālu*, (inscr.) *ālu* (pl. *āṇḍru*) ‘woman, wife’, Konda *ālu* ‘wife’, which **in part** suggests why such CDr forms with “*ṛ*” are not found in *DEDR* 399. As well, the SDr forms here and many of the CDr forms are formed with the addition of a formative suffix *-t-* or *-tt-* to forms ending with **-l*. With regard to classical Tamil reflexes of what may be argued are distinctly Dravidian rules of euphonic combination, see Rajam (1992: 106-107; *-l + -t- > -tt-*, *-l + -t- > -t-*). See also Krishnamurti (2003: 94 [§4.3.1]; *-l + -t- > -t-*, *-l + -tt- > -tt-*).

The forms in *DEDR* App. 7 would add the parallel Dravidian formative suffix *-nt-*. Thus,

DEDR App. 7 Pa. *eṇḍka* young male pig. Pe. *aṇḍren* (pl. *aṇḍraṇ*) male, man. Mand. *aṇḍren* (pl. *aṇḍraṇ*) *id.* Kui *aṇḍra* a male animal or bird; male. Kur. *aṇḍrā* male (said only of animals); *aṇḍyā* fierce, unmanageable (of bulls, bullocks, and male buffaloes), haughty, overbearing (of men). Malt. *aṇḍya* a bull. / Skt. (lex.) *aṇḍīra-* male, Or. *aṇḍīrā id.* (Cf. Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 1111. *DED(S)* 111, *DEN DBIA* [=Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan] S1. [PDr **aṇṭ-*].

The lexical Sanskrit form *aṇḍīra-* ‘uncastrated, manly’ (definitions as in *KEWA* 1: 626, *EWA* 3: 9), or ‘a full male, a man’ and ‘strong’ (definitions as in *MW* 12a), and the New Indo-Aryan parallel forms pointed to earlier in this paper would, in fact, be loan forms in Indo-Aryan, as listed initially in *DED* and *DEDS* 111 and as noted in passing early on in Mahadevan (1970: 174 [§1.21], 1973: 49 [§2.12]) – though not connected with the Central and North Dravidian masculine singular suffix as Mahadevan had suggested. These forms would have merged

with Skt. *āṇḍá n.* ‘egg’ (*Rgveda*; Burrow 1971: 545, also *ānda* in *Aitareyāranyaka* 3.1.2), *du.* ‘testicles’ (*Atharvaveda*), *aṇḍa* (Epic) and its Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan correlates, which forms would be of independent derivation (see above). This is indicated clearly in Ghatage *et al.* (1976- /2.1: 896a) where the Sanskrit lexical form *aṇḍīra-* is noted to mean not only ‘having testicles’, but also ‘competent (person), proud of valour’, ‘noble person’, and ‘virile person’. Compare the meanings given in *DEDR* 399 Ta. *āḷ*. And note that Skt. *aṇḍa* is listed as appearing with the meaning ‘individual’ in the *Bhāskarī* (Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, Allahabad; Ghatage *et al.* [1976- /2.1: 889a-890a]).

As well related to the forms listed in *DEDR* 399 Ta. *āḷ* and *DEDR* 400 Ta. *āṭṭi*, and the forms currently listed in *DEDR* App. 7 Pa. *eṇḍka* would be the Sanskrit form *aṇḍara* ‘name of a tribe’ (*MW* 12a), which would be a later Sanskrit realization of the late Vedic forms *Andhra* and *Āndhra*, the phonology of the latter as in parallel late Vedic forms pointed out in Levitt (2011) and mentioned above. Skt. *aṇḍara* occurs mostly in Sanskrit grammatical works of various dates, starting with Pāṇini’s *Gaṇapāṭha* (Ghatage *et al.* 1976- /2.1: 894a).

Aside from the primary meanings of ‘person’, ‘male person’, ‘manly person’ for the etyma in *DEDR* 399 Ta. *āḷ* which I see to be the basis of the Sanskrit forms *Andhra* and *Āndhra*, also note such meanings as ‘warrior’ among the Tamil forms, ‘soldier’ among the Kannada and Kuṛux forms, ‘courage’ among the Tamil forms, ‘bravery’ among the Malayalam and Kannada forms, and as pointed to immediately above, ‘valour’ among the Kannada forms. We are thus brought back to the “Yahoo Answers” meaning ‘Leader in Battle’ that I found for “Andhra [spelled as in English]” on the Internet.

On the basis of comparison with the names of other ethnic groups worldwide, however, which mean primarily ‘people’, ‘men’, and perhaps ‘nobles’ or ‘respectable men’, such a meaning would perhaps be secondary, the primary meaning being ‘manly people’ or ‘brave people’.

But, perhaps, in the form’s early Sanskrit usages, when we consider its Sanskrit context, it may have been used with other

of the form's overtones to mean 'servants' or 'slaves'. This would be consonant with the way Sanskrit civilization viewed outsiders and people considered to be of low and mixed caste. Or, consonant with the Kurux parallel forms in *DEDR* App. 7, as well, it may have been used initially with the meaning 'fierce people' or 'unruly people'.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CDIAL* Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1966-85. *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966. *Indexes*, comp. by Dorothy Rivers Turner, 1969. *Phonetic Analysis*, by Ralph Lilley Turner and Dorothy Rivers Turner, 1971, *Addenda and Corrigenda*, ed. by J. C. Wright, 1985.
- DED* Burrow, Thomas and Murray Barnson Emeneau. 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- DEDR* Burrow, Thomas and Murray Barnson Emeneau. 1984. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 2nd ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- DEDS* Burrow, Thomas and Murray Barnson Emeneau. 1968. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, Supplement*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- DEN* Burrow, Thomas and Murray Barnson Emeneau. 1972. "Dravidian Etymological Notes". *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92.3: 397-418, 92.4: 475-491.
- EWA* Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1992-2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen*. 3 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitäts-Verlag. (1986-92)
- KEWA* Mayrhofer, Manfred. 1956-80. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. 4 vols. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag. (1953-56)
- MW* Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. (Rpt., 1970)

- OED* 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., prepared by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner. 20 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- PW* Böhrlingk, Otto and Rudolph Roth. 1855-75. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- TBI* Mahadevan, Iravatham. 1968. "Corpus of Tamil-Brāhmi Inscriptions". In *Seminar on Inscriptions, 1966: Speeches and Papers*, ed. R[amachandran] Nagaswamy [Irā. Nākačāmi]. Madras: Books (India) Private Ltd. [Cited in Mahadevan 1970.]
- TED* Devaneyan, Gnanamuthu [Tēvanēyaṅ, Nānamuttan] *et al.* 1985-2011. *Centamiḷ corpirappiyal pērakaramutali* [A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Tamil Language]. 12 vols. (in 31 vols.). Chennai: Directorate of Tamil Etymological Dictionary Project.

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CARMELA MASTRANGELO

HISTORY AND PEDAGOGY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR
THROUGH THE WORKS OF WESTERN MISSIONARIES
JOHANN ERNST HANXLEDEN
AND PAULINUS A SANCTO BARTHOLOMAEO*

This article focuses on the earliest Sanskrit grammars composed by Western missionaries during the 18th century, and thus aims to cast light upon the local pedagogy of *vyākaraṇa* (meant as traditional grammar) in South-India. More specifically, it deals with the grammatical works of the Jesuit Father Johann Ernst Hanxleden¹ (1681-1732) and of the Austrian Carmelite of Croatian² origin Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1748-1806), who both settled in the South-Western coast of India, present day Kerala.³

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¹ Born in Ostercappeln (Osnabrück, Lower Saxony), he moved to India at the end of the 18th century. He never came back to Europe and eventually died in Pazhur, where he was buried in the church of St. Anthony. For a biographical sketch, see Mundadan 1988: 186-192; Van Hal & Vielle 2013: 3-5.

² In the world Johann Philip Wesdin, he was born in Hof am Leithaberge (Lower Austria). His actual origin was uncertain; 19th century scholars believed that he was German or Hungarian (cf. Teza 1888: 2-5 and Barone 1888: 17). In the last century, indologists from Zagreb University attentively researched on the original documents and on the church register in Hof, eventually concluding that his family was Croatian (see Jauk-Pinhak 1984: 129).

³ Hanxleden moved from Goa to the Thrissur District in Central Kerala, which was the “heartland of his activity” (Van Hal & Vielle 2013: 4). Paulinus settled in the Archdiocese of Verapoly (Ernakulam District) from 1776 to 1789. See Teza 1888: 6-11; Barone 1888: 7-14, who referred to Paulinus’ *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (Roma, 1796).

Father Hanxleden, who was also a renowned author of Malayāḷam poems and became well known in South-India as Arnos Padiri (*arṇṇōsū pātiri*, Portuguese *Ernesto Padre*), wrote a manuscript Sanskrit grammar, called *Grammatica Grandonica*,⁴ around the first quarter of the 18th century. Paulinus composed the first two Sanskrit grammars ever printed in Europe, namely *Sidharūbam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica*, Rome 1790, and *Vyàcarana seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae institutio*, Rome 1804. The publication of these grammars was patronized by Cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731-1804), an antique and book collector, who supported missionaries and scholars of Oriental cultures.⁵ Both Hanxleden and Paulinus studied Sanskrit with the help of South-Indian paṇḍits,⁶ and also used Sanskrit manuals, which inspired their grammars and whose palm leaf manuscripts they found and copied – as Paulinus himself stated (see *infra* fn. 19) – in the “Academia Brahmanica Triciuriensis.”⁷ The comparison of these three grammars could reasonably help us to understand the South-Indian background, in which their authors were given training in Sanskrit language. Furthermore, that could be useful to reconstruct the original Indian archetypes, from which the missionaries derived their grammars and which were probably the basic manuals traditionally employed for Sanskrit learning in Kerala. Of course, as Sylvain Auroux (1994: 87) pointed out,

⁴ It has been recently found in the Carmelite monastery of Montecompatri near Rome (see Van Hal 2010) and diplomatically edited in 2013 (see Bibliographical references).

⁵ Stefano Borgia collected all the manuscripts and the antiquities brought by missionaries in the Borgian Museum in Velletri. In 1817, the collection was dispersed in different museums; the manuscripts are now held in the Vatican Library. Paulinus catalogued thirty-two codices in *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices manuscripti Avenses, Peguani, Siamici, Malabarici, Indostani, animadversionibus historico-criticis castigati et illustrati* (Roma, 1793). As Županov (2009b: 210) pointed out, residing in India was a sort of “fieldwork” for missionaries, who did not have scholarly institutions in South Asia and could arrange all their material only when back to Rome.

⁶ Hanxleden studied ten years with the Nambudiri Brahmins of Thrissur (see DMC p. 2; cf. Mundadan 1988: 188), whereas Paulinus approached Sanskrit with the help of Kṛṣṇa and Kuñjan from Aṅgamāly (cf. EHC p. 51 and VLS p. xx; see also Mastrangelo 2012: 261).

⁷ According to Mackenzie (1901: 79), the Sanskrit Academy in Thrissur, where Hanxleden studied, was once famous, but it eventually became a “wretched hostel.” A few Sanskrit manuscripts are now held in the Vedic school of Brahmaswam Madam, founded in Thrissur around the 17th century. Cf. *infra* fn. 35.

Western scholars represented Indian local tradition conforming to the methods of extended Latin grammar; in addition, missionaries also had to use Latin as the main language of their works.⁸

First of all, we should try to understand why Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo composed two different Sanskrit grammars⁹ and how they can be connected to Hanxleden's work. Paulinus' first grammar, i.e. SGS, is to some extent a copy of Hanxleden's manuscript. Paulinus brought it to Europe in 1789 and used it for the composition of his own Sanskrit manual (EHC p. 51; cf. Muller 1985: 132). There are just some slight differences between the two works – in particular the Carmelite sometimes recasts Hanxleden's grammar in order to make it sound more familiar to his European audience.¹⁰ Nonetheless, in spite of these differences, both grammars are kinds of *koṣa*, catalogues of the same inflected forms and simple Sanskrit sentences. The inflected forms are written in Grantha-Malayāḷam characters throughout Hanxleden's GG, while they are sometimes transliterated into Roman characters in Paulinus' SGS. These transliterations are thus evidence of the peculiar South-Indian pronunciation influenced by Dravidian languages, which, for instance, do not allow final stops and intervocalic voiceless sounds (see Mastrangelo 2012: 265-266). These influences were so pronounced that Paulinus' contemporaries – especially Englishmen at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, who were often attacked by the Friar¹¹ – believed that his grammars

⁸ According to Rocher (1977: xvii), this is one of the reasons for the lack of interest in Paulinus' grammars among modern readers.

⁹ Most scholars believed that VLS was just an expanded version of SGS and considered Paulinus a sort of compulsive writer, whose only aim was to show off his knowledge. See, for instance, Barone 1888: 212, who maintained that the study of VLS was a vain effort ("ozioso lavoro").

¹⁰ More specifically, Hanxleden deals with sandhi rules and adverbial forms at the end of his grammar (ff° 40^v-42^v), whereas Paulinus deals with them in the second chapter of SGS (pp. 125-132). Immediately after, there is a list of the ten classes of verb roots (SGS p. 133), which is absent in GG – Hanxleden directly presents the conjugation patterns (ff° 18^v-35^v). Cf. Barone 1888: 157, who noticed the absence of the list in GG.

¹¹ Cf. Rocher 1977: xii-xiii and xxiii. On Paulinus' peculiar attitude towards William Jones, founder and president of the Asiatic Society, who is never mentioned in SGS and, on

described some South-Indian vernacular rather than Sanskrit (cf. Rocher 1977: xviii). Now the question is: is it possible to find marks of Dravidian influences even in the morphology of Sanskrit, which is meant to be a synthetic and institutionally preserved language? It is important to note here that, when in medieval times a traditional poetic literature originated in Kerala, it was written in a literary language, which was actually a mixture of Malayāḷam¹² and Sanskrit, called *Maṇipravāḷam*¹³ (“ruby-coral language”). This mixture could admit words of Sanskrit derivation declined as Malayāḷam, or conversely Malayāḷam words declined with Sanskrit suffixes; at the same time, *Maṇipravāḷam* stanzas could have whole lines purely in Sanskrit (cf. Freeman 2013: 208-226). Of course it is worthless to deal with *Maṇipravāḷam* here, since it is a poetic language used for literary purposes and not for manuals of grammar; but in medieval Kerala there could be many forms that interwove or borrowed from Dravidian and Sanskrit, with various levels of accommodation, especially in learned writing. A “*miśrabhāṣā*” of this kind is sometimes used by Paulinus in his SGS, while it is almost completely missing in VLS.¹⁴ Obviously, these mixed forms are not found in the inflection patterns nor in the examples of sentence constructions provided in Paulinus’ grammar, otherwise this could not be considered a grammar of pure Sanskrit. Mixed forms can be actually found among the

the contrary, is often praised for his “*eruditae annotationes*” in VLS (p. xiv; see also pp. xviii, xx, and *passim*), cf. Rocher 1977: xxiii and Županov 2009a: 209.

¹² I conventionally use here the name “*Malayāḷam*,” by which the Portuguese referred to the local language in the 17th century. It came into use only in the 16th century; its original function was to denote alternately the land and the script of Southern Kerala. Even though works in the regional “*Kēraḷa-bhāṣā*” date back to the 12th century, the general name “*Tamiḷ*” designated the language of Kerala at that time and actually continued to overlap with “*Malayāḷam*” into the colonial period. See Freeman 2003: 441-443.

¹³ The normative text of *Maṇipravāḷam* is the 14th century treatise called *Līlātilakam*. It was written in Sanskrit, which functioned as a trans-regional medium “against the hegemony of the neighboring Tamil grammatical and literary tradition” (Freeman 1998: 41). In the first quarter of the 14th century, the king Ravi Varma from Travancore conquered all of South-India establishing a celebrated even though brief sovereignty (see Freeman 1998: 42-43; 2013: 227-228) that stimulated the flourishing of a court literature in Sanskrit and started the process of legitimization of the local *bhāṣā* for the production of *Maṇipravāḷam*.

¹⁴ See VLS p. 128, where *sanrdyantanyā paritschēta* should be the equivalent of Skt. *sanādyanta-pariccheda*, but *r* in the place of *ā* and the termination *-anyā* are not clear.

technical terms used by the Friar in order to explain the basics of traditional grammar. For example, “nominal stem”¹⁵ is *prātipadika* – which is indeed Sanskrit – or *perikka*, the act of inflecting is *vibhaktikaḷecollannu* or *perikunnu* (SGS p. 86). Here *perikka* and *perikunnu* are Malayāḷam words,¹⁶ while *vibhaktikaḷecollannu* is composed by the Sanskrit noun *vibhaktika* declined as a Malayāḷam noun in the accusative case, and by the Malayāḷam verb *collannu*.

We can compare this evidence with the modern printed versions of a text still circulating in Kerala, called *Siddharūpa*, which is a catalogue of Sanskrit inflection patterns. In recent times young Keralite Brahmins had to memorize *Siddharūpa* along with the dictionary *Amarakoṣa*, as the first step of their training in Sanskrit language.¹⁷ *Amarakoṣa* is still used all over India at the beginning of the traditional śāstric Sanskrit education. Paulinus himself appended a Latin version of this dictionary to his second grammar (VLS pp. 154 ff.) and separately published the first section in his *Amarasinha. Sectio prima de caelo ex tribus codicibus Indicis manuscriptis* (1798), whereas Father Hanxleden probably used it in the composition of his manuscript Sanskrit-Malayāḷam-Portuguese dictionary (see DMC p. 5; cf. Van Hal & Vielle 2013: 7). Most likely, at the very basic level of their Sanskrit training students from the South-Indian linguistic background needed to learn not only a catalogue of Sanskrit lemmas but also a list of declension and conjugation patterns. Unlike the other Indian languages, Dravidian languages are non Indo-European, distinct from Sanskrit in phonology, morphology and syntax. Moreover, *Amarakoṣa* and *Siddharūpa* could work for Maṇipravāḷam as well. They actually provide Sanskrit words that can be combined with Malayāḷam morphemes and Sanskrit suffixes that can be added to Malayāḷam words. This is the reason why mixed forms sometimes appear in Paulinus’

¹⁵ Actually, Paulinus translates “declinatio” (“nominal inflection”); cf. VLS p. 20.

¹⁶ According to Paulinus (SGS p. 86), these forms are “usitato et vulgari sermone” (“in vernacular and common language”).

¹⁷ On the traditional education of Nambudiri Brahmins in the 19th and 20th century Kerala, see Wood 1985: 9, 33, 47, 48, 50. Cf. Mastrangelo 2012: 262.

Sidharūbam. They are evidence of the cross-function of *Siddharūpa* and *Amarakoṣa* in the well-educated contexts of Kerala.¹⁸

In that milieu, a purely Sanskrit grammar was subsequently needed in the higher Brahmanical education. Most probably, Paulinus' second work has been derived from this grammar. In his preface to VLS (p. xiv) the Carmelite refers to a codex¹⁹ copied by Father Hanxleden from the palm leaf manuscripts of the "Academia Brahmanica Triciuriensis." It contained – he maintains elsewhere in his catalogue of Hanxleden's manuscripts (DMC p. 6) – the original Indian text of *Siddharūpa*, *Amarakoṣa*, and of a grammar generically called "Vyāgarnā." We could assume that these three texts were the basic manuals of Sanskrit language locally used in Kerala during the 18th century.

Internal evidence in VLS strongly suggests that Paulinus derived it from a classical Pāṇinian commentary. The Carmelite himself directly refers to Pāṇini in many passages of the preface (see pp. xiv-xv, xvii). He also quotes a large number of Pāṇinian sūtras throughout his grammar, and makes use of Pāṇini's technical terminology (see Mastrangelo 2012: 262-264). Furthermore, he introduces the nine *lakāras* (verbal forms) through a śloka,²⁰ which is actually a recast of sūtras A 3.2.123 *varṭamāne laṭ* (on *laṭ*, i.e. present tense) and A 3.3.139 *liṅnimitte ḷṅ kriyātipattaṭ* (on *liṅ* and *ḷṅ*, i.e. optative and conditional moods). Ślokas help memorization of rules, and we can find comparable instances in well-known Pāṇinian

¹⁸ Barone (1888: 148-149) remarked that Hanxleden and Paulinus chose actually two different titles for their grammars, the adjective "Grandonica" having a wider meaning that could generically refer to the literary language.

¹⁹ See also ASP p. vi. Cf. Mastrangelo 2010: 260. After the suppression of religious corporations in 1873, all Paulinus' manuscripts and documents, which had been held in the library of Santa Maria della Scala in Rome, were brought to the Rome National Library, founded in 1875. The codex that Paulinus referred to is not there in the "S.M.Scala" Archive at the National Library; it is currently lost.

²⁰ It sounds: *laṭ varṭamāne laṅ liṭ luṅ bhūthe luṭ ḷṭ ca bhāvini | vidhyāḍau loḍliṅau ḷṅ ca kriyāṅiṣpa[d]<tt>yasambhave ||* i.e. "laṭ in the sense of present, laṅ liṭ luṅ in the sense of past, luṭ and ḷṭ in the sense of future, loṭ and liṅ in the sense of command, and ḷṅ in the sense of non-occurrence of the action." See VLS p. 73; cf. Mastrangelo 2012: 263 fn. 12.

grammars from Kerala, such as the 17th century *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa (cf. Mastrangelo 2012: p. 264 fn. 13), and the *Praveśaka* of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa’s teacher, which is entirely composed in verse (see Kunjunni Raja 1958: 122-123).

A novelty can be actually observed in a passage from the fifth chapter of VLS (pp. 127-128), where Paulinus states that case syntax is described in seven sections called *avatāra* (“manifestation”). He also maintains that the last part of the original Indian grammar describes verb syntax and is called “Rūbāvatāra.” There is actually a grammar called *Rūpāvatāra* consisting of two parts, *bhāga*, dealing with nouns and verbs, respectively.²¹

Another evidence is the verse quoted in SGS (p. 65) as the incipit of “Vyāgarna,” which sounds: *yenākṣara-samāmnāya adhigamya maheśvarāt kṛtsnam vyākaraṇam proktam*. The text of RA is actually prefaced by two verses, one śloka and one āryā; the first three pādas of the śloka are exactly the incipit given by Paulinus.²² As for the second introductory verse in RA, it is:

²¹ Rangacharya (1908) gives evidence that the two bhāgas, originally considered as two different texts, were parts of one single work known as *Rūpāvatāra*. The first bhāga is actually divided into eight *avatāras*, i.e. *Samjñāvatāra* (on technical terms), *Samhitāvatāra* (on sandhi rules), *Vibhaktiyavatāra* (on case terminations), *Kāraḥvatāra* (on case relations), *Avyayāvatāra* (on adverbs), *Strīpratyayāvatāra* (on feminine derivative stems), *Samāsāvatāra* (on nominal compounds), *Taddhitāvatāra* (on secondary suffixes); whereas Paulinus considers *Avyayāvatāra* and *Strīpratyayāvatāra* as two subsections of the same *avatāra* on *kāraḥ*, and the second bhāga on verbal forms as the seventh *avatāra* actually called *Rūpāvatāra*.

²² Given the last pāda (*tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ*), the sense is: “praise to Pāṇini, who, having learnt the alphabet from Śiva, revealed the whole grammar.” Note that, when Paulinus quotes this śloka, he also specifically refers to p. 341 of the first issue of *Asiatick Researches*, where Caul (1789) reports of a “grammar, entitled *Pāṇinīya*, consisting of eight lectures or chapters.” Actually, this śloka also occurs in two recensions (i.e. the *Yajuṣ* and the *Ṛk*) of the treatise on Vedic phonetics known as *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*, and have been commented on by the *Śikṣā-pañjikā* and the *Śikṣā-prakāśa* (see PŚ p. 79). We can assume it as an evidence of the fact that missionaries in Kerala and Englishmen in Bengal approached different reference texts, even though they were dealing with the same – and we can venture to say quite “fluid” – tradition.

*sarvajñam anantaguṇam praṇamya
bālaprabodhanārtham imam |
rūpāvatāram alpam sukalāpam ṛjum kariṣyāmi ||*²³

It can be compared with a passage of the Latin preface to VLS (p. xiv), where we can read: *omnem operam navavi, ut haec grammatica locuples, pura, facilis, et concinna in lucem prodiret.*²⁴ This is to some extent a translation of the āryā verse, where the adjective *pura* is almost certainly the equivalent of *ṛjum*, *facilis* the equivalent of *bālaprabodhanārtham*, and *concinna* the equivalent of *alpam*; similarly, *locuples* could be an effective translation of *sukalāpa* in the sense of “well-ornate.” We can find other instances in many passages of VLS, where Paulinus quotes RA almost word-for-word.²⁵ It is therefore strongly possible that this text is related to the archetype copied by Father Hanxleden, which was in turn used by Paulinus to compose his VLS, and that Paulinus’ VLS is an abridged translation of RA.²⁶

The circulation of RA was conceivably wide in Kerala. For instance, in the introduction of *Prakiyāsarvasva*, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa maintains that he was asked by the king of Amalappuḷa to compose a new grammar to emend the defects in the older eminent grammatical works such as the 7th century *Kāśikāvṛtti* and RA itself (see Kunjunni Raja 1958: 127). We can find quotations of RA in a few grammars from the 12th century, e.g. the *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva (see *infra* fn. 32), the *Siddhahemacandra* of the Jain author Hemacandra (flourished at the court of the Chalukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja), the

²³ “Having paid homage to the Omniscient, who has boundless excellencies, I will make this *Rūpāvatāra* brief, well-ornate, and correct for the sake of students.”

²⁴ “I did my best to make this grammar well-ornate, correct, easy and brief.”

²⁵ For instance, he introduces his dissertation on *kāraḥ* (VLS p. 127) with the same formula used at the beginning of *Kāraḥvatāra* in RA (p. 145) – *kim prātipadikam? arthavadadhāturapratyayaḥ* (A 1.2.45).

²⁶ We can take as a further evidence some manuscripts catalogued as “vyākaraṇa” in the Brahmawam Madam library. Most of these are in very bad conditions, but in manuscript marked n° 8 we can still read “rūpāvatāram” in the colophon. In the first leaf, it is possible to discern Pāṇini’s sūtras 1.3.2 (*upadeśe ’janunasika it*) and 1.1.68 (*svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*), which are actually the first two sūtras commented upon in RA (I pp. 1-2).

Dhātupradīpa and the *Tantrapradīpa* both composed by Maitreya-rakṣita (see Cardona 1976: 285; cf. Renou 1940: 34).²⁷ The text should be earlier than the 11th century, since several Cōḷa inscriptions mentioned “Rūpāvatāra” as part of the curriculum of higher Sanskrit schools in Tamil Nadu (see Nilakantha Sastri 1934: 278). As for its *terminus post quem*, this should be the date of composition of the *Kāśikāvyṛtti*, since it is widely quoted throughout RA (see Rangacharya 1908: vii-viii). Considering this evidence, the grammar which Paulinus referred to should be conceivably dated from a period ranging from the 8th to the 10th century.

With regard to the authorship of RA, this is attributed to a Ceylonese grammarian called Dharmakīrti, as the name appears in the colophons found in the Trivandrum Manuscripts Library and in the Pachaiyappa College in Madras (see Rangacharya 1908: ii-iii). This attribution is supported by the fact that one of the most consulted commentaries, along with the 13th century *Rūpasiddhi*, to the oldest known Pāli grammar – the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa* – is called *Bālāvatāra*, and its author is Dhammakitti. Nevertheless, *Bālāvatāra* was composed in the 14th century,²⁸ too late to somehow belong to the same background, in which RA originated. More probably, RA was composed by a South-Indian grammarian, some time in the last quarter of the first millennium. Later on, it was used as a main reference for teaching Sanskrit grammar in Tamil Nadu and Kerala, and conceivably influenced the emergence in nearby Ceylon of the more recent grammatical tradition of the language

²⁷ It is also quoted in a treatise on poetry, music and dance, the *Lakṣaṇadīpikā* (also known as *Prabandhadīpikā*) by Gauraṇārya, who probably flourished under the king Siṅghabhūpāla of Rachakonda in the first half of the 14th century (see Lalithambal 1995: 8).

²⁸ There were several authors known by the name Dhammakitti in Ceylon. The earliest lived during the reign of Parākramabāhu I (12th century), but he was not a grammarian; he was immediate disciple of Sāriputta – author of the *Vinaya-ṭīkā* called *Sāratthadīpanī* – and wrote the Pāli poem *Dhātāvamsa* on the tooth-relic of the Buddha (see Malalasekara 1928: 195). The grammarian Dhammakitti, author of the *Bālāvatāra*, was instead Saṅgharāja (“senior monk”) during the reigns of Bhuvaneka-Bāhu V and Vīrabāhu II (see *ibid.*: 242). Cf. Lalithambal 1995: 5-6.

of Buddhist canonical texts.²⁹ In this respect, we should also consider the following parallel: *Rūpasiddhi* and *Bālāvatāra* were main references for learning Pāli grammar in Ceylon, just as *Siddharūpa* and *Rūpāvatāra* were main references for learning Sanskrit grammar in the South of India.³⁰

Therefore, on the basis of this evidence, should we “beyond any reasonable doubt” assign the author of RA to a Buddhist background?³¹ The arguments of the scholars in favour of this conclusion are not completely persuasive. The use of *sarvajña* (“omniscient”) in the second introductory verse of the first bhāga is usually taken as the strongest; by *sarvajña* the author should actually pay homage to the Buddha (see Rangacharya 1908: i; Lalithambal 1995: 4).³² Nonetheless, *sarvajña* (as the following *anantagūṇa*, in the same pāda) could refer to Śiva as well; in

²⁹ According to Walters (2000: 141-146), under Parākramabāhu I some divisions of the Canon were re-edited in order to unify Ceylonese Buddhism in the Mahāvihāran perspective. Consequently, there was also a revision of Pāli, the language of the Canon, on the basis of the classical Sanskrit grammatical tradition. For this reason, as soon as Parākramabāhu purged the *Sanḅha* of all heretical *bhikkus*, a new school of Pāli grammar was founded by the *thera* Mogallāna or Mogallāyana. Later on, the founding text of the earlier grammar school, that of Kaccāyana, strongly influenced by the *Kāśikā*, was also rearranged in new manuals, such as the *Rūpasiddhi* of Buddhappiya (or Dīpaṅkara) and Dhammakitti’s *Bālāvatāra*, which is the smallest abridgment of the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. See Norman 1983: 163-164; Malalasekara 1928: 243-244. According to Malalasekara, the most clear and extensive section in the *Bālāvatāra* is that on *kāraṅkas*, case relations or syntax (cf. Cardona 1976: 215-221), which forms an important addition to the *Kaccāyana-vyākaraṇa*. In this regard, consider that the *Kāraṅkāvātāra* is actually the longest section of RA, and that Paulinus (SGS p. 65) states that the second and higher Sanskrit grammar “sintaxeos praecepta continet” (“it deals with syntax rules”).

³⁰ Similarly, it is possible that RA also served as a model for the *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* of Siṃharāja, a grammar of literary Prakrit, based on the *Vālmīkisūtra* (see Nilakantha Sastrī 1934: 280).

³¹ The colophon of the manuscript held in the Saraswatī Mahal Library in Thanjavur refers to one *Kṛṣṇadikṣita* as the author of RA. See Rangacharya 1908: i; cf. Lalithambal 1995: 7, who concludes that Dharmakīrti was at first a Brahmin, who later on became a Buddhist. Similarly, not all manuscripts of the Ceylonese *Bālāvatāra* assign its authorship to Dhammakitti. This name appears in the colophon of the 14th century *Saddharmāṅkāra* – it states that the author of *Saddharmāṅkāra* also wrote *Bālāvatāra* –; elsewhere, the name is Vāciṣsara. See Malalasekara 1928: 244.

³² This is also the case of the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, whose author, Śaraṇadeva, dedicates his grammar to the Omniscient. Immediately after the dedication, he himself dates the composition to the year 1095 of the Śaka era (1172 AD); even though this is a relatively late date, he is traditionally considered as a Buddhist grammarian by scholars (see Renou 1940: 49).

this sense, it occurs many times, e.g. in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, and Śiva is actually mentioned in the first śloka of RA by the name of *Maheśvara* (see *supra* fn. 22). Also consider that the introductory verse of the second bhāga³³ is devoted to *devī bālānām*, “the Goddess of students,” conceivably Sarasvatī or any other South-Indian Goddess. Most likely, RA originated as a kind of progressive compilation of the localized grammatical tradition of South-India, where different languages and philosophies could easily interact. It was probably compiled in a Buddhist context. This is particularly suggested by the fact that the sūtras dealing with Vedic and accentual rules are not commented on. And, even though the scholars so far have not taken it as a strong evidence, we should also consider that there are actually several works called *avatāra* and they all are purely Buddhist texts, such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. Nonetheless, a more complex substrate influenced RA. This was actually one of the first *prakriyā* works – i.e. works giving examples of word formation in order to explain grammar rules – that recast Pāṇinian sūtras according to topics, much earlier than the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.³⁴

To elaborate, Hanxleden’s GG and Paulinus’ SGS and VLS are documents of an ancient grammatical tradition, locally spread in Dravidian Southern India. In such a linguistic background a *miśrabhāṣa* could emerge and be used in well educated contexts. In the region of Kerala, in particular, the Sanskritization of the local language for literary purposes served as a cultural legitimization and a sort of enfranchisement from the hegemony of Tamil Nadu (cfr. *supra* fn. 13). Evidence of

³³ See RA II p. 1: *praṇamya śirasā devīm bālānām hitakāriṇīm | yathāsarām pravakṣyāmi dhātupratyayaṇcikām* || “Having bowed my head to the benevolent Goddess of students, I will reveal the section on roots and primary derivatives according to goodness.”

³⁴ Note also that in recasting Pāṇini, RA falls back on the same methodology as the *Kātantra*, the South-Indian and probably pre-Pāṇinian grammar, which is clearly related to the Tamil *Tolkāppiyam*, and strongly influenced the Pāli *Kāccayana-vyākaraṇa*. See Cardona 1976: 150-151. We can venture to recognize an influence of the *Kātantra* on the RA, also considering that the adjective *sukalāpa* (“well-ornate”) in the second introductory verse could probably refer to the name *Kalāpa-vyākaraṇa*, by which the *Kātantra* is also known.

this miśrabhāṣa can be found in Paulinus' first grammar, i.e. SGS, which was probably derived from a simple catalogue of inflected forms, i.e. *Siddharūpa*, that the learned Keralites had memorized at the very basic level of their Sanskrit training. Similarly, they memorized a catalogue of Sanskrit lemmas, i.e. *Amarakoṣa*. On the other hand, RA, a commentary on Pāṇini, was used in the higher purely Sanskrit education. In the 18th century this commentary was approached by missionaries,³⁵ and Paulinus derived his second Sanskrit grammar, i.e. VLS, from it. The cultural prestige of RA was pervasive enough that the text probably served as a model for the grammars of other standardized languages, such as Pāli. After a long period of great circulation, RA somehow declined, and we don't have reliable records about its author and its composition. In the contemporary era, Sanskrit students throughout India – including Kerala – learn, as their basic pedagogical manuals, the Sanskrit dictionary *Amarakoṣa*, and the grammar known as *Siddhāntakaumudī*, composed by the Marathi Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita in the 17th century. Just like RA, this is a *prakriyā* grammar and arranges Pāṇini's sūtras according to topics; furthermore, its style was considered *navya* "new" (see Cardona 1976: 287-288) in comparison to that of the other commentaries. Nevertheless, considering these modern pedagogical practices, it is also possible that cultural forces contributed to the decline of the regional grammatical tradition in Kerala.³⁶ We should maybe note that the standardization of education in Sanskrit language somehow dated back to the time of the stabilization of the British colonial presence in South Asia. The *Siddhāntakaumudī* had been attentively studied by William Jones himself and was

³⁵ They approached these texts in a Sanskrit Academy ("Academia Brahmanica Tricuriensis"), which conceivably trained students of "Humanities," not just Brahmin priests. In this respect, note that, at the present time, there are two versions of *Siddharūpa* circulating in Kerala; one, known as "orthodox," has the declension of *Rāmaḥ*, *Rāmau*, *Rāmāḥ* as the incipit of the catalogue, the other, known as "non-orthodox," has *ṽṛkṣaḥ*, *ṽṛkṣau*, *ṽṛkṣāḥ* ("tree"): both Hanxleden and Paulinus referred to the "non-orthodox" tradition (see GG f° 2°; SGS pp. 92-93; VLS pp. 22-23).

³⁶ Cf. Renou 1940: 34. Similarly, between the 18th and the 19th century, the non-Pāṇinian *Sārasvata* tradition, widely spread among the Śāṅkarians in Northern India, suddenly declined (see Filliozat 2012: 19).

the direct reference of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (see Staal 1972: 33-34), which had a great prestige among European scholars. On the other hand, when back to Rome, the missionaries lacked a scientific community; their lay colleagues preferred to go to London and Paris, which, according to Trautmann's definition (see Županov 2006: 101), quickly became the "hub" of new Orientalism. Nonetheless Hanxleden and Paulinus' grammars, though scarcely studied, bear witness to the fact that the constructed idea of Sanskrit as an eternal and self-identical language should give way to a different perspective in which Sanskrit could also work as an inflected and practical language for several purposes, such as literary and political as well.

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- DMC Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, *De manuscriptis codicibus indicis R.P. Joan Ernesti Hanxleden epistola ad. R.P. Alexium Mariam A.S. Joseph Carmelitam exalceatum*, Vienna, 1799.
- EHC Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, *Examen historico-criticum codicum Indicorum Bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Roma, 1792.
- GG *Grammatica Grandonica. The Sanskrit grammar of Johann Ernst Hanxleden S.J. (1681-1732)*, ed. by T. Van Hal, C. Vielle, with a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript by J.-C. Muller, Potsdam, 2013 (<https://publishup.uni-potsdam.de/opus4-ubp/frontdoor/index/index/docId/6251>).
- PŚ *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā or the Śikṣā-vedaṅga ascribed to Pāṇini*, ed. by M. Ghosh, Madras, 1938.

- RA Dharmakīrti, *Rūpāvatāra*. Pts. 1, 2, ed. by R.B.M. Rangacharya, Madras, Bangalore, 1908, 1927.
- SGS Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, *Sidharūbam seu grammatica Samscrdamica*, Roma, 1790.
- Siddharūpa*, ed. by K.K. Balakrishna Panicker, Ebenezer (Thrissur), 1973 (rpt. 2006).
- VLS Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, *Vyācarana seu locupletissima Samscrdamicae linguae institutio in usum Fidei praeconum in India Orientali, et virorum litteratorum in Europa adornata*, Roma, 1804.

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R.K.K. RAJARAJAN

THE ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE KAILĀSANĀTHA TEMPLE
SEEING BEYOND THE REPLASTERED
IMAGES AND YOGINĪS

The Kailāsanātha temple of Kāñcīpuram (shortly Kāñci, Kacci or folk Kañci) is one of the masterpieces of Pallava architects. It is attributed to the time of Rājasimha Pallava (700-728 CE), also known as Nṛsimhavarman II. He took the hand of Raṅgapatākā, who is said to have collaborated with her husband in building the Kailāsanātha (Sastri 1971: 168, Srinivasan 1999: 26) as per inscriptional testimony. Nṛsimhavarman II is identified with “Che-li Na-lo-seng-K’ia” (Śrī Narasiṃha) or “Che-li-Na-lo-sang-k’ia pao-to-pa- mo” (Śrī Narasiṃha Pōtavarman) of the Chinese annals (Sastri 1972: 116-17) and Kāṭavarkōṅ-Kaḷarciṅkaṅ of the Tamil hagiographical works; e.g. the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam* (Episode 59). He was a devoted follower of Śivaism (Gonda 1970); one among the *arupattumūvar*, the sixty-three dedicated servants or “slaves” of the Lord. He rendered memorable service for Śivaism as the hagiography works specify. The saints had impetuous faith in Śiva and few of them did not treat women with respect. In one case the saint cut off the tresses of his wife and Pallava king under study amputated the nose or hands of his queen for causing nuisance in service of Śiva (*vide*, Attachment I, Sivaramamurti 1984: 40, 43-44). ‘Kāṭavarkōṅ’ Rājasimha is said to have erected an unearthly temple for the Lord in his celebrated metropolis at Kāñcīpuram (*vide*, Xuanzang’s

attestation in Beal n.d. and 1911, cf. Sathianathaier 1987: 24-25 citing T. Watters), which is again told in the hagiography. Rājasimha is credited with the construction of Rājasimheśvara or Shore temple at Māmallapauram, Talagirīśvara at Paṇamalai and other temples for Śiva in Kāñci such as the Mukteśvara and Mātāṅgeśvara.

The architecture and iconography of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci has been scientifically examined in earlier works (e.g. Srinivasan 1999: 58-64). In recent times, scholars view the Kailāsanātha in different angles and some say it was a base of the Yoginī cult coexisting with Śivaism (Kaimal 2005: 45-87). K.R. Srinivasan 1999 has detailed the iconographic design, listing each of the male or female and syncretistic forms such as Somāskanda (Kalidos 2001: 171-72), Ardhanārīśvara (cf. Rajarajan 2012b: 233-70), Harihara (Kalidos 1994: 279-80) and so on. He has nothing to say on the Śākta or Yoginī/Tantric rituals within the iconographic scheme or architectural setting of the Kailāsanātha or any other Pallava temple in Kāñci (cf. Srinivasan 1972: 115-18). Such evidences are not forthcoming from hagiography, inscriptions or literature (e.g. the *Tēvāram* hymns) of the age.

We may also note here the temple is unique in plan that one may not come across in other Pallava temples. Oblong and east-facing, the first to be built within the four walls is called Rājasimheśvara that occupies the western part of the complex. The eastern half was fitted with another temple for Śiva, called Mahendravarmeśvara added by his short-lived son, Mahendrarman III. Both the temples in the *garbhagrha* accommodate the Śiva-Liṅga superimposed on the back wall by the anthropomorphic Somāskanda. The entire temple is fenced by a wall that is fitted with miniature chapels, called *devakulikās*. This is a distinctive pattern that we do not come across in other temples of South India. The Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakkal seems to have imitated such a plan by fixing miniature chambers that surround the main temple, which are found dilapidated today (Kalidos 2006: II, 142). The Kailāsanātha during the early eighth century was erected with sandstone, plastered and painted. What we find in the present

temple is that the original plaster and paintings have fallen or disappeared in most cases. The fallen plaster seems to have been replastered sometime in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. Several Pallava temples have undergone renovation in Kāñci, nearby Kūram, and the Pallava feudatory Muttaraiyar cave temple at Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi in the Putukkōṭṭai region, especially for Raṅganātha (Kalidos 1988: pls. I-II), and Pāṇḍya caves at Kuṇṇakkuṭi (Rajarajan 2012b: fig. 8). Therefore, when a scholar studies the Pallava iconographical features in the temples of Kāñci he has to be very careful in differentiating the original Pallava with later replastered images.

The aim of the present study is to discuss the twin issues of original Pallava and replastered or distorted religious images in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci. In such a case study the Pallava images may have to be carefully detached or differentiated with those that were distorted during later renovations. The replastered images could be easily identified due to clumsy output. It may be worthwhile to consider whether the temple was accommodated with Yoginī goddesses and their cult. Alternatively, it is suggested the Kailāsanātha was a base of the Trimūrti-Yogīśvara cult. The internal evidences of iconographic scheme and inscriptional sources enhance our thesis. Contemporary Tamil literature or hagiography of the king-saint has nothing to confirm the Tantric lineage of the temple.

I

During a recent visit to Kāñcīpuram, we had to observe a strange spectrum in the religious imagery of the Kailāsanātha temple, casually noted in Kalidos (2006: I, 207) and Rajarajan (2011a: 142). It is known for certain from epigraphical sources that the temple was built during the period of Rājasimha Pallava, contributed by his *mahārāṇī* Raṅapatākā and son

Mahendravarman III.¹ The temple is in two parts, called Rājasimheśvara (western half) and Mahendravarmeśvara (eastern half). Interestingly, the Western Calukya Vikramāditya II Satyāśraya is said to have conquered Kāñci, visited the temple and “did not confiscate the property of Rājasimheśvara, but returned it to the God” recording those that “destroy the letters and the charity (of Īsvara) shall enter the world of those who have killed the *mahājana* of the *ghaṭika* of this city” (ARE 1888: no. 8). The entire complex is enclosed within a *tirumatil* “sacred wall”, fitted with *devakulikās*,² miniature shrines or what is called “Model Shrine” (Rajarajan 2011: figs. 46-47). The *devakulikās* are eight at the façade level and fifty-eight along the wall in the inner part of the temple (Figs. 1, 18-19). Each model shrine houses an image in its sacred chamber; i.e. Somāskandamūrti and Liṅga in the frontal *devakulikās* and the manifestations of Śiva such as Gaṅgādhara and Brahmaśiraschedaka or Viṣṇu with or without Devīs and so on. In some rare cases images of Gaṇapati and Agastya do appear.³ The redundant forms are Somāskanda and Yogīśvara.

The construction technology of the Kailāsanātha may be understood by the way it stands today. The temples are built of hard and soft stone in the Pallava zone whereas the Kailāsanātha is “wholly of sandstone” (Srinivasan 1999: 59) comparable to the Western Calukya temples in Aihole (Srinivasan 1972: 111, Rajarajan 2011b), Badāmī and Paṭṭadakkaḷ.⁴ Due to the brittle

¹ ARE: *Annual Epigraphical Reports*, 1888, nos. 6, 27. The temple is called Nityavinīteśvara (ARE 1888: no. 5). T.V. Mahalingam’s (1969: 109) date for the accession of Rājasimha is 690 CE that is supported by the ARE (Mahalingam ed., *A Topographical List...*, p. 116; ARE 1888: no. 5). K.R. Srinivasan’s date is 700 CE (*vide*, Meister & Dhaky eds. 1999: 22). Raṅgapatākā is said to have contributed her share and Mahendravarman III added the frontal shrine, called Mahendravarmeśvara. Mahendra is Sanskrit and Makēntiraṅ Tamil.

² *Devakulikā* is employed in K.R. Srinivasan (Meister & Dhaky eds. 1999: 63). It is not clear what *kulikā* means. Monier-Williams (2005: 294) gives the meaning “good family”, “a kinsman”, “chief of a guild” and so on. Maybe it stands for a good model of a temple, the work of an expert architect.

³ Interestingly no independent image of Murukaṅ/Skanda is found. The baby-Kumara appears in Somāskanda.

⁴ The Pallavas employed “native rocks” such as granite, hard-reddish gneiss, blackish-hard variety of leptinite and somewhat softer grayish-white granite for their structural

variety of stone used for sculptural work, many of these are eroded due to the ravage of time. Four distinct stages in the construction technology of the Pallava temple architecture and iconographical fitting may be construed:

- i) Erecting the architectural framework
- ii) Fitting the stone sculptures in prescribed locations as the *āgama* or *śilpāśāstra* may demand (e.g. *vimāna*, *bhitti* or *pāda*, *devakoṣṭha* or aedicule (Hardy 1998, 2012: 108)
- iii) Plastering the stone inner core (Fig. 5) and
- iv) Painting over the plaster (Fig. 2)⁵

This type of completed work may be found in certain sections of the Kailāsanātha temple (Figs. 2 & 10, cf. Figs 4 & 5).

During a vast period that extends over a millennium and quarter the paintings have completely disappeared in the Kailāsanātha and all other Pallava temples, and the plaster on the images had fallen.⁶ This type of natural devastation is clearly noticeable in case of several images of which a sample of Dakṣiṇāmūrti appearing on the southern *devakoṣṭha* is brought to attention (Fig. 3). The image with its retinue; Gaṇapati within the *makaratorāṇa* above, face of lion, rearing lion-motifs fitted to *kuḍyastambhas*, *ṛṣis*, the head of an elephant below and other decorative devices in addition to the pivotal Mūrti seated under the *vaṭavṛkṣa* in *mahārājatīlāsana* attitude are the original Pallava devoid of later day replaster and repainting. If added the plaster and the painting, one may find

temples all over Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (e.g. Kāñci, Tiruppattūr, Uttiramērūr, Kūram); and granite for slabs and basement and top of *adhiṣṭhāna*, *upāna* and *paṭṭika* (Srinivasan 1972: 111-12).

⁵ It seems various segments of the temple were under charge of different guilds or *śilpācāryas* during the construction process. It is evident from the *Choṭa-Kailāsa* in Ellora. We find few sections of the monolithic temple complete and stand painted; in other areas the work had just begun and left incomplete.

⁶ In a recent Congress in Rome 2011 (T. Lorenzetti & F. Scialpi eds. 2012) we heard Italian scholars (Giovanni Verardi and Anna Fillizenzi) working on Gandhāran stucco work that are dated to the early century of the Christian era; today in ruins. Stucco like wood (cf. Kalidos 1989) is not a durable material that could stand the test of time over 2,000 years. For a good coverage of stucco images in Tamilnadu see Rajarajan 2006 and Raman 2012.

an image comparable to Fig. 2. The replastered images are akin to Fig. 4.

Two other images in the same temple complex may be examined; one of which is partly ruined and renovated and other completely renovated (Figs. 4-5, cf. the two images of Yogīśvara Figs. 7-8).⁷ The renovated images are likely to be post-Nāyaka by outward expression but the nucleus is Pallava. The remodeling seems to have been carried out with cheap labour by a mason who was not acquainted with traditional sculptural work. The renovation may not be older than 100 years and perhaps the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) at the incipient stage of its conservation work is likely to have undertaken such a job. The author has observed patch-up work in the Dharmarāja-*ratha* of Māmallapuram, e.g. fitting a nose if broken. Otherwise, the patron could have been a local *zamīndār* or dignitary (Parthiban 2013). The extensive nature of the work done (cf. note 7) in the Pallava temples of Kāñci and the region around might suggest the patron was a local dignitary. The rules and regulations of ASI may not permit such super-imposed undertaking on historically important monuments. Very few scholars writing on Kāñci or Pallava art history have brought to light these hidden facts. It is crucial to take into consideration the distorting renovations to study the religious imagery of the early eighth century CE. Otherwise, the make-up in disguise may lead to mistaken acclimatization.

The distorted or replastered images could not be brought under the Pallava category (cf. Kaimal 2005: figs. 9, 11, 15, 17, 18; Rajarajan 2011a: 142).⁸ The image of Yogīśvara (Fig. 2) with patches of Pallava painting housed in the seventh southern *devakulikā* (Kalidos 2006: II, 190) presents a marked contract

⁷ Distorted and replastered later images may be found in other Pallava temples such as Vakikunṭha Perumāḷ (Kalidos 2006: 207-14, pls. LXXI-LXXII; Nagaswamy 2011: 61-136) Airāvateśvara, Mātāṅgeśvara, Muketśvara, Iṛavātaneśvara, Piṛavātaneśvara and the nearby temples at Kūṛam (Ādi Keśava) and so on. The images in the Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi Raṅganātha cave temple were replastered and painted during the Nāyaka period with a better-quality effect (Kalidos 1988: fig. 12, pls. I-II); also Kuṅṅakkuṭi in the Pāṇḍyan zone (Rajarajan 2012b: fig. 8).

⁸ At the present status of the images in the Kailāsanātha all are not Pallava (cf. Kaimal 2005: figs. 5-7, 12, 14, 16 are to be compared with figs. 9, 11, 15, 17-18).

with the replastered images.⁹ Whether painted or not-painted if one is trained in Pallava art history, he may be at ease to detect the non-Pallava elements taking into due consideration the rude and rough work done by way of replastering (Fig. 4). The naked truth is that the Pallava is concealed within a post-Nāyaka renovation.

In Fig. 5 the image is partly plastered. That is to say the plaster in lower part of the image has fallen, thus bringing out the inner original stone. In the other image Fig. 4 the replastering work is complete including a fallen plaster at the left corner. In Figs. 4 and 6 bricks appear, which means a brick coating was first added and then replastered to complete the work. This is to suggest an addition of six inches over-coating on the original Pallava images. In comparison Figs. 3 and 5 show a contrast of the Pallava and replastered images. It appears in case of Fig. 5 someone has deliberately removed the plaster in order to bring out the original. The discordances in respect of the two images may be summarized briefly:

- Fig. 4: the facial make-up, especially the nose, and headgear, the *vaṭavṛkṣa* present an entirely different scenario that is non-Pallava
- The *ṛsis* are found below the pedestal in Fig. 5 and in Fig. 4 a later imposed gazelle-like *mṛga* appears (cf. the gazelle in Fig. 3)
- Fig. 5 find the Lord seated on a *bhadapīṭha* and in Fig. 4 it is supposed to be the peak of a hill

The original and eroded imagery may be clearly detected in Figs. 6 and 10. In both the lion below Devī are Pallava without any damage; the plaster and paintings have gone. In Fig. 6 the lion below Yogīśvarī is completely eroded and in Fig. 10 the lion below Jyeṣṭhā is partly eroded. For another good example of Pallava and distorted-Pallava see the two images of Gajalakṣmī (Kalidos 2006: III, pls. LIV.1 & LV.1). These two

⁹ It is not clear whether the replastered images were painted. No evidence to that effect has survived.

images may have to be compared with Gajalakṣmī in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* (Fig. 15) of Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: III, pl. XLVIII.1).

The differences in case of the Pallava originals and replastered images may be due to several reasons. The first presumption is that the sculptor who renovated the images had let loose his fancy or fallacy mainly because he was not acquainted with the Pallava idioms of religious iconography. Even if familiar he did not possess the talent to carry it out in his work. The replastering should have been undertaken at a low-cost budget with which what all is feasible alone could be done.¹⁰ Another problem is who the donor of the replastering make-up was; definitely not a dynastic *mahāmaṇḍalesvara* of Vijayanagara or Nāyaka.

What is generalized at this juncture is that the distorted Pallava images could be considered only under certain compelling circumstances if to be brought under the dynastic arts of South Asia. These need not be taken into account to examine Pallava cult and artistic traditions. A fanciful sculptor could even make a Somāskanda out of Umāsahitamūrti if he could impose a later stucco baby-Skanda on the lap of Devī. Three iconographical forms are identical; that could be easily converted into another by adding or removing Umā or Skanda; e.g.

Sukhāsanamūrti:	Śiva seated in solitude
Umāsahita or Umāmaheśvara:	Śiva and Umā coupled
Somāskanda:	Seated Śiva, Umā, and baby Skanda

Therefore, what is considered Devī as a teacher (Kaimal 2005: fig. 17) need not have been originally designed to bring out the Devī-teacher concept. The Mohinī here is distracting the *yogi*'s *tapas* in my opinion; e.g. Menakā and Viśvāmitra, and Madana

¹⁰ Vai. Ganpati *Sthapati* (he is no more) and his students' (e.g. Raman 2012) say their works get close to the Pallava style (*vide*, the *Sthapati*'s drawings in the *Cirpaccennūl*). In fact, they are neither Pallava nor Cōla but post-Nāyaka; cf. the Valluvar Kōṭṭam in Chennai (Kalidos 2010: 13-17, fig. CP XII-3).

and Śiva-Yogīśvara, called Kāmadahanamūrti. If we keep track of Pallava vestiges north of the River Kāviri no image of Devī as teacher has been reported (cf. table in Kalidos 2006: III, 130). Śiva is a teacher as Dakṣiṇāmūrti, and Viṣṇu as teacher appears in the Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ temple at Kāñci (Kalidos 2006: I cf. pls. LXXII.2, LXXIV.1); note few images of Viṣṇu in the mould of Dakṣiṇa (Fig. 13; Rajarajan 2011a: figs. 1-2, 5, 9-10). Images of Devī as teacher fail to appear in the contemporary art of the Deccan (Kalidos 2006: III, plates). The *Lalitā-sahasranāma*/'Lalitā' [epithet no.]-725 invoke 'Dakṣiṇāmūrtirūpiṇī' or Gurumūrtiḥ 'Lalitā'-725/604. It is futile to trace Devī-teacher in the early medieval art of South India. The images of Viṣṇu-Dakṣiṇa (Rajarajan 2011a) are post-Nāyaka, dated in the eighteenth century or later (Fig. 13).

II

The question of Yoginī orientation of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci or any other temple built by Rājasimha is an issue that needs to be solved. The fact is that the Yoginī temples of Central, Eastern and other parts of northern India are dated in the later medieval period, post-ninth/tenth century CE. Their link with the Tamil tradition is a problem to reckon with. The inscriptions in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñcīpuram do not suggest any such interpretation. An inscription in the main shrine of Kailāsanātha calls it Rājasimheśvara (ARE 1988: no. 1). Another record in the same temple (see note 1) calls it Śrī Nityavinīteśvaragrham "All the time *vinīta* (decorous or lovely) Temple" (ARE 1888: no. 5). Śrī is not important as it could be prefixed with the name of a God (e.g. Tirumurukan, cf. Zvelebil 1981), god-man (e.g. Śrī Rāmānuja) or place name (e.g. Śrīraṅgam) and even a book (e.g. Śrīmat *Bhagavatgītā* and *Tiruvācakam*). The essential idea is Īśvara-*grham* (Temple or Īśvara/Śiva) or Pallavaneśvaram (Temple of the Pallava); cf. other examples Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grham* in Māmallapuram,

Brah-Eśvara-*lakṣitāyatanam*¹¹ and so on. Mahendravarman's Śiva temple is called Mahedravarmeśvara-*grham* (ARE 1988: no. 4, idid. 1932-33, no. 1). The mere presence of goddesses may not entitle it be called a center of Yoginī worship (cf. Kaimal 2005). In fact the image/s of Devī may be found in any Śiva or Viṣṇu temple through the ages; e.g. Gajalakṣmī in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* (Fig. 15) and Adivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grham*. Structural similarities between Kāñci and Khajurāho or Hīrāpūr alone may not be sufficient evidences. In the context of plan Kāñci is oblong and Khajurāho and Hīrāpūr are circular. The basic question is from where the idea disseminated and at which point of time? Kailāsanātha is dated in the early eighth century and Khajurāho later ninth century CE (Deva 1985: 54, Chakravarty et al eds. 1994: xi). Epigraphical attentions and Tamil literary evidences on the dedication of a temple to a particular god or goddess are very important. Especially, foundation inscription do play a key role in ascertaining cult orientation. Speculations may be attempted when no written record is available.

The *Koṭikkāl-maṇḍapa* in Māmallapuram is guarded by *dvārapālikās* in its threshold, which guides art historians to consider it a temple for Devī (Srinivasan 1964: 107-10). There is no cult image in the sacred chamber. The presence of the female guardians on the doorway is not sufficient enough to declare it for the Goddess. The main monolithic rock-cut temple in the macro Cave XVI of Ellora called Kailāsa (Manakeśvara in the thirteenth century Marāṭhi literature – Ranade 1988: 112) is guarded by *dvārapālikās*. The shrine chamber of the monolith accommodates a Liṅga. Therefore, it could not be a temple for Devī (cf. Rajarajan 2011a: 141); cf. the *Koṭikkāl-maṇḍapa* above. When compared with the Kailāsa of Kāñci, the Kailāsa in Ellora is much more intricate and accommodates several small chapels for the goddesses; e.g.

¹¹ *Āyatana* stands for the “temple” (Srinivasan 1964: 47). It was the name given to the Maṅṭakappaṭṭu rock-cut cave, noted in inscriptions (ARE 1905: no. 56).

Yajñaśālā for the Mātṛkas and other gods,
 River Goddesses' Chapel,
 Gajalakṣmī placed at a nodal point to the main entrance
 of the monolithic temple and the narrow passage for
 entry into the Lañkeśvara (Soundararajan 1981: pl.
 CIV.B),
 Mahiṣamardinī and so on

Ellora was a base of the Kāpālika and Kālāmukha cultists and so there is every possibility of considering Cave XVI a center of Tantric/Yoginī cult (cf. Parimoo et al. eds. 1989). The setting of the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci is entirely different. We do find the Mātṛkas accommodated along the southern row of *devakulikās* but it could not be placed on equal footing with the Yajñaśālā of Ellora.

Another good example in Ellora is Cave XIV. There is no cult image in the *garbhagrha*. A pedestal meant for *mūlabera* is present. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the cave is a spacious venue, which on the right and left walls (as one makes an entry) accommodates images of Śiva (e.g. Naṭarāja) and Viṣṇu (Śrī, Varāhamūrti). The circumambulatory passage on the southern wall provides for the seated images of the Sapta Mātṛkas, Kāla, Kālī and others. K.V. Soundararajan (1981: 114) suggests it could have been dedicated to Devī. In the absence of Liṅga in the *garbhagrha*, it could also be considered a cave temple for Viṣṇu if the Vaiṣṇava images on the left wall are given the due credence. Cave XV[-B] is designed on the same model in its upper floor. Cave XV-B is dedicated to the Liṅga but designed to accommodate the Trimūrti concept on parallel line with the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci (cf. Fig. 18). For several paradigms in Indian art the answer is only in “heaven” as it has been humorously remarked (cf. Hardy 1998: 134).

About twenty-five images of Devī are specified as sorted out in the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci. The location of these images is:

Four on the *mukhamaṇḍapa* sections, four in southern *devakulikās*, three on southern *devakoṣṭhas*, and nine on the northern *devakulikās* and so on.

The iconographical variables are Jyeṣṭhā 3, Durgā? 3, Sarasvatī 2, Lakṣmī 3, Mātṛkas 1? (7), Yoginīs? 4, Umāsahita 1 and Umā watching Śiva's tour de force 8 (Kaimal 2005).¹² Among these nine are part of Śaiva themes and could not be counted under Devī. Another scholar lists the following images of Devī's in the *devakulikās* (Kalidos 2006: III, 96-97):

- 5th Siṃhavāhinī (an epithet of Devī appearing in the *Devīmāhātmya*, *Adhyāya* 2, v. 34)
- 17th Maḥiṣāsūramardinī Fig. 17 (posted on *mahiṣa-pīṭha*)¹³
- 18th Sapta Mātṛkas (Haripriya 2004: fig. 37, Kalidos 2006: III, pl. LIII*)
- * The plate is in reverse order

The images designated Yoginīs (Fig. 6) are called Yogīśvarī (cf. Tapasvinī in Dehejia 1986: 196) and Siṃhavāhinī (Kalidos 2006: III, 97-98). Two images alone subscribe to the concept of Yogīśvarī (Figs. 6 & 10) and the others could not be brought under Yoginīs.¹⁴ Two are called Yogīśvarī because the eyes are closed in meditation and the left hand is in *dhyānamudrā* (Figs. 6 & 10). One carries the *triśūla* and *paraśu* and the other appears with the *siṃha* and *mṛga* behind the face (cf. the images of Devī posted on *mahiṣa-pīṭha* in Māmallapuram Fig. 17 – Kalidos 2006: III, pls. XLVII.1 & LI). That means these two are

¹² All images of Gajalakṣmī and Siṃhavāhinī (Figs. 9-10) will have to be taken into account in an assessment of cult within the roof of the temple and not on the basis of random selection (Kalidos 2006: III, 95, cf. Kaimal 2005: fig. 14). Do the images located in a particular quarter of the temple have anything to say on Tantric *yantras* (cf. Dehejia 1986: 209, 212-13)? Cf. Fig. 20.

¹³ The identification is supported by the Tamil epic, *Cilappatikāram* (20. 34-36) that says Korṟavai/Maḥiṣamardinī stands on the decapitated head of a buffalo that spills cold blood (Fig. 17):

Aṭartteḷu kurtiyataṅkāp
pacuntunip piṭartalaip pīṭam ēriya maṭakkoṭi
Verrivēṟṟaṭakkai Korṟavai

Cf. Parthasarathy 1993: 187. For a discussion on Durgā and Maḥiṣamardinī see Kalidos 1989 and Berkson 1997.

¹⁴ Cf. the several lists of Yoginīs in Dehejia 1986: 194-218. Yoginī is beyond the reach of human effort because they are supposed to be sixty-four-crore that attend on the Cosmic Mother, 'Mahācatuṣṣaṣṭikoṭi Yoginīgaṇasevitā' ('*Lalitā*'-237).

typologically different. They are counterparts of Yogīśvara (Figs. 7-8) found in the juxtaposed *devakoṣṭha*, seated in *utkuṭikāsana* with the legs tied by *yogapaṭṭa*. The same type of Yogīśvara is present in other Pallava temples of Kāñci such as the Pīravātaneśvara (Fig. 8). Again, not less than 38 such miniature-stucco representations are located on top the *vimāna* sections of the *devakulikās* in the Kailāsanātha (Kalidos 2006: II, 195). Taking into consideration all these male-dominated images, it is better the Kailāsanātha is viewed a base of the Yogīśvara cult. It may also consider the builder, Kāṭavarkōṅ-Rājasimha was patriarchal (*vide*, Annexure I). In case of Ellora's Cave XVI, attention is invited to the huge monolithic Yogīśvara on plinth of the temple opposing the mammoth of Gajasamhāra (Kalidos 2006: II, pls. XXI-XXII). With the advent of Yogīśvara (cf. *Śivasahasranāma*, epithet no. 760 'Sarvayogi'), his coadjutor Yogīśvarī (*Devīmāhātmyam*, 'Devīkavacam', v. 35) automatically arrives at the venue. This gesture is further supported by the presence of Kāla and Kālī in the Ellora caves, e.g. XIV, XVI, XII (cf. Shinn 1984:175-97). Another issue for consideration is whether Yoginī-['Lalitā']-653, Yogadā-654, Yogyā-655, and Yogānandā-656 are on the same plane iconographically (cf. Figs. 6 & 10).

When we take into account the main object of worship in the Pallava structural and cave temples (e.g. Kailāsanātha et alii in Kāñci and the Mahiṣāsūramardīnī-*maṇḍapa* in Māmallapuram), i.e. the Liṅga and Somāskanda on back wall the question of dual representation, *dvaita* does not arise (Kaimal 2005: 53-54). These images are basically oriented toward the Trimūrti concept. None of the contemporary cave or structural temple dedicated to either Śiva or Viṣṇu provides a separate chapel for Devī to find the male and female in balance. The separate enclave for the Mātrkas in Cave XVI has to be viewed on the same plane with the River Goddesses chapel appearing on the other side of deep rock excavation. I do not know whether any scholar considers the Mātrkas in these cases Yoginīs. From the Gupta Udayagiri or Rāmgarh (Berkson 1978: 215-32) in Madhya-Bhārata (see the grotto for the Mātrkas close to Cave VI – cf. Williams 1983: fig. 35, Simha 1987: 80-86, Rajarajan

2011: fig. 4) coming down to the Pāṇḍya in the Far South, including the later phase of Rāṣṭrakūṭa art we do not have evidences of Śiva/Umā and Viṣṇu/Śrī occupying the same house. If Māmallapuram and Kāñci are taken for case studies, we do not find any such two-in-one representation; e.g. Varāha-*maṇḍapa*, Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gr̥ham*, Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ¹⁵ and so on. Mahiṣamardinī may be found in separate enclave but not Śrīdevī.¹⁶ K.R. Srinivasan (1972: 148) affirms separate chapels for Devī, called *tirukkāmakkoṭṭam* emerged only during the Middle Cōḷa period during and after the time of Rājendra I (1012-44 CE). It is added separate shrine for Tāyār, the Mother in Vaiṣṇava tradition came to picture since then. Such separate entities occupying a large space (e.g. the Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara in Maturai or the Vaṭapatraśāyī-Āṇṭāl in Śrīvilliputtūr) proliferated during and after the Vijayanagara period,¹⁷ having its root in later Pāṇḍya temples of the thirteenth century CE.

The Liṅga again is viewed against the Trimūrti concept in medieval *śilpaśāstras*. The Liṅga stone basically consists of tripartite division; the square base Brahmāṃśam, the middle octagonal Viṣṇuvāṃśam and the circular top Śivāṃśam (*Kaśyapaśilpaśāstra* 49.85, *Śilparatna* 2.66, Kalidos 2001: 173). Therefore, it is a symbolic of the Trimūrti merged in an entity; other examples of the type being Liṅgodbhavamūrti (Kalidos 2003: figs. 3-22, Jeyapriya 2009a: 158-59, pl. I), and Ekapādamūrti (Grossato 1987: 247-82, figs. 3, 10-15; Kalidos 2004: fig. 7, Rajarajan 2006: fig. 93, Jeyapriya 2009a: 159-60, pl. IIIb) found in the Shore temple at Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: II, pl. LXXIV.1). The Pallava Somāskanda is another

¹⁵ Devī's chapel in this temple and the frontal *maṇḍapa* are later additions. The Paramēccuta-*viṅṅakaram* of Tirumaṅkai Ālvār (*Periya Tirumoli* 2.9.1-10) does stop with the row of historical sculptures that go around the main temple. The *agramaṇḍapa*, Devīs chapel and other fittings are later additions.

¹⁶ Separate chapels for Śrī were not found during the early medieval period (cf. Kalidos 2006a: 141-54, Narayanan 1998: 88).

¹⁷ In such a case all temples and images listed in HariPriya Rangarajan 2004 may be taken for granted as Yoginīs. This author does not even employ the word, Yoginī while at the same time notes *Yoginī-tantra* (HariPriya 2004: 76-77). It may be of interest to scholars in Yoginī studies that HariPriya (2004: figs. 1, 20, 26) considers Mahiṣamardinī/Durgā (cf. Dehejia 1986: 194, 217) and Siṃhavāhinī as Vārāhī.

anthropomorphic version of the abstract Liṅga. The pivotal Mūrti in Somāskanda is Śiva; Brahmā and Viṣṇu appearing behind his head to the right and left (cf. Bailey 1979: 152-63, Kalidos 2006: II, pl. LXXVI.1). However, this sophisticated ideology is beyond the reach of an art historian if he considers the Harappan Liṅga, dated around 2,750 BCE (Fleming 2009: 440-58, Doniger 2011: 485- 508, Rajarajan 2012: figs). Different ancient cultures of the world have left *liṅga* vestiges (cf. Rawson 1984: figs. 2, 146); cf. the phallus as an auspicious symbol among the ruins of Pompeii (Priapus in Carpiceci n.d.: 63 fig).

No Yoginī temple of the Khajurāho or Bherāghāṭ model may be found in Tamilnadu. The Central Indian and Eastern Indian temples accommodate the Cauṣaṭha- or Catusṣaṣṭi- Yoginīs within a common hypaethral roof, *digambara* and not one or two sporadically. There is a temple for Vārāhī in a small village called Paḷḷūr (Fig. 14), near Vēlūr (slang Vellore) in northern Tamilnadu that scholars may consider a Yoginī temple. A similar stray image may be found in the Rājarājeśvaram of Tañcāvūr in its southern courtyard set amid a lawn (Haripriya 2004: fig. 18).¹⁸ In the latter case we find images of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Mahiṣamardinī in *devakoṣṭhas* of the main temple. These are not considered Yoginīs. The Paḷḷūr temple maybe of the Nāyaka time and the Goddess is a village deity. Whether it is a sporadic temple for the Yoginī Goddess is an issue for further exploration in respect of its iconography and cult setting in a rural atmosphere. It may open new avenues of research on Hinduism in the South Asian context with reference to Sanskrit and Tamil sources (cf. Rajarajan 2007).

The [Tirup]Paraṅkuṅṅam cluster of cave temples on the northern slopes of the hill provide separate houses for Mahiṣāsuramardinī posted on *mahiṣa*-head (cf. Fig. 17), Gajalakṣmī, Aṅṅapūraṅṅī or Bhuvaneśvarī and Jyeṣṭhā arranged in a pyramidal pattern (Fig. 20). It could by all means be a

¹⁸ Consider for example the monumental Śrīvilliputtūr temple where inscriptional evidences assign the Aṅṅāl temple to the time of Sundara Pāṇḍyadeva in the later half of the 13th century, 1274 CE (ARE 1926: no. 533).

veritable base of Yoginī cult. Entry into these chambers is strictly prohibited for non-Hindus and so none could say anything on this Śākta center specifically and emphatically. Scholars do not take such ideas already published very seriously (Rajaraajan 1991: 395-408, figs. 1-3, 6; cf. Branfoot 1998: 114-22).¹⁹ R. Nagaswamy's 1982 idea of Tantric/Yoginī in Tamil tradition could not be taken for granted in the light of the above discussion. There may be tens of hundreds of temples for the goddesses in Tamilnadu and none goes by the name, Yoginī (cf. the list in Kalidos 1989: 261-73). He fails to take into account the Paraṅkuṅṅram temple and the Tamil sources very seriously (cf. Nagaswamy 2006: 22, Kalidos 2012: 33-34). An important idea to be brought to scholarly attention is reiterated in a Tamil 'Encyclopaedia of Temples'. It says none of the temples in Kāñci accommodate a separate shrine for Ammaṅ/Devī because Kāmākṣī is the Universal Mother (*Kōyirkaḷaṅciyam* 46). The venue of Kāmākṣī temple seems to have been accredited Tantric label since the Middle Cōḷa period. Therefore, there is no chance of male and female in balance in any of the Śiva temple of Kāñci. It is added:

Kāñciyil uḷḷa Civaṅ koyil etilum Annaikku canniti kiṭaiyātu (Sundaram 2012: 16) "There is no separate chapel for Annai/Mother in any of the Śiva temples of Kāñci"

The cult of Yoginīs in north Indian tradition did center on the worship of the sixty-four within a circular *maṅḍala*. The 'Lalitā'-237 talks of *Mahācauṣaṣṭikoṭi-Yoginīgaṇasevita*, Devī whom sixty-four-crore Yoginīs do serve. This type of Yoginī or

¹⁹ The article fixes the rock-cut temples within the format of a Śrīcakra (Fig. 20); cf. Devī's epithets 'Ājñacakraḅjanilayā' and 'Visuddhicakranilayā' ('Lalitā'-521, 475). The Tirupparaṅkuṅṅram temple reorganized in the 9th century CE by Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya I for dedication to the Mothers as a center of Śākta creed (see inscription cited in Rajaraajan 1991: 408, figs). We find images of Korṅṅvai, Gaḷalakṣmī, Bhuvaneśvarī and Jyeṣṭhā in *garbhagrhas* in a cluster of rock-cut caves (Fig. 20). It is up to experts in Yoginī studies to further examine whether Paraṅkuṅṅram was a base of Yoginī cult. Fig. 20 is added here to earmark the Śākta orientation of the cave temples in the Paraṅkuṅṅram north group (cf. Rajaraajan 1991: figs. 3, 6; Cf. Branfoot 1998: fig. 4.6).

Tantric cult was beyond the ken of Tamil tradition. South Indian texts talk of seven prime or chosen Yoginīs (*Lalitopākhyāna* cited in *Śrītattvanidhi* 1.9-15, cf. Dehejia 1986: 205). They are Gupta-, Guptara, Saṃprada-, Kulottīrṇa-, Nirgarbha-, Rahasya- and Adhirahasya-, all suffixed with the common genre *yoginī*. It may be welcome to take into account a South Indian canon when talking of the Tamil regional religious tradition. The seven Yoginīs listed do not appear in the Kailāsanātha. The goddesses in the northwestern *devakoṣṭhas* are named Kauśikī and Jyeṣṭhā (Srinivasan in Meister & Dhaky eds. 1999: 62; cf. Dehejia 1986: 194 for Kauśikī). It is not clear what exactly the names of images identified with Yoginīs are (Kaimal 2005: fig. 13). Four Yoginīs are listed and their names are not evident. The names of the Yoginīs listed from the Kailāsanātha (e.g. Jyeṣṭhā, Sapta Mātrkas, Lakṣmī, Umā in Umāsahitamūrti, Sarasvatī, and Durgā) do not tally with the several lists presented in Dehejia 1986. The presence of two or four Yoginīs alone is not sufficient enough to arrive at the cult of Yoginīs. We need at least seven. Independent images of Vārāhī and Lakṣmī could not be treated Yoginīs; cf. the stray image in Tañcāvūr Middle Cōḷa temple and Vārāhī of Paḷḷūr.

An important dimension of the studies relating to Kāñci is that the Ekāmranātha temple (Tamil Ēkampam, meaning “monolithic-pillar” *Tēvāram* 3.299.1-6) was a base of the Kāpālika and Pāśupata Tantric ritualism by about the early seventh century CE, noted in the *Mattavilāsa* of Mahendravarman I c. 610-30 CE (Barnett 1929-30: 697-717).²⁰ Scholars have not taken into serious account the religious imagery and Tantric setting of the Ekāmranātha. Here, again, the problem is we may not come across images of Yoginīs in

²⁰ A record setting 160 *Tēvāram* hymns extol the praise of the *kṣetras* of Kāñci such as ‘Ēkampam’, ‘Mēṅṅali’, ‘Aṅṅekatañkāvatam’, ‘Neṅṅikkaraikkāṭu’ and ‘Mayāṅṅam’ “crematorium”. None of the hymn considers Devī as the Mother-Absolute or Yoginī. The regional Drāviḍian tradition would expect scholars to give the due consideration to Tamil sources (cf. Kalidos 2012: 33-76, Rajarajan 2012b: 233-70). Ēkampam was the meeting place of Pāśupatas, and Kāpālikas following the Tantric rituals attested by the *Mattavilāsa* (Barnett 1929-30: 697-717). The hymns on Ēkampam alone are 120 none of which notes the Yoginī (Rajarajan 2007).

the meant order of seven or sixty-four. I have visited the temple several times and found no evidence to support the cult of Yoginīs. Kāñci by tradition was divided into four segments such as Śiva-kāñci (Ēkampam/Kailāsanātha zone), Viṣṇu-kāñci (Vaikuṅṭha Perumāl/Varadarāja zone), Jīna-kāñci (Tirupparuttikuṅṭram) and Buddha-kāñci – not extant (Raman 1973: Chap. I). It is tempting to pose the question: was there a Devī-kāñci or Yoginī-kāñci; maybe the Kāmākṣī temple area in the heart of the city. The Kāmākṣī temple dates since the time of Kulōttuṅga III (inscription dated in 1217 CE, ARE 1954-55: no. 357). It is considered one among the Śakti-*pīthas* and not Yoginī-*pītha*. Philip Rawson (1981: fig. 13, cf. Comfort 1997: fig. p. 23) has reported definitive archaeological evidences of Yoni worship²¹ (cf. the *yoni* stone within the *garbhagr̥ha* of the Kāmākṣī temple – Kalidos 1990: 126, note 12). Evidences of Yoginī cult or Yoni worship are remote in the Kailāsanātha. The history of Kailāsanātha stops with the eighth century CE.²² There was no addition in the form of temple structures thereafter. No trace of Cōḷa or Vijayanagara-Nāyaka vestige is traceable. Under such a stalemate, it is an unrewarding job to search for Yoginī worship in the Kailāsa of Kāñci. The Ēkampam is a promising alternative field that registers monuments ranging from the Pallava (e.g. Vālīśvara close to the tank in the exterior *prākāra*) to the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka (e.g. the southern *rāyagopura* and the nearby sixteen-pillared hall). More than 120 exuberant *Tēvāram* hymns (Rajajaran 2007) speak of its cult orientation sometimes belittled by art historians.²³ The Tamil sources need to be consulted for a cross

²¹ White (2003: 137) lists a number of ruined Yoginī temples, including Kōyamputtūr in Tamilnadu.

²² Patronage of the temple continued unabated down to the time of Cōḷa Rājarāja III (1242 CE – ARE 1888: no. 25). Post-Pallava patronage is confirmed in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I (922 CE – ARE 1888: no. 25), Rājendra I (1022 CE – ARE 1888: no. 31) and others. The donations mostly pertain to perpetual lamps and *devadāna* (tax-free) lands and not for any architectural addition or renovation.

²³ This author dates Appar and “Sambandar” in the “2nd century”. He adds Nāṅacampantar “had sung four hymns”, “Thirunāvukkaracar...seven hymns” and “Sundaramurti...only one hymn” (Nagaswamy 2006: 22-23). See above note 20. Sivakumar 2012 presents a summary of 160+ hymns bearing on the *kṣētras* of Kāñci. Rajajaran 2007

cultural examination of autochthonous temple setting (Kalidos 2012, Rajarajan 2012).

Coming to the Kailāsanātha, the dependable art historical evidence that point out Yoginī cult is Gajalakṣmī (Donaldson 1986: 136-82, figs.; Kalidos 1990: 115-43, figs. 3-25; Kaimal 1995: 58-59). She is seated in a posture that would permit one to speculate on *yoni* worship; cf. Devī's epithet 982, Yonimudrā in the 'Lalitā'-982 (Fig. 9). The precedence of iconographical examples may be found in the Varāha-*maṇḍapa* (Fig. 15) and Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*grham* of Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: III, pls. XLVIII.1, cf. LIV.1, LV.1) or Cave XX in Ellora (Rajarajan 2011: figs. 41, 61). Other solid testimony could not be obtained from the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci to prove the worship of Yoginīs. In all probability, the images of Yoginī-like goddesses in large in number came to the forefront with the Cōlas and Vijayanagara-Nāyakas who had political contact with Eastern India, particularly Kalinga/Orissa, catchment zone for the Tantric orgies. Literary works such as the *Takkayākapparāṇi* of Oṭṭakkūttar (1150+ CE – Zvelebil 1974: 198, 212) are later medieval. Nearly half a millennium (about 450 years) does intervene in between the Kailāsa of Kāñci and the *Takkayākapparāṇi* (cf. Jeyapriya 2009: 38-40).

The setting of the Yoginī temples of Khajurāho, Bherāghāt and Hīrāpūr (Orissa) are totally different from the Kāñci landscape. The other centers of Yoginī worship in the north are Rāñipūr Jharial, Shahdol (M.P.), Mitāuli and Didhāi (Orissa). Few of these temples are in ruins and the images removed to nearby museums (Das 1994: 30-31, figs. 1-11, cf. Misra 2000: 13-18, Brooks 2002: 57-75, Choudhury 2004: 7-9, Urban 2011: 231-47). I am told a number of Yoginī images of Kāñci are accommodated in the museums of North America, dated in the tenth-eleventh century CE. The Kailāsanātha is dated in the early eighth century. This is what I could say because I have no access to the museum images in North America.

presents a summary of the sixty-eight hymns bearing on the fourteen Vaiṣṇava *divyadeśas* of Kāñci. The Tamil hymnal sources have not been seriously considered by historians of religion and art; cf. a summary of the hymns bearing on Ardhnārīśvara with the Tamil original transcribed in Roman script (Rajarajan 2012: 249-60).

A good example from Tamilnadu for the idea of *yoni/yoginī* worship is the *Kōṇiyammaṅ* (slang of *Yonidevī* or *Yonimudrā* ‘*Lalitā*’-982, cf. *Lopāmudrā*²⁴) in *Kōyamputtūr* (Das 1994: 29). Its cult root may be placed on a par with the *Kāmākṣī Ammaṅ* temple of *Kāñci*. However, the history of the temple may not be anterior to the *Vijayanagara-Nāyakas*; note *Paḷḷūr* above.

Iconographically speaking the north Indian Tantric/*Yoginī*/*Śrīvidyā-Śākta* (Brooks 2002) is full of the spirit of eroticism, and the images are greedy and lascivious. Images in the Tamil country do not show the depth of erotic impulse as in the north. In this context, I consider it worth comparing the images of *Mātrkas*, particularly *Cāmuṇḍā* from north India and the Tamil country (Panikkar 1997: figs. 93, 95, 109, 171, 196 with 192-193). Scholars studying the Central and Eastern Indian *Yoginīs* have pointed out the hinging affinity with the Tantric *pañcamakāras* (Lorenzen 1991: 89-90, Das 1994: 27-37 figs, Brooks 2002: 57-75, Haripriya 2004: 76-77, Einoo 2009). The temples are circular in form, a design that shows its relationship with *cakrāsana* in erotic dalliance of the esoteric *Śākta* and *Kāpālika* schools (Comfort 1997: figs. pp. 21, 41). This is not the scenery that one finds in the *Kailāsanātha* of *Kāñci*. Maybe the *Ēkampam* (*supra*) was the venue of such orgiastic practices; cf. the *kāpāli*-*Satyasoma* in *Mattavilāsa* all the time drunk and comforting his itching mate *Devasoma* (Kalidos 2006: III, 33-34).

All lion-motifs in the *Kailāsanātha* of *Kāñci* or the *Rājasimha* phase of *Pallava* temples need not be associated with *Devī*. The lion, *simha* as revealed in the *Devīmāhātyam* was the *vāhana* of *Devī* and played its role in the annihilation of *Mahiṣāsura* and his fellow-demons. *Devī* was called *Simhavāhinī* (*Devīmāhātyam*, 2.34) for whom the lion was the vehicle. *Mahiṣāsura* during war with *Devī* is said to have disguised as

²⁴ *Lopāmudrā* was the wife of sage *Agastya*. Dowson (1998: 181) adds: “Her name is explained as signifying that the animals suffered loss (*lopa*) by her engrossing their distinctive beauties (*mudrā*), as the eyes of the deer...She is also called *Kaushitakī* and *Varapradā*. A hymn in the *Ṛg Veda* is attributed to her”. Cf. *Kaushitakī* and *Kausikā* (Srinivasan 1999: 62). *Lopāmudrā* is one among the *upāsakas* of *Vārāhī*; others being *Īśāna*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Brahmā* and many more (Haripriya 2004: 56).

siṃha, *mahāgaja* and so on (*Devīmāhātmyam*, *Adhyāya* 3, vv. 30-31). Another important idea is that Devī manifested as the Mātrkas to annihilate the assistants of Mahiṣa (ibid. Chap. 8, vv. 15-20). The *Pañcamo'dhyāya* (Chap. 5, ll. 23-76) of the *Devīmāhātmya* views Devī in different forms such as “sleep”, “hunger”, “modesty” and so on and is finally called Kālikā. In these metaphors the “lion” is not counted:

Cf. Nidrārūpeṇa, kṣudhārūpeṇa, Chāyārūpeṇa,
 Śaktirūpeṇa, tṛṣṇārūpeṇa, kṣāntirūpeṇa, jātirūpeṇa,
 Lajjārūpeṇa, Śāntirūpeṇa, śraddhārūpeṇa, kāntirūpeṇa,
 Lakṣmīrūpeṇa, vṛttirūpeṇa, smṛtirūpeṇa, dayārūpeṇa
 tṛṣṭirūpeṇa, Mātrrūpeṇa, and bhrāntirūpeṇa

The lion seems to denote the Pallavas allegorically as revealed by their names such as *Siṃhavarman*, *Nṛsiṃha* and *Rājasimha*. Interesting, the images of two sets of eleven related images in the Mahendravarṃeśvara are considered representing Ekādaśa-Rudras, and eleven-Pallava kings (Kalidos 2006: II, 254) treated equals of Rudras (Figs. 11-12); cf. *Narasimha-Viṣṇu* (*Rājasimha*) is called *Kālakāla* (ARE 1888: no. 6), a title that Śiva is credited with (*‘Kālakālaṅ’ Tēvāram* 1.50.6). Lions appear in the Pallava temples as well as the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kailāsa in Ellora. These massive images in the monolithic plinth of the temple are not associated with Devī (cf. Kaimal 2005: 63, cf. Hardy 2012: 103 *siṃha* is a *miśraka* “mixed” type of temple). The elephant and lion are common decorative motifs (cf. Fig. 3) shared by the Pallavas and Calukyas; elephant denoting the Calukya and lion the Pallava.²⁵

²⁵ Such metaphors are common in the interpretation of Indian art; cf. G.J.R. Mevissen (1994: 483-95) considers the images of Tripurāntaka set in Cōla temples, supposed to face the direction of the land of Western Calukyas of Kalyāṇi, the arch-enemy of the Cōlas.

Generalization

The Kailāsanātha is likely to have been acclimatized toward the Trimūrti cult. The fixation of images in the Rājasimheśvara suggests the Pallavanization of Trimūrti concept. It fails to appear in the contemporary Pāṇḍyan zone, excepting the rock-cut cave for Śiva in the north group of Paraṅkuṅṅam (Fig. 20).²⁶ Basically, the ideology is rooted in the Liṅga and Somāskanda housed in the two *garbhagrhas* of Rājasimha and Mahendravarman. The idea may be pinpointed;

- i) The *garbhagrha* of Rājasimheśvara houses the Liṅga and Somāskanda,
- ii) The central *devakulikā* on the western wall houses Somāskanda (*saha-Umā-Skanda-[Śiva]*),
- iii) The *devakulikā* on the south parallel to the Liṅga in the *garbhagrha* is reserved for Brahmā,²⁷ and
- iv) The corresponding *devakoṣṭha* on the north is reserved for Viṣṇu.

Thus, we arrive at a triangle the apex of which is occupied by Śiva (Fig. 18).²⁸ The presence of Śiva in the crest and Brahmā and Viṣṇu in secondary and tertiary chambers would confirm the orientation of the temple toward the Trimūrti concept.

²⁶ Two rare samples have been reported from the Western Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa temples. The Kāśī-Viśvanātha temple, close to the Virūpākṣa in Paṭṭadakkaḷ houses an image on ceiling of the *mukhamanḍapa*. The other image is on the southern *koṣṭha* of the *antarāla* in the main monolithic shrine-chamber of Cave XVI, Ellora (Kalidos 1997: 319-20, fig. 7; cf. Kalidos 2001).

²⁷ The programme is in marked contrast with the Early Cōḷa and later Śiva temples in which the *devakoṣṭha* on the north and the northern *talas* on the *vimāna* elevation (e.g. Pullamankai) are reserved for Brahmā (Harle 1958: 96-108, cf. Rajarajan 2011a: fig. 7).

²⁸ Such triangles could be formed in respect of the Tiruccirāppaḷli lower cave of the Pāṇḍya period (Srinivasan 1972: 41-42, 55-56). It consists of two shrine chambers in the east for Viṣṇu, facing west and west for Śiva facing east. On the back wall are five bas relief that accommodates Brahmā in center, juxtaposed by image of Śiva right and Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa left. The two shrine chambers and bas relief of Brahmā form a triangle (Rajarajan 2003: 568-71). The type of triangular formation is possible in case of Śaivite Cave XV in its upper floor, Ellora (Soundararajan 1981: fig. 24). The *garbhagrha* of the cave allows scope for linking it with the empty chambers found on the right (for Brahmā) and left (Viṣṇu) of the side walls. In this case the images on the right row are of Śiva and left that of Viṣṇu.

Independent images of Trimūrti-s; Śiva-Viṣṇu-Brahmā, do appear within a larger frame in the Lañkeśvara in Ellora (Śiva-core), Milk Maids Cave in Ellora no. XXVII (Viṣṇu-core), Tiruccirāppalli lower cave (Brahmā-core) and the Bhūtanātha rock-carvings in Badāmī; for illustrations see Soundararajan 1981: pls. C.A, LXI.B; Kalidos 1994: fig. 6; 2006: I, pl. XXXVI.2; II, pls. XXIX.1, XXXIV.2; Rajarajan 2012: fig. 66.

Trimūrti was a familiar ideology with the early medieval (c. 550-850 CE) temples. It is proved by examples from the Pallava, Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa temple organization. The Trimūrti concept begins with Maṅṭakappaṭṭu rock-cut temple (cf. the inscriptional attestation “Brahm-Eśvara-Viṣṇu” Srinivasan 1964: 47 - diacritics mine) and proceeds with the Trimūrti-*maṅḍapa* in Māmallapuram housing cult anthropomorphic images. The Bhairavakoṇḍa Cave V housing the bust of Trimūrti (Soundararajan 1981: pl. CXXXII, Rajarajan 2012: fig. 15) on its back wall registers the inscription “Śrī Brahmīśvara Viṣṇu”. Such images of Trimūrti bust (Fig. 16) are redundant in the Ellora caves (e.g. a small chapel in Cave XV and the Lañkeśvara in Cave XVI); cf. Soundararajan 1981: pls. XXXI.A, XCVIII.B, CXI.A, CXXXII; Kalidos 2006: II, pl. XXVIII.2; Kalidos 2004: figs. 3-5, cf. fig. 6. Therefore, the Trimūrti concept as an underlining idea of the cult organization in early medieval cave temples could not be overlooked. In addition, the Kailāsanātha seems to have emphasized the concept of Yogīśvara that appears in a subsidiary chapel on the northeast corner,²⁹ facing east. More than 30+ miniature-images of Yogīśvara in *devakoṣṭhas* and top of the *prastara* in the *devakulikās* do make their presence felt. It seems Trimūrti capsules the idea of Yogīśvara. The anti-climax is the visualization in ‘Lalitā’-626 that invokes Devī with the

²⁹ Yogīśa fourth in Group VI and seventh in Group VIII (*vide*, Attachment II) do come under the *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Bhairavas. These may be the counterparts of the *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Yoginīs; cf. the lists in Dehejia 1986: 194-218, Venkatanathan 1992: 137-40, Jeyapriya 2009: 2. The sixty-four Bhairavas are listed in *Śrītattvanidhi* 2. 126-31. The original data is presented in *grantha* and Tamil in the *Śrītattvanidhi*. Annexure II in English version may be of help to compare the *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Yoginīs with *Aṣṭāṣṭa*-Bhairavas. Interestingly, Bhairava is not present in the Kailāsanātha temple.

epithet, ‘Trimūrṭiḥ’; cf. Pallava Somāskanda that folds up Śiva, Devī, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and baby Skanda, and the evenly balanced form of Trimūrṭi is the Liṅga. The frozen ideology is expressed in other iconographical forms such as Liṅgodbhava and Ekapāda (Jeyapriya 2009: figs). Within the masculine Trimūrṭi, Devī is embedded and not expressed.

The ritualistic procedure of worship in the Kailāsanātha temple would demand one to visit Nandi first,³⁰ located at the eastern extremity of the complex (as prescribed in the idea of movement in Fig. 19).³¹ The cultist offering worship to Nandi is expected to move in circumambulation and proceed to the *dvāraśobha* gateway, offer worship to the *gopura-puruṣa* and *dvārapālakas* and enter the Mahendravarmeśvara. Now the *sādhaka* is within the sacred boundary of the holy of holies. At the main threshold to the temple on either side of the *gopura*, *dvārapālakas* must have been installed; now they are missing. The initiator moves to the left and makes an entry into the Rājasimheśvara through a narrow passage on the southern wall that connects two integral parts of the temple (see route in plan Fig. 19). He may visit each *devakulikā* on the southeast and south of the temple and offer worship to the divinities enshrined in each of the model shrine or directly proceed to Brahmā installed in *devakulikā*. On the other side the wall of the main temple accommodates Dakṣiṇāmūrṭi. Offering worship to these

³⁰ The *balipīṭha* and *dvajastambha* are missing. It is not clear whether the original installation of Nandi was in its present location. We may take into account the original Cōḷa Nandi of the time of Rājārāja I (986-1014 CE) lay in the southeast corner of the Tañcāvūr temple. The present Nandi in case of Tañcāvūr and his *maṇḍapa* are of the Nāyaka period (Rajajaran 2006: pl. 25).

³¹ The plan of the Kailāsanātha first drafted by Fergusson (1986: fig. 209) was followed by Rea 1909 (reproduced in Meister & Dhaky 1999: fig. 41, Kaimal 2005: fig. 4, Kalidos 2006: 182, fig. 9) does not conform to the existing temple structure. Two exits do exist today on the southeast and northeast corner of the Mahendravarmeśvara (cf. Figs. 18 & 19 with Fergusson’s plan). In Fergusson there is no exit on the southeast. R.K. Parthiban (Brandenburg Technological University, Cottbus) that computed the graphics for plans 18 & 19 said something is wrong with Fergusson’s plan. The exit on the southeast in his time seems to have been closed. Now, it is open. If there is an exit in the north, there should be one in the south, e.g. the Vīrabhadra and Aghoreśvara temples in Keḷadi and Ikkēri (Rajajaran 2006: plans 13 & 14). Later during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka period exists were provided in four cardinal directions; e.g. Citamparam and Maturai fitted with massive *rāyagopuras*.

divinities, one moves westward. Somāskanda is installed on the central *devakulikā* in the west. The initiator stops here for worship. He moves in circumambulation, turns to his right and reaches the *devakulikā* in which Viṣṇu is installed. Worship is partly completed and then the initiator moves round the *mukha-* or *agramaṇḍapa* of the Rājasimheśvara and gets into the inner part of the sacred shrine through its southern entrance. Worship is offered to the *mūlabera* and the initiator exists through the same southern *dvāra*.³² From the Rājasimheśvara he is expected to get out by the northern narrow passage moving to his left and reaches the *garbhagr̥ha* of Mahendravarṃeśvara (now-a-days the shrine is all the time closed). From this spot he gets out of the temple through the exit provided on the southern side of the temple. The exit could also be the north depending on the demands of the ritual worship. Today, all visitors check out by the *dvāraśobha* exit. It all depends on why the devotee visited the temple, his appeals to the Lord, his supplications and so on.³³ The emphasis in the above procedural circumambulation finds no place reserved for Devī or Yoginī. Therefore, the logical conclusion is that the Kailāsanātha is not a center of Śākta/Yoginī or Tantric worship. The ritual pattern in the Kailāsa of Kāñci could not be compared with Khajurāho, Bherāghāt and other central and eastern Indian Yoginī temples.

Another important pattern is that none of the nine auxiliary chapels (“abutting”, “corner or lateral sub-shrines” or “*karṇa* shrines” Srinivasan 1999: 59, 62), facing cardinal and intermediary directions appended to the main temple house

³² The *garbhagr̥ha* is *sāndāra* and provides for *pradakṣiṇapātha*. There is a narrow passage by which one stoops to get into the inner part of the temple through the south, circumambulate the holy of the holies and come out through the narrow passage on the north. Hindus are permitted in this zone. All visitors are not particular on this circumambulation due to the difficulties in getting into the inner core.

³³ *Nityapūjā* does take place in the Rājasimheśvara. Mythologies affirm visits to temples were undertaken due to various reasons. Afflictions if any (*brahmahatti* evil of killing a *brāhmaṇa*) are removed when one visits a temple. It is believed the *hatti* temporarily relieves a person when he gets into the temple and repossesses him when he comes out by the same gateway. Therefore, mythologies suggest if *hatti*-haunted man enters the temple through the eastern gateway he gets out through the south or north (cf. *Tiruvilaiyāṭar Purānam*, Episode 40; Jeyapriya & Rajarajan 2013: Chap. II).

Devī in the holy of holies (Figs. 18-19). The Mūrtis in the *pradakṣiṇa* pattern are Umāśahita (southeast corner, east-facing), Yoga-Dakṣiṇa, Bhikṣāṭana, Kaṅkālamūrti*, Naṭeśvara*, Tripurāntaka* (*west – west-facing), Kālasaṃhāra, Yogīśvara, and Gaṅgādhara (northeast – east-facing) are singularly masculine forms (Srinivasan 1999: 62). Devī does not occupy any of the *karṇa* shrines. The feminine here is left-oriented, an inferior status in Umāśahita (Goldberg 2002: 54 citing Kalidos 1993, 1994).

The Kailāsanātha accommodates Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā with their Devīs or the Devīs appear in *devakulikās* in exceptional cases.³⁴ Any prayer addressed to the Father (‘Ammāṅ’ *Tēvāram* 6.298.1) automatically reaches the Mother (‘Ayī’ ‘Lalitā’-427).³⁵ Naïvely this idea is conveyed in the mythology of sage Bhṛṅgi (Mani 1996: 141). To begin with a fanatic adherent of Śiva, finally he was compelled to accept Devī. Above all, Devī is Trimūrtiḥ (‘Lalitā’-628) and Śrīvidyā, the root of all letters and *mantras* (ibid. 585). Orthodox Śaivas may not offer worship to Devī in a temple for Śiva. The vice versa of the problem is that an ardent follower of Devī may not accept Śiva. By Tantric practices such as *mithuna*, it is believed Śiva-Śakti could be realized³⁶ through ritual practice of *pañcamakāra*.

The Tantric mode of worship prevailed in remote areas unfrequented by the mass; e.g. Khajurāho amidst agricultural fields today away from the majestic temples’ complex. Certain centers of the Tantric worship maybe identified in early

³⁴ In God-dominated temples the Lord is visited first; e.g. Kūtal Aḷakar in Maturai and Naṭarāja in Citamparam. In Goddess-dominated temples the Mother is visited first; e.g. Maturai-Mīnākṣī, Śrīraṅgam-Raṅganāyākī and Śrīvilliputtūr-Āṅṭāl. In some Mother-oriented temples, the main cult figure is Devī, e.g. Kōṇiyammaṅ in Kōyamputtūr.

³⁵ ‘Ayī’[‘Lalitā’- 427] is an interesting epithet, meaning “an affectionate mother”. ‘Āyī’/‘Āttā’ in folk Tamil stands for the Mother Goddess popularized in the contemporary movie world. *Āttā* (contextually “bastard”) in the Chennai region is a vituperative vocabulary. In the Maturai region ‘Āttā’ is dignified, addressed to the mother.

³⁶ Devī called Yoginī (‘Lalitā’-653) does occupy the various *cakras* in the *kuṇḍalini-yoga*. Yoginī are the expressive way of her various powers (*Lalitāsahasranāma*, p. 147). Basically ‘Yoginī’ means one united with Śiva (‘Śivaḥ-Śaktiā yuktah’ *Saundaryalaharī*, *śloka* 1).

medieval south India, e.g. Paraṅkuṅṅam (Fig. 20), Caves XX and possibly cave XVI in Ellora, the Ambikā temple in Aihole and so on. It is hasty to generalize all temples are of Yoginī/Tantric affiliation, particularly the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci. Yoginī and Tantric mode of worship of Devī involves complicated esoteric rituals. She is difficult to reach. We will have to learn more and more of Devī and see the Goddess again and again. It is candidly said in a recent work (Kalidos 2006: III, 151):

“Devī is an enigmatic symbol, the Śrīcakra; she resides at the Cosmic threshold Dvāravāsini (Cakrarāja-niketanā “dwells in the king of Cakra, the Śrīcakra” ‘Lalitā’-245); she is the Queen of Dancers, Naṭeśvarī (‘Lalitā’-734); she is the mistress of *yoginīs*, Yogīśvarī (*Devīmāhātmyam*, ‘Devīkavacam’ 35)... Śakti thematizes the mysteries of life and poses an eternal challenge to anyone who aspires to undertake a trekking to discover her mysteries. It is a difficult voyage (parenthesis mine).”

Droṇācārya advised Arjuna to look at the bird’s eye. I look at the iconography of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcīpuram beyond the replastered images and Yoginīs. All that is found today in the Kailāsanātha is not Pallava. Neither the Pallava nor the Cōla inscriptions in the temple support such a notion. It is admitted there were few centers of Śākta worship within the decent limits of the early medieval city of Kāñci around the 7th-8th century CE, e.g. the Ēkampam. Paraṅkuṅṅam in the Pāṇḍya country is another good example. The later arrivals are Kāmākṣī of Kāñci, Vārāhī of Paḷḷūr and the K[Y]ōniyamman of Kōyamputtūr. The Kāmākṣī temple during the later medieval period came to be recognized a Śakti-*pīṭha*. Mīnākṣī/Maturai, Kāmākṣī/Kāñci and Viśālākṣī/Kāśī came to be added to the cream of Tamil Śākta ideology in course of the historical times imbued with the spirit of Śaktism. It may conclude the Kailāsanātha of Kāñci was neither Yoginī-oriented nor a base of Śākta cult if viewed beyond the replastered images.

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* The author had to revisit the temple in December 2016 for photographic documentation.

Attachment I Hagiography of Kāṭavarkōṇ-Kaḷarciṅkaṇ

Kāṭavarkōṇ Kaḷarciṅkaṇ was one among the 63+ Nāyaṇmār (for list of 71 see Sitanarasimhan 2006: 126-29). His hagiography is told in Episode 57 of the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam* (TTP) of Cēkkiḷār (twelfth century CE). He is identified with Rājasimha Pallava. The ‘nāyaṇār’ (cf. Dehejia 1988) is first noted in the *Tiruttoṅṭattokai* of Cuntarar (later half of the eighth century). The king is supposed to protect the wide world surrounded by the oceans: ‘Kaṭalcūḷnta ulakellāṇ kākkiṇra perumāṇ Kāṭavarkōṇ Kaḷarciṅkaṇ’ (*Tēvāram* 7.39.9). Nampi Aṅṭār Nampi in the eleventh century (Zvelebil 1974: 91) elaborates the myth in a quatrain (*Tiruttoṅṭar Tiruvantāti*, v. 64). Nampi says the saint-king cut the nose of his wife for smelling a flower meant for offering to the Lord. Nampi seems to be a mischievous poet because he says the hand that cut the nose was a golden-hand, *porṅkai*. The contemporary of Kaḷarciṅkaṇ was another ‘nāyaṇār’ called Pūcalār. Pūcalār’s hagiography is told Episode 71 of Cēkkiḷār. Pūcalār was a poor man and built a temple for the Lord in his mind, having collected the needed money by imagination (‘cintaiyāl tirattiṅkoṅṭār’ TTP 71.5). He conjured up *taccar/takṣakas* and built a mind-temple, *mānasa-mandira*. The imaginary temple was up to the expectations of āgamas such as *āti* (*upapīṭha*), *āti* (*adhiṣṭhāna*), *upāṇam* (*upāna*), *cikaram* (*śikhara*), *tūpi* (*stūpi*), *cutai* (stucco work) and *matil* (wall). It is added the King of Kāṭavas (i.e. Pallava), Kāṭavarkōmāṇ built a *kaltali* “stone temple” at Kacci/Kāñci (TTP, 71. 6-9). It is interesting to note ‘Periyatirukkaraḷi Mahādeva’; Lord of the Big Stone Temple appears in an inscription of Parāntaka I 922 CE (ARE 1888: no. 25). Pūcalār and Kaḷarciṅkaṇ chose an auspicious day for *pratiṣṭha* of their respective temples that fell on the same day. The hagiography says Śiva honoured Pūcalār by his presence in the mind-born temple and not the stone temple of Kāṭavarkōṇ. Kaḷarciṅkaṇ is said to have resorted to the Ārūr temple and cut off the nose of his queen. These events are illustrated in the

sculptural panels of the Tārācuram temple, erected by the later Cōla Rājarāja II 1163-79 CE (Poongodi 2006: 36-45).

The above episodes point out whether there was anything wrong with the building of the Kailāsanātha temple from the āgamic or ritualistic expectations. It is not clear that may be the reason why Śiva did not appreciate Kaḷarciṅkaṅ for building a temple. The references to *āgama* and the architectural parts of the temple in the hagiographies of Pūcalār are pointers of his proficiency in the *śāstras*. Such practical abnormalities in the application of *āgama* and *śāstra* are told in other hagiographies of saints such as Tirunālaippōvār (Manickam 1991). In case of Caṇḍikeśvara the problem was in the context of a folk sand-Liṅga offered *abhiṣeka* of milk. The authors of *bhakti* hymns did not differentiate between the high and low, the *brāhmaṇa* or *kṣatriya* and a *pañcama* or *pulaiya*. In any case the building of a temple by Rājasimha Pallava is corroborated by epigraphical, literary, hagiographical and archaeological sources. Rājasimha's identification with Kāṭavarkōṅ seems to be on the right track.

Attachment II

Names of Aṣṭāṣṭa-Bhairavas

The following extract is from the *Śrītattvanidhi* (3.126-30) that cites the *Rudrayāmaḷa* for its source of information. The sixty-four Bhairavas are brought under eight groups of eight. It may be of interest to scholars who study the Yoginīs in relation to Bhairava; cf. 'Lalitā'-785 'Mārttāṇḍa-Bhairavārādhyā'.

- I Asitāṅga, Viśālākṣa, Mārttāṇḍa, Svascchandra, Viḡhnaśāntuṣṭha, Vajrahasta, Khecara and Sacarācara.
- II Ruru, Krodadaṃṣṭra, Jaṭādhara, Viśvarūpa, Virūpākṣa, Ņānarūpadhara, Vajrahasta and Mahākāya.
- III Caṇḍa, Piṅgalākṣa, Bhūmikampa, Nīlakaṇṭha, Viṣṇu, Kualapālaka, Muṇḍapāla and Kāmapāla.
- IV Krodha, Piṅgalekṣaṇa, Abhrarūpa, Dharāpāla, Kuṭhila, Maṇṭanāyaka, Rudra and Pitāmahākhyā.

- V Unmatta, Aṭunāyaka, Śaṅkara, Bhūtavetāla, Trinetra, Tripurāntaka, Varada and Pitāmahākhyā.
- VI Yogīśa, Kapāla, Śiṣubhūṣaṇa, Hastivarmāambaradhara, Brahmaṛākṣasa, Sarvajña, Sarvadeveśa and Sarvabhūtanṛdiṣṭhira.
- VII Bhīṣaṇa, Bhayahara, Sarvajña, Kālāgini, Mahāraudra, Dakṣiṇa, Mukhara and Sthira.
- VIII Saṃhāra, Ātiriktāṅga, Kālāgni, Priyaṅkara, Ghoranātha, Viśālākṣa, Yogīśa and Dakṣasaṃthira.

Iconographically the sixty-four are *caturbhujā* and take different weapons or emblems.

- I Golden in colour and handsome mien; the hands carry *triśūla*, *damaru*, *pāśa* and *khaḍga*.
- II White in colour, their ornaments are studded with gems. The hands carry *japamālā*, *aṅkuśa*, *puṣṭaka* and *vīṇa*.
- III Blue in colour, they are auspicious *subhalakṣaṇa*. The hands carry *śakti*, *gadā*, *kuntāyudha* (fourth missing).
- IV The colour is *dhūmravarṇa* and bestows all those desired. The hands carry *khaḍga*, *kheṭaka*, *paṭṭīśa* (sharp-edged weapon) and *paraśu*.
- V White in colour, they are *manohara* (charming). The hands carry *kunta* (spear or lance), *kheṭaka*, *parighāyudha* (club) and *bhiṇḍipāla* (short javelin or arrow).
- VI to VIII Colour pattern VI yellow, VII red, VIII lightening; the hands carry *kunta*, *parigha* and *bhiṇḍipāla* (fourth not given).

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Figures

Fig. 1. Exterior view of the Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 2. Original Pallava make-up, Somāskanda in southeastern end within the Rājasimheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 3. Dakṣiṇāmūrti in southeastern *devakoṣṭha*, Rājasiṃheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 4. Distorted/Replastered Dakṣiṇāmūrti, *Agramaṇḍapa* of Rājasimheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 5. Partly distorted Dakṣiṇāmūrti in a northern *devakulikā*, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 6. Tripurāntaka attended by Yogīśvarī and Siṃhavāhinī, Western *devakoṣṭha*, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 7. Yogīśvara in northern *devakoṣṭha*, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 8. Yogīśvara in *utkuṭikāsana*, Iṣvātaneśvara Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 9. Gajalakṣmī in *devakulikā*, Mahēndravarmēśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 10. Siṃhavāhinī attended by Jyeṣṭha and Yogīśvarī in northern *devakoṣṭha*, Rājasiṃheśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)

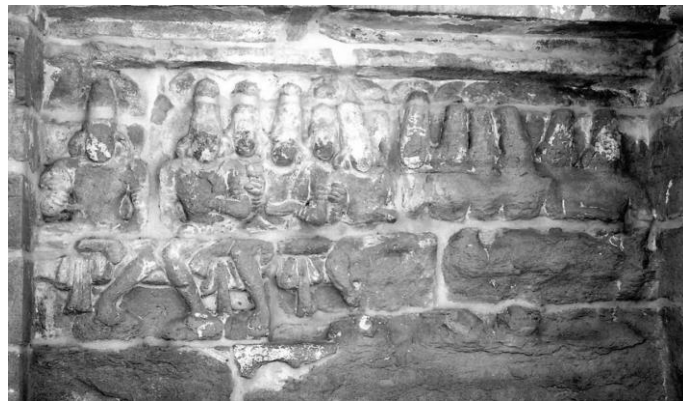


Fig. 11. Ekādaśa-Rudras, northern *devakulikā* in Mahēndravarmēśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 12. Ekādaśa-Pallava kings, southern *devakulikā*, Mahendravarmeśvara, Kailāsanātha Temple, Kāñci (author's photo)



Fig. 13. Viṣṇu-Dakṣiṇa, Kōlūr *divyadeśa*, District Tūttukkuṭṭi (photo by R.K. Parthiban)

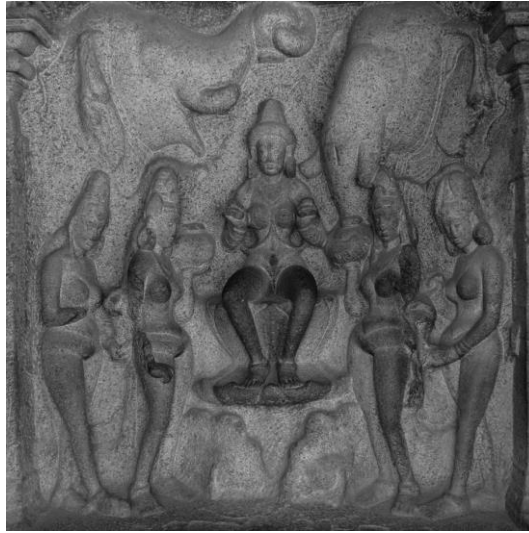


Fig. 14. Gajalakṣmī, Varāha-*maṇḍapa*, Māmallapuram (author's photo)



Fig. 15. Vārāhī-grāmadevatī, Paḷḷūr (author's photo)



Fig. 16. Trimūrti, Cave V, Bhairavakoṇḍa (photo by Raju Kalidos)



Fig. 17. Mahisamardinī posted on buffalo-head, Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-grham, Māmallapuram (author's photo)

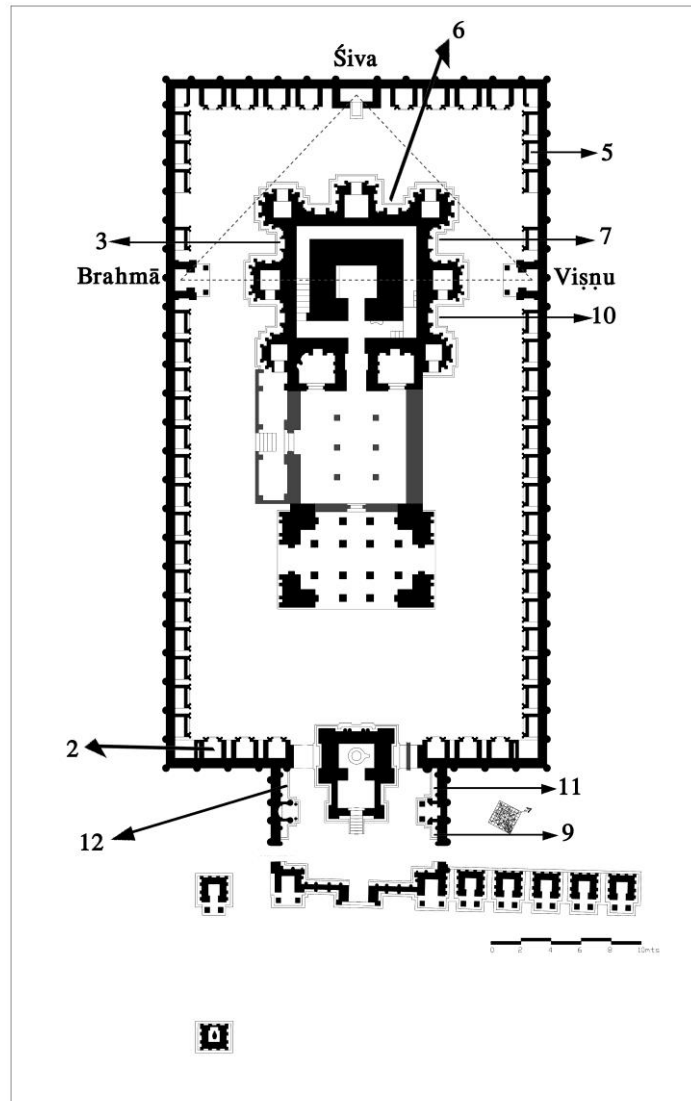


Fig. 18. Plan of the Kailāsanāṭha Temple Kāñci: i) Trimūrṭi earmarked, ii) Images illustrated in the article (figs. 2-7, 9-12) located

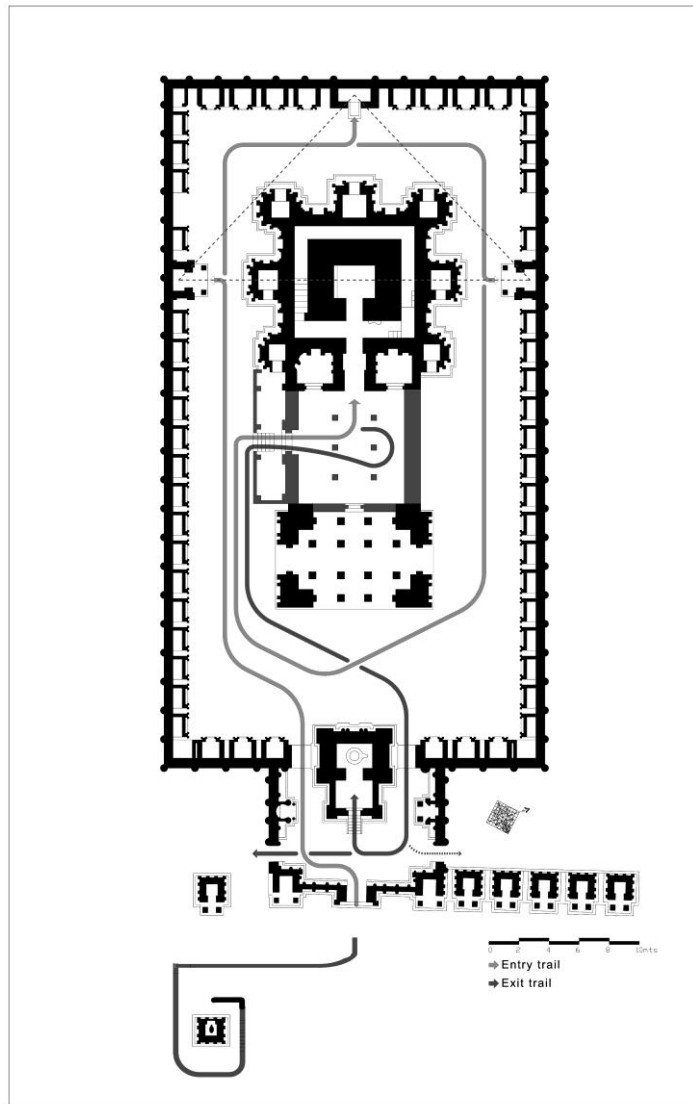
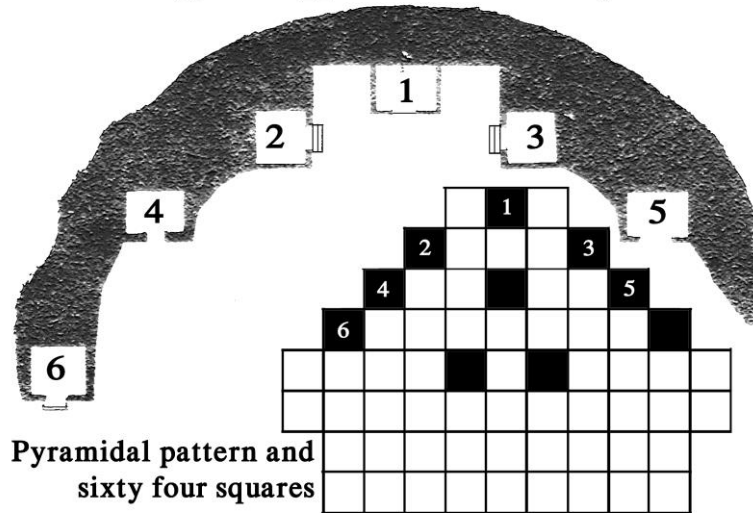


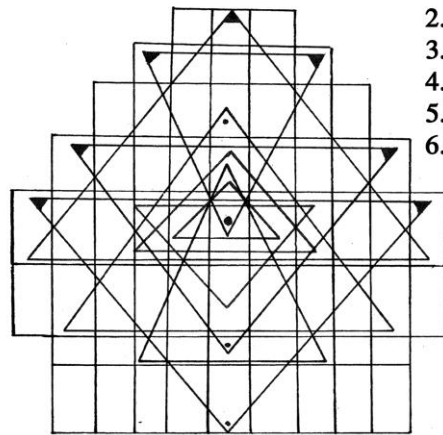
Fig. 19. Plan of the Kailāsanātha Temple showing route of ritual worship in the *pradakṣiṇa* pattern

Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam North Cave Complex



Pyramidal pattern and sixty four squares

- 1. Maḥiṣāsuraṁardinī Cella
- 2. Viṣṇu-Vaikuṅṭamūrti Cella
- 3. Somāskanda-Liṅga Cella
- 4. Gaḷalakṣmī Cella
- 5. Bhuvaneśvarī Cella
- 6. Jyeṣṭhādevī Cella



Śrīcakra of the Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam temple
(for details see Rajarajan 1991)

Fig. 20. Pyramidal set-up of the Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam temples (conjectural) and Tirupparaṅkuṅṛam temples accommodated within the Śrīcakra (isometric)

DAYA SHANKAR TIWARY

CONTRIBUTION OF ĀRYABHAṬĪYA
IN THE FIELD OF MATHEMATICS AND ASTRONOMY:
MODERN PERSPECTIVE¹

Āryabhaṭa was the titan of the age and wonder of the Mathematical and Astronomical stage. Āryabhaṭa I (476-540 AD) wrote Āryabhaṭīyam in 499 AD at the age of 23 years². He was born in 476 AD probable in Aśmaka³ but according to Āryabhaṭīya he lived and acquired knowledge mostly in Kusumapura⁴ near Patliputra (modern Patna). Āryabhaṭīyam text consists of four parts (Pādas)—1. Gītikāpāda 2. Gaṇitapāda 3. Kālakriyāpāda 4. Golapāda. The text mostly highlights the problems of Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry and Astronomy. The text deals in Alphabetic Numerical System, Simple and Quadratic equations, first degree indeterminate equations (kuṭṭaka), table of Trigonometrical calculations {Sines of allied angles as Sine (jyā), Cosine (koṭijyā)}, Natural numbers, Rules of Squares and Cubes and value of Pi (π). The approximate value of Pi (π) = 3.1416 which is universally accepted even today. In Āryabhaṭīya, Āryabhaṭa the great philosopher and first scientist of India, realized that “the earth is spherical⁵ (circular in all directions). He used the ‘Yuga theory’ to expound the velocity of planets. We also find in Āryabhaṭīya

¹ Paper presented at the 22th International Congress of Vedanta, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 27-30 December 2015.

² ṣaṣṭyabdānāṃ ṣaṣṭīryadā vyatītāstryaṣca yugapādaḥ |
tryadhikā viṃśatirabdāstadeha mama janmano'fītāḥ || 3.10 Kālakriyāpāda

³ Indian Mathematics and Astronomy, p. 34

⁴ brahmakuśaśibudhabhṛguvikujagurukoṇabhagaṇānamaskṛtya |

āryabhaṭastviha nigadati kusumapure'bhyarcitaṃ jñānam || Gaṇitapāda, 1

⁵ bhūgolāḥ sarvatovṛttaḥ, Golapāda, 6

a beautiful and scientific calculation for nomenclature (naming) of Week-days as Bhānuvāra, Somavāra etc.

The research paper is aimed at determining the Mathematical and Astronomical facts with examples and proofs from the Āryabhaṭīya and its commentaries. It is the need of time to correlate the blend of ancient Indian Mathematics and Astronomy with that of universal modern Mathematics and Astronomy.

The importance of mathematics has been highlighted in the **Vedānga jyotiṣa** (1400 B.C.) of Lagadha:

*Yathā Śikhā mayūrāṇām nāgānām maṇayo yathā |
Tadvat vedānga śāstrāṇām gaṇitam mūrdhani sthitam⁶ ||*

i.e. Like the crests on the heads of peacocks, like the gems on the heads of the cobras, Mathematics is at the top of the vedānga śāstrās.

Many commentators have contemplated and considered Āryabhaṭīya in their ways. Āryabhaṭīya was translated into Arabic as ‘Zij-Al-Arjabhar’ by Abdul Hassan Al-Ahwazi (8th Century AD). It was translated into latin in 13th Century AD. Rode (1879) translated Gaṇitapāda of Āryabhaṭīya into French in 1975. Kurṭa Alferic translated Gaṇitapāda of Āryabhaṭīya into German. First commentator of Āryabhaṭīya was Bhaskara I (600-680 AD), who was the pupil of Āryabhaṭa I. He contributed mostly in Algebra. Lall (720-790 AD) was disagreed with much Astronomical works. He accepted the value of Pi (π). He wrote commentary on Brahmgupta’s ‘Khaṇḍakhādyaka. Govindswamin (800-860 AD) wrote commentary on Mahābhāskarīya, an astronomical work of Bhaskara I. He considered Āryabhaṭīya’s ‘sine’ tables and constructed a table which marked improved values. Shankara Narayan (840-900 AD) focused on Āryabhaṭīya through his commentary on Laghubhāskarīya of Bhāskara I. Among other commentators: Suryadeva Yajvan (1191 AD) gives alphabet numerals in his commentary, Parmeshwara (15th century AD), Yalla (1480), Nilakhantha somyaji (1444 AD) wrote

⁶ Vedāngajyotiṣa; 4

commentaries on Āryabhaṭīya which are Siddhāntadarpaṇa (that presents geometrical picture of planetary) and Tantra sangrah (that presents algebra geometry), Raghunath Raja (1597AD), Ghaṭigopa(1800 AD) etc. Modern researcher Roger Billard (1971) highlighted ‘**Yuga Theory**’ in his paper entitled “Indian Astronomy: An investigator of Sanskrit texts and their numerical data”.

Contribution of Āryabhaṭīya in alphabetical representation of numerals and numbers:

Āryabhaṭa invented ingenious method to represent alphabetic notation in Gītikāpāda-

*varge'varge'vargākṣarāṇi kāt nīmau yaḥ |
khaḍvinavake svarā nava varge'varge navāntyavarge vā⁷||*

The varga letters (from ka to ma are to be written in the place value is (10 raised to the power which is an even number), a square number, the avarga letters (from ya to ha), 10 raised to the power which is an odd number, a non-square number. The varga letters from ka to ma take numerical values from 1 to 25. The numerical value of initial avarga letter ya is 30. Nine vowels are to be written from right to left so that each vowel represents two place values of (powers of 10 raised to even and odd numbers) square and non-square numbers respectively from right to left. This is shown in following table:

Varga Letters and represented numbers

Ka-varga	k-1	kha 2	g 3	gh 4	ñ 5
Ca varga	c 6	ch 7	j 8	jh 9	ñ 10
ṭa varga	ṭa 11	ṭh 12	ḍ 13	ḍh 14	ṇ 15
Ta varga	t 16	th 17	d 18	dh 19	n 20
Pa varga	p 21	ph 22	b 23	bh 24	m 25

⁷ Gītikāpāda; 2

Avarga:

Y	R	L	V	Ś	ṣ	S	H
30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

Nine vowels (svara):

A	I	U	ṛ	ḷ	E	ai	O	Au

In this alphabetic notation, vowels are equal whether short (hrasva) or long (dirgha). As for example , ka = kā = 1, ki = kī = 100, ku = kū = 10000 and so on. The numbers can be represented upto 10¹⁸.

The velocity of planets in a Yuga (1 Yuga = 43,20,000):

It is mentioned in the ślokās 3 & 4 of Gītikāpāda⁸ of Āryabhaṭīya (the velocity is the the no. of revolutions).

As example:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &1. \text{ Ravi (the Sun)----- khyaghr} \\
 &= kh (u) + y (u) + gh (r) \\
 &= 2 (10^4) + 30 (10^4) + 4 (10^6) \\
 &= 20000 + 300000 + 4000000 \\
 &= 43, 20,000
 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &2. \text{ Soma (the Moon)----- cayagiyīnuśuchṛ} \\
 &= c (a) + y (a) + g (i) + y (i) + ṅ (u) + ś (u) + ch (r) + l (ṛ) \\
 &= 6 (1) + 30 (1) + 3 (10^2) + 30 (10^2) + 5 (10^4) + 70 (10^4) \\
 &+ 7 (10^6) + 50 (10^6) \\
 &= 6 + 30 + 300 + 3000 + 50000 + 700000 + 7000000 \\
 &+ 50000000 \\
 &= 5, 77, 53, 336
 \end{aligned}$$

⁸ Ibid. 3, 4

$$\begin{aligned}
& 3. \text{ Bhūmi (the Earth)----- niśibuṅkṣṛ} \\
& = \dot{n} (i) + \acute{s} (i) + b (u) + \grave{n} (j) + (kh + \text{ṣ}) r \\
& = 5 (10^2) + 70 (10^2) + 23 (10^4) + 15 (10^8) + (2+80) \times 10^6 \\
& = 500 + 7000 + 230000 + 1500000000 + 82000000 \\
& = 1,58,22,37, 500
\end{aligned}$$

There is clear reference of numbers in Āryabhaṭīya. In the Āryabhaṭīya we find eka (1), 10^1 to 10^9 {eka (1), daśa (10), śata (100), sahasra (1000), ayuta (10000), niyuta (100000), prayuta (1000000), koṭi (10000000), arbuda (100000000) and vṛnda (1000000000) } in the following śloka.

*Ekam daśa ca śatañca sahasramayutaniyute tathā prayutaṁ |
koṭyarbudañca vṛndaṁ sthānātsthānaṁ daśaguṇaṁ syāt⁹ ||*

Contribution in the Field of Trigonometry:

Trigonometry was an important gift of ancient mathematicians to the mathematical world. In modern time 'trikoṇamiti' Sanskrit word used for trigonometry which literary means "measurement of triangle". Āryabhaṭa I used 'jyā' (sine), 'Koṭijyā' (cosine), 'utkramajyā' (versine) and 'autkramajyā (inverse sine).

Āryabhaṭa provided the tables of sine, cosine and versine values at intervals of $90^\circ/24 = 3.45$ degrees. He clearly used the following trigonometric formula incidentally the same given by Newton.

⁹ Ganitapāda; 2

$$\sin(n+1) \times \sin nx = \sin nx - \sin(n-1) \times (1/225) \sin nx$$

Āryabhata sine differences	Āryabhata versine r- Jyā (90° - θ)	(Sin θ) X3438	Jyā (Āryabhata sine)	Arcs	S.N.
	7	224.85	225	3.45	1
224	29	448.95	449	7.3	2
222	66	670.72	671	11.15	3
219	117	889.82	890	15	4
215	182	1105.01	1105	18.45	5
210	261	1315.01	1315	22.3	6
205	354	1520.58	1520	26.15	7
199	460	1719	1719	30	8
191	579	1910.05	1910	33.45	9
183	710	2092.09	2093	37.3	10
174	853	2266.08	2267	41.15	11
164	1007	2431.01	2431	45	12

This table of sines was used by Indian to calculate the relative distances between the Earth, Moon and Sun.

Āryabhata I gave the lines of angle between Zero to Ninety (0-90). This was used by astrologers to decide the actual place of planets. Āryabhata gives the method of calculating the dimension of a shadow cast by an object placed in the cone of the light coming out of a lamp or a source of illumination and by applying the rule of three in the geometry of triangles, he gives a simple rule in respect to these shadows. This forms the basis of calculating eclipses¹⁰.

The value of pi (π)

Āryabhata was the first to mention the most accurate value of Pi (π) which is correct to four decimal places. The ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter is a constant, denoted

¹⁰ Āryabhaṭīyam; Gaṇitapāda, 14-16

by π . Its value is given by Āryabhaṭa I in the following śloka-

*Caturadhikam śatamaṣṭaguṇam dvāṣaṣṭistathā
sahasrāñām ।
Ayutdvayaviṣkambhasyāsanno vṛttapariñāḥ¹¹ ॥*

i.e., If we add four (4) to one hundred (100), multiply it by eight (8) and add to sixty two thousand (62000) to that number, the result is approximately the circumference of a circle whose diameter is twenty thousand.

$$\text{Pi } (\pi) = \frac{\text{Circumference}}{\text{Diameter}} = \frac{62,832}{20,000} = 3.1416.$$

This value of Pi (π) has been universally accepted and widely applauded by the whole mathematicians even today.

Algebra:

Āryabhaṭa I has given two important methods to solve equations.

Indeterminate equations of the first degree: Kuṭṭaka--

We find the trace of indeterminate equations from the time of śulvasūtras. Greek mathematician Diophantus (3rd century) is given credit for solving indeterminate equations. The problem of finding solution in integers for X and Y in an equation of the form: $ax + c = by$ where a, b and c are integers and it was given great importance by ancient mathematicians and astronomers. Āryabhaṭa was the first mathematician who solved indeterminate equations in integers in a systematic method. He also used it to solve the problems of determining the periods of the Sun, the Moon and the planets in astronomy¹². The method of general solution of indeterminate equations of first degree in

¹¹ Ibid. Gaṇitapāda, 10

¹² Gaṇitapāda, 10

positive integers developed by Āryabhaṭa is called **Kuṭṭaka** which literally means breaking or pulverizing. Bhāskar I who has explained the method elaborately with examples in his commentary on the Āryabhaṭīya.

Example:

Find the number which gives 5 as the remainder divided by 8, 4 as the remainder when divided by 9 and 1 as the remainder when divided by 7.

The problem is expressed algebraically in the following equation:

$$N = 8x+5 = 9y+4 = 7z + 1$$

By the method of **Kuṭṭaka**, we get the least value of unknown number N is 85.

Quadratic equations:

Āryabhaṭa formulated the method for calculation of compound interest which provided the solution of quadratic equations firstly. Later, Shridharacharya (750 AD) elaborated the method for solving quadratic equation ($ax^2 + 2bx = c$). Āryabhaṭa says that the problem is “a principal amount (A) is lent for unknown monthly interest (x) and the unknown interest is lent out for interest for some period equal to (B). what is the rate of interest (x) on the principal amount (A).”

Āryabhaṭa gave the formula “multiply the sum of the interest on the principal and the interest on this interest by the time and by the principal. Add to this result the square of half the principal. Take the square root of this. Subtract half the principal and divided the remainder by the time. The result will be the interest on the principal.” This formula involves the solution of a quadratic equation in the form of ($ax^2 + 2bx = c$). the solution in modern notation.

$$x = \frac{\sqrt{B \times A \times T + \left(\frac{A}{2}\right)^2} - \frac{A}{2}}{T}$$

For example, the sum of 100 (A) is lent for one month. Then the interest received is lent for six months (T). At that time, the original interest plus the interest on this interest amounts to 16 (B).

$$\frac{\sqrt{16 \times 100 \times 6 + 2500} - 50}{T} = 10$$

The interest received on principal 100 in one month 10^{13} .

Rule of three (trairāśika):

The trace of trairāśikā is found in yajurveda, vedanga jyotish etc. Āryabhaṭa provided the method of the ‘trairāśikā’ that is “phala X icchā / Pramāna” for finding x number with given three numbers. He also elaborated this rule to the rule of five, rule of seven etc. This rule was spread to Arab then to Europe.

Square roots and cube roots:

Śulvasūtras are the source of Square roots and cube roots. Āryabhaṭa described the methods for extraction of Square roots and cube roots. Which are purely based on decimal place value with zero.

Contribution of Āryabhaṭīya in the field of Astronomy:

Āryabhaṭa’s view that the Earth and all the planets are rotating on their axis and following an elliptical orbit around the Sun. He explained a heliocentric solar system and considered the motions of all planets around the Sun. he maintained that “the Earth is spherical (circular in all directions)”. **Bhūgolaḥ sarvatovṛttaḥ**¹⁴. He gave a systematic treatment of the position of the planets in space. He also described that the orbits of the all planets around the Sun are ellipses. The heliocentric theory

¹³ Indian contribution to Mathematics and Astronomy, pp. 114-115

¹⁴ Golapāda, 6

of gravitation much before Polish astronomer Copernicus (16th century) and Galileo (16th century).

Āryabhata, first scientist of India who realized that the Earth is round and due to movement of the Earth (diurnal course) day and night occur continuously. The Moon and all planets are not self illuminating but scintillate by the reflected sunlight. He clearly explained the cause of eclipses of the Sun and the Moon. He showed that eclipses are caused by Earth shadow over The Moon and the Moon obscuring the Sun. He described numerical and geometrical rules for eclipse calculation. He calculated the size and extent of Earth's shadow and then provided the computation for the size of the eclipsed part. Āryabhata calculated the diameter of Earth as 1050 yojanas. The circumference of the Earth can be shown as $1050 \times \pi$ (3.1416) = 3298.68. A yojana was equal to 8000 human heights or 13 kms. One human height = 6 feet. i.e. 8000 human height or 13Km = 48000 feet and according to this calculation 1 km is equal to 3280.84 (approximately). The circumference of the Earth is $3298.68 \times 13 = 42882$ kms which is close (+7%) to modern value of 40075 kms.

Yuga theory (division of time):

Āryabhata used the yuga theory to established the motions of heavenly bodies. The usual system of the yuga theory for division of time on a macrocosmic scale, according to the smṛtis and purāṇās as also the Sūryasiddhānta is as follows:

1 Kalpa	=	14	Manus
1 Manu	=	71	Mahāyugas
1 (Mahā) yuga	=	43,20,000	years

After pondering over the above calculation presented in our ancient granthas, Āryabhata dispensed with this queer traditional theory of the yugas. He replaced it with a simple and astronomically viable theory as follows:

1 Kalpa	=	14	Manus
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$$\begin{array}{lcl} 1 \text{ Manu} & = & 72 \text{ Mahāyugas} \\ 1 \text{ (Mahā) yuga} & = & 43,20,000 \text{ years} \end{array}$$

In this arrangement, 1 kalpa = 1008 Mahāyugas instead of 1000. Since 1008 is divided by 7, every kalpa commences on the same weekday. Āryabhaṭa completely dispensed with time spent in “creation” and the “twilight” (sandhya) periods.

Further, Āryabhaṭa divided Mahāyuga into four parts but of equal durations unlike the traditional division of 4:3:2:1. For astronomical computations this equal division of 10,80,000 years each is more appropriate since in this period all planets complete integral numbers of revolutions. In other words, at the commencement of each yuga, the planets would all be in conjunction at the beginning of the zodiac. May be, Āryabhaṭa hit upon the scheme of equal division into 4 parts of a Mahāyuga since 4 happens to be a common factor for the numbers of revolutions of planets in a Mahāyuga. Thus Āryabhaṭa’s yuga division reduced the size of huge integers involved for easily avoiding inconvenient vulgar fractions.

The nomenclature of Week-days:

Kālakriyāpāda of Āryabhaṭīya provides a rationale for naming week days as Bhanuvar, Somvar. Etc. after mentioning the relative position of planets:

*Bhānāmadhaśśanaiścarasuraguru
bhaumārkaśukrabudhacandrāḥ |
teśāmadhaśca bhūmirmedhībhūtā khamadhyasthā¹⁵ ||*

Viz. The asterisms are the outermost. Beneath the asterisms lie the planets, Shani (Saturn), Guru (Jupitar), Mangala (Mars), Bhanu (the Sun), Shukra (Venus), Budha (Mercury) and Soma (the Moon) one below the other; and beneath them all Bhumi (the Earth) like the hitching peg in the midst of space.

Āryabhaṭa suggested that the world order commenced on

¹⁵ Kālakriyāpāda, 15

Shanivar, which was supported by Vateswara (904 AD). Āryabhaṭa's rationale for lords of the hours and days has been presented in the following shloka:

*Saptaite horeśāśsanaiścarādyā yathākramam śīghrāḥ |
Śīghrakramāccaturthā bhavanti sūryodayād dinapāḥ¹⁶ ||*

“The seven planets begging with Saturn which are arranged in the order of increasing velocity, are the lords of successive hours. The planets occurring for in the order of increasing velocity are the lords of successive days, which are reckoned from Sunrise”. This calculation has been already elaborated in the topics “**Contribution of Āryabhaṭīya in alphabetical representation of numerals and numbers**” and “**The velocity of planets in a Yuga**” (1 Yuga = 43,20,000). These assertions on speed are also valid with the knowledge today in specific dimensions.

Thus, we see that the Āryabhaṭīya of Āryabhaṭa has contributed a lot in the landmark of modern universal mathematics and astronomy. It is a matter of glory that India's first satellite which was put into orbit on 19th April 1975, was named after great mathematician and astronomer Āryabhaṭa.

We may quote some thoughts of mathematicians and scientists. French mathematician Pierre Simon Laplace (1749-1827) had said “it is India that gave us the ingenious method of expressing all numbers by means of 10 symbols, each symbol receiving a value of position as well as an absolute value. The idea escaped the genius of Archimedes and Apollonius”.

Albert Einstein has marked the Indian contribution “*We owe a lot to the Indians, who taught us how to count, without which no worthwhile scientific discovery could have been made.*”

Indian Scientist Dr.A.P.J. Abdul Kalam has written about the importance of ancient Sanskrit literature: “*Ancient Sanskrit literature is a store-house of Scientific principles and methodology. The work of our ancient scholars should be thoroughly examined and where possible integrated with modern science*” (Ignited Minds, p. 87).

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VERONICA ARIEL VALENTI

COSMOGENESI E *DYNAMIS* SINCRETICA
DELLA PAROLA VEDICA (RV X, 129)

1 RV X, 129

Nel mondo vedico cielo e terra nascono dalla divisione.

L'originaria fase sincretica è pre-verbale ed è ben rappresentata dalle prime due strofe di RV X, 129:

*nāsad āsīn nó sād āsīt tadānīm nāsīd rájo nó vyò mā
paró yát /
kīm āvarīvaḥ kúha kásya sármann ámbhaḥ kīm āsīd
gáhanaṃ gabhīrám //
ná mṛtyúr āsīd amṛtaṃ ná tárhi ná rátryā áhna āsīt
praketáh /
ānīd avātám svadháyā tát ékaṃ tásmād dhānyán ná
paráh kīm canāsa //*

«Allora non c'era ciò che non è, né ciò che è. Non c'era lo spazio né la volta celeste che gli sta sopra. Che cosa si andava muovendo? Dove? Sotto la protezione di che cosa? Vi era l'acqua, l'impenetrabile abisso?

Non c'era la morte allora, né l'immortalità. Non c'era distinzione del giorno e della notte. Respirava, ma senz'aria per suo potere autonomo, soltanto Ciò, unico. Oltre a ciò niente altro esisteva».¹

¹ Cfr. SANI (2000: 65).

Generalmente si ritiene tratto di recenziorità dell'inno il mancato delinarsi di una concezione concreta e iconografica e l'assenza di divinità che germinino da antiche leggende assunte ormai in modo dogmatico. Quale ulteriore tratto di recenziorità e di presunto afferire a concezioni filosofiche e teologiche tarde che sfiorino il monismo sono lette le modalità di riferirsi all'ipotetico e nebulosamente indicato ente da cui sarebbe disceso il cosmo ossia tramite un pronome dimostrativo neutro, mediante la pura deissi (*tád ekam*).²

Secondo noi questo non è da imputarsi al carattere recenziore dell'inno³ bensì al fatto che si tratta di un testo che non vuole spiegare l'eziologia degli dèi (dove la loro assenza) o dell'uomo (dove la sua esclusiva presenza quale portatore di parola) e nemmeno enfatizzare la dimensione gnoseologica ma mostrare come originariamente vi fosse solo l'indistinzione, ovunque fosse sincresi e, dunque, nulla e nemmeno il nulla fosse predicabile proprio in forza di tale indistinzione: in assenza di distinzione non esisteva, infatti, il verbo essere né tantomeno sussisteva la possibilità di predicare alcunché di

² Cfr. VITI (2000b: 225-239) che, in particolare in merito alle prime due strofe, offre un'analisi dettagliata (225-233).

³ L'inno fa parte di quella che è considerata la parte più recente del *Rg-Veda*, ma oltre alle considerazioni che si propongono nel corso del presente contributo a difesa del carattere potenzialmente 'antico' dell'inno, 'diverso' semplicemente perché esito del confrontarsi con la tematica della creazione in una prospettiva discosta rispetto a molti degli altri inni rigvedici, si ritiene opportuno richiamare alcuni momenti dell'intervento di Lazzeroni tenutosi al Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia nel 2005. LAZZERONI (2005: 109-116) propone come le differenze linguistiche che eventualmente emergono nel corso degli inni considerati più recenti (strumentale plurale dei temi in *-a -ebhis* in luogo di *-ais*, nominativo plurale *-āsas* in luogo di *-ās*, *l* in luogo del rotacismo) possano dipendere dal contenuto degli inni. Infatti oltre a tener conto delle differenze diatopiche e diacroniche, sarebbe opportuno considerare anche quelle diastratiche: le innovazioni antioccidentali potrebbero essere presenti a un livello più basso di quello accolto dalla casta brahmanica, il *Rg-Veda* 'recente' e l'*Atharva-Veda* sarebbero espressione di una cultura diversa, dove la differenza dei contenuti che noteremo per quanto concerne *RV X*, 129. Si tratterebbe di temi 'semiprofani' (RENOU 1956: 31), temi estranei alla cultura brahmanica. Si potrebbe parlare di diversità di genere letterario quale espressione di due diverse culture: si avrà allora un 'Veda delle classi' e un 'Veda delle masse' (DANDEKAR 1981: 7 ss.). La dinamica delle varianti rifletterà allora un conflitto fra due culture, le tematiche delle quali saranno diverse o comunque diversamente affrontate. In definitiva come sostiene Lazzeroni: «Un movimento su tre dimensioni non consente inferenze cronologiche desumibili dalla collocazione spaziale».

esser-ci o non esser-ci. Si ha così un *tat* che gode di unicità (*ekam*) e autonomia (*svadhā*) e che si colloca in un tempo premitico, pre-verbale al punto che per descriverne la collocazione temporale si giunge, con lo *hapax tadānim* alla tautologia, onde esprimere la condizione di ineffabilità, di impredicabilità che sussisteva in tale fase, nella quale neppure vi erano le più consolidate coppie: *asat* e *sat*, *rajas* e *vyoman*, *mṛtyu* e *amṛta*, *rātri* e *ahan*. Perché tutto ciò possa sussistere, *conditio sine qua non* è la parola, la verbalizzazione del pensiero altrimenti destinato a circolare indefinitamente su se stesso fino a depauperarsi, riducendosi alla sola possibilità del ricorso all'azione deittica e alla tautologia.

Si è qui in un ambito dove dominante non è tanto una concezione filosofica o un'altra, bensì centrale è, piuttosto, la *dynamis* demiurgica⁴ che viene attribuita alla parola: fintanto che non vi era distinzione non aveva ragion d'essere la parola e non vi era nemmeno l'*humus* per la dimensione verbale, lo spazio intermedio dove potessero propagarsi i foni. Solo dopo la divisione, quella che vedremo essere lo iato di cielo e terra, può esserci l'*antarikṣa*- e, quindi, la parola e, infatti, gli interrogativi della prima strofe trovano risposta nella quarta e nella quinta

⁴ Con tale aggettivo non si vuole affatto intendere la parola quale divinità, semplicemente se ne vuole marcare una *dynamis* che si inserisce nel processo creativo del cosmo: si tratta di un principio che, pur avendo scaturigine dal *manas*- è in grado di contribuire all'accrescimento stesso della dimensione dell'essere in potenza. Il pensiero verbalizzato, una volta fattosi parola nutrita di foni, è in grado di suggerire tramite la materia fonica stessa, tramite cioè allitterazioni, assonanze o altre figure fonetiche nuove associazioni impensabili nella sola sfera del *manas*-. Così come non si vuole intendere la parola di *RV X, 129* quale divinità, nemmeno la si intende assimilare al *brahman*- delle *Upaniṣad*. Si ritiene, infatti, che lungi da esso sia il *brahman*- nel *Rg-veda*: qui il *brahman*- non è che un momento della parola, una sua fase, in particolare la fase ascendente finale che vede la parola, fattasi *sāman*-, *nāman*-, *dhāman*-, apportare la trama di associazioni e allusioni dalla dimensione della parola pronunciata, dalla dimensione dell'essere in atto, alla dimensione dell'essere in potenza del *manas*-, accrescendola, cfr. VALENTI, lavoro in preparazione. Questo per prendere le distanze sia dal contributo di RADICCHI (1994: 53-63), sia dal contributo di PELLEGRINI SANNINO (1999: 71-84), che pur affermando in ultima istanza che *manas*- e parola costituiscono un'unità nella dualità, non rinuncia a volervi cogliere una gerarchia interna che ponga quale istanza superiore la mente rispetto alla parola. Noi crediamo al contrario che si tratti di piena complementarità e scambio reciproco fra le due dimensioni, quella puramente eidetica e quella verbale. Cfr. anche RENOU (1955: 1-26); BROWN (1968: 393-397=1978: 76-78); MALAMOUD (1994: 35-42).

strofe, nelle quali centrale è il ruolo della *dynamis* verbale. Non si intende qui celebrare una singola divinità o gli dèi tutti, si vuole celebrare piuttosto la *dynamis* dei poeti, che peraltro nel *Ṛg-Veda* sono tutt'altro che alieni a dinamiche che li vedono coinvolti con le divinità ma non nel ruolo di ricevente, destinatario, bensì di emittente, portatore di parola: dal *Ṛg-Veda* a più riprese si apprende, infatti, che gli dèi stessi vengono accresciuti proprio mediante la parola dei poeti.⁵

A livello filogenetico viene, quindi, a delinarsi una dinamica che vede prima una fase sincretica, poi una fase diacritica che si attualizza nello iato cosmogonico. La cosmogenesi stessa può rappresentarsi quale un separarsi di cielo e terra, originariamente uniti e che abitano, poi, separatamente come si legge in *RV III, 38, 3*:⁶

*ní śīm id átra gúhyā dádhanā utá kṣatrāya ródasī sám
añjan /
sám mátrābhir mamiré yemúr urvī antár mahī sámṛte
dhāyase dhuḥ //*

«Ed entrambi sono uniti, cielo e terra, a governare, lasciando le loro tracce. Si sono realizzati insieme nella loro grandezza e hanno disposto in ordine i mondi. Si sono divisi loro, che erano originariamente uniti, onde mettere in atto la creazione».

Una volta appurato come cielo e terra nascano dalla divisione, si guarda in particolare come alcuni passi mostrino le conseguenze che la parola poetica è in grado di apportare relativamente a cielo e terra scissi, costituendosi quali indizi testuali della capacità sincretica della parola vedica.

Per quanto si realizzi la divisione, permane, infatti, l'attesa di nuove fasi sincretiche che si attualizzano proprio in forza delle potenzialità della parola come testimonianza *RV X, 129, 3-5*:

⁵ Quanto alla capacità di accrescimento insita nella parola poetica cfr. LAZZERONI (1997: 149-162); LAZZERONI (1998: 43-48).

⁶ Il mito della separazione di cielo e terra originariamente uniti è ravvisabile anche in *RV III, 54, 6*; *IV, 50, 1*; *V, 31, 6*; *VII, 86, 1*; *X, 44, 8* e in *AV VI, 61, 2*. Per quanto concerne la traduzione dei passi, ove non diversamente indicato, è nostra.

*tāma āsīt tāmasā gūlhām āgre 'praketām salilām sārva
ā idām /
tuchyēnābhv āpihitām yād āsīt tāpasas tām
mahinājāyataikam //
kāmas tād āgre sām avartatādhi mānaso rétaḥ
prathamām yād āsīt /
sató bāndhum āsati nír avindan ḥṛdí pratīṣyā kaváyo
manīṣā //
tiraścīno vítato raśmír eṣām adháḥ svid āsīd upāri svid
āsīt /
retodhā āsan mahimāna āsan svadhā avástāt práyatiḥ
parástāt //*

«In principio vi era solo tenebra nascosta dalla tenebra. Acqua indistinta era tutto questo universo. Il germe dell'esistenza, che era avvolto dal nulla, grazie al potere del suo ardore interiore (*tapas-*), nacque come l'Uno. In principio fu il desiderio (*kāma-*) che si mosse sopra Ciò, il desiderio che fu il primo atto fecondante della mente. Il legame di Ciò-che-è con Ciò-che-non-è lo trovarono nel loro cuore i poeti, *vòlti ad apporre significanti ai significati*. Trasversalmente *era tesa a unire* la loro corda: c'era un sotto, c'era un sopra? Vi furono spargitori di seme e vi furono potenze generative. Sotto vi fu l'energia, sopra vi fu l'impulso».⁷

Particolarmente articolato è il caso di *RV X, 129, 3-4*: da tali strofe si evince sia una probabile tassonomia che, in una sorta di cronologia relativa, vuole la priorità del *tapas-* (3d) sul *kāma-* (4a), sia l'afferire del *tapas-* alla dimensione dell'essere in potenza dalla quale discende la creazione del cosmo, in virtù della capacità demiurgica del *tapas-* stesso (*RV X, 129, 3d*). È, d'altronde, a fronte di tali strofe, in particolare di *RV X, 129, 4a*, che si delinea anche lo scenario determinato dal *kāma-* ossia

⁷ Per la traduzione cfr. SANI (2000: 65), ad eccezione del riferimento alla meditazione, che qui leggiamo piuttosto quale riferimento alla volontà di verbalizzare il pensiero, cromandolo di foni, e della traduzione di *vitan*, che noi intendiamo quale base significativa la tensione all'unire, mentre Sani intende quale descrizione dell'atto di misurare la distanza che intercorre fra cielo e terra. La liceità della nostra traduzione cercheremo di dimostrare nelle pagine che seguono.

quello della dimensione dell'essere in atto, della parola pronunciata, nello specifico la parola poetica: quest'ultima consente il crearsi di figure foniche tali da permettere di definire il poeta quale essere in grado di tendere la sua corda verbale (*raśmi-* 5a) fra cielo e terra, appena creati dal *tapas-* stesso, determinando così un nuovo legame (*bandhu-*). Come, peraltro, avviene proprio alla quinta strofe nella quale l'autore dell'inno non si limita a descrivere la corda che il poeta tende a unire il diviso in seguito allo iato cosmogonico, ma mostra in atto la capacità sincretica della parola poetica mediante un infittirsi delle figure foniche proprio nell'ultima parte della strofe: si può notare sia l'omeoteleuto fra *avastāt* e *parastāt* sia l'anagramma parziale fra i due avverbi e i sostantivi contigui (*svadhā* e *avastāt* da un lato, *prayatiḥ* e *parastāt* dall'altro).⁸ Il legame, *bandhu-*, forte del coniugarsi di *tapas-* e *kāma-*, è quindi volto a verbalizzare il pensiero ed è mosso dall'intento di declinare in *continuum* le coppie antonimiche quali *ásat* e *sát*. In tale passo, non essendo ancora stato creato l'uomo nella sua corporeità, il *kāma-* si limita a distinguersi dal *tapas-* proprio per il suo afferire alla dimensione dell'essere in atto.⁹ Si legge, peraltro, anche nell'*Atharvaveda* testimonianza di un *kāma-* che, seppure afferente alla dimensione dell'essere in atto, è preesistente al declinarsi nella sfera della fisicità: in AV XIX, 52, si ha, infatti, celebrazione del *kāma-* per quanto non ancora attualizzato nel *Da-sein* del husserliano *Leib*.

1.1 manīṣā-

⁸ Cfr. MAGGI (1981a: 11-48, in particolare 48); per un'analisi della capacità delle figure foniche di determinare un *surplus* rispetto alla dimensione eidetica dell'essere in potenza cfr. Sani (1972: 193-226).

⁹ Parrebbe cogliersi una distinzione in tal senso anche in DEUSSEN (1906: 126, 272), che equipara il *kāma-* allo schopenhaueriano *Wille zum Leben*, mentre considera *Manyu* e, quindi, il *tapas-* rapportabile al solo *Wille*. In merito a *Manyu* cfr. FORMICHI (1925: 145), che, peraltro, estesamente si occupa del *tapas* - (ad es. 71-72, 91-95, 142-143). In RV X, 129, si può d'altronde riscontrare, oltre alla tassonomia ravvisabile nella semantica del desiderio, anche una tassonomia che investe la semantica di quello che, qui, definiamo genericamente 'vuoto', cfr. GONDA (1975: III, 420-425), che non si esime, peraltro, da un *excursus* sul *tapas-*, e MAGGI (2006: 1011-1022).

Dell'inno *RV X, 129*, si considera ora, in particolare, l'intersecarsi dell'argomentazione fra la quarta e la quinta strofe. Della parola poetica la quinta strofe enfatizza la capacità di tendersi trasversalmente, "corda", a unire il "sopra" e il "sotto" (cielo e terra), a ricomporre antonimie e a unire dimensioni altrimenti scisse. Tale *dynamis* della parola si pone a conferma della quarta strofe ossia del legame, *bandhu-*, fra *Ciò-che-è* e *Ciò-che-non-è* còlto nel loro cuore dai poeti che, vòlti a verbalizzare il pensiero, sono i soli in grado di apporre significati ai significati, ossia di cromare i sèmi di fonici. Aniché tradurre il lessema *manīṣā-* con termini quali "pensiero"¹⁰ o "meditazione"¹¹ si è, dunque, voluto attribuire al lessema un significato di transizione dalla sfera eidetica alla sfera verbale.¹² I significati di *manīṣā-* variano in effetti da "Gedacht" a "Gedicht", si hanno, cioè, significati afferenti alla sfera eidetica e significati afferenti alla sfera verbale.¹³ Si è, qui, scelto di propendere per l'opzione verbale, in quanto il lessema si attualizza in un contesto che lo vede contiguo a *manas-* e a *hrd-*, in un contesto, quindi, nel quale la sfera eidetica è già efficacemente rappresentata da *manas-*. In definitiva la presenza di *manīṣā-* in tale triade porterebbe a escluderne un significato esclusivamente afferente alla sfera eidetica in quanto quest'ultima è compiutamente espressa da *manas-*, come testimonia in modo eclatante l'occorrenza della triade in *RV I, 61, 2c*:¹⁴

¹⁰ Cfr. AMBROSINI (1981: 127).

¹¹ Cfr. SANI (2000: 65).

¹² Cfr. MAGGI (1996: 311-328, in particolare 319), che traduce «con l'intento di significare». MAGGI (*in corso di stampa*) sottolinea la connotazione desiderativa rendendo *manīṣā-* quale "istanza di significazione" e segnala come due momenti progressivi della verbalizzazione *manīṣā-* e *matī-*, che viene, dunque, ad essere la "significazione" nella dimensione dell'essere in atto, mentre *manīṣā-* non può che configurarsi quale momento di transizione dalla dimensione eidetica dell'essere in potenza alla dimensione dell'essere in atto propria della parola pronunciata.

¹³ Per la resa del lessema afferente alle due diverse sfere cfr. GRASSMANN (*Wört.*: 996).

¹⁴ Di fronte alla triade GELDNER (1951: vol. I, 78) si vede indotto a rendere *manīṣā-* con "Sinnen", discostandosi dalle altre traduzioni che del termine propone nel corso del *Rg-Veda*. JAMISON (2014: vol. I, 179), propone, invece, per la triade di *RV I, 61, 2c* la resa di «with heart, with mind, with inspired thought», traduzione, quest'ultima di *manīṣā-* che JAMISON (2014: vol. III, 1609) mantiene anche in *RV X, 129, 4*. Ci pare, peraltro, di poter

*indrāya hṛdā mānasā manīṣā pratnāya pátye dhiyo
marjayanta //*

Per Indra, signore dei primordi, i vati hanno prodotto canti con il cuore e con la mente (e) verbalizzando il pensiero.

La compresenza di tali lessemi in una sola strofe non può essere trascurata: se consolidato è il binomio *hṛd-* e *manas-*¹⁵, che già esprime i poli complementari dell'essere umano, la selezione della triade né è casuale né può cogliersi quale variante priva di peso. Si intende, pertanto, qui giovare della potenzialità del lessema *manīṣā-* di esprimere sia valenze afferenti alla sfera eidetica sia valenze afferenti alla sfera verbale, coniugandole a significare un momento di transizione, ossia l'apposizione di significanti ai significati. Solo in tal modo si evita che *manīṣā-* venga a configurarsi quale mero sinonimo di *manas-*, appiattendolo in una scarna bidimensionalità la 'mille-planarità' della triade di *RV I*, 61, 2c e *RV X*, 129, 4.

1.2 vi-tan

Focalizzando l'attenzione sulla quarta e sulla quinta strofe di *RV X*, 129, a legittimare la scelta di cogliere della semantica della base *tan* preverbalizzata con *vi-* la tensionalità all'unire, *vi* è il contesto stesso determinato dalla lettura delle due strofe. Nella quarta strofe centrale è, infatti, il lessema *bandhu-*, il cui significato è quello di "legame", che suggerisce vigorosamente quale valenza della corda di *RV X*, 129, 5 quella di unire e non di misurare come, d'altronde, ammesso dalla semantica stessa di *vi-tan*. Il significato di misurare è, invece, richiesto dal contesto

aggiungere che il "pensiero ispirato" può essere considerato quello dei poeti che verbalizzano la dimensione puramente eidetica dell'essere in potenza nella dimensione verbale dell'essere in atto. Donde si avrebbe conferma che *manīṣā-* denota la transizione dal pensiero non-verbalizzato alla parola.

¹⁵ Cfr. GONDA (1984: 276-288). Mentre il binomio *hṛd-* e *manas-* figura ripetutamente anche nella tradizione successiva (cfr. GONDA 1984: in particolare 283-288), tale triade pare varcare solo occasionalmente i confini temporali, presentandosi oltretutto nel *Rg-Veda*, anche in *Kāṭha-Upaniṣad* 2, 3, 9, e in *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* 4, 17c.

di *RV VIII, 25, 18*, passo che Hillebrand¹⁶ vorrebbe confrontabile con *RV X, 129, 5*, ma che si situa in alveo del tutto diverso: il contesto che accoglie *vi-tan* ammette, qui, anche il significato di “misurare”, la divinità, infatti, colma con la sua grandezza i Mondi, previa misurazione dei confini. Il passo non pare, pertanto, funzionale a determinare la valenza di *vi-tan* in *RV X, 129, 5*, che a nostro parere si rivela, piuttosto, confrontabile con *AV X, 8, 37*:

*yó vidyāt sūtram vītatam yásminn ótāḥ prajā imāḥ /
sūtram sūtrasya yó vidyād sá vidyād brāhmaṇam mahát //*
«Quello che conosce il filo teso in varie direzioni, nel
quale sono tessute tutte le creature di questo mondo,
quello che conosce il filo del filo, questi conosce la
grandezza propria della formula».¹⁷

In tale passo il verbo *vitanoti* in associazione a *sūtra-* non è volto a indicare l’atto del misurare, bensì la tensionalità multidirezionale che, nel caso di *RV X, 129, 5*, è la tensionalità fra il cielo e la terra.

Il confronto fra *RV X, 129, 5* e *AV X, 8, 37* è legittimato dalla presenza, in entrambi i passi, di *vitan* da intendersi quale tensionalità all’unire, nonché dal tratto sincretico secondo noi ravvisabile nella capacità della corda poetica, *raśmi-* di *RV X, 129, 5*, e sicuramente presente nella *dynamis* del lessema *sūtra-* di *AV X, 8, 37*. Tale lessema è, infatti, particolarmente significativo sia che lo si voglia considerare dal punto di vista semantico (“filo, corda, breve sentenza, regola aforistica”), sia che lo si consideri dal punto di vista etimologico: *sūtra-* scaturisce, infatti, dalla base **seh₂-/sh₂-*, “unire” (**sh₂-u*¹⁸), base a partire dalla quale si sviluppano significati afferenti alla sfera verbale in una parte considerevole del mondo indoeuropeo. Sia, qui, sufficiente pensare a οἶμη, οἶμος, significanti greci per “canto”, ai quali corrispondono dal punto di vista sia etimologico sia semantico l’ittita *išhamai-*, il vedico *sāman-*,

¹⁶ Cfr. GELDNER (1951: vol. III, 360).

¹⁷ Cfr. AMBROSINI (1984: 112).

¹⁸ Cfr. MAYRHOFER, *KEWA*, III. Band, 492.

nonché a. isl. *sei-ḍr* “corda, magia”, in un intersecarsi di semantica dell’unire e sfera verbale. Si potrebbe, in definitiva, azzardare un’equazione nella quale *vitan* si rapporterebbe a *raśmi-* di *RV X*, 129, 5, come a *sūtra-* di *AV X*, 8, 37, con tutte le implicazioni che tale operazione reca con sé, rendendo, cioè, in *RV X*, 129, 5, più evidente ed esplicito il valore verbale di *raśmi-* e ‘doveroso’ il significato di *vitan* di “unire”.

A favore dell’interpretazione di *vi-tan* di *RV X*, 129, 5 quale “unire” vi è anche *RV X*, 53, 6. In tale strofe si assiste, infatti, all’esaltazione dello *Streben* che deve indurre il poeta a tendere le sue corde verso la dimensione celeste. Significativamente la base qui selezionata a indicare la tensionalità all’unire è *tan* e lessema impiegato a denotare la corda è *tantu-*, nel quale nuovamente si ravvisa la base *tan*:

*tántuṃ tanván rájaso bhānúm ánv ihi jyótiṣmataḥ pathó
rakṣa dhiyá kṛtān /
anulbanám vayata jóguvām ápo mánur bhava janáyā
daívyam jánam //*

«Distendendo le tue corde va’ verso la luce del cielo più vicino! Proteggi le vie piene di splendore e fatte con saggezza! E voi fate che l’ordito della nostra opera sia tessuto senza nodi! Sii l’uomo che fa nascere la stirpe degli dèi». ¹⁹

Coniugando tale passo con *RV X*, 129, 4-5, si ha che la parola poetica risponde a una tensionalità fra cielo e terra e ne tenta il ricongiungimento. ²⁰

Proseguendo l’analisi di *RV X*, 129, coerentemente con l’interpretazione che si è voluta proporre del lessema *manīṣā-* della quarta strofe come fortemente connotato di sfumatura verbale, collocandosi nella dinamica della creazione poetica vedica, si offre, dunque, una traduzione della sesta e della

¹⁹ AMBROSINI (1981: 55-58).

²⁰ A conferma della centralità del motivo della corda in *RV X*, 129 e della sostanziale sinonimia fra *raśmi-* di *RV X*, 129 e *tantu-* di *RV X*, 53, vi è il fatto che *Leitmotiv* in grado di legare l’inno *X*, 129 con il successivo *X*, 130 è proprio la corda che in quest’ultimo inno figura ora come *raśmi-*, ora come *tantu-*, cfr. MAGGI (1981b: 49-86).

settima strofe, che si cercherà di legittimare nelle pagine che seguono:

*kó addhā veda ká ihá prá vocat kúta ájātā kúta iyám
visṛṣṭih /
arvāg devá asyá visárjanenāthā kó veda yáta ābabhūva //
iyám visṛṣṭir yáta ābabhūva yádi vā dadhé yádi vā ná /
yó asyādhyakṣaḥ paramé vyòman só aṅgá veda yádi vā
ná véda //*

«Chi invero sa, chi potrebbe proclamarlo donde è scaturito, donde è sorto tale scorrere (fra i due poli)? Gli dèi sono nati dopo tale fenomeno; chi, dunque, sa da dove è venuto in essere?

Da dove è venuta in essere questa possibilità dello scorrere verbale, da chi è stata offerta o meno? Colui che di ciò è il supervisore nella volta più remota, lo sa, oppure non lo sa».

1.3 visṛṣṭi- e visarjana-

Delineando tale traduzione si è ritenuto di dover connotare di sfumature verbali similmente a *manīṣā-* e a *raśmi* anche il lessema *visṛṣṭi-*. Si ritiene che, qui, tradurre lo *hapax legomenon visṛṣṭi-* con “creazione” sia secondario alle interpretazioni che di *RV X, 129, 6-7* sono state offerte e non sia dettato, invece, dal suggerimento che viene dalla sua etimologia. D'altronde, per quanto non si tratti di un *hapax*, anche il lessema *visarjana-* viene tradotto esclusivamente in questo passo con “creazione”, mentre, ad esempio, in *RV VIII, 72, 11*, viene a significare *Ausgiessung* in relazione alle acque, assumendo la valenza legittimamente connessa allo scorrere, al fluire proprio in particolare della sfera acquorea come suggerisce l'etimologia.

La liceità della nostra traduzione di *visṛṣṭi-* quale scorrere, nello specifico, scorrere, fluire verbale, viene legittimata proprio qualora si guardi all'etimologia del lessema che è, d'altronde, evidenziata dall'autore stesso dell'inno nel momento in cui nella sesta strofe *visṛṣṭi-* viene correlata a *visarjana-*. Si delinea così un gioco etimologico che tende probabilmente anche a impedire

il rischio che lo *hapax visṛṣṭi-* non venga colto in tutta la sua carica semantica derivantegli proprio dalla base *srj*. Tale base coniuga significati afferenti all'area semantica dell'acquoreità e significati afferenti all'area semantica della verbalizzazione. Si trovano, infatti, fra i suoi valori sia il "permettere di scorrere, lasciar scorrere" sia l'"emettere un suono".²¹

Nella settima strofe nel tradurre lo *hapax visṛṣṭi-* con "scorrere, fluire verbale" si vengono, dunque, a coniugare nel lessema i due significati della base, quello relativo all'acquoreità e quello relativo alla verbalizzazione. La connotazione verbale di *visṛṣṭi-* è, peraltro, coerente con il contesto in cui si situa il lessema, se si considera che la base *dhā* è compatibile anche con l'area semantica della verbalizzazione, significando l'"apporre nomi",²² e può pertanto considerarsi in grado di attivare della base *srj* proprio i significati afferenti a tale area semantica. Quanto all'acquoreità dell'immagine del fluire verbale, oltrech  constatare come la metafora acquorea in ambito verbale non sia inusitata, si pu  osservare come nel mondo vedico vi sia una stretta interrelazione fra le aree semantiche dell'acquoreit  e della verbalizzazione fino a poter definire proprio l'acquoreit , accanto alla *dynamis* sincretica, quale tratto intrinseco alla parola indoeuropea.²³

²¹ Cfr. GRASSMANN (*W rt.*: 1572-1575): «Lieder ergiessen jemandem, Schall entsenden; auch ohne Dativ» (*RV* I, 9, 4; I, 181, 7; VII, 86, 5; VIII, 52, 9; VIII, 63, 7).

²² Per quanto concerne le sfumature semantiche di cui si croma la base **dheh₁-* nel momento in cui si colloca in contesto verbale, quando si accompagna, cio , a termini inerenti alla verbalit  cfr. CAMPANILE (1980: 183-188).

²³ L'immagine dell'acquoreit  della parola emerge, peraltro, anche in *RV* I, 164, 49-52, trattando, infatti, il ciclo delle piogge, emerge la dea Sarasvat  in tutta la sua trasparenza etimologica: uno degli epiteti della divinit   , infatti, *sarasvantam*, "ricco di correnti". Si assiste, qui, al porsi delle premesse per l'identificazione di V c e di Sarasvat , futura dea dell'eloquenza, essendo lo scorrere metafora frequente non solo della creazione ma anche della parola, in particolare della parola poetica, cfr. VITI (2000a: 205-223). L'immagine dello scorrere della parola si incontra anche nell'opera omerica, esempio ne   *Il. I*, 249, ρ εεν α δ η, che in traduzioni settecentesche viene efficacemente reso con «la favella scorrea». L'immagine del fluire verbale  , comunque, ora invalsa nell'uso e, ad esempio, la metafora del 'fiume di parole'   a tal punto abusata da risultare cristallizzata fino alla perdita della carica semantica originaria. Interessante al fine di ribadire la contiguit  fra la dimensione acquorea e quella verbale l'intervento di BARBERA (2003: 1-39): l'autore sottolinea, infatti, come la presenza del mare possa definirsi un tropo non solo nell'immaginario metaforico universale, ma sia rilevabile pure in ambiti scientifici distanti fra loro e in particolare mostra

Suggestive a enfatizzare l'acquoreità della parola, in particolare il nesso che intercorre fra parola, ritmo, liquidità, sono le pagine di Bachelard,²⁴ di cui si riportano alcune frasi della conclusione significativamente intitolata *Le parole dell'acqua*: «l'acqua domina il linguaggio fluido, senza intralci, il linguaggio continuo, ininterrotto, il linguaggio che rende più elastico il ritmo, che dà una materia uniforme a ritmi diversi»; «la liquidità è, secondo noi, il desiderio stesso del linguaggio. Il linguaggio vuole scorrere. Scorre naturalmente»; «la liquidità è un principio del linguaggio».²⁵

A evidenziare come l'immagine dell'acqua si coniughi fecondamente alla sfera verbale ci si limita, qui, ad accennare alla vicenda etimologica e semantica di *ṛṣi-* e di *rasa-*.

1.4 *ṛṣi-* e *rasa-*. *Un accenno*

Proprio il termine *ṛṣi-*, termine direttamente afferente all'ambito della verbalizzazione, può costituirsi quale indizio a conferma dell'interferenza reciproca dell'area semantica dell'acquoreità e della verbalizzazione, qualora se ne riconosca la connessione etimologica con **(h₁)ers-/(h₁)res-*, “fliessen, strömen”.²⁶

come gli studi fonologici degli ultimi decenni si costituiscono quale luogo di incontro di ‘voce’ e dimensione acquorea del mare.

²⁴ BACHELARD (2006: 206-216).

²⁵ Riguardo al cromarsi di primigenio delle metafore connesse all'acqua, oltre al citato saggio di Bachelard, si può vedere FERENCZI (1993), che guarda all'acquoreità in ottica sia ontogenetica, sia filogenetica, nonché considerare alcuni momenti dell'argomentazione di ONIANS (2002²) sull'acqua che ispira la poesia (91 ss.), sulle potenzialità generatrici dell'acqua (279-283), sull'acqua in Omero, Talete e più estesamente nei filosofi ionic (297 ss.).

²⁶ Quanto a *ṛṣi-*, “Dichter, Sänger, Seher”, si legge in MAYRHOFER (*EWAia*, I. Band, *Lieferung 4*: 261): «Das etymologische Konzept von *ṛṣi-* ist nicht sicher erkennbar», ma, seppur dubitativamente, prospetta la soluzione di GRASSMANN (*Wört*: 292-293) rimandando ad *ARṢ^l*, idg. **(h₁)ers-~(h₁)res-*, “fliessen, strömen”, voce alla quale rinvia anche per la radice *RṢ*, (MAYRHOFER, *EWAia*, I. Band, *Lieferung 4*: 260). Per *ṛṣi-* si è guardato anche a MAYRHOFER (*KEWA*, I. Band: 125) e a POKORNY (*IEW*: 336). BENEDETTI (2003: 117-189, in particolare 139), analizza efficacemente l'etimologia del termine *ṛṣi-*. Pur condividendo la ricostruzione etimologica di *ṛṣi-* prospettata dall'autore da *ṛṣ*, quindi da *ARṢ^l* del Mayrhofer, pure non se ne condivide l'*iter* semantico che vuole una connessione fra *ṛṣi-* e Soma mentre

Conferma della profondità e solidità della connessione fra acquoreo e parola si può desumere anche da *rasa-*,²⁷ dottrina poetica di cui il *ṛṣi-* è portatore, peculiare manifestarsi della sua parola, e che discenderebbe da quella stessa base **(h₁)ers-/(h₁)res-* da cui si ha *ṛṣi-* e la base *ṛṣ-*. Il riferimento allo scorrere insito nella dottrina del *rasa-*, permette di confermare l'acquoreità quale tratto intrinseco alla parola. Il carattere costitutivo dello scorrere insito in *rasa-* trova, peraltro, conferma nel fatto che *Rasā* è considerato nome adeguato onde designare non solo un fiume reale²⁸ ma anche un fiume mitico, con chiare valenze cosmogoniche, figurando accanto a *samudrá* a significare la totalità delle Acque nell'inno X, 121, lode a *Prajāpati*, che si delinea quale *yásya samudráṃ rasáyā sahāhúḥ*, «colui al quale, si dice, appartiene l'oceano insieme con *Rasā*».²⁹

Una stretta correlazione fra le facoltà superiori dell'essere umano, quale è la *dynamis* verbale, e l'elemento acquoreo è, peraltro, percezione non esclusiva del mondo vedico: appartiene, infatti, anche all'ambito sumerico essendo riscontrabile, ad esempio, nell'ibrida natura dei sette saggi³⁰ per metà umani e per metà pesci, la sede propria dei quali è il mare. A essi è da imputarsi il processo stesso di 'umanizzazione' dell'uomo, processo del quale momento fondante è proprio l'attualizzarsi della *dynamis* della parola. A tal proposito si può facilmente richiamare la figura delle Apsaras e delle Sirene che accordano acquoreo ibridismo somatico e pervasiva nonché persuasiva abilità nel canto.

noi riteniamo che la derivazione si giustifichi sulla base dell'acquoreità della parola della quale è detentore il *ṛṣi-*. Si tratta di un'acquoreità in movimento come testimoniano anche *visṛṣti-* e *visarjana-* in opposizione all'acqua primordiale che è fondamentalmente statica e che trova espressione in *RV* X, 129, 1 (*ambhas-*), 3 (*salila-*). Per la fenomenologia dell'acqua nei *Veda* cfr. Sani (1999: 103-113).

²⁷Cfr. *ARS^d*, MAYRHOFER (*EWAia*, I. Band, *Lieferung* 2: 123); cfr. anche MAYRHOFER (*KEWA*, III. Band: 48), e, similmente, POKORNY (*IEW*: 336).

²⁸Cfr. *RV* I, 112, 12; IV, 43, 6; V, 53, 9; X, 75, 6.

²⁹Cfr. *RV* V, 41, 15; IX, 41, 6; X, 108, 1, 2; X, 121, 4.

³⁰Si tratta degli *apkallu*, esseri afferenti alla sfera di Enki, iconicamente presentati quale ibrida combinazione di uomo e pesce.

In definitiva l'immagine del fluire verbale ben si accorda con la base **(h₁)ers-/(h₁)res-* voluta per nominare i poeti veggenti vedici.

1.5 *Quesiti di RV X, 129, 6-7*

Si guarda, infine, ai quesiti posti nella sesta e settima strofe dell'inno. Per cercare una risposta a tali interrogativi, si può considerare l'inno X, 81, in cui il poeta oltre che *vācáspáti-*, figura significativamente quale *viśvákarmā-*, o l'inno X, 90, che, in particolare all'undicesima strofe, rivela la natura verbale della creazione, realizzata mediante il sacrificio del *púruṣa-*, in merito al quale ci si chiede quali nomi ricevettero le sue membra.

Eloquenti riguardo alla capacità creatrice dei poeti sono anche le prime tre strofe dell'inno *RV III, 38*, nelle quali nuovamente ricorre il lessema *manīṣā-* e guardando alle quali Jamison³¹ scrive: «The poems begins with three verses in the poet's own voice, concerning the older generations of poet and the poetic tradition. In verse 1 he sounds both tremulous and self-assured, mindful of the tradition he belongs to but also proud of his own insight. In the second verse, addressing himself (as so often) in the 2nd person, he exhorts himself to seek models from the earlier poets, and introduces the notion that they "crafted heaven for themselves," a reference to the second creation. The third verse fleshes out this statement, in describing just how the older poets set about this creation. Most important is the final pāda, in which they "put apart" the two worlds - the primal act of separation that makes life possible».

Se anche guardando a *RV X, 129* si mantiene il *focus* dell'attenzione non sulla capacità creatrice degli dèi, bensì sulla capacità creatrice dei poeti, si viene ad avere che l'inno esprime una visione tutt'altro che pessimistica, in quanto, implicita nelle stesse sue strofe, vi sarebbe la possibilità di rispondere ai quesiti

³¹ JAMISON (2014, vol. I: 521).

e proprio il poeta si delinerebbe quale soggetto che già ha in sé la risposta.

L'interpretazione verbale della sesta e settima strofe di RV X, 129 si può, d'altronde, inserire nella lettura in prospettiva verbale dell'intero inno: il legame *sató ... ásati* spetta, infatti, ai poeti (strofe 4) e può, dunque, ritenersi legame di natura verbale, come alla quinta strofe vi è l'allusione alla corda dei poeti trasversalmente tesa a unire, corda con la quale i vati annullano la distanza tra l'essere e il non- essere, in virtù della loro capacità di verbalizzare il pensiero, di apporre significanti ai significati, di cromare i sèmi di foni.

In definitiva se dell'inno si ammette una lettura in prospettiva verbale e della transizione dal non-essere all'essere si ammette la natura intrinsecamente legata alla *dynamis* della parola poetica, mentre di *manīṣā-* si sottolinea il suo denotare l'atto della verbalizzazione del pensiero, *visṛṣṭi-* con la base *dhā*, già impiegata nella significazione dell'apporre nomi, può conseguentemente tradursi: «la possibilità dello scorrere verbale è stata offerta». Si verrebbe, pertanto, ad avere la risoluzione dell'inno in chiave verbale, non esente da una connotazione acquorea della parola.

Perché, d'altronde, non cogliere nella base *srj* preverbalizzata con *vi-* un indizio ulteriore della macroscopica presenza della dimensione verbale? Si può pensare che di tale base sia embrionalmente presente anche il significato "questions answer".³² Perché, dunque, non individuare in *visṛṣṭi-*, che da *vi-*

³² Se già i significati rigvedici di *srj* consentono di cogliere l'intersezione degli insiemi semantici della fenomenologia del suono e dell'acquoreità (cfr. GRASSMANN, *Wört.*: 1572), che si è vista strettamente connessa alla dimensione della verbalità, vi sono passi in grado di insinuare più che un dubbio che la base *srj* preverbalizzata con *vi-* possa significare l'inviare un suono, la voce a qualcuno con l'evidenza dell'aspettativa di una reciprocità significata da *vi-*, donde si avrebbe un corrispondersi di voci di soggetti diversi coinvolti in una comunicazione e, dunque, come si è proposto, sarebbe embrionalmente presente il significato di "questions answer". Si fa, quindi, riferimento ad alcuni passi che si ritengono particolarmente significativi: in RV I, 101, 10b si ha "Lippen auseinanderthun" e non discosta vi è l'immagine dello scorrere, dunque, dell'acquoreità; per quanto concerne il valore di "Lippen" da altri passi si apprende che è facilmente assimilabile al valore di "Stimme", come avviene in RV I, 2, 3 e RV III, 1, 9. Si avrebbe, pertanto, il significato di cor-rispondersi di voci. Indicativo è anche RV VII, 24, 2, passo nel quale si ha, peraltro, una

srj deriva, anche la risposta alle domande di *RV X, 129, 6-7*? In tal modo nella domanda stessa sarebbe già presente la risposta, in una sorta di indovinello, di ‘gioco linguistico’, non certo lontano dalla dimensione ludica cara al poeta-veggente vedico e nuova conferma della *dynamis* della sua parola: il doppio significato attribuibile a *visṛṣṭi-* vedrebbe, ad un tempo, il lessema quale descrizione strutturale dell’inno ossia inno fitto di domande, di quesiti, ma anche quale risposta immediata a tali cosmologici interrogativi: risoluzione dell’inno è la *dynamis* stessa della parola poetica, nello specifico il fluire verbale, quella parola che tendendosi corda a unire il cielo e la terra cura la ferita cosmogonica ed è in grado di rendere il poeta colui che fa nascere la stirpe degli dèi (*RV X, 53, 6*).

2 *Dynamis sincretica della parola e RV X, 125*

Nuovamente guardando alla capacità sincretica della parola poetica vedica vòlta in ambito cosmogonico a curare la frattura fra cielo e terra, pertinente è, inoltre, considerare la terza e la quarta strofe di *RV X, 81*, e alcuni passi di *RV X, 125*.

Eloquenti sono, infatti, sia la terza strofe di *RV X, 81*, nella quale si ha che il poeta «determinò uno *Streben* coesivo fra cielo e terra» (*dyāvābhūmi*), sia la strofe successiva, nella quale i poeti figurano come coloro che hanno congiunto cielo e terra (*dyāvāprthivī*).³³

Indicativo è anche *RV X, 125*, inno in cui si assiste all’autoelogio della parola. Ad esempio alla sesta strofe si ha la sottolineatura di come la parola poetica afferisca sia al cielo sia alla terra:

nuova occorrenza di *manīṣā-*. In definitiva si ritiene più che legittimo ipotizzare che il significato di "questions answer" fosse già embrionalmente presente nel *Rg-Veda*.

³³ Sostiene l’ipotesi di una lettura in prospettiva conoscitiva AMBROSINI (1981: 80-82). Nel presente contributo si ritiene che ipotesi gnoseologica e cosmologica non siano affatto reciprocamente escludenti. Dalla lettura degli inni *RV X, 190* e *X, 191* si desume, d’altronde, che la dimensione gnoseologica è caratterizzata da momento sincretico iniziale, momento diacritico, nuovo momento sincretico, come avviene per la cosmogenesi nella dinamica già vista che coinvolge cielo e terra.

*ahám jánāya samádam kṛṇomy ahám dyāvāpṛthivī ā
viveśa //*

«Io suscito le contese fra gli uomini. Io ho pervaso il
cielo e la terra».³⁴

In tale inno si precisa, inoltre, come la parola “porti” Mitra e *Varuṇa*, che cielo e terra governano (X, 125, 1c-d). L’afferire di *Vāc* sia al cielo sia alla terra è, peraltro, evidenziato, nel momento in cui si ha che la parola poetica esercita la sua capacità connettiva sia in ambito divino, quindi celeste (X, 125, 1a-b, *ahám rudrēbhir vāsubhiś carāmy ahám ādityair utá viśvādevaiḥ* / «Io procedo con gli dèi terribili e con gli dèi buoni, io procedo con gli dèi figli di Aditi e con gli dèi tutti insieme»), sia in ambito umano, quindi terrestre (RV X, 125, 3, *ahám rāṣṭrī saṃgāmanī vāsūnām cikitūṣī prathamā yajñiyānām* / «Io sono la regina che raduna le ricchezze, colei che comprende, la prima tra coloro che sono degni di sacrificio»).

Oltre a partecipare del divino come dell’umano, la parola promuove ulteriori atti coesivi, accorpando in sé luoghi e forme come si legge nella terza strofe, nella quale *Vāc* afferma:

*tām mā devā vy ādadhuḥ purutrā bhūristhātrām bhūry
āveśāyantīm //*

«Gli dèi mi hanno distribuito in molti luoghi: io sono
colei che ha molte sedi e che assume molte forme».

La pervasività di *Vāc* è, peraltro, volta sia all’orizzontalità sia alla verticalità come testimonia la settima strofe:

*táto ví tiṣṭhe bhūvanānu viśvotāmūṃ dyām varṣmāṇópa
spṛśāmi //*

«Da lì mi diffondo su tutti gli esseri e con la mia
sommità tocco il cielo lassù».

Endogeno a *Vāc* è, poi, il trascendimento dei confini (RV X, 125, 8):

³⁴ Cfr. SANI (2000: 106-107), sia per la sesta strofe sia per le successive strofe di RV X, 125.

*ahám evá vāta iva prá vāmy ārabhamāṇā bhúvanāni
vísuvā /
paró divā pará enā pṛthivyaitāvatī mahinā sám babhūva //*
«Io spiro come il vento impossessandomi di tutti gli
esseri. Con la mia grandezza ho varcato i confini del
cielo e di questa terra».

Sia l'allusione al soffiare del vento sia l'atto di varcare i confini paiono rendere ineluttabile il richiamo alla ψυχή (ad un tempo "soffio vitale" e "anima") e ai suoi πείρατα del frammento eracliteo 45 D.-K., che evidenzia il trascendimento dei confini quale tratto intrinseco, endogeno alla condizione umana.

Proprio RV X, 125, 8, passo in cui, nel corso del proprio autoelogio e quindi in prima persona, è la parola stessa ad affermare di accogliere i voli e ospitare i venti, allo spirare dei quali Vāc associa il proprio spirare, è passo che offre, inoltre, una possibile eziologia del frequente configurarsi dei venti quali Sānger come avviene in RV I, 85, 2:³⁵

*tá ukṣitāso mahimānam āsata divi rudrāso ādhi cakrire
sādaḥ /
ārcanto arkāṃ janāyanta indriyām ādhi śrīyo dadhire
pṛśnimātarah //*
«Essi (i Marut), dopo essersi rinvigoriti, hanno ottenuto
la grandezza: i figli di Rudra hanno posto in cielo la loro
sede. Cantando il loro canto e generando a Indra il suo
potere, i figli di Pṛśni si sono acquistati gloria».

I venti, dunque, non inconsuetamente delineandosi quali cantori, quindi portatori di parola poetica, confermano il loro legame con la parola probabilmente proprio in forza di tale condivisa attitudine all'aereo, prerogativa dei Marut come di Vāc.³⁶

³⁵ Per il configurarsi dei Marut quali cantori passi significativi sono anche: RV I, 37, 10; I, 82, 2; I, 166, 7; III, 22, 4; V, 29, 3; V, 52, 1, 12; V, 57, 5; V, 60, 8; VI, 66, 9-10; VII, 35, 9.

³⁶ Si può, qui, ricordare l'omerico ἔπεια πτερόεντα, che nel mondo greco si configura quale elemento fossile, non più trasparente, formula cristallizzata non collocabile in un

Se qui, della parola, si evidenzia la sua complicità con la dimensione celeste, innegabile è il costante coinvolgimento della parola in una dinamica sincretica che tende a unire cielo e terra.

Pare che la dinamica stessa della creazione poetica vedica possa cogliersi quale celebrazione di tale *dynamis* sincretica della parola. In prima istanza è alla luce del connotarsi di aereo della parola vedica che si può leggere anche il suo incipitario afferire alla sfera del *manas-*, dimensione eidetica, metaforicamente assimilabile alla dimensione celeste.³⁷ La parola compirebbe, poi, il suo percorso attraverso *mantra-*, verbalizzazione del pensiero, fino alla dimensione della *jihvā-*: *Vāc*, facendosi parola attualizzata dalla materia fonica, sfocerebbe nella fatticità³⁸ terrestre. E della terra la parola poetica è, infatti, tutt'altro che dimentica come si desume da *RV X, 125*: nell'inno si coglie traccia della centralità della terra in relazione alla parola oltreché nella sottolineatura dell'afferire di quest'ultima sia al cielo sia alla terra (*RV X, 125, 1, 6*), anche nella descrizione dell'estendersi di *Vāc* sia in senso orizzontale, quindi terrestre,³⁹ sia verticale, quindi celeste.

La parola poetica, nonostante la sua natura aereo-celeste, non è, quindi, esente dal connotarsi di umano-terrestre. A postularlo è la lingua vedica stessa che ripetutamente dimostra di volere cielo e terra coinvolti in una dinamica sincretica, tendendo a rappresentarli come intrinsecamente congiunti.

quadro ideologico coerente, per quanto numerosi siano i tentativi esegetici avanzati, se si limita la prospettiva al mondo greco. Diversamente si comprende il sintagma greco se lo si confronta con la realtà vedica nella quale strutturale e frequente è la contiguità di parola, voli e venti.

³⁷ "Alta" è la parola "primordiale" da offrire ad Agni (*RV III, 10, 5*) e la specificazione spaziale "in alto" coincide con il cielo come risulta dall'orientarsi "in alto" delle radici dell'albero cosmico capovolto, radici volte, appunto, verso il cielo (*RV I, 24, 7*).

³⁸ Sulla nozione di fatticità e sulla differenza che intercorre fra fatticità e *Tatsächlichkeit*, che coincide con la mera fattualità degli esseri intramondani, nonché sulla relazione che intercorre fra *Da-sein* e fatticità cfr. HEIDEGGER (2008²: 160-179, 386-405).

³⁹ Per il caratterizzarsi della terra quale l'"estesa" per antonomasia (in senso orizzontale) e per le vicende onomastiche che, conseguentemente, la coinvolgono cfr. RONZITTI (1995: 45-115, in particolare 47, 62-66) e ORLANDI (1997: 717-745, in particolare 722-723, 740-743).

La lingua vedica pare suggerire una percezione di cielo e terra⁴⁰ tutt'altro che dicotomica sia mediante il ricorso al *devatā-dvandva* cielo-terra, *dyāvapṛthivī*, probabile modello da cui sarebbero discese le altre forme di *devatā-dvandva*, sia mediante le forme di duale ellittico, con il ricorso alle quali, frequentemente, si rappresenta la coppia cielo-terra: in esse un elemento della coppia è implicitamente presente in virtù del carattere ontologico del suo legame con l'elemento nominato.

Interessanti anche i processi implicati nell'impiego di *ródasi* per "cielo e terra" (analogamente a *nábhasī* e a *dhiśāne*): in *ródasi* si può cogliere una personificazione della nuvola, sicché si avrebbe il significato di "terra" per metonimia e di "cielo" per sineddoche.⁴¹ Questo consente di sottolineare come *ródasi*, così come i duali ellittici, preveda la percezione della polarità cielo-terra quale *continuum*. Il medesimo rapporto metonimico fra nube e terra riscontrabile in *ródasi* potrebbe essere alla base sia della possibilità di invitare la terra ad annuvolarsi e spaccarsi come la nube, onde far piovere, sia dello spaccarsi della caverna grazie all'intervento ora di Indra ora degli dèi, onde liberare le vacche prigioniere, rappresentazione della liberazione delle acque.⁴²

In definitiva mediante l'impiego di *devatā-dvandva*, di forme di duale, di metonimie e sineddoci si informa la dimensione dell'essere in atto, realtà nella quale cielo e terra sono divisi, dell'immagine mentale appartenente alla dimensione dell'essere in potenza, nella quale cielo e terra sono uniti. La possibilità stessa di realizzare *devatā-dvandva* e duali ellittici lascia intravedere nel testo la percezione dell'unità nella dualità, sincretico percepire che, ad un tempo, e precede l'affermarsi del διακρίνειν, in grado di monopolizzare la lingua con i suoi

⁴⁰ Sulla questione onomastica in relazione al cielo limitatamente ai casi che lo vedono in coppia con la terra si considerino RONZITTI (1995: 45-115) e ORLANDI (1997: 717-745).

⁴¹ RONZITTI (1995: 97-104).

⁴² Cfr. SANI (1992a: 254-270). Vicenda etimologica o paretimologica che sia è relativamente rilevante, vicenda mitica e metonimia si intreccerebbero, infatti, fecondamente, cfr. SANI (1994: 83-97).

prefissi dicotomizzanti,⁴³ e segue il διακρίνειν stesso mediante l'affermare una nuova fase sincretica. Si tratta, tuttavia, di una fase non più pre-verbale come descritto nelle prime strofe di *RV X*, 129, bensì trans-verbale in un andamento non ciclico ma spiroidale quale è quello ravvisabile nell'esser-ci dell'uomo vedico nella misura in cui è portatore di parola poetica.

2.1 *RV X*, 125 e le figure foniche

Si può ipotizzare che anche la consuetudine di tramare il testo di figure foniche possa contribuire a rafforzare l'attribuzione della capacità sincretica alla parola vedica: la capacità sincretica della parola avrebbe spazio privilegiato d'espressione nel manifestarsi delle figure foniche che, costituendosi quale eco della percezione dell'originaria unità, sarebbero strumento della parola poetica a unire il diviso in un eclettico estrinsecarsi della facoltà associativa.⁴⁴

Dal dipanarsi dell'autoelogio di *Vāc* in *RV X*, 125 si è visto come si possa evincere un'espressione concettuale della *dynamis* sincretica della parola, ma l'inno non si limita a offrirne astratta constatazione, nelle sue strofe è possibile coglierne il manifestarsi in atto: l'inno, infatti, non solo fornisce menzione della capacità coesiva della parola nel momento in cui la celebra, ma suggerisce pure il tramite onde realizzarla, applicandola in concreto, ossia tracciando legature in forza della materia fonica.

Oltre a constatare nell'inno la frequenza di allitterazioni, anafore, omeoteleuti,⁴⁵ si può cogliere un peculiare ricorrere

⁴³ Donde la produttività di prefissi dicotomizzanti quali **dus-* e **su-*. Per un'ampia trattazione della casistica dei composti con **dus-* e **su-* si guardi a COSTA (1990); si interessa dei composti **dus-* e **su-* anche BENEDETTI (1990: 23-51) e BENEDETTI (1991: 55-93).

⁴⁴ Guarda alla facoltà associativa delle figure foniche SANI (1992b: 23-47, in particolare 23-24 e 44): «La rima... grazie alla sua capacità di legare una parola con un'altra, è in grado anche di comportare associazioni di idee e per questo motivo largamente e deliberatamente impiegata nei testi magici». Per un'analisi dell'*Atharva-Veda* cfr. AMBROSINI (1984).

⁴⁵ Si tratta sia di allitterazioni (ad es. a 4d *śr-* ricorre tre volte consecutive), anafore (quasi ossessiva è la presenza di *ahām*), omeoteleuti (la sequenza *am* che ricorre pressoché

della sequenza *v+vocale*, che tende a realizzarsi nel segmento fonemico *vā*.⁴⁶

Dato l'alto grado di organizzazione fonica dell'inno, difficilmente è imputabile a casualità tale circostanza che pare, peraltro, non solo intenzionale ma anche fortemente motivata: l'iterazione fonetica *vā* si lascia, infatti, facilmente leggere quale allusione a *Vāc*.

Ad eccezione di un ridursi delle occorrenze del segmento fonemico *v+vocale* nella quarta e quinta stanza compensato, però, dalla presenza in entrambe di *vadati* che a *Vāc* allude dal punto di vista sia fonico sia semantico, si ha un progressivo crescendo fino all'ἄκμῆ nell'ottava stanza.

La frequenza del segmento fonemico iniziale di *Vāc* si potrebbe imputare a un tentativo di compensazione del fatto che, nel corso dell'inno, non viene mai nominato il tema su cui vertono le otto stanze.⁴⁷ La ricorsività della sequenza *v+vocale* risulta, quindi, non solo collegare ciascun momento dell'inno, ma anche farne un'espressione di *vā-c*: la tessitura fonica del testo suggerisce, pertanto, interazioni fra i significati in forza delle legature che si creano fra i significanti tramite la materia fonica che li costituisce.

Pare, quindi, confermato che tema di *RV X, 125* è la capacità sincretica della parola: l'inno non si limita, infatti, a un'espressione teorica, ma, nel congiungere mediante la materia fonica, mostra piuttosto in atto il concreto manifestarsi della

in ogni parola della strofe quand'anche non si guardi al martellante *tām* di 5c-d), cfr. TOPOROV (1969: 127-128).

⁴⁶ TOPOROV (1969: 127-128), individua circa cinquanta occorrenze del segmento fonemico *v+vocale*, delle quali oltre trenta vedono il ricorrere di *vā*; si concorda con Toporov sulla probabilità che il ricorrere della sequenza alluda al tema dell'inno. Toporov avverte, inoltre, la possibilità di spiegare il ricorrere di un altro segmento fonemico, *am/ām*, volendone cogliere un'allusione al fatto che *Vāc*, nei commenti, è detta figlia dello *ṛyi Ambhṛṇa*. Per quanto suggestivo sia collegare il nome proprio, che significa "umido" e si riferisce alla classe degli esseri mitologici dell'acqua, al ricorrere nell'inno del motivo dell'acqua, riteniamo che debole sia il legame fra *am/ām* e *Ambhṛṇa*.

⁴⁷ TOPOROV (1969: 127-128) ritiene che, alla base dell'assenza del nome di *Vāc*, vi siano o considerazioni tabuistiche o il fatto che è la dea stessa a pronunciare l'inno; nel presente contributo si ritiene che ulteriore spiegazione possa individuarsi nel fatto che l'inno si presenta come una sorta di indovinello; per il conformarsi dell'inno quale indovinello cfr. AMBROSINI (1981: 120-122).

dynamis sincretica della parola stessa. Il riscontrato accumulo fonemico è, dunque, in grado sia di celebrare la capacità di *Vāc*, sia di mostrare in atto l'effetto che essa determina nel tessuto dell'inno.

3 Conclusioni

In definitiva, qualora si accolga la lettura in chiave verbale dell'inno X, 129, si viene in esso ad avere una celebrazione della *dynamis* coesiva della parola poetica che si è riscontrata anche in *RV* X, 125. Ripercorrendo alcuni momenti dell'argomentazione, l'inno X, 129 descrive sia la fase pre-verbale, sia la transizione verso la verbalizzazione dei poeti con la *dynamis* sincretica della loro parola che in seguito alla divisione di cielo e terra determina un nuovo *bandhu-*, sia la fase trans-verbale di una parola che è in grado di tornare alla dimensione del *manas-* accrescendola in conseguenza delle nuove associazioni scaturite dalle legature che la materia fonica stessa suggerisce.

Di fatto le figure foniche scaturirebbero dalla facoltà associativa all'origine della quale vi è la percezione dell'unità, del *continuum* che precede la vicenda cosmogonica del separarsi di cielo e terra. Proprio a seguito del separarsi degli emisferi cosmici emerge l'esigenza del loro vicendevole nominarsi e si rende inevitabile la nascita della parola a rompere il silenzio, condizione fisiologica del *continuum* cosmico di cielo e terra non ancora scissi. Costituendosi quale eco visiva e acustica dell'unità originaria, le figure foniche risultano essere non trascurabile prova della percezione, da parte del poeta, del *continuum*, che, in prospettiva diacronica, è proprio dell'origine e, in prospettiva sincronica, è proprio della dimensione dell'essere in potenza, della dimensione interiore, mentale del *manas-*.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ In tale prospettiva i termini polari non sono pertanto avvertiti quali antonimie, bensì quali termini complementari di un *continuum*, sicché si tende a marcare la loro pertinenza reciproca, a esprimere l'unità della dualità; basti pensare all'impiego della sequenza *ca...* in relazione al giorno e alla notte, al cielo e alla terra, cfr. SANI (1992b: 23-47 in

Le figure foniche paiono, dunque, delinearsi quale nostalgia del silente unisono originario e, al tempo stesso, in virtù della propria sostanza fonica, costituiscono la possibilità del ritornare, del riabitare continuamente il *continuum*: è mediante la parola che il poeta informa il reale, diviso in conseguenza dell'azione cosmogonica, creatrice e separatrice, lo informa dell'immagine mentale, della dimensione dell'essere in potenza. Della sfera del *manas*- è, infatti ospite il *continuum* originario, sia nella veste di ospitante sia in quella di ospitato, configurandosi, pertanto, come la terra che, in *AV XII, 1*, si delinea quale contenente e contenuta, creatrice e creata, artefice di poesia e oggetto di poesia essa stessa.

Suggestivo può essere a questo punto guardare nuovamente alla quarta e alla quinta strofe di *RV X, 129*: la base *iṣ* preverbalizzata con *prati*- si può tradurre con "suchen", donde si avrebbe che il poeta della quarta strofe sarebbe assimilabile al siddhartiano *suchender Mensch*, mentre *prayati*- della quinta strofe, passibile di essere tradotto quale "Streben", evocerebbe il faustiano *strebender Mensch*, entrambi che nel mondo vedico confluiscono nella tensionalità all'unire endogena alla figura del poeta.

particolare 32); per la percezione di giorno e notte quale *continuum* si veda anche *RVI, 123, 7 e 9*; nell'ottica della facilità di metabolizzare le polarità non quali termini reciprocamente escludenti interessante è anche l'iterato riferimento in *AV XII, I*, alla capacità da parte della terra, in una fase iniziale, di produrre e contenere in un comune abitare quelli che al lettore moderno si configurano quali opposti antonimici non conciliabili (si considerino, in particolare, le strofe dalla 45 alla 52).

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TOSHIHIRO WADA

THE “VERBAL ROOT CHAPTER” (DHĀTUVĀDA)
OF GAṄGEŚA’S *TATTVACINTĀMAṆI*

1. Introduction

Navya-Nyāya has contributed a great deal not only to Indian epistemology and logic, but also to Sanskrit semantics. Gaṅgeśa, who consolidated the system of Navya-Nyāya in the fourteenth century,¹ influenced the semantic arguments made by later scholars of the Mīmāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa schools. The “Book on Language” (Śabdakhaṇḍa) of Gaṅgeśa’s *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (TC) represents such arguments. We have a translation of the whole “Book on Language” (Śabdakhaṇḍa) by Bhatta [2005],² where he also provides a summary of each chapter of the Book. In order to carry out research on the early stage of Navya-nyāya philosophy of language, I set about translating the “Verbal Suffix Chapter” (Ākhyātavāda) of that Book with annotation around 2001. Since Bhatta’s work was not available at that time, I could not refer to his translation and summary when dealing with the beginning part of the chapter. While his translation and summary greatly help us understand the

¹ Since I regard Udayana as the founder of Navya-nyāya, early Navya-nyāya covers the period of Udayana up to Gaṅgeśa. On the founder of Navya-nyāya, see Wada [2007b: 9-23], which includes Wada [1999] [2001] [2004].

² Potter and Bhattacharyya [1993: 239-312] give a summary of the “Chapter on Language.” (They render *khaṇḍa* as ‘chapter’.) Of its sections, the Apūrvavāda and the Vidhivāda have been translated by Jha [1986] and [1988] respectively, and the Śabdaprāmāṇyavāda by Mohanty [1966].

differing semantic arguments among the Navya-nyāya, Mimamsa, and Vyākaraṇa schools, it is also true that there are many points which need further clarification in his translation and explanation of the “Verbal Suffix Chapter” and the “Verbal Root Chapter” (Dhātuvāda),³ which immediately follows it in the *TC*. The “Verbal Suffix Chapter” is translated with annotation by Wada [2007a] [2012] [2013] [2014b]. The present paper is a translation of the “Verbal Root Chapter” with annotation.

2. Text, Commentary, and Contents

In translating the “Verbal Suffix Chapter”, I have used the Sanskrit text included in:

Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, 4 Volumes, edited with the *Āloka* of Jayadeva Mīśra and the *Rahasya* of Mathurānātha, by Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgīśa, Vrajajivan Prachyabharati Granthamala 47, Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishtan, 1990.

In this book, the “Verbal Root Chapter” is accompanied by Jayadeva’s *Āloka*, and not by the *Rahasya*. I have consulted the *Āloka*.

The argument presented in the “Verbal Root Chapter” can be divided as follows. Numbers in brackets refer to page and line numbers of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya*, 4th Volume, 2nd Part.⁴

³ For Bhatta’s summary, translation, and explanation of the “Verbal Suffix Chapter” and the “Verbal Root Chapter”, see Bhatta [2005: 95-102, 882-907] and [2005: 102-107, 908-915] respectively.

⁴ The Sanskrit text of the Ākhyātavāda is divided according to the Parts of the translation. The divided texts are provided in the footnotes to those corresponding Parts with the following alterations: *ācāryya* → *ācārya*, the same treatment for its declensions; *varttamāna* → *vartamāna*, the same treatment for its declensions; *varttate* → *vartate*; *vyāvarttya* → *vyāvartya*, the same treatment for its declensions.

A. Maṇḍana's View (pp. 847,1-848,12)

- A1: The meanings of the roots *pac*, *gam*, *pat*, *tyaj*, *han*, *yaj*, *hu*, and *dā*. (p. 847,2-10)
- A2: An explanation of the relation between the root meaning and tense. (p. 847,10-15)
- A3: The meanings of roots *gam*, *pat*, and *tyaj*, whose result occurs in a substance such as space (*ākāśa*) but which cannot be used with reference to space. (pp. 847,15-848,2)
- A4: A discussion of how to identify the object (*karman*) of the operation denoted by a root. (pp. 848,2-848,9)
- A5: The meanings of the roots *jñā*, *iṣ*, *yat*, *vid*, and *sthā*. (p. 848,9-12)

B. Gaṅgeśa's View (pp. 848,13-853)

- B1: The first alternative of the final view of the root meaning: operation conducive to the result (*phalānukūlavypāra*). (pp. 848,13-849,5)
- B2: The second alternative of the final view of the root meaning: only operation (*vyāpāra*). (pp. 849,6-850,2)
- B3: The result of the operation in the case of the second alternative. (pp. 850,2-851,2)
- B4: The relation between the operation and its result in the case of the second alternative. (pp. 851,2-852,1)
- B5: The meanings of the roots *gam*, *tyaj*, and *pat* in non-Vedic usage, and the roots *yaj*, *dā*, and *hu* in Vedic rituals in the case of the second alternative. (pp. 852,2-853,5)

3. Basic Concepts⁵

(a) *dhātu* (verbal root)⁶

To understand the meaning of a verbal root, it is necessary to first refer to the Grammarians', or Vyākaraṇa, tradition. Kātyāyana (3rd century B.C.) provides two major categories of the definitions of verbal root: formal and semantic definitions. He semantically defines a verbal root in terms of *kriyā* or *bhāva*. The former term, commonly translated as 'action', is used to define verbal roots such as *pac* (to cook), *paṭh* (to read), *kr* (to make), etc., and the latter is used to define ones such as *bhū* (to be, become), *vid* (to exist), etc. Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) interprets *bhāva* as that which is brought about or as that which comes into being. He defines *kriyā* with regard to time issues, as time is understood only in association with action (*kriyā*). Later Grammarians such as Kaunḍa Bhaṭṭa (17th century), who is sometimes regarded as a Navya-vaiyākaraṇa, hold that a verbal root denotes result (*phala*) and action (*kriyā*).⁷ This double meaning of the root can be traced back to Patañjali's suggestion on P1.4.49,⁸ but more precisely, this meaning is asserted by Helārāja (10th century) in his commentary on Bhartṛhari (5th century).

In the Nyāya tradition Udayana, who greatly influenced Gaṅgeśa, claims in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (*NKu*) that a verbal root denotes action (*kriyā*) and result (*phala*), but he does not make clear the relation between both.⁹ In his "Verbal Root

⁵ This section except (a) *dhātu* (verbal root) is based upon Wada [2013: Basic Concepts].

⁶ This subsection is based upon Wada [2016a: 49-58] [2016b: 36-36], in which the explanation of Kātyāyana's and Patañjali's views is based upon Diaconescu [2012: 200-215]. On the issue of *kriyā* and *bhāva*, see also Joshi [1993(1960): 19-22].

⁷ On Kaunḍa Bhaṭṭa's and Nāgeśa's views, see also Joshi [1993(1960): 17]; Rao [1969: 106-110].

⁸ P1.4.49: *kartuḥ īpsitamam karma*. (Trans. by Vasu [1977(1891): 186]: That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma. But my translation is: that which is most desired by the agent is called the object or *karman*.)

⁹ *NKu*, p. 533,2: *dhātūnām kriyāphalamātrābhīdhāyivāt*. Dravid [1996: 445] translates this as "as it is the nature of verbs to mean only that which results from an activity". Dravid inserts the relation between result and action into his translation. There is the possibility that Dravid is influenced by the later Nyāya tradition, in drawing attention to this relation.

Chapter” (Dhātuvāda) Gaṅgeśa inherits and revises the meaning given by Udayana.

At the beginning of the “Verbal Root Chapter” Gaṅgeśa introduces Maṇḍana Miśra’s view of the meaning of a verbal root that the root denotes only result (*phala*). For example, the verbal root *pac* (to cook) denotes the softening (*viklitti*) of the cooking-object, such as rice, and not the operation of heating below, and so forth which brings about that result. Gaṅgeśa does not deal with the views of other Mīmāṃsakas, which implies that Maṇḍana’s view may be more extreme than theirs.¹⁰ In this paper the term *dhātu* is rendered as ‘verbal root’, or simply ‘root’ when this does not cause an inconvenience.

(b) *ākhyāta*

The word *ākhyāta* has two meanings: the finite verb and the personal ending of the finite verb (*tiṅ* suffix).¹¹ Gaṅgeśa’s argument with the Mīmāṃsā and Grammarian schools is confined to an analysis of the second of these two meanings. Unless otherwise specified, the suffixes he discusses are those used in the active voice and the present tense. He discusses the meaning of verbal suffixes used in the passive voice in Parts F and G of the “Verbal Suffix Chapter”.

Navya-naiyāyikas, including Gaṅgeśa, hold that a verbal suffix denotes effort, while Mīmāṃsakas of the Bhaṭṭa School¹² hold that it denotes operation (*vyāpāra*), whether internal or

¹⁰ Rao [1969: 110], after introducing Maṇḍana’s view in his book, says “Some Mīmāṃsakas and many other thinkers of other schools of Philosophy are at variance with regard to this meaning of the root as expressed by Maṇḍana”. Rao [1969: 114-116] elucidates the view of Khaṇḍadeva (ca. 17th century) and concludes, at the end of the section designated as “The Mīmāṃsaka’s View”, that, according to Khaṇḍadeva, the verbal suffix denotes operation or effort in general (*vyāpārasāmānya*) and that the verbal root denotes its particular form (*vyāpāravīśeṣa*).

¹¹ On these two meanings, see Joshi [1993(1960): 22]. He reports that the *Mīmāṃsā-nyāyaprakāśa* (*MNP*), which was written in the seventeenth century, uses the word in the second sense listed above. But the *TC* shows an earlier use of the word in this sense. On *tiṅ* suffixes, see Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*P*)3.4.78; Abhyankar and Shukla [1977: 197].

¹² The view of the Prābhākara School is briefly referred to and refuted at the end of Part C.

external.¹³ Internal operation, which Navya-naiyāyikas regard as effort, occurs in the soul (*ātman*). External operation, which occurs in the body and things, is perceived by the sense organs. Navya-naiyāyikas generally call this operation action (*kriyā*). The Grammarians (*pāṇinīya*) argue that a verbal suffix denotes an agent, an object, or action itself.¹⁴ Navya-naiyāyikas and Mīmāṃsakas accept Panini's grammar in general, but when they disagree with the Grammarians, and with one another, they attempt to prove their own views by analyzing common linguistic usage, in this case the usage of the finite verb. It should be noted that these schools do not differ in holding that the suffix of a finite verb denotes a particular tense and number. In the present paper, when I need to refer to the suffixes of finite verbs, I will simply mention 'verbal suffix'.

(c) Effort (*yatna*, *prayatna*)

Effort, which is regarded as the meaning of a finite verbal suffix by Navya-naiyāyikas, is one of twenty-four kinds of qualities (*guṇa*), and we know of its existence in the soul through inference. Nyāya holds that knowledge or cognition (*jñāna*) causes desire (*icchā*), which produces effort, which in

¹³ The operation of Vedic injunctions is not discussed here. However, since the Mīmāṃsakas' method of interpreting sentences in common usage is based on their exegesis of Vedic sentences, we have to consider this exegesis in order to follow their arguments as presented in the "Verbal Suffix Chapter". On their exegesis, see Edgerton [1929]. The verbal suffixes of Vedic injunctions denote the word-efficient-force (*śābdībhāvanā*) which resides in the injunctions themselves. On the 'word-efficient-force', see *MNP*, no. 4 and Edgerton [1929: 40]. Diaconescu [2012: 47] points out the differences among the Mīmāṃsakas' views on what the term *bhāvanā* means. According to him, Kumāriḷa and Pārthasārathi use it in the sense of operation (*vyāpāra*) or action (*kriyā*), Maṇḍanamiśra and Umbekabhaṭṭa in the sense of operation and effort (*kṛti*), and Someśvara or Khaṇḍadeva in the sense of effort. (Diaconescu renders *kṛti* as effort, while I have rendered as 'resolution'. Effort is a rendering of *yatna*, which is used as a synonym for *kṛti* in the Nyāya discussion of the meaning of verbal suffixes. Based upon this, Diaconescu seems to render *kṛti* as 'effort'.)

¹⁴ On these three meanings, see *P.3.4.69: laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah*. Vasu [1977(1891): 584] translates this *sūtra* as follows: "The tense-affixes called *la* are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent". This means that when transitive verbs are used in the active voice, the suffixes denote the agent; when these verbs are used in the passive, the suffixes denote the object. On this issue, see also Cardona [1975: 266].

turn brings about action.¹⁵ To understand the relation among cognition, desire, and effort, let us consider the case in which we quench our thirst with water. First, we must know that water can remove our thirst and recognize that there is some water within our reach. Second, we must have the desire to take and drink some water. If we have no desire, action does not take place. However, due to certain reasons we do not always take action immediately after we have such a desire. For instance, there may be dead insects in the water, and so on. Hence, we can infer that there must be an intervening factor which is produced by the preceding desire and which brings about the action of drinking. That factor is effort.

Note that effort is often designated as resolution (*kṛti*) in the Navya-nyāya discussion on the meaning of a verbal suffix. Udayana states in his *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (*NKu*) that resolution is nothing more than effort.¹⁶ Udayana’s statement is quoted by Gaṅgeśa in the “Verbal Suffix Chapter” (Part B2) of his *TC*.¹⁷

(d) The signifying function (*vṛtti*)

Any meaningful linguistic unit, or morpheme, as well as any word possesses the signifying function and thus can mean something. Navya-nyāya accepts only two kinds of signifying function: the denotative function (*śakti*) and the indicative function (*lakṣaṇā*).¹⁸ For instance, when we hear the word

¹⁵ For the causal relationship among these four, Marui [1987: 145-146 and notes 24, 26] gives two Sanskrit references and their explanations. One is from Udayana’s *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (*NKu*) 5.7: *pravṛtīḥ kṛtir evātra sā cecchāto yataś ca sā / taj jñānam ... //*, and the other from *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* (p. 74,1-4): *pravṛtīparavākyaśravanāntaram prayojyasya tattadarthasambandhavyāpārānukūlām ceṣṭām paśyams taṣṭhaḥ svaceṣṭāyām kṛteḥ kṛtau ca cikīṛṣāyās cikīṛṣāyām samānādhikaraṇa samānaviṣayakajñānasyaivāvadhrtakāraṇabhāva iti prayojyasyāpi tatkāraṇībhūtaṁ jñānam anumāya tasya jñānasya vākyajanyatāpravṛttau janayitavyāyām śabdavyāpāratvam cāvadhārayati. For a translation of the former passage, see Cowell [1980: 71] and N. Dravid [1996: 433].*

¹⁶ *NKu* k. 5.9:

*kṛtākṛtavibhāgena kartrrūpavyavasthaya |
yatna eva kṛtīḥ pūrvā parasmin saiva bhāvanā ||.*

For a translation of this *kārikā*, see Cowell [1980: 74] and N. Dravid [1996: 439].

¹⁷ Gaṅgeśa has the Naiyāyika object to the Mīmāṃsaka and quote Udayana’s *kārikā* referred to by the above footnote. On this, see Wada [2007a: 421]

¹⁸ Cf. *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī* (*NSM*), p. 292,3: *vṛtīś ca śaktīlakṣaṇānyatarah sambandhaḥ*. See also Matilal [1968: 25]. The indicative function is defined as the relation

‘śaśin’ (the moon) at night, this word first reminds us of the moon in the sky; furthermore it reminds us of a rabbit (śaśa). In this case the moon is the direct meaning of the word, and the function pointing to this meaning is called denotative. A rabbit is the indirect meaning of the word, and the function pointing to it is called indicative.

(e) Verbal understanding (śābdabodha, śābdajñāna)

The concept of verbal understanding is quite often utilized in analyzing the meaning of language units, e.g., a root (*dhātu*), suffix (*pratyaya*), nominal base (*prātipadika*), case-ending (*sUP*), and so on. Since we cannot determine the meaning of an isolated verbal suffix such as *-ti*, we have to deal with a complete word, such as ‘*pacati*’ (“[He] cooks”). From *pacati* we obtain a verbal understanding which has some content or structure. Gaṅgeśa and his opponents presuppose that all of this understanding is generated only by the word *pacati*; they attempt to find the correspondence between the constituents of the understanding we obtain on hearing *pacati* and the linguistic constituents, such as the verbal suffix, which make up this word.

There are three competing views of verbal understanding which identify different elements in a sentence as being predominant. According to the first view, the meaning of the noun in the nominative case is predominant (*prathamāntārthamukhyaviśeṣyakaśābdabodha*); according to the second view, the meaning of the verbal suffix is predominant (*ākhyātārthamukhyaviśeṣyakaśābdabodha*); according to the third view the meaning of the root is predominant (*dhātvarthamukhyaviśeṣyakaśābdabodha*).¹⁹ The Nyāya school upholds the first view; the Mīmāṃsā school the second; and the

with the denoted object/meaning (*NSM* k. 82ab: *lakṣaṇā śakyasambandhas ... /*). To explain this definition, when word A denotes meaning B and further indicates the meaning C, the indicative function of A reaches C through B. This function also represents the relation between A and C. The relation between A and B is expressed by ‘the denoted object’ in the definition; the relation between B and C by ‘the relation’ in the definition.

¹⁹ Cf. Rao [1969: 4-34]. The expression of verbal understanding may appear to represent its structure, but this is not accepted by some schools of Indian philosophy, i.e., those schools subsumed under the term ‘Indian Realism’, such as Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Mīmāṃsā. This point will be referred to later on under (f).

Grammarians school the third.

Take the sentence *caitraḥ pacati* as an example. Let us see what Navya-nyāya regards as the verbal understanding brought about through hearing this sentence. The word *caitra* denotes a person called Caitra; the case-ending *-ḥ* (*sU*) denotes the number of Caitras; the root *pac* denotes the action of cooking (*pāka*); the suffix *-ti* denotes effort. Effort generates the action of cooking. This relation between effort and cooking is not denoted by any meaningful unit of the sentence, but it is understood from the juxtaposition of the two units, *pac* and *-ti*. Similarly, the relation of the effort and Caitra is understood; he (i.e., his *ātman*) possesses effort. Finally, the sentence generates the understanding "Caitra is the possessor of effort conducive to cooking" (*pākānukūlaprayatnavān caitaḥ*).²⁰

Mīmāṃsakas, on the other hand, present the following verbal understanding as generated by the same sentence: "There is productive operation conducive to cooking and residing in Caitra" (*caitraniṣṭhā pākānukūlā bhāvanā*). Grammarians give the following analysis: "There is operation conducive to the softening of the cooked substance and occurring in Caitra" (*caitrāśrayakaḥ viklittyanukūlo vyāpāraḥ*). Here I have only briefly illustrated how the three schools analyze verbal understanding.²¹

²⁰ This type of verbal understanding is presented as Udayana's view in *NKu*, p. 531,4: *pākānukūlavartamānaprayatnavān*.

²¹ For example, it has not been illustrated how tense and mood are expressed, what the suffix *-a* inserted between *pac* and *-ti* denotes, and so forth. For a general illustration of verbal understanding, see Rao [1969:4-34] and Joshi [1993: 29-36]. Cardona [1975] discusses whether or not paraphrase and the analysis of verbal understanding decisively serve to assign partial meanings to the constituents of a sentence or word, such as a root and a suffix. Cardona [1975: 272] remarks that the different schools assign meanings in different ways, based on their particular backgrounds, premises, and aims. Diaconescu [2012: 30, 35, 37] points out a difference between the Nyāya view and the Mīmāṃsā and Grammarians views. The former view takes a preceding meaning element placed in the expression of verbal understanding as the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), and the following element as the qualificand, as stated above. The latter views, on the other hand, respectively take productive operation and operation (or, action) as the qualificands, and all the other meaning elements as their (direct or indirect) qualifiers.

(f) Meaning (*artha*)

Finally, I would like to call the reader's attention to the word 'meaning', which appears throughout my translation. This word does not always stand for 'mental representation' in the Indian context. Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Mīmāṃsā hold the view that knowledge or cognition (*jñāna*) has no content in itself (*nirākāravāda*) and that recognizing an object means that a cognitive relation occurs between the cognition and the object (*grāhyagrāhakabhāva*). For example, when for these three schools the meaning of the root *pac* is said to be the action of cooking, this does not refer to the understanding of cooking or the concept of cooking but rather to the physical action of cooking which takes place in the outer world. Even the expression of verbal understanding (*śābdabodha*) does not represent the structure of understanding or cognition itself but the structure of part of the outer world.

By contrast, the Grammarian school maintains that knowledge has content.²² For this school the expression of verbal understanding represents the structure of the understanding. This expression also represents the structure of a phenomenon in the outer world as long as the understanding corresponds to this phenomenon. When I am referring to this sense of "meaning" in the course of my translation, I have provided a footnote.

²² The Vijñānavāda school of Buddhism also takes this position. Gaṅgeśa does not debate with the followers of this school or other Sākāravādins in the "Verbal Suffix Chapter".

4. A Translation with Annotation of the Dhātuvāda of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*

A. Maṇḍana’s View

A1:²³ Maṇḍana Miśra [argues] that the meaning of a root is result. To explain, the meaning of [the root] *pac* (to cook) is softening (*viklitti*) [of cooking material], because [this meaning is] simple (*lāghava*);²⁴ and [the meaning] is not operation (*vyāpāra*) producing that result (softening), i.e., heating from below, and so forth, because [this meaning is] cumbersome. [Similarly the meaning of the root] *gam* (to go) is the contact with [the ground in] front; [that of the root] *pat* (to fall) is the contact with the lower [portion]; [that of the root] *tyaj* (to abandon) is separation. And [the meaning of those roots] is not movement (*spanda*) which produces their result. Similarly [the meaning of the root] *han* (to kill) is death, and not operation producing that result, such as a strike with an axe-weapon, for [this meaning is] cumbersome (*gaurava*). Similarly [the meaning of the root] *yaj* (to make an oblation to) is nothing more than the termination of ownership belonging to oneself, which (termination) is the result of abandonment aimed towards the deities. [The meaning of the root] *hu* (to offer as oblation to fire) is [the action of] pouring, which is the result of

²³ TC, Vol. 4/2, p. 847,2-10: *dhātvarthaḥ phalam iti maṇḍanācāryyāḥ*⁽¹⁾, *tathā hi pacyartho viklittir lāghavān na tu tatphalako vyāpāro ’dhahsantāpanādir gauravāt gamer uttarasamyogaḥ pater adhaḥsamyogaḥ tyajer vibhāgo ’rtho na tu tatphalajanakaḥ spandaḥ. hanter api maraṇam arthaḥ na tu tatphalajanako vyāpārah khaḍgābhighātādih gauravāt. yajatyartho ’pi devatoddeśyatyāgaphalaṃ svasvatvadhvaṃsa eva. juhotyarthas tyāgaphalaṃ prakṣepaḥ. dadātyarthaḥ sampradānasvikārapūrvakatyāgaphalaṃ svasya svatvadhvaṃsaḥ parasvatvaṃ vā na tu tattatphalakatyāgo gauravāt.* (⁽¹⁾ TC, p. 389,2 reads *maṇḍunācāryyāḥ*, which seems to be a mistake.)

²⁴ Simplicity or cumbersomeness (*gaurava*) depends upon the concept of the delimiter of the state of being denoted (*śakyatāvachedaka*) or of the ground for using the word (*pravṛttinimitta*). On this, see Wada [2006a]. The view which takes a universal (*jāti*) for the delimiter or the ground is simpler than the view which takes an imposed property (*upādhi*) for either of them. In this connection softeningness (*viklittitva*) is a universal, and the state of being operation producing the result (*tatphalakavyāpāratva*) is an imposed property. Maṇḍana did not make use of the former concept; so if the delimiter is taken into consideration in the present context, it turns out that it is his followers who claim simplicity or cumbersomeness.

abandonment. [The meaning of the root] *dā* (to give) is the result of abandonment on condition of the receiver's acceptance, being either the termination of ownership belonging to oneself or [the establishment of] ownership belonging to others, and [the meaning] is not abandonment producing each result because [this meaning is] cumbersome.

A2:²⁵ It should not be argued: Suppose the above is accepted; when operation has ended and [its] result has come into existence, there would be the usage of *pacati* (“[He] cooks”), *gacchati* (“[He] goes”), *dadāti* (“[He] gives”), etc.,²⁶ and not [the usage of] *apakṣīt* (“[He] cooked”);²⁷ moreover, when operation [takes place], the usage of *pacati* (“[He] cooks”) would not be possible.²⁸ [The reason for this is as follows:] the meaning of the verbal suffix [-*ti*]²⁹ is the present time of operation producing the meaning of the root.³⁰ Therefore, when operation [takes place], the usage of *pacati* (“[He] cooks”) is available; [this usage] is not [available] when operation has ended.

²⁵ TC, Vol. 4/2, p. 847,10-15: *na caivaṃ vyāpāravigame phaladaśāyāṃ pacati-gacchati-dadātītyādiprayogaḥ syān na tv apākṣīd ityādīḥ vyāpārakāle ca pacatītyādi na syād iti vācyam. dhātvarthānūkula⁽¹⁾-vyāpāravartamānavam ākhyātārthaḥ tena vyāpārakāle pacatītyādi bhavati na tu vyāpāravigame.* (⁽¹⁾ TC, p. 389,13 reads *dhātvarthānūkula*, which seems to be a mistake.)

²⁶ For example, if the root *gam* denotes the result of arriving, for example, at a village, it would be the case that when the person has arrived at the village, the usage of *gacchati* would be possible. It follows from this that before his / her arrival such a usage is impossible although he / she walks to the village.

²⁷ This sentence of the anticipated objection means that if the root denotes the result, the past tense of the verb would be impossible even in the case where the operation in question has ended.

²⁸ This objection means that when some operation has ended and its result has been produced, the present tense of the verb could be used, and when some operation continues before the production of its result, the present tense of the verb could not be used.

²⁹ On the meaning of the suffixes of finite verbs, see Basic Concepts: (b) *ākhyāta*.

³⁰ This is the Bhāṭṭa view of the meaning of the verbal suffix. On this, see Wada [2007a: 420, B1].

A3:³¹ It should not be argued: Since [space is] the support (*āśraya*)³² of contact (*saṃyoga*) and separation (*vibhāga*) produced by movement, the usage of *ākāśo gacchati patati tyajati* ("Space goes", "[Space] falls", or "[Space] departs") would be possible;³³ moreover, when action (*karman*) is vanishing [without producing its result, the usages of those verbs would] not [be] possible because contact, separation, and so on have ceased to exist.³⁴ The reason [for this] is that the verbal suffix is used when operation takes place through [an animate or inanimate being] possessing operation.

A4.1:³⁵ [Someone objects:] Suppose the above answer is appropriate; result, which is the meaning of a root, [would] be action (*kriyā*); therefore, in the cases of *taṇḍulam pacati* ("[He] cooks rice grain"), and so forth, rice grain, etc., would not possess even objectness (*karmatā*), because [rice grain, etc., possess] no state of possessing result produced by action, which (result) is nothing more than softening, etc.³⁶

³¹ TC, Vol. 4/2, pp. 847,15-848,2: *na ca spandajanyasaṃyogavibhāgāśrayatvenākāśo gacchati patati tyajati syāt vinaśyadavasthe karmaṇi ca na syāt saṃyoga-vibhāgādya bhāvād iti vācyam. vyāpāravati vyāpārakāle ākhyātaprayogāt.*

³² The concept of support (*āśraya*) subsumes those of container (*ādihāra*) and locus (*adhikaraṇa*). Here in Part A3 the term support is used in the sense of container. Gaṅgeśa uses the concept of support to present the Nyāya objection to the Mīmāṃsā view of an agent (*kartr*) and an action generator (*kāraka*) in his Ākhyātavada. On his use of the concepts, see Wada [2007a: 423]. On the Vaiśeṣika concept of *āśraya*, see Hirano [2015: 882-883].

³³ The anticipated objection is as follows. Space is an omnipresent substance (*dravya*), which can simultaneously possess contact with and separation from a substance. When a person walks, his separation from the back portion and his contact with the ground in front take place. This separation and contact is produced by the person's walk and is the result of this walk; this result takes place in space also. As a result, though the person walks, we could say *ākāśo gacchati* ("Space goes"), which is inappropriate.

³⁴ Suppose that a person wants to go to a village but that the person has stopped to take rest along the way. Because the person's separation from the ground in back and contact with the ground in front have ceased, we could not say *puruṣo grāmaṃ gacchati* ("He goes to the village"). However, this usage is possible even when the person takes rest.

³⁵ TC, Vol. 4/2, p. 848,2-5: *nanv evaṃ dhātvarthatvena phalaṃ kriyā tathā ca taṇḍulam pacatītyādau taṇḍulādeḥ karmatāpi na syād viklītyādirūpakriyājanya- phalaśālitvābhāvād iti cet.*

³⁶ The objection purports that if there is no linguistic unit which denotes the result, i.e., the softening of rice grain, we cannot identify the object of the action of cooking. The object must be the locus of the result.

A4.2:³⁷ [The followers of Maṇḍana answer: The above view is] not correct. [The reason for this is as follows.] Objectness (*karmatva*) is the state of possessing result [produced by] operation inhering in the other;³⁸ moreover, the operation [referred to in the above definition] is the meaning of the root or of the verbal suffix; in both cases rice grain, etc., possessing result [produced by] operation inhering in the other, possess objectness; when softening does not take place but operation takes place, the usage of *pāko vartate* (“Cooking takes place”) [can be made]; in this case the word *pāka* (cooking) possesses indicative function (*lakṣaṇā*)³⁹ with reference to operation, because softening is the denoted meaning⁴⁰ [of the root *pac* (to cook)] due to simplicity.

A5:⁴¹ In the cases of *jānāti* (“[The person] knows), *icchati* (“[The person] desires), *yatate* (“[The person] makes an effort”), *vidyate* (“[It] exists”), *tiṣṭhati* (“[The person] stays), and so on, the meanings of those roots are cognition, desire, effort, existence, and termination of going [respectively]. [The meanings of those roots are] neither results of cognition, etc., nor operations conducive to cognition, etc., because only the state of possessing cognition, etc., is understood [in hearing those verbs].

³⁷ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, p. 848,5-9: *na, parasamavetavyāpārāphalaśālitvaṃ karmatvaṃ sa ca vyāpāro dhātvartha akhyātārtho vetyubhayathāpi parasamavetavyāpārāphalaśālinas taṇḍulādeḥ karmatvaṃ viklityanupāde vyāpārakāle pāko vartata ity atra pākapade vyāpārālakṣaṇā lāghavena viklitteḥ śakyatvāt.*

³⁸ This definition of objectness appears as Gaṅgeśa’s in the “Verbal Suffix Chapter” (*Ākhyātavāda*) of his *TC* too. On this, see Wada [2014b: 205].

³⁹ This is one of the two kinds of signifying function (*vṛtti*) according to the Nyāya school; the other function is called denotative (*śakti*). On these two functions, see Basic Concepts: (d) The signifying function (*vṛtti*).

⁴⁰ Denoted meaning is the meaning obtained by denotative function (*śakti*). On this see Basic Concepts: (d) The signifying function (*vṛtti*).

⁴¹ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, p. 848,9-12: *jānāticchati-yatate-vidyate-tiṣṭhatīyādau jñānecchā-prayatasattā-gatinivṛttir eva dhātvarthaḥ, na jñānādīphalaṃ na vā jñānādyanukūlovyāpārah jñānādimatvamātrapratīter iti.*

B. Gaṅgeśa’s View⁴²

B1:⁴³ On this point [the following] is answered [by Gaṅgeśa]. In the case of *odanakāmaḥ paceta* (“One who desires rice gruel should cook”), the state of being to be accomplished by resolution and the state of being the means for accomplishing what is desired are understood from the optative suffix⁴⁴ in order to induce [the hearer of the sentence] to [perform] the meaning⁴⁵ of the root. The state of being the means for [attaining] rice gruel does not exist in the result which is softening, etc.⁴⁶ Nor is the activity (*pravṛtti*)⁴⁷ [of the hearer] to obtain [this] result is possible. The reason [for this] is that not having taken recourse to the means (*upāya*), resolution⁴⁸ (*kṛti*) cannot directly accomplish the result. That is because result is nothing more than what is to be accomplished by resolution which has the means [for attaining its object], and not what is to be

⁴² Gaṅgeśa’s final view is given in the form of two alternatives: the first one appears in Part B1, and the second, in Part B3.

⁴³ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, pp. 848,13-849,5: *atrocyate. odanakāmaḥ pacetety atra vidhipratyayena dhātvarthe pravṛtyarthaṃ kṛtisādhyatvam iṣṭasādhanatvañ ca bodhyate. na ca phale viklityādāv⁽¹⁾ odanasādhanatvaṃ na vā phale pravṛtīḥ sambhavati, upāyam akṛtvā phalasya sāṅṣāt kṛtyā sādhayitum aśakyatvāt upāyakṛtisādhyam eva hi phalam na tu tadanyakṛtisādhyam upāyakṛtita eva tatsiddher adhaḥsantāpanādeḥ kṛtisādhyeṣṭasādhanatvaṃ vinā viklityarthaṃ apravṛtteś ca. upāya evādhaḥsantāpanādir vyāpārah pravṛtīviśayavāt kṛtisādhyatveneṣṭasādhanatvena ca vidhipratyayena bodhyata iti phalānukūlo vyāpāra eva dhātvarthaḥ.* (⁽¹⁾ *TC*, p. 389,1 reads *viklityādāv*, which seems to be a mistake.)

⁴⁴ Gaṅgeśa mentions two of the three meanings of the optative suffix (*vidhiliṅ*), which (three meanings) are traditionally maintained in Navya-nyāya. Marui [1987: 146-147] [1988: 128-129] elucidates those three presented in the *KĀ*, kk. 146-150; *NSM*, pp. 472,7-490,6: the state of being to be accomplished by resolution (*kṛtisādhyatva*), the state of being the means for attaining the desired thing (*iṣṭasādhanatva*), and the state of being not connected with great harm (*balavadaniṣṭānanubandhitva*). *MK* (p. 76,3) also presents those three meanings. Gaṅgeśa’s “Injunction Section” (*Vidhivāda*) is translated by Jha [1987].

⁴⁵ Here ‘meaning’ does not represent a conceptual one, but a physical result or operation. On this, see Basic Concepts: (f) Meaning (*artha*).

⁴⁶ The causal relationship among the entities referred to in the process of attaining rice gruel is as follows: the person first possesses resolution (or effort) for heating from below; then the action of heating from below takes place; after this action the result of softening takes place turning rice into gruel.

⁴⁷ The term is used in the sense of effort (or resolution) or commencement of action.

⁴⁸ On the relation between resolution and effort (*yatna*, *prayatna*), see Basic Concepts: (c) Effort (*yatna*, *prayatna*).

accomplished by resolution which has something other than that [means for attaining its object]. The reasons [for this] are that that [result] is accomplished only by resolution which has the means [for attaining its object], and that unless heating from below, and so forth⁴⁹ are [known] to be accomplished by resolution and to be the means for what is desired (i.e., softening), there [can] be no activity [of the hearer] to attain softening. Heating from below, etc., which are operation, and which are nothing more than the means [for attaining rice gruel], due to being the object of activity [for cooking], are understood from the optative suffix as that to be accomplished by resolution and to be the means for [attaining] what is desired. Therefore, only operation conducive to the result is the meaning of a root.⁵⁰

B2.1:⁵¹ If [the Mīmāṃsaka, i.e., the follower of Maṇḍana, argues] as follows: it is true that the knowledge that the means is to be accomplished by resolution induces [the hearer of the sentence] to perform; but the state of being to be accomplished by resolution for [attaining] that means is implied by the state of being to be accomplished by resolution for [obtaining] the result, which (latter state) is caused to be understood by the optative suffix; the reason [for this] is that without the [former] state, the [latter] state is impossible,⁵² then [Gaṅgeśa answers as follows].

⁴⁹ Other operations are putting the cooking pot on the fire (*adhiśrayana*), pouring water into the pot (*udakāsecana*), putting rice grain in the pot (*taṇḍulāvapana*) and stoking fuel in the fire (*edhopakarṣaṇa*) and the like. Cf. *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. 2, p. 28,15-16: *yadi apy ekā sāmānyakriyā. avayavakriyās tu bahavaḥ. adhiśrayanodakāsecanatanḍulāvapanaidhopakarṣaṇakriyāḥ.*

⁵⁰ This meaning is also advocated by Udayana. On this, see Introduction: Basic Concepts: (a) *dhātu* (verbal root).

⁵¹ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, p. 849,6-8: *athopāyasya kṛtisādhyatvajñānaṃ pravarttakam iti satyaṃ kin tu vidhibodhitaphalakṛtisādhyatvena tadupāyakṛtisādhyatvam ākṣipyate tena vinā tadanupapatter iti cet.*

⁵² The Mīmāṃsaka insists that the meaning of the root is only the effect, and considers that the root with the suffix denotes the state of being to be accomplished by resolution for [attaining] the result. Since this denoted meaning implies Gaṅgeśa's view that the means is to be accomplished by resolution, according to the Mīmāṃsaka, it is not required to accept Gaṅgeśa's view. Here 'implication' means assumption (*arthāpatti*).

B2.2:⁵³ [This view is] not correct. The reason [for this] is that because on the basis of behavior the denotative function (*śakti*) of the optative suffix is grasped in the understanding which induces [the hearer of the sentence to perform],⁵⁴ [the opponent's] postulation has the object (i.e., the means for attaining the result)⁵⁵ of a direct producer (*upapādaka*) (i.e., the verbal understanding of the means for attaining the result) of the activity [of the hearer of the sentence].⁵⁶ Thus, even the roots *yaj* (to make an oblation to), *gam* (to go), *pac* (to cook), *hu* (to offer an oblation to fire), and *dā* (to give) [would] denote only operation,⁵⁷ for activity [leading directly] to the result is not possible.

⁵³ TC, Vol. 4/2, pp. 849,8-850,2: *na, vyavahārāt pravṛttijanake jñāne vidhi- pratyayasya śaktigrahāt pravṛttisākṣādupapādakaviṣayatvāt kalpanāyāḥ. evaṃ yaji-gami-paci-juhoti-dadātīnām api vyāpāra eva vācyaḥ phale pravṛtyasambhavāt.*

⁵⁴ According to Gaṅgeśa, the hearer understands that the optative suffix denotes the state of being to be accomplished by resolution for attaining the means and the state of being the means for attaining what is desired. Hence, it is not required to acknowledge the opponent's implication.

⁵⁵ This is nothing more than operation, knowledge of which causes a person to take action. Gaṅgeśa holds that such operation should be understood from the root, because it is not understood from the verbal suffix in the implication referred to by the opponent.

⁵⁶ The opponent's explanation, by means of implication, of how the injunctive sentence induces the hearer of the sentence to perform is more complicated than Gaṅgeśa's view that the root denotes operation, which is regarded as a cause of inducing the hearer to operate / act.

⁵⁷ It appears strange that Gaṅgeśa claims that some roots denote only operation, since he has concluded in Part B1 that roots denote operation conducive to its result and also since he provides, for example, the result of the operation denoted by the root *pac* (to cook) in the following Part B3 and the result in the cases of the roots *yaj* (to make an oblation to), *dā* (to give), and *hu* (to offer as oblation to fire) in Part B5.2. His intention in the last sentence of Part B2.2 may be as follows. The Mīmāṃsaka's implication or assumption in Part B2.1 presupposes that the knowledge that the means (i.e., operation for attaining the result) is to be accomplished by resolution *directly* induces the hearer of the sentence to begin action. Since the state of being to be accomplished by resolution is understood from the suffix, it turns out that the means (i.e., operation) should be understood from the root. Hence, as far as we accept the validity of the Mīmāṃsaka's implication, we cannot but accept that roots denote operation. On the other hand, even when the result of some operation does not take place, we can actually use the verb. Thus, Gaṅgeśa may claim that even if we accept the validity of the Mīmāṃsaka's implication, roots denote operation and not its mere result. We will next see a case in which operation takes place and no result is accomplished and still we use the verb. For example, when we say *devadatto grāmaṃ gacchati* ("Devadatta goes to the village"), he begins to walk or to take a vehicle or an animal and it is not the case that he immediately accomplishes arriving at the village. Even if he stops to take rest on the way to

B3:⁵⁸ In that case,⁵⁹ the meaning of [the root] *pac* is only heating from below, and that [heating] is invariably concomitant with the result which is the change of color, taste, smell, and touch. A particular universal (*jāti*) existing in heating from below is necessarily said to be the delimitor (*avacchedaka*) of the state of producing the change of color, and so forth.⁶⁰ This is because otherwise [the hearer of the sentence] would not be induced to do heating from below in order to attain the result. [The reason why such heating possesses the universal is that] even if operation is denoted by the verbal suffix [as the Mīmāṃsaka argues], particularity (*viśeṣa*) is necessarily denoted [by the root].⁶¹

B4.1:⁶² Moreover, the result [of cooking] is neither the qualifier (*viśeṣana*) nor indicator (*upalakṣana*) [of operation such as

the village, we can use the same sentence with reference to his behavior. This means that even if the operation does not produce its result, we can use the verbs referring to the same operation. On the meaning of roots, the *Maṇikāṇa* (p. 84,11), whose title appears to faithfully represent Gaṅgeśa's view, says that roots possess the denotative function with reference to operation qualified by its result or both result and operation (*dhātūnaṃ phalāvacchinne vyāpāre phalavyāpārayor vā śaktiḥ*).

⁵⁸ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, pp. 850,2-851,2: *tatra pacyartho 'dhaḥsantāpanam eva tat ca rūpa-rasa-gandha-sparśaparāvṛtṭiphālāvinābhūtaṃ, adhaḥsantāpane ca jātiviśeṣo rūpādi-parāvṛtṭijanakatāvacchedako 'vaśyaṃ vācyah. anyathā phalārtham adhaḥsantāpane 'pravṛtteḥ vyāpārasyākhyātavācyatve 'pi viśeṣasyāvaśyaṃ vācyatvāt.*

⁵⁹ That is, the case in which a root denotes only operation and in which the purpose of cooking is unknown.

⁶⁰ In other words, a particular action of heating from below generates a particular result, i.e., a particular change of those qualities. All those actions including heating from below possess the state of producing the change of them. According to Navya-nyāya, a universal residing only in all such actions is considered to confine that state to them, and thus this universal is the delimitor of the state. On the concept of delimitor, see Wada [1990: 81-98] [2007a: 33-34].

⁶¹ Even the Mīmāṃsaka would understand that the verb *pacati*, i.e., the root plus the verbal suffix, denotes a particular operation of heating from below, etc. Since the operation is denoted by the suffix, particularity possessed by this operation should be denoted by a linguistic unit other than the suffix, i.e., the root. Gaṅgeśa holds that both particularity and operation should be denoted one and the same linguistic unit.

⁶² *TC*, Vol. 4/2, p. 851,2-5: *pacyarthe ca phalaṃ na viśeṣaṇaṃ na vopalakṣaṇaṃ loke 'dhaḥsantāpanaviśeṣasya rūpādi-parāvṛtṭivyabhicāreṇa vyāvarttyābhāvāt. vede 'dhaḥsantāpanamātraṃ pākpadārthaḥ kṛṣṇalaṃ śrapayed ityādau phalābhāvāt.*

heating below] in the meaning of [the root] *pac* (to cook).⁶³ The reason [for this] is that since a particular heating from below is invariably concomitant with the change of color, etc., in common experience (*loka*), nothing to be distinguished [by the result] remains.⁶⁴ In Vedic usage only heating from below is the meaning of the linguistic unit *pāka* (cooking) [which denotes the meaning of the root of *śrapayati* (to cook)], for [one can obtain] no result in the case of *kṛṣṇalaṃ śrapayet* (“One should cook small golden pieces”), and so forth.⁶⁵

B4.2:⁶⁶ Alternatively [the result of cooking] should be the indicator [of the operation in the meaning of the root *pac* (to cook)];⁶⁷ ‘heating from below’ capable of changing color, etc., is the meaning of the linguistic unit *pāka* (to cook) [which is denoted by the root *pac* (to cook)]; capability of heating exists in [the case of] the golden pieces as well.

B5.1:⁶⁸ Only a particular movement is the denoted [meaning] of [the root] *gam* (to go); movement which produces the contact with [the ground in] front is not denoted [by that root]. The

⁶³ Gaṅgeśa states in Part B.3 that the meaning of *pac* (to cook) is only the operation of heating below, and that its result is the change of color, taste, smell, and touch. Here in Part B4.1 he discusses the relation between the operation and the result.

⁶⁴ Both qualifier and indicator distinguish the entities from others. The difference between them is that the former exists in those entities, and the latter does not exist in them. On this, see Wada [1990: 46-47]. Gaṅgeśa intends that when the two entities are always connected with one another, either entity does not need to distinguish the other from other entities and cannot be its qualifier or indicator.

⁶⁵ Even if one heats golden pieces in the ordinary way in the Vedic ritual, one cannot obtain the result of softening of those pieces.

⁶⁶ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, pp. 851,5-852,1: *astu vopalakṣaṇaṃ rūpādīparāvṛttiyogyādhaḥ-santāpanaṃ pākpadārthaḥ yogyatā⁽¹⁾ ca santāpane kṛṣṇalādāv apy asti.* (⁽¹⁾ *TC*, p. 389,1 reads *yāgyatā*, which seems to be a mistake.)

⁶⁷ When the result has not yet come into being, it cannot be the qualifier of the operation. The possibility of other distinguishing factors is said to be an indicator.

⁶⁸ *TC*, Vol. 4/2, p. 852,2-10: *gameḥ spandaviśeṣa eva vācya na tūttaradeśa-saṃyogajanakatvena spandasya vācyatā sarvaspandānāṃ tathātvēna vyāvartyābhāvāt. spande ca viśeṣaḥ saṃyogavibhāgajanakatāvachedakaḥ sarvasiddha eva. tyajeś ca karmamātram śakyam na tu pūrvadeśavibhāgaphalākarmatvena śakyatvaṃ sarva-karmaṇāṃ tathātvēna vyāvartyābhāvāt. tyajātītiprayoge ca tadbuddhir nimittam. patatyartho 'pi karmaviśeṣa eva gurutvāsamavāyikāranaprayojyādhaḥsaṃyoga-phalajanakaḥ, phalan tu karmaviśeṣaparicāyakaṃ mātram.*

reason [for this] is that because all movement is like that, nothing to be distinguished [by the result, i.e., the contact] remains.⁶⁹ The particularity residing in [a particular] movement is the delimitor of the state of producing of contact and separation, which is indeed established by all [people]. Action (*karman*) in general is the denoted [meaning] of [the root] *tyaj* (to abandon); [action] which has for its result the separation from the back portion is not denoted [by that root]. The reason [for this] is that since all action is like that, nothing to be distinguished [by the result, i.e., the separation] remains. However, the knowledge of that [separation] is the ground for the usage of [the root] *tyaj* (to depart/abandon). Only a particular action is also the meaning of [the root] *pat* (to fall), which produces the result, i.e., the contact with the below [portion] caused by the non-inherent-cause (*asamavāyikāraṇa*) [of falling], i.e., gravity (*gurutva*),⁷⁰ while the result [of falling] is only the pointer (*paricāyaka*)⁷¹ to a particular action.

B5.2:⁷² [In the Vedic usage] only abandonment preceded by individual declarations (*saṅkalpa*) of *idaṃ na mama* (“This is

⁶⁹ In other words, whenever any conjugation of the root *gam* (to go) is used, one and the same result would be brought about. Moreover, if *gam* denotes one and the same movement, we cannot distinguish movement of person A from that of person B. In that case, the two persons would go in the same manner.

⁷⁰ Prāśastapāda says in his *Padārthadharmasamgraha* (# 297) that gravity is the cause of the action of falling: *gurutvam jalabhūmiyoḥ patanakarmakāraṇam*. The *Tarkasamgraha* (p. 20,2) says that gravity is the non-inherent-cause of initial falling: *ādyapatanāsama-vāyikāraṇam gurutvam*.

⁷¹ According to the *Nyāyakośa* (p. 478), the term *paricāyakam* has two meanings: (1) that which causes one to understand a particular meaning of a word which does not need to form the whole expression (*tadaghaṭakatve saty arthaviśeṣajñāpakan. yathā śabdaguṇa-katvarūpākāśalakṣaṇe guṇaḥ paricāyakaḥ.*) and (2) an indicator (*upalakṣaṇam iti kecid vadanti*). In Part 5.1 this term, which I have rendered as ‘pointer’, appears to be used in the second sense. But it is also possible to interpret the term as used in the first sense, since the denoted meaning of the root part includes the result.

⁷² TC, Vol. 4/2, pp. 852,10-853,7: *yajati-dadāti-juhotīnām idaṃ na mametyādi-tattatsaṅkalpaviśeṣapūrvas tyāga eva vācyaḥ saṅkalpe ca viśeṣas tu⁽¹⁾ tattadvīśeṣakṛtas tattatphalaviśeṣajanakatāvachchedako mānasapratyakṣasiddha eva na tu tattatphalajanakasāṅkalpaviśeṣe śaktiḥ gauravāt. devatoddeśyakasvasvatvadhvaṃsaphalakatyāgatvam sampradānasvīkaraṇapūrvakasvatvadhvaṃsaparasvatvāpattiphalaajanakatyāgatvam devatoddeśyakapraṅkṣepaphalakatyāgatvañ ca tattatsaṅkalpaviśeṣapāricāyakaṃ-tram iti. iti*

not mine”),⁷³ and so forth, is the denoted [meaning] of [the roots] *yaj* (to make an oblation to), *dā* (to give), and *hu* (to offer as oblation to fire); and the particularity of declarations, which (particularity) is caused by each particular [declaration], is the delimiter of the state of producing each particular result [corresponding to each declaration], which is indeed established by mental perception. However, [those three roots] do not possess the denotative function with reference to a particular declaration producing each result, because [this view is] cumbersome.⁷⁴ (1) Abandonmentness (*tyāgatva*) [residing in abandonment] causing the result which is the termination of ownership belonging to oneself aimed towards the deities, (2) abandonmentness [residing in abandonment] causing the result which is [both] the termination of ownership belonging to oneself and the occurrence of ownership belonging to others on the condition of the receiver’s acceptance, and (3) abandonmentness [residing in abandonment] causing the result which is a throwing [i.e., offering] aimed towards the deities are nothing more than the pointers to each particular declaration [in the cases of the three roots *yaj*, *dā*, and *hu* respectively].⁷⁵

Here ends the “Verbal Root Chapter” (Dhātuvāda) of the Fourth Book (*khaṇḍa*) named “Language” (Śabda) of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* composed by Revered Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya.

śrīmadgaṅgeśopādhyāyaviracite tattvacintāmaṇau śabdākhyaturīyakhaṇḍe dhātuvādaḥ. (⁽¹⁾ tu may be redundant.)

⁷³ Declaring *idaṃ na mama* (“This is not mine”), etc., in the ritual, the priest or institutor of the ritual (*yajamāna*) makes an oblation of water, purified butter, etc., to the diety / dieties.

⁷⁴ In the beginning of text B5.2 Gaṅgeśa states that those three roots denote abandonment preceded by individual declarations. But they do not respectively denote a particular declaration. In this case the delimiter of the denotedness of the roots or the ground for the usage of them is abandonmentness (*tyāgatva*), which is a universal (*jāti*). If those roots denote individual declarations also, the delimiter or the ground is the state of being abandonment preceded by individual declarations, which state is not a universal. It is more cumbersome to say that the delimiter or the ground is not a universal.

⁷⁵ Those three roots denote a common operation, i.e., abandonment, but they differ as to their result. Here Gaṅgeśa points out how particular declarations are connected with operations which possess different results. According to him, those operations respectively point the priest(s) to (i.e., inform him / them of) the declarations corresponding to them.

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NARENDRA K. WAGLE

ON IMAGE WORSHIP IN BUDDHISM AND HINDUISM:
A SYNOPTIC VIEW¹

Introduction

A devout Hindu in a village, town or a city in modern India, daily or periodically, offers worship (*pujā*) in his household shrine (*devagrha*) to miniature images (*murti*) of his lineage deity (*kula daivata*), his chosen deities (*iṣṭa daivata*) and the local guardian deity (*grāma daivata*), carved of stones or cast in metal. While worshipping the deity through unflinching love (*bhakti*), invoking it through fitting ritual, and entreating, appeasing, meditating and repeating its name, a devout Hindu worshiper's ultimate goal is to unite with the deity.

Carved, sculpted or cast in human or supra-mundane forms, the Hindu deities comprise the cosmic gods Śiva and Viṣṇu, and the regional gods and goddesses, who are often associated or identified with the cosmic gods. Some of the deities materialize in their intangible, aniconic shapes. God Śiva god, for instance, is worshiped as *Śivaliṅga*, an aniconic object, signifying the god's potency and creative powers. *Śivaliṅga*, in some instances, is incased in gold, silver or bronze. The deities, both in their image or aniconic forms, are endowed with miraculous powers, energy and wisdom: the worshippers to save them from calamities, to absolve them of their wrong doings, and fulfill their wishes invoke them. However, the spiritual dimension of

¹ Paper presented at the *International Conference of Indologists*, Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi, India, 21-23 November 2015.

the worship of a deity in its image or aniconic form is far more important in the eyes of the worshipper than its artistic merit.

The Pāli Canonical Theravāda texts (400-300 BCE) unequivocally state that whenever the Buddha delivered his *dhamma* sermons, his followers and the public in general flocked to hear him speak. The Buddha was greatly venerated in his lifetime as a compassionate teacher, urging people to lead a moral life. However, he taught the monks and nuns, who had joined his monastic order (*saṅgha*), the way to achieve *nibbāna*, the ultimate freedom from unhappiness (*dukkha*). Immediately following the Buddha's death (420-405 BCE),² the devotees of the Buddha began to revere him in his aniconic forms: the *Bodhi* tree, the empty seat flanked by his followers, the wheel of *dhamma* (the Buddha's doctrine), his footprints, and more importantly the domed shape *stupa*, the funerary monument symbolic of the Buddha's presence. From about the first century CE, the followers of the Buddha, while beginning to venerate the newly emergent Buddha and Bodhisattva images, continued worshiping his earlier aniconic symbols.

Throughout the Pāli Canonical texts (400-300 BCE), the Buddha and to some extent his senior monks were unequivocally positioned above the post Vedic pantheon of the gods in rank and status. The Buddha did not reject the post-Vedic pantheon of gods, who were functioning in his time in the religious space, but they were made subservient to him and his *dhamma*: they became an agency for legitimizing and spreading the Buddha's *dhamma*.

The Buddha's assigned superior status and rank in the texts, placing him over and above the gods, together with the Buddha and Bodhisattva centered Mahāyāna doctrine, which made Buddhahood, not *nibbāna*, as the supreme goal of the Buddhists, and finally the competition that Buddhism had to face from the rejuvenated post-Aśokan Brāhmanic Hinduism, Buddhism's main rival, contributed to the emergence and

² See Richard Gombrich, *Theravāda Buddhism*, (second edition), and London: Rutledge, 2006, p. XI. Gombrich suggests the date of the Buddha's *nibbāna* as 445 BCE, which brings the date of his *parinibbāna*, the final passing away, as 410 BCE.

consolidation of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images (100 BCE-300 CE). By making the Buddha and Bodhisattva images, along with the *stupas*, the chief objects of veneration and worship, augmented the Buddha's well-established superior standing in the world of the gods. We cannot, of course, ignore the imperial patronage of Aśoka and the Kuṣāṇa rulers given to Buddhism. The complex mix of the Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism began expanding rapidly and widely in the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere in Asia from the first century CE. The centrality of the Buddha image in Buddhism also facilitated its claim for a distinct religious individuality.

Although the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka's active sponsorship of Buddhism led to Buddhism's popularity and growth in his time, Aśoka is not credited with the origin of the Buddha image, despite his close connections with the Hellenic world, where the images of Greek gods were found in abundance. The images of the Buddha in North and North Western India first came into prominence in the post-Aśokan period, a period dominated by the Indo-Greeks, Śaka and Kuṣāṇa rulers (approximately 150 BCE to 300 CE).

Beginning with the first century CE under rejuvenated post-Aśokan Brāhmanic Hinduism, the "Hindu" deities previously worshipped in abstract form or as aniconic objects, through the sacred sacrificial fire altars, and through incantations of the Vedic *mantras*, began to appear with carved and sculpted images (*murti*), and by the fourth century CE, with temples to house them. The Brāhmanic Hinduism helped crystallize its own embryonic post-Aśokan image worship through new interpretations of the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads*, reworking the older narrative epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, and composing the *Dharmaśāstras*, the normative books on law, ethics, morality and expiatory procedures (*prāyascitta*). Brāhmanic Hinduism, above all, was further strengthened by its great body of the *Purāṇas* from the fourth century CE, with their cycles of legends, myths and ancient history of the cosmic gods like Śiva, Viṣṇu, and those of the additional gods and goddesses. Even the Buddhist texts, formerly composed in Prākṛit (Māgadhi, Pāli), started appearing in Sanskrit, indicating

the growing influence of Brāhmanic Hinduism with its literature composed in that language. Coincidentally, the period of growth of the Buddha images from the first century onwards harmonizes with the new, consolidated and aggressively competitive Brāhmanic Hinduism, which eventually succeeded in marginalizing Buddhism from the mainline India, pushing it to its North Eastern corners.

The *pujā* (worship) rituals dedicated to the Hindu deities routinely followed by a devout or orthodox individual Hindu worshipper in modern India, described in this paper, establishes the worshiper's intimate relationship with the deity in its image form. The paper also delineates the relationship that exists between the rituals of *pujā* and *bhakti*, which is a form of intense devotion and love of god.

Earle Coleman's statement that art and religion have been reciprocal powers, religion inspiring art and it, in turn, communicating the numinous, rings true in India's case.³ Coleman also finds no essential distinction between aesthetics and the spiritual. Theologian-art historian, Thomas Martland, also says that the religious art, as a form of aesthetic appreciation, is a kind of human religious behavior and spiritual behavior of a community as well.⁴ In fact, the tenth Century Kashmiri Philosopher and aesthetician, Abhinava Gupta (950-1016 CE), through his inimitable logical acumen, had established a correspondence between mystical trance and aesthetic bliss.⁵

While not focusing on the technical and stylistic analysis of Hindu and Buddhist religious art forms in their historical settings, the paper attempts to describe and analyze, synoptically, (a) the origin and veneration of the Buddha image in ancient India, and (b) the worship of Hindu gods and

³ See, Earle Colman, *Creativity and Spirituality: Bonds Between Art and Religion*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998, p. xii.

⁴ See, Thomas Martland, *Religion As Art: An Interpretation*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981.

⁵ See, Larson, Jerald James, "The Aesthetic (*Rasāsvāda*) and the Religious (*Brahmāsvāda*) in Abhinavagupta's Kashmir Śaivism", in *Philosophy East and West*, 26: 371-387.

goddesses in their image forms done with devotion and love, and who are continually perceived as living entities from ancient to the present time in India. In this context, the *Āgama* texts (600-1200 CE) are still closely followed as guidelines to the procedure of installation and worship of the deities in the temples and households of India.

The Buddha in aniconic art form (400 BCE-100 CE)

The transformation of some of the cosmic Vedic deities from their abstract forms into images in the late Vedic and the post-*upanishadic* periods right in to the Buddha's time cannot be ruled out. But the concrete evidence from the fourth century BCE texts to prove the existence of their image forms beyond a reasonable doubt is yet to be established. Constructing fire altars, the Vedic deities continued to be invoked and worshipped through sacred *mantras*, and were given offerings to satisfy their needs. But the deities are not specifically referred to in the texts as represented or crafted in their image forms on earth.

The reluctance of the Buddhists in representing the Buddha in his physical form in the centuries immediately following the Buddha's death may have been due to the conventional post-Vedic practice of not showing the concrete, visible forms of the gods and goddesses. More importantly, for the Buddhists, the Buddha, by attaining the *nibbāna*, had reached a state beyond time and space. His *nibbāna* had liberated him from the *karmic* cycle of birth and death. To represent the Buddha in human form after his death may have been regarded as inconceivable by the early Buddhists. The Buddha, therefore, could not have been represented as an icon. The artistic symbols of the Buddha's presence, as Peter Harvey comment, "were preferred as better indication of the inexpressible nature of the Buddha".⁶ The absence of physical image of the Buddha in relief and in

⁶ Peter Harvey, "Venerated objects and symbols of early Buddhism", in *Symbols in Art and Religion*, Karen Werner (ed.), London: Curzon Press, 1990, p.68.

round sculptured form characterizes the phase of Buddhism, which lasted approximately from 400 BCE to 100 CE.

The well-organized *saṃgha*, the monastic order established by the Buddha, sustained the Buddha's *dhamma* (doctrine) after his *parinibbāna*, the final passing away. His lay followers (*sāvakas*, *upāsakas*) began worshipping the symbols associated with his life's transformative movements: a wheel, the *Bodhi* tree, his footprints, an empty seat and *stupa*.

The wheel of *dhamma*, carved in relief, symbolized both the Buddha's first teaching of the *dhamma*, called the turning of the wheel of *dhamma* (*dhamma cakka parivattana*), to the five monks in Sāranath, and the universality of the Buddha's *dhamma*. The Buddhist emperor Aśoka in the third century BCE used the wheel as an emblem of his spreading empire, as well as pledge to his subject to rule the empire with justice and equity according to the Buddha's doctrine.⁷

The symbol of the *Bodhi* tree (*Aśvattha*, *ficus religiosa*), fittingly, represented Buddha's mental and physical struggles leading the attainment of *nibbāna* sitting under the *Bodhi* tree. Thus, the tree represented the Buddha's *nibbāna*, his awakening. The worship of footprints of the Buddha acknowledged his greatness as a teacher of *dhamma*, deserving salutation. An empty seat, usually surrounded by the devotees paying respect to it, represented his presence as a great teacher.

The most important object of veneration of the Buddha was the *stupa*, a hemispherical dome constructed out of bricks, on the top of which were kept the funerary remains, supposedly of the Buddha and those of his important monks. Bireille Benisti states that "like a statue or icon, it [*stupa*] itself was an object of worship and venerated as the representative of the Buddha".⁸ The *stupa* embodied Buddha's physical remains (*sarīrika*), identified with the elements (*dhātu*), of the great person that Buddha was. According to the Pāli texts, the Buddha's funerary

⁷ See, A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, Delhi: Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1970, pp. 266 ff.

⁸ Bireille Benisti, *Stylistics of Buddhist art in India*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2003, p. 23. Benisti offers a comprehensive study of the *stupa* architecture in India and elsewhere in Asia.

remains were distributed after his *parinibbāna* (final passing away) in eight parts and the recipients of the remains constructed commemorative columns to house them. Emperor Aśoka, according to the traditional account, reinterred and redistributed the remains, using them for building thousands of *stupas*.⁹

We would like to argue that one of the key factors in the emergence of the Buddha image was due to the highest esteem with which the Buddha was held in the earliest Pāli Theravāda Canonical texts during his lifetime and after his death. More importantly, due to the highest rank and status vis-a-vis the deities attributed to him by the Pali texts led to the concretization of the Buddha in his image form with a human face his devotees could relate to.

The Pāli texts (400-300 BCE) admit the highest assigned rank of the *Brahmaloka* (Brahmā's heaven), with its Brahmā gods and their frontrunner Mahābrahmā, in the hierarchically arranged heavens where the gods reside. The Buddha actually acknowledges the existence of the gods and ranked hierarchy embedded in their worlds. But the Buddha, according to the texts, outranked all the deities, including Brahmā gods residing in the Brahmā's heaven.

There are far too many examples of the Buddha's explicitly stated superior rank in the world of the gods in the early Canonical texts (400-300 BCE). As the Buddha says "he sees no one in the world of gods (*sa deva loke*) whom he should salute, rise up from his seat for or offer a seat".¹⁰ In a famous episode in the annals of Buddhism, Brahmā Sahampati, saluting the Buddha reverentially, entreats the Buddha to teach his new doctrine to mankind, when the Buddha had initially decided not to teach to teach it after achieving his *nibbāna*.¹¹

⁹ A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, p. 267. Warder contends that by constructing *stupas*, Aśoka made the Buddha physically accessible to the population.

¹⁰ *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, I, IV.173. Pāli references are from Pāli Text Society (PTS) edition.

¹¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 168 ff; *Samyutta Nikāya*, I, 137 f. Brahmā Sahampati is shown in the *Samyutta Nikāya* as agreeing to the Buddha's path to *nibbāna*, *Samyutta Nikāya*, V, 167 f.

Like several of the Brahmā gods who are known in the text to propagate the Buddha's *dhamma*, Brahmā Sanankumāra is identified as a fervent follower of the Buddha.¹² In another instance, a certain Buddhist monk wants to know where do the earth, water, heat and air, the four elements, absolutely cease. He traverses through the hierarchically arranged heavenly worlds asking the gods for an answer. The gods in each of the heavens send the monk higher up in scales of heavens, until that monk reaches the great god Brahmā in the highest reaches of the heavens, the *Brahmaloka*. Brahmā takes him aside and tells him that he has no answer to the question; only the Buddha has the answer and he should go and ask him, which he does.¹³ In another instance, the gods endowed with long life and well settled in their heavenly abodes become frightened and uneasy, when they hear the Buddha's preaching that the life is impermanent (*anicca*). The text adds, "Thus potent is the Tathāgata (the Buddha) over the *devas* (gods) and their world and such might, such power has he."¹⁴ The Buddha in one instance is shown to humiliate the proud Baka Brahmā, who wishes to disappear from where the Buddha was seated after loosing a debate with him, but was unable to do so because of the Buddha's superior psychic powers, while the Buddha left the *Brahmaloka* in Baka's presence as easily as he had entered it.¹⁵ More importantly, the gods in the heaven, including the Brahmā gods, according to the Theravāda texts, were subject to *karmic* cycle of rebirth; they were not immortal, whereas the Buddha and his monks, who had destroyed the *āsavas* and attained the *nibbāna*, were totally released from the cycle.¹⁶

The Buddha's superior stature outranking the post Vedic gods of Brāhmanic Hinduism in the Buddha's period became a

¹² *Dīgha Nikāya*, I. 121, *Samyutta Nikāya*, I. 153.

¹³ *Dīgha Nikāya*, I. 215ff.

¹⁴ *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, IV.33.

¹⁵ *Samyutta Nikāya*, I.141f.

¹⁶ The Buddha's highest rank and status in the heavenly world assigned by the Pāli texts (400-300 BCE) is analyzed in details by N.K. Wagle, "The gods in early Buddhism in relation to human society: an aspect of their function, hierarchy, and rank as depicted in the Nikāya texts of the Pāli Canon", in A.K. Warder (ed.), *New paths in Buddhist research*, Durham, New Caroline: The Acorn Press, 1985, pp. 57-80.

permanent fixture of Buddhism. It became an important leverage for his disciples to carve out an independent and higher standing for the Buddha and his *dhamma*, a device useful for recruiting potential followers. The Buddha's superiority was further accentuated in the Mahāsaṃghika, Lokottaravāda and Mulasarvāstivāda schools of early Buddhism of the third century BCE by their reinvention of the Buddha as an omniscient and omnipotent being.¹⁷ All that was needed was a sculpted and carved Buddha image to reinforce the Buddha's superior rank in relation to the Brāhmanic Hinduism's gods and goddesses. This process of transformation began earnestly from the first century CE. The emergence of the Mahayana Buddhism with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas help consolidate the worship of Buddha and Bodhisattva images exponentially.

The Buddha image and its worship (100 BCE-600 CE)

Despite emperor Aśoka's vast contacts and relations with the Hellenistic world accustomed to the images of Greek gods and goddesses, the Buddha image did not manifest itself in his time, although Aśoka had advanced the cause of Buddhism during his regime on an unprecedented scale, with the erection of the *stupas* and the *dhamma* pillars, with inscriptions specifying his public policies affected by the Buddha's *dhamma*. Emperor Aśoka may not have encouraged the Buddha figure to appear during his reign, lest the attention of his subjects be diverted to or preoccupied with the images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Presumably, Aśoka did not want to deflect attention away from him as a supreme emperor. It may not be a coincidence that the Buddha images began appearing regularly from the first century CE onwards, only after the demise of the empire.¹⁸

¹⁷ A. K. Warder, Paul Williams

¹⁸ See Romila Thapar, *Aśoka and Decline of the Mauryas* (2nd ed.), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1973; A. K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, pp. 242-271. Romila Thapar and other art historians have not analyzed the reason for the absence of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images in Aśokan times. Warder, too, has no explanation for absence of the

To reiterate, the emergence of the Buddha image was most likely heavily influenced by the spread of Buddha's *dhamma* and his position well defined in the Pāli texts as a person of highest rank in the world of the gods, thus superseding the ranks of cosmic post-Vedic gods in the Brāhmanic Hinduism in Buddha's time. The Buddha image on a casket belonging to the first half of the second century CE under Kanīṣka's rule (78 CE onwards) depict him as being adored by the gods Brahmā and Sakka. Commenting on this casket, B.N. Mukherjee observes: "The casket has four images of the Buddha, one on top attended by Indra [Sakka] and Brahmā and three [images of the Buddha] above garlands encircling the lower portion of the casket body. [Emperor] Kanīṣka as a convert to Buddhism would have made every attempt to have doctrinally appropriate caskets made to contain the relics."¹⁹ The Buddha's greatness as Supreme Being – supreme Lord of the universe according to the Mahāyāna texts – high above the cosmic gods was intensely etched in the minds of both the Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhists, but who needed physical manifestation of Buddha's ascribed highest rank. The first century CE presence of the Buddha image seems to have been an appropriate response.²⁰

Surveying the data from the Kuṣāṇas to the Gupta period (approximately 100 CE to 500 CE), the art historian, K. D. Bajpai underscores the Buddha's acclaimed status as a supreme being who was ranked above the gods. Bajpai writes: "Several of the Buddhist images of the Kuṣāṇa period tend to indicate the supreme aspect of a deity (*devātideva*). The Kuṣāṇa rulers took pride in calling themselves *devaputrāḥ* (sons of gods). The idea is incorporated in the contemporary images of the Buddha, who is shown seated on a lion throne with *pārśadas*, attendants flanking the Buddha. This idea is further accentuated in the

Buddha image, although he asserts that Aśoka, as a practicing Buddhist emperor, implemented Buddha's *dhamma*, especially in its moral and ethical manifestations.

¹⁹ B.N. Mukherjee, "Shāhji-kī-dherī Casket Inscription," in *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol.28, 1964, pp. 39-45.

²⁰ See, Maurice Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Delhi: Motilal Banarisdass, 1963. Winternitz states that by second century CE, the Mahāyāna Buddhism and the cult of relics and image worship, above all, had reached an advance stage of Buddhist art p. 62.

Gupta period when the Buddha is shown seated on the *vajraparyarīkāsana* or *pralampādāsana* like a *cakravarti* [imperial] ruler.”²¹

The emergence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism also called Bodhisattavayāna acted as a catalyst in the growth of the Buddha image, with new changes in the doctrinal orientation of Buddhism. In the Mahāyāna, the goal of *nibbāna*, the liberation from the *dukkha*, became a secondary target. The new goal in the Mahāyāna was to cultivate Buddha mind (*bodhicitta*) and to become a Buddha. The belief persisted in the context of Mahāyāna doctrine that there are thousands of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas inhabiting the multiple universes, needing more Buddhas to save them. Buddha’s icon as a focal point of concentration, along with the cultivation of moral perfections, would be considered a vital aid to achieving Buddhahood.²²

By the beginning of the first century CE, among older Mahāsaṃghika and Lokottaravāda schools and in the Mahāyāna, the historical Buddha had become an omniscient being with an immaculate birth. According to Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddha Carita*, the Buddha descended from the Tusita heaven into his mother, Māyāvati’s womb, who then gave birth to him from the side, without experiencing pain in the process of delivery.²³ In the Mahāyāna, it is not uncommon to notice a Buddha empowered with miraculous powers. The Mahāyāna Sūtra, *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, states that Amitābha Buddha released a ray of light raising the palm of his hand, which lighted up the whole of universe for Bhikkhu Ānanda to see.²⁴

The Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas in Mahāyāna Buddhism became savior gods of their worshippers, not just their teachers, to improve their moral values and chances of salvation. The ideals for lay followers of the Mahāyāna was to worship and have faith in the compassionate Buddha and Bodhisattvas to

²¹ K.D. Bajpai, “Early Buddhist Art: Some Salient Features of Iconography”, in *Buddhist Art and Thought*, Kewal Krishan Mittal and Ashvini Agrawal, New Delhi: Harman Publishing House, 1993, pp. 1-11.

²² Warder, pp. 355-356.

²³ Warder gives the details of the Buddha’s miraculous birth and early childhood.

²⁴ Warder, p. 362.

save them from calamities and to fulfill their wishes for their health and welfare. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, for instance, helps and offers protection to the worshipers. A believer of the Buddha Amitābha desiring birth in Amitābha's heaven can be reborn in it, but only through his grace. The text *Saddharmapūṇḍarikā* (white lotus of the true doctrine) is replete with description of Buddhas and Bodhisattavas, with all kinds of miracles attributed to them: universal transformation, illuminations, and manifestations of Buddhas from the past.²⁵ The *Saddharmapūṇḍarikā* illustrates the worship of the Buddha, the omniscient being, who is here to save his devotees and take them to heaven. Another important concept in the Mahāyāna is the transfer of merit from the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to their devotees in order to save them. The existence of the concrete images of Buddhas and Bodhisattavas in the Mahāyāna were meant to facilitate their worship.

The images of the historical Buddha – often referred to as Śākyamuni in Mahāyāna *sūtras* – either in Theravāda or Mahāyāna, generally are not shown as fierce, inspiring awe and terror. The Indian artists attempted to characterize the Buddha's persona by portraying him as calm, contented and peaceful person, above all, as a compassionate being. The artists also wanted to depict the Buddha's towering high rank among gods and human beings, deserving honor and respect.

The images of the Buddha, as earlier stated, began to appear with greater frequency and numbers from the second century CE onwards, although the image first appeared around first century CE. The images are found sculpted free standing in round, or carved in high relief on the walls of the Buddhist monuments, generally making note of Buddha's idealized bodily signs (*lakṣaṇas*), with him standing, sitting mostly cross legged in *yogic* position, and reclining, indicating his final passing away. More important, perhaps, the artists tried to conceptualize and encapsulate in their art work the six

²⁵ Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, London: Routledge, 1989, pp. 141-156.

perfections (*pāramitā*): generosity, virtue, toleration, energy, meditation and wisdom in the Buddha and Bodhisattvas figures.

The Buddha is depicted as raising his right hand palm, with fingers pointing upwards, indicating his pledge of assurance of safety to mankind; the gesture of touching the earth with his right hand (*bhumī sparṣa mudrā*) symbolizing his summoning the earth to witness his impending awakening. Several other hand gestures (*mudrā*) reveal his compassion and kindness towards all.²⁶

The Buddha image shows the Buddha's head with curled hair and in addition, has a raised skull portion called *uṣṇiṣa*, which symbolizes the sun's lighted aura (*sūrya maṇḍala*), indicating phenomenal intellect of the Buddha. An incised spot, originally a tuft of hair, *urṇa*, in between the eye and forehead, supposedly represents the Buddha's supra-human vision, often called 'the Buddha's third eye'. The Buddha images also have elongated ear lobes, indicating the Buddha's supernatural hearing faculty.

The Buddha's tranquil, contented, and half-smiling face, seen on many of his sculptured heads, is evidently meant for depicting him an *arahat*, a person who has attained *nibbāna*, a person liberated from the cycles of reincarnation, who has conquered the flow of desire, greed and ignorance, and who has eliminated the *dukkha*, unhappiness, once and for all. The Buddha's facial expression equally indicates the Buddha as embodiment of qualities of loving kindness (*metta*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*mudita*) and equanimity (*upekkha*).

In their abilities to reward their devotees in return for their worship, the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas in the Mahāyāna increasingly resemble the wisdom and the powers of the Hindu cosmic and savior gods Viṣṇu and Śiva, and to lesser extent the local deities in India. In the Mahāyāna sūtras, we find the Buddha as a supreme overlord of the universe. Brāhmanic Hinduism in the same period (100-500 CE) was elevating Śiva and Viṣṇu as the creators and rulers of the cosmos. It is not just

²⁶ See, Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu and Jain*, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963, pp. 91-99. See also, Dietrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, New York: Crown Publishers, pp. 152-172.

a coincidence that the temples with the images of the cosmic gods such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, whose worship amongst the followers of Brāhmanic Hinduism crystallized in Sanskrit religious texts devoted to those gods began to appear regularly from the second century onwards.

The emergence of the iconic Buddhas and Bodhisattvas may have prompted the post-Aśokan Brāhmanic Hinduism to fashion its deities with human features. On the other hand, the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas helping their devotees, even to the point of finding a place for them in heaven in return for their worship and devotion, may have been to influence of Brāhmanic ideology of god as a savior. The ultimate goal of the Mahāyāna initiate was to cultivate *bodhicitta* and attain Buddhahood, essentially replacing the Theravāda's strivings for personal *nibbāna*. While one of the key religious goals of the followers of the Brāhmanic ideology was to become one with the supreme spirit (universal principle) through meditation and realizing that soul of a being is the same as that of the universal being. The supreme goal of the Mahāyānist too was towards achieving Buddhahood by acquiring merits, through meditation and cultivating wisdom. The net result of the symbiotic relationship between Brāhmanic Hinduism and Buddhism was the exponential growth of image worship in India in the temples and household shrines, irrespective of sectarian and religious differences among Hindus and Buddhists alike.

Image worship and *bhakti* in Hinduism: second century CE to the present

God for Hindus is not just an omnipotent and omniscient being, not always without attributes and inaccessible, but is, in its image form (*murti*), a living being, routinely necessitating worship and devotion. It is the crux of Hindu view of divinity, which is explicitly acknowledged in the Jaimini's *Purvamīmāṃsāsūtra* (IX.I-8), a second century CE text. The deity (*devatā*) possessing physical characteristics (*adhikaraṇa*) is stated in the text as follows:

The deity possesses a bodily form (*vigrahatva devatā*). The deity really consumes food given as offerings (*devatā bhukñte*). The deity gets truly satisfied with the offerings (*prasīdati devatā*). The deity rewards the worshipper with the desired fruit (*prītā satī phalaṃ prayachati devatā*). The deity can be owner of property (*arthapati devatā*).²⁷

Sontheimer, however, equates these characteristics of the deities as representing folk beliefs. That the deities are real entities, approachable and down to earth, receiving worship and gifts from the devotees and claiming ownership rights over land, is very much a dominant ethos of the later *Purāṇas* as well as *Āgama* texts. In that sense, the statement found in the Jaimini's *Purvamīmāṃsāsūtra* might be regarded as mainstream Brāhmanic Hinduism's reason for performing a *pujā* ritual. The statement also seems to synchronize with the actual presence of the images of gods and goddesses of Brāhmanic Hinduism emerging in the second century CE, the date assigned to the Jaimini's *Purvamīmāṃsāsūtra*.

The deities in the Brāhmanic Hinduism's texts from the second century onwards are depicted as interacting with their worshippers: blessing them, saving them from the calamities, and giving them rewards of wealth and power in return for their worship and gift-offerings. The worship of a deity at home or in a temple is generally distinguished by a *bhakti* mode, which is an act of intense, pure, and unsullied devotion and love felt for god. More important, the worshippers though the *pujā* ritual are shown as eager to merge with the deity, to be one with it, to experience spiritual ecstasy.

In the scholarly discourses on *bhakti*, the close affiliation that exists between *bhakti* and image worship is not given the attention that it deserves. The scholars generally tend to focus on *bhakti* saints and their poems, their interpretations of past Hindu theological works, and the hagiographical accounts of their saintly life. The emotional intensity of their poems is also

²⁷ The translation by Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer, "Hinduism, the five components and their interaction", in *Hinduism Reconsidered*, Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer and Herman Kulke (eds.) New Delhi: Manohar, 1997, p.315.

the subject of scholarly discourse. In the present paper, the intertwining relationship existing between *pujā* of an image (*murti*) and *bhakti* is suggested as key to understanding the personal rapport, which a devotee establishes with the image of a deity. Undoubtedly, the intensity of meditation on an image of the deity with total *bhakti* plays a vital role toward setting up unity with god.

That the loving devotion of god is an important element in *bhakti* is well illustrated by Nārada's *Bhakti Sūtras* and their commentaries. Both the texts in Sanskrit were composed between twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The emergence of the *Sūtras* suggest that the Brāhman writers were busy appropriating and legitimizing the *bhakti* ideology's popularity in medieval India, which was already known to the people through *bhakti*'s vernacular expressions in Tāmil in Tāmil Nādu from the seventh century CE and little later from the twelfth century in Marāṭhī in Mahārāṣṭra. Nārada in his *Bhakti Sūtras* raises the status of *bhakti* to its new height.

Bhakti is the highest quantifiable love for god alone. It is an unconditional love for god. It is a termination of all actions in the service of god. Distinctions based on caste, or learning, or family or wealth or achievement is non-existent in *bhakti*. *Bhakti* is the end of totality of knowledge (*jnāna*). It is end of all action (*karma*) and the end of all meditative efforts (*yoga*). *Bhakti* is an end in itself.²⁸

It is essential that the worship of the deities should be conducted with the right spirit of commitment and aptitude. Prior to the Muslim conquest of Mahārāṣṭra beginning in the second decade of the 14th century, an important *bhakti* saint, Jñānadev (1275-1296), is shown as disapproving flippant behaviour and insincere attitudes of an ignorant person worshiping several deities indiscriminately. In his Marāṭhī commentary on *Bhagvat Gitā*, Jñānadeva cynically observes

²⁸ See, Swami Prabhavananda, *Nārada's Divine Love: The Bhakti Sutra*, Hollywood: Vedanta Press, 1971, pp. 25-30.

how oddly an ignorant person has the habit of worshipping several deities, some deities set up inside his home and others stationed elsewhere, but does this only for seeking worldly gains. According to Jñānadeva the person “is like an unfaithful wife who behaves lovingly to her husband in order to go on associating with her lover”. Jñānadeva fears that the individual, despite his incessant image worship, might not be able to focus on true love of god. Jñānadev states:

When a self absorbed and ignorant person inordinately attached to his wife and family, worships god, he does so because of an ulterior motive material goal to gain money. Should he fail to gain his object through worship, he gives up worshipping god, calling it an illusion.

As a peasant cultivates one field and then another, he sets up one deity after another, with the same intensity of devotion with which he had worshiped the first deity. He follows a *guru*, whom he considers eminent. He learns some *mantras* from him, ignoring everything else. He makes an image of god and sets up in a corner of his house while he himself goes pilgrimages to worship other gods and goddesses. He worships God daily, and on various occasions he worships his lineage deity. Again at special time he offers his devotion to other gods. In his house is god’s shrine, but he pays his vows to other gods and on the day of *srāddha* memorial ceremonies for his father, he worships his ancestors. He feels as much devotion for God on the eleventh day of the month (*ekādaśī*) as he does for the serpent god on the day of Nāga Pañcamī with the same intensity. At dawn, on the fourth day, he will worship the god Gaṇeśa, and, on the fourteenth, he will declare his devotion to goddess Durgā. On the ninth day of the worship of goddess Caṇḍī, he relinquishes his daily observances to god, and offers his devotion to that goddess, and on Sunday he offers food at the feet of Bhairava. Again on Monday, he goes to the temple of Śiva and there offers leaves of *bel* tree; in such ways he shows devotion to all manner of gods. In this way he worships continuously with never a

moment of silence, as a whore who sits at the city gate. He who thus seeks to follow any and every deity may be tagged as ignorance incarnated.²⁹

Ekanātha (1533-1599), a prolific writer, and one of the best-known *bhakti* exponents of Mahārāṣṭra, in his *Ekanāthi Bhāgavat*, a Marāṭhī gloss on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, expresses moving transformation of a devotee, who concentrates on God, remembering, reciting his name constantly, meditating on his image form (*mūrta svarūpa*), and ending in emotional outburst and mystical awakening.

Ekanātha, in fact, graphically describes the euphoria induced by passionate *bhakti*.

Incessantly calling upon God's name, because of God's doings, a *bhakta* (devotee) becomes madly entwined in his yearnings for God. His whole self undergoes a transformation. Tears flow from his eyes. His body shudders intensely. His breathing grows heavy. Acutely, he is spiritually awakened. He chokes with euphoria. Goose bumps cover his entire body. His eyelids remain half open. His face becomes expressionless. Repeating God's name constantly, he is overcome by love of God. Uncontrollably, he starts weeping. The weeping turns into a frenzied laughter. He laughs and weeps at the same time... Ecstatically, dancing, he starts singing songs, extolling God. Ending his praise to God, with a clear voice, he proclaims, "There is no duality that I experience. I am the only truth there is in the world. I am both the singer as well as one who hears that singing. I am that song."³⁰

²⁹ Translated with minor modification in V. G. Pradhan, *Jñāneshvari*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1969, XIII, verses, 805-821, pp. 77-78. God in this case refers to God Kṛṣṇa of *Bhāgavat Gītā*.

³⁰ L. R. Pangarkar (ed.), *Ekanāthi Bhāgvat*, and Mumbai: Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1909, III, 589-602. See R. D. Ranade, *Mysticism in India: Poets saints of Maharashtra*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983, p. 251. Cf. the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*'s Sanskrit version (XI, 3, 32): *kvacid rudantyaacyutacinatayā kvacid dhasanti nanadanti vadanty alukikāḥ, nṛyanti gāyanti anuśīlayantyaḥ bhavanti tūṣṇīm param etya nirvṛtāḥ*. "Contemplating God, they [the devotees] burst into laughter, express joy, chatter—they are

In the context of *bhakti*, Eknāth distinguishes between the *saguna*, the discernable qualities of a deity in its image shape, and the *nirguna*, the non-perceptive qualities of a deity in its abstract and amorphous form. According to Eknāth, a newly initiated person needs a concrete object, such as an image of a deity, to focus on for *bhakti* to succeed.

The *saguna*, the tangible qualities of god, in its image form, is easier to comprehend than the *nirguna*, the quality-less, abstract, essence of god. ...Persons seeking god, with proper insights and love, should focus their minds on *saguna*, the tangible qualities of god. It is far easier to invoke god who is seen than an unseen one. Image worship is meant for one who cannot realize god's presence in all beings.³¹

In another instance, Ekanātha explicates the use of nine senses (*indriyas*) in worshipping a god's image. In fact, Ekanātha is attempting to sketch a mode of worship in its totality.

The 'mind' of a *bhakta* meditates on god. The 'ear' listens to the words praising god's immeasurable compassion. The 'tongue' is engaged in uttering god's name. The *bhaktas* 'feet' walk towards the temple where the image is set up. The *bhakta*'s 'hands' are engaged in the worship of god's image. The 'nose' smells the aroma of flowers and the *tulsi* leaves, with which the god is worshipped. The discarded flowers, the remains of the worship, are placed on top of 'head' in reverence. The water consecrated by the touch of the god's 'feet' finds its way into the 'mouth'.³²

beyond the world (*alukikāh*). They start dancing, singing in praise of god, and they lapse into silence (*bhavanti tūṣṇīm*), having reached the highest one, they are at peace". Ekanātha's powerful gloss in Marāṭhī on the *Bhāgvat Purāna*, in its substantive description, appears to project the euphoric state of a *bhakta* (devotee) as a result of the latter's meditation on god's image. It does not appear to be an abstract description of a *bhakta*'s mental and physical state induced merely by repeating and thinking about god.

³¹ Ekanāthi *Bhāgavat*, II. 298-303. See R. D. Ranade, *Mysticism in India*, p. 250.

³² Ibid. 346-347.

Elsewhere Ekanātha articulates the *yogic* like trance (*ekāgratā*). The feeling of oneness with the image through *yoga* that the worshipper experiences. The emotional intensities felt by the *bhakta* towards an image of a deity in a household shrine or in a temple may be compared to the intensity with which the sacred images were imagined and viewed by a devout Christian in a Church in medieval times appreciating a medieval religious painting or sculpture. Image worship is a spiritual solace that allows the *bhakta* to access god.³³

Murtī Pujā: image worship

The ritual of *pujā* provides Hindus in their household setting or in temples a distinct opportunity to communicate with a deity in its image form. In a temple, the priest is instrumental in giving devotees direct access to the persons who attend the *pujā* performed in a temple, up to six prescribed times, during the day and evening. However, most devotees regard one time attendance at temple *pujā* as adequate. Also an act of a *darśana*, seeing the image of a deity in a temple and saluting it gives to a devotee a spiritually charged, life-rejuvenating experience. Of course, the devotees have an opportunity to communicate with god during a *pujā* ritual that they perform daily or periodically at home. The images of the deities chosen for the *pujā* performed in a temple or at home, are considered real and breathing. The deities are not distant and abstract entities, their *pujā* makes it possible for a worshipper to communicate directly with the divine.

In several orthodox, practicing and ritualistic, Brāhman homes in several regions of India, more so in Tāmil Nāḍu, Keralā, Karnāṭaka, and Āndhra Pradeśa, Talaṅgaṇa and Mahārāṣṭra, worship of an image of a deity is enacted daily or weekly, the whole procedure lasting less than an hour. Generally, a professional priest performs the *pujā* for those

³³ See, R.D. Ranade, *Mysticism in India: The poet-saints of Maharashtra*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983, pp. 247-251.

households who can afford his services, more so on special occasions and to perform more complex rituals. A modern day example of an orthodox Brāhman householder's performance of a *pujā* rite in Mahārāṣṭra, conducted at his home, should suffice. There would be, however, regional variations in India with regard to the details of the household *pujā* as described below.

The Brāhman male householder, having taken a bath, naked to the vest, wearing only a loincloth, his sacred thread over his left shoulder, is ready to do the *murti pujā* (image worship), with all the necessary equipment assembled in advance, such as spoons, cups, pots, flowers, and other items required for the *pujā*. While engaged in the *pujā* mode, the Brāhman, since he will be in direct contact with the deity, is in a state of ritual purity, not to be polluted by the touch even of his immediate family members, including his wife and children. He removes the main image of the deity and subsidiary images if there are any, kept in the center of his miniature wooden replica of a temple-shrine.

First, he gives the image a head bath using pure objects such as milk, yogurt, and honey, followed by pouring water over the image from a silver jar. He then wipes the image lovingly, dressing it with fresh and suitable silk or cotton garments and adorning it with flowers, ornaments, and applying sacred marks to the image with sandalwood paste. He then places the image on the center spot of the shrine from where he had removed it. While busy conducting these activities, he keeps on chanting *mantras* in praise of the deity in Sanskrit, supplemented, occasionally, by the hymns from medieval *bhakti* poet-saints of Mahārāṣṭra like Jñāneśvar, Nāmdev, Ekanātha, Rāmdas, and Tukārām in Marathi. He then signals his wife to bring food for the deity. She places near her husband, without touching him, the cooked vegetarian food in a covered metal platter, and one or two locally obtainable fruit, such as guavas, apple bananas and oranges, which will be consumed later as a *prasāda* by all in the family. The food, which is offered to the deity, is called the *naivedya*; it becomes a *prasāda*, the food

consumed by the deity, regarded as divine grace of the deity, apt for consumption by the devotees.

With a non-stop flow of Sanskrit *mantras* (some from the Vedas) addressed to the deity, the next stage of the *pujā* is the called *dipārdhana*, which is an act of waving lighted oil lamp fitted on a platter before an image. Directly facing the image, the Brāhman waves the lamp with his right hand, and with the left, he keeps on ringing a small metal bell. Next, in the closing fire-ritual (*ārati*), he burns the camphor placed on the platter, which emits bright light and fire instantly which he first waves before the deity and then presents it to the other family members of the household to partake of it, usually his wife and children; it compliments the act of waving of lamp. During the entire *dipārdhana* and *ārati* procedure, the Brāhman senses a satiated feeling of oneness, however, fleetingly, with the deity through fire, light, and the din of ringing bells. The lamp is then circulated among members of the family. Putting their right hands over the lamp and moving them with a circular motion, the family members inwardly absorb light, fire, and smoke stemming from the lamp. In the process, they, too, experience, momentarily, a sense of harmony with the deity.

To signal the completion of the *pujā*, the Brāhman pays homage to the deity by prostrating on the ground, facing it, with all his eight limbs (*aṣṭāṅga namaskāra*). The householder after completing the ritual of *pujā* becomes an ordinary person and is ready to carry on with other daily chores.³⁴

The structure of *pujā* ritual for an image of the deity performed in a house, either by a householder or a priest, with

³⁴ The above annotated account is a standard procedure of a household *pūjā* in Mahārāṣṭra, performed in an orthodox, ritualistic Brahman household. Its description is mostly based on personal observation of the author. There is a caveat to my description: most Brahmins of Mahārāṣṭra do not follow this elaborate procedure. Some will make do with a shortened version of the *pūjā* ritual or ignore it altogether. But most will say a prayers address to the deities, both in the morning before proceeding to their daily chores and at night before going to bed.

modification, is replicated in an elaborate manner in the major temples of India having larger revenues and endowments from their patrons and devotees. The details of the temple worship were standardized in the *Āgama* texts from six hundred CE onwards, with periodic revisions. Generally, in the renowned Hindu temples of India, the deities, in the inner sanctum of the temple, will be dressed in costly garments, preferably silk, adorned with valuable jewelry, and covered from head to toe with flower garlands. Several full-time professional priests would be continuously engaged in chanting away the Sanskrit *mantras* in praise of the deity during various stages of the *pujā* ritual. Drumming and playing of musical instruments by the temple musicians, adopting the melodies, tempo and styles prescribed in the *Āgamas*. Ringing of larger bells during the *pujā* is yet another recurring fixture. The waving of the platter fitted with five lamps (*pañcārtī*) before the deity, instead of one lamp, would be one of the highlights of the temple *pujā*. Burning of the camphor on a larger platter emits powerful burst of light. The devotees, too, are eager to participate in the *ārati* ritual to experience a close encounter with god through fire and light, especially when they encounter sudden burst of light, when the camphor is ignited giving a two to three seconds of intense fire. In an already charged atmosphere of the inner sanctum of the temple that houses the deity, the total effect, personally experienced by the author, is overwhelming and the devotees experience a movement of divine presence. The temples generally announce the timing of the *ārati* in advance and the devotees make special efforts to be present at the *ārati* sessions. The food and sanctified water mixed with other pure liquid objects such as milk and honey, offered initially to the deity (*naivedya*) in the *pujā* procedure, when consumed by the deity, becomes the *prasāda*, food eaten and blessed by the god. It is shared among the devotees and performing priests who are present on the occasion.

In all likelihood, the worship of deities (*murti puja*) tightened deities' hold on the population of India with greater frequency after second and third centuries of Common Era. A vast body of sacred literature in Sanskrit produced by the Brahman literati in

Sanskrit that emerged from the second and third centuries CE began to transform many abstract and aniconic Hindu gods and goddesses, into iconic figures, who assumed human and superhuman image-forms on earth. The gods, in the popular mind, and according to the Brahmanic literature like Purāṇas, save the earth from falling into anarchy (*adharmā*), save people from the impending calamities and bringing them prosperity. Starting with fourth century CE, Hindu iconographical representation of the deities becomes incredibly sophisticated, depicting deities' different personalities, miraculous powers, moods and functions.

With the resurgent Brahmanic Hinduism, numerous Hindu deities emerged in their image forms and were made accessible to the urban and rural population of India. Prominent among them were the god: Śiva, Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, Viṣṇu, and the goddesses: Durgā, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī. Similar cluster of deities, some with different local names, appeared in South India. Increasingly from the fourth century CE, the temples began to be built to house the deities. Artistic merit of the temples aside, through *pujā*, the devotees were given direct access to the deities residing in the temples. The devotees went to the temples to be nearer to their deities out of deep-seated devotion, seeking oneness with them as well asking them for pragmatic favors such as wealth and prosperity and freedom from the calamities.

Āgama (tradition) and Bhakti

The quintessential Brāhmanic *Āgama* texts (600-1200 CE) are largely responsible for continuation of essential and codified Brāhmanic Hinduism's image worship (*murti puṣā*) tradition more than any other body of sacred literature emanating from Ancient India. The Śaivite, Vaiṣṇavite and Śākta *Āgama* texts, even now in use, systematically demonstrate how a newly sculpted image of a deity, made according to the specifications of the texts, is installed in a temple as a replacement for the old worn out one, or for setting it up in a newly built temple. In an elaborate ritual, the presiding priest invokes the deity, chanting

mantras, to come from the heavenly sphere and dwell in the image. Deeply immersing himself in communicating with the deity and literally breathing life into it, the priest induces the deity to materialize in the image. Only when the priest completes the “life-giving” procedure, the newly activated, live, and energized deity’s image is formally installed in the inner sanctum of the temple for worship. When a devotee worships an image of a deity in a temple, he or she does so with awareness that the deity facing him or her is the real, live image of a god.³⁵

It is noteworthy that the Vedas are regarded as essential part of the ceremony of the installation and worship of an image as described in the *Āgamas*. The recitation of the Vedic *mantras* during the worship indicates an extraordinary, unbroken, continuum of Brahmanic Hinduism from the Vedic times onwards to the present. Even today, the Vedas constitute a vital part of the *pujā* rituals in the major pilgrimage centers and temple complexes of India in the North and South. Most Brahman householders in their domestic *pujā* tend to use a smattering of the texts from the Vedas.

The Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava (Pañcarata) and Śākta *Āgamas*’ focus is not just on the images of deities. The *Āgama* texts deal with entire spectrum of Hindu religious activities. It seems to have a unique holistic view of Brahmanic Hinduism in theory and practice. The *Āgamas* are classified in four broad categories. Under the category of the *Jñāna*, for example, we find several Indian philosophical traits that define Śaṅkara’s absolute monism (*advaita*) and Rāmājunā’s qualified monism (*viśiṣṭa advaita*) and *bhedā bheda*, meaning any variations and computations of Indian thoughts (*darśana*) suited to the local regional cultures. Under the category of the *Yoga*, the methods of concentration are meticulously defined, even the ultimate *kuṇḍalini yoga*, the enlightenment *yoga*. Intense meditation on a single object (*ekāgratā*) is regarded as mental preparedness to experience godhead through his image form. The *kriyā* category

³⁵ For the installation rituals, see, H. Daniel Smith, “Pratiṣṭhā” in, *Agama and Silpa*, K.K. A. Venkatachari (ed.), Bombay: Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, 1984, pp. 50-68.

refers to an act of formation of a sacred space for a temple, its architectural plan and its construction. The *Arcā* category of the *Āgamas* explicates on the installation procedures (*pratiṣṭha*) of images in a temple, and the technical details concerning the *pujā* of an image performed by priests.

Concluding remarks

Both iconic and aniconic art forms of the Hindu deities, and those of the Buddha and Bodhisattva, may or may not confirm to the ideals of beauty of non believers, the true believers internalize the spirit embedded in them. Hindus, especially, do not perceive a sacred image of a god as stationary art object, but a real breathing body to be revered, loved and adored. The initial act of paying respect to the image of a deity is called *darśana*, literally, seeing, observing and internalizing the image. The image's spiritual content is as important as its artistic merit in the eyes of a worshipper. Colman's observation that there is no difference between aesthetics and spirituality is verifiable by the experiences of Hindu devotees engaged in image worship.

A deity singled out for domestic *pujā*, goes through a process of highly stylized ritual action: the sanctification of image, the chanting of sacred *mantras*, the hymns of praise, offering of food, waving of lighted fire constitutes a total religious experience. The essential aspect of a *pujā* is not congregational worship, but an individual's adulation and worship of a deity. As a concluding act of a *pujā*, the ritual of *dipārdhana* and *ārati* are performed, involving waving of the light before the deity, a burning of camphor on a platter emitting bright flare, which is waved before a devotee to partake of it. Through the camphor flare, a devotee experiences a fleeting sense of oneness with the deity. Not only the devotee sees and seeks oneness with the image as deity during the *ārati* ritual, but also the deity is understood to see the worshipper becoming one with it. The experience could be replicated in a bigger temple setting. However, the structure and function of the worship, although

conducted by a professional temple priests, essentially remains the same as the worship performed at home by a householder.

In dealing with the Buddhist and Hindu image worship, we pointed out the supreme status assigned to the Buddha in the early Buddhist Canonical texts (400-300 BCE), which, unequivocally, ranked the Buddha above the Post-Vedic pantheon of gods in Buddha's time. In order to assert its identity as a powerful religion patronized by the ruling powers of the day, first by emperor Aśoka and then by the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas, the Buddhist began further transforming the superior rank and status of the Buddha into a concrete form of his image. Buddhism, we may point out, was in fierce competition with Post Aśokan Brāhmanic Hinduism, and needed innovative measures to assert its popularity with the masses. The Buddha and Bodhisattva images were also given a boost by the emergence of the Mahāyāna with omnipotent and omniscient Buddhas, with Buddhahood as its ultimate object. The images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas helped consolidate Buddhists' position against equally aggressive Brāhmanic Hinduism. It is not a coincidence that images of the gods of Brāhmanic Hinduism, also began to appear in great numbers in India.

Our synoptic survey vindicates that in Hinduism, whenever there is a close encounter between a worshipper and a deity in its image form in a *pūjā* setting, the deity manifests itself as a living and energetic entity. The worshipper, via the fire, experiences a sense of oneness with the deity, however, temporarily. But the worshipper must first come equipped with self-preparedness; the intense *bhakti* for god is a prerequisite for experiencing god.

Interestingly, the ancient *Āgama* texts (600-1200 CE), although the actual *Āgama* traditions may go back to centuries before 600 CE, makes it clear that an installation of an image of deity in a temple entails inviting a deity to materialize right into an image thereby making it possible for the priest to "breath life into it". The *Āgamas*, in an unbroken and elaborate manner, have preserved a very ancient Brāhmanic Hinduism's ritual of

installation of an image of a deity and its proper worship in all its details.

For a devout Hindu, an appreciation of religious art cannot be divorced from worship of images of Hindu gods and goddesses, the worship, which is conducted through a *pujā* ritual intermingled with *bhakti* sentiments. To reiterate, Hindus regard the images as living and communicable entities, and, by nature, not inert or static. Finally, one can even venture to claim that a Hindu's aptitude for focused meditation (*ekāgrata*) on the images of deities, always with heightened sense of appreciation, intermingled with love and devotion (*bhakti*), can be extended to include non-religious objects of art.

GYULA WOJTILLA

THE POSITION OF THE *KĪNĀŚAS*
IN INDIAN PEASANT SOCIETY¹

The word is first attested in the RV 4, 57, 8 and translated as *Pflüger* (ploughman) by both Grassmann² and Zimmer.³ This meaning is taken by Geldner.⁴ The variant *kīnāra* in RV 10, 106, 10 is of the same meanings.

In the entire corpus of Sanskrit literature the word has many more meanings. Monier-Williams lists the following meanings: 'a cultivator of the soil', 'niggard', N. of Yama, a kind of monkey, a kind of Rākṣasa and as mfn. 'killing animals' (or 'killing secretly').⁵ Apte adds to this list the following meanings: 'poor', 'indigent', 'small' and 'little'.⁶ Böhtlingk records also the meaning *Ackerknecht* (lit. ploughboy but rather farm labourer).⁷

¹ Sanskrit texts are generally quoted according to the DSC and the Titus Text Database. In other cases bibliographical references are given here in the footnotes. I would like to record my gratitude to my colleagues, Gergely Hidas, Csaba Dezső and Máté Itzész for the various help I received while preparing this paper.

² H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum R̥g-Veda*. 6., überarbeitete und ergänzte Auflage von Maria Kozińska, Wiesbaden, 1996, p. 327.

³ H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 237.

⁴ Geldner, F., *Der R̥g-Veda* aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, p. 488.

⁵ M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit- English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1960, p. 285.

⁶ V. S. Apte: *The Practical Sanskrit- English Dictionary*, Vol. I, Revised and Enlarged, eds. P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve, Poona, 1957, p. 575.

⁷ O. Böhtlingk: *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung Zweiter Theil*, First Indian Edition, Delhi, 1991, p. 67.

According to Mayrhofer the etymology of the word is not clear.⁸ Kuiper thinks that its suffixation is characteristic of Dravidian languages.⁹ On the ground of suffixation Witzel also holds it as a word of non-Indo-European/Indo-Aryan origin and says further that the ‘largely pastoralist IAs...left the tedious job of the ploughman (*kīnāśa*) and farming in general...to the local people.’¹⁰

The social significance of the term in the Vedic age has properly been recognised by Maria Schetelich. She translates it as ‘*Bauer*’ (*peasant*)¹¹ and following Kuiper emphasizes the Aryan and pre-Aryan cultural synthesis at the level of material culture, i.e. agriculture.¹² On the other hand I think that the meaning ‘peasant’ is too broad.

Describing the agricultural production of the late-Vedic period, Mylius interprets the terms *kināśa* as ‘*Pflüger*’ (ploughman) and *sīrapati* as ‘*Pflugherr*’ (the owner of the plough). It is a pity that he does not qualify their social position or their relation to each other.

Mainly on the basis of the KA Alaev surmises that *kīnāśa* is a synonym of *karṣaka*, the general name for peasant, who is not a person with full powers.¹³

As these few instances show the term has yet to be assessed to the degree it clearly deserves. It is hoped that such a work will result in a useful contribution to the history of the rural society in early India. For this purpose a full survey of the passages where it can be attested may be in order.

⁸ M. Mayrhofer, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Bd. I, Lieferung 5 (1989), p. 356.

⁹ F. B. J. Kuiper, *Aryans in the Rigveda*, Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1991, p. 45.

¹⁰ M. Witzel, “Indocentrism. Autochthonous Visions of Ancient India” Bryant, E. F. – Patton, L. L. (eds.) *The Indo-Aryan Controversy: Evidence and Inference in Indian History*. Oxford-New York 2005, p. 345.

¹¹ M. Schetelich, “Zu den landwirtschaftlichen Kenntnissen der vedischen Arya”, *Ethnographisch-Archäologischen Zeitschrift* 18 (1977), p. 209.

¹² M. Schetelich, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹³ L. B. Alaev, *Sel'skaya obščina v Severnoy Indii* [Village Community in Northern India], Moskva, 1981, p. 58.

RV 4, 57, 8. ab

*śunām naḥ phālā ví kṛṣantu bhūmiṃ śunām kīnāśā abhi
yantu vāhaiḥ.*

‘For prosperity let our plowshares till through the earth;
for prosperity let our plowmen advance with their draft
animals.’¹⁴

The verse well demonstrates the particular connexion
between the *kīnāśas* and the draft animals in agricultural work.

RV 10, 106, 10.

*āraṅgaréva mādhu érayethe sāraghéva gave nīcīnabāre
kīnāreva svédam āsiṣvidānā kṣāmevorjā sūyavasāt
sacethe.*

‘Like *āraṅgara* you produce (the milk) in the cow whose
opening is below, as bees produce honey, like plowmen
sweating out their sweat. Like earth, (a cow) that feeds
on good pasture, you are accompanied by
nourishment.’¹⁵

This verse finely illustrates that ploughing is very hard work
and that the ploughmen earn their life by the sweat of their
brow.

AV 4, 11, 10

*padbhiḥ sedim avakrāmannirarāṃ irāṃ jāṅghābhir
utkhidān*

śrámeṇānaḍvān kīlālam kīnāśāś cābhigacchataḥ

‘With the feet treading down debility (*sedī*), with his
thighs (*jāṅghā*) extracting (*út-khid*) refreshing drink –
with weariness go the draft-ox and the plowmen unto
sweet drink.’¹⁶

¹⁴ *The Rigveda. The Earliest Religious Poetry of India*, Vol.I, trans. by S. W. Jamison and J. P. Brereton, Oxford, 2014, p. 643.

¹⁵ *The Rigveda*, Vol. III, p. 1570.

¹⁶ *Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitā* trans. by W. D. Whitney, Vol. I, Indian Edition, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1962, p. 166.

AV 6, 30, 1 = AVP 19, 24. 4 = MB 2, 1, 16 (the later begins with *etam u tyam* instead of *devā* 'imam of the AV or AVP)

*devā imāṃ mādhunā sāmyutaṃ yávaṃ sarasvatyām ādhi
maṇāv acakṛṣuḥ
indra āsīt sīrapatiḥ śatakratuḥ kīnāśā āsan marūtaḥ
sudā'navah.*

'This barley, combined with honey, the gods plowed much on the Sarasvatī, in behalf of Manu (?) [in my reading: for Manu]; Indra, of a hundred abilities, was furrow-master [in my reading: 'the owner of the plough']; the liberal (? *sudānu* [in my reading: 'abundantly bestowing']) Maruts, were the plowmen (*kīnāśa*).'¹⁷

AVP 12, 3, 9- 11.¹⁸

*anaḍuhān pṛṣṭivahān vahatān vahar? āpṛṇām
kīnāśasya samam tvedād? indrarāśir ajāyata.
yadi kīnāśas sasveda śirastas tanvaṃ pari
apāṃ gāva iva tṛṣyantīndrarāśiṃ so [a]śnute.
yadi kīnāśaṃ sīrapatir daṇḍena hantu manyutaḥ
yadi kiṃ ca khalvaṃ sadānvāindrarāśā udāhṛtam.*

The passage is hopelessly corrupt. It can anyhow be made out from the context that here a ploughman and an ox seem are at work on the threshing ground. (cf. verse 5: *khale*) As a result of their work, a heap of Indra's corn has been accumulated. For the hard work the ploughman sweats from his head to his body (?). He eats some grain from the heap of the furrow-master. The latter may angrily smite him with a stick.

TS 4, 2, 5-6.

*sunāṃ naḥ phālā vī tudantu bhūmiṃ śunāṃ kīnāśā' abhi
yantu vāhā'n.*

'With prosperity may the ploughmen go round the yokes [in my reading 'round the draft-animals']'.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Atharva-veda-Saṃhitā*, Vol. I, p. 302.

¹⁸ *Atharvaveda of the Paippalādas* ed. by Raghu Vira, New Delhi, 1979.

¹⁹ *The Veda of the Black Yajus School Entitled Taittiriya Saṃhitā* trans. by A. B. Keith, Part 2, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 315.

VS 30, 11.

*ármebhyó hastipám javāyāśvapám puṣṭyai gopālam
vīryāyā'vipālam téjase 'japālam irāyai kīnāśm kīlālāya
surākārām bhadrāya grhapām śrēyase vittadhām
ādhyakṣyāyānuṣattāram.*

‘For Eye-diseases an elephant-keeper; for Speed a horse-keeper; for Nourishment a cowherd; for Manliness a shepherd; for Keeness a goatherd; for Refreshment a ploughman; for Sweet Beverage a preparer of Surā; for Weal a house-guard [in my reading: for prosperity a master of the house]; for Well-being a possessor of wealth; for Supervision a doorkeeper’s [a charioteer’s] attendant.’²⁰

This enumeration of victims dedicated to various deities and abstraction at human sacrifice. Mahīdhara (16th c. A.D.) in his commentary explains *kīnāśa* for *karṣaka* (ploughman, cultivator).

ŚB 7, 2, 2, 9.

*sá dakṣiṇārdhénāgné
ántareṇa pariśrītaḥ prācīm prathamām sītām kṛṣati
śunam suphālā vikṛṣantu bhūmiḥ śunam kīnāśā
'bhīyantu vāhairīti śunam śunamīti yadvai sāmṛddham
tāchunam sāmardhayatyēva ✕nāmetāt.*

‘On the right (south) side of the altar, he ploughs first a furrow eastwards inside the enclosing-stones, with (Vāg. S. XII, 69; Rik S. IV, 57, 8). “Right luckily may the plough-shares plough up the ground, luckily the tillers ply with their oxen!” — “luckily — luckily, “ he says, “for what is successful that is lucky:” he thus makes it (the furrow) successful.’²¹

²⁰ *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* trans. by R. T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1899, p. 258.

²¹ *The Śatapatha-Brāhmana According to the Text of the Mādhyandina School* trans. by J. Eggeling, Part III, Oxford, 1894, pp. 327-328.

Rvi. 2, 75.

*brāhmaṇānbhojayedatra kīnāśā~ścaiva bhojayet
apramattaḥ śāntiparaḥ svayameva kṛṣiṃ vrajet.*

‘At this place (*atra*), one should feed Brāhmaṇas and the cultivators. Being vigilant and intent on pacificatory ceremonies, one should proceed oneself to the cultivation.’²²

The verse belongs to a group of verses describing the ceremonies at the commencement of agricultural work. The owner of the field (*kṣetrapati*) makes offering to various deities, to the plough, the corn and the furrow, feeds the officiating *brāhmaṇas*, and for quite practical reasons the ploughmen he had employed for work. Feeding counts as a payment in kind in traditional rural India.²³

MBh 5, 35, 41.²⁴

*sruvapragrahaṇo vrātyaḥ kīnāśāścārthavānapi
rakṣetyuktaśca yo hiṃsyātsarve brahmāhaṇaiḥ samāḥ.*

‘A man who takes everything for himself, who has lost caste through non-observance of the ten principal *samskāras*, a rich ploughman, who is ready to kill when he is told “protect” — these all are like Brahmin-murderers.’ (Gy. Wojtilla’s translation)

The point is here is that a rich ploughman must be a great sinner. It may look like a paradox. No wonder that the Citraśālā edition reads *ātmavān* (self-possessed) for *arthavān*. At any rate the verse represent a very much unfriendly approach to ploughmen. Last but not least it cannot fully be ruled out that *kīnāśa* means here ‘a niggard’. A rich niggard is really worth being regarded as such a great sinner.

²² M. B.Bhat, *Vedic Tantrism. A Study of R̥gvidhāna of Śaunaka with Text and Translation*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1987, pp. 228 and 326.

²³ Cf. KA 2, 24, 28 and in generally V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Second Edition, Varanasi, 1963, p. 101.

²⁴ *The Mahābhārata*. Text as Constituted in its Critical Edition, Vols. I-IV, Poona, 1972-175.

MBh 13, 3359.²⁵

na vadhārthaṃ pradātavyā (dhenuḥ) na kīnāśe na nāstike.

‘The cow should never be given for slaughter, to a *kīnāśa* and to an atheist.’ (Gy. Wojtilla’s translation)

This verse is missing from the critical edition. Following Apte, who gives also the meaning ‘butcher’²⁶ it is tempting to translate here *kīnāśa* as ‘butcher’. As we have already seen the *kīnāśa* carries out hard work and not being the owner of the draft-animal he disregards its extreme strain. A similar idea occurs in verse 96 of the KP where a cultivator who employs two bulls in cultivation is called a cow-killer (*gavāśin*, lit. ‘one who eats cow’). Nevertheless, it would also be conceivable to me that one slaughter has nothing to do with a *kīnāśa* or an atheist.

MaS 9, 150.²⁷

kīnāśo govṛṣo yānamalaṃkāraśca veśma ca viprasyauddhāritaṃ deyamekāśśaśca pradhānataḥ.

‘The ploughman, the stud bull, the vehicle, the ornament, and the house is to be given to the Brahmin as his pre-emptive share, as well as one share from the best property.’

This article which belongs to the rules governing the order of inheritance of sons of a Brahmin born by wives from the four *varṇas* and recommends that the ploughman should go to the eldest son is not without problems. R. S. Sharma thinks that it may refer to a situation where ‘cultivators were attached to the family lands’ and ‘although division of landed property is not explicitly recommended by Manu, it is difficult to think of cultivators in isolation from the land they tilled.’ The single example is a Pallava Prākṛt copper charter of about A.D. 250-350 which transfers sharecropper to a beneficiary along with the

²⁵ *The Mahābhārata*, ed. by N. Siromani and N. Gopāla, Calcutta, 1834-1839.

²⁶ V. S. Apte: *op. cit.*, p. 575.

²⁷ *Mānavadharmasāstra* ed. and trans. by P. Olivelle, New York, 2005.

land. Therefore Sharma assumes that the allied provision in Manu cannot be earlier.²⁸ It is a pity that this date is too late in comparison with the generally accepted dating of the MaS, i.e., between the first c. B.C and second c. A.D.

A further problem is that this idea is completely missing from the other law books and in the single parallel passage in the MBh 13, 47, 11, referred to by G. Bühler²⁹ omits *kīnāśa* from the list. Instead of *kīnāśo govṛṣo* it reads *lakṣaṇyo govṛṣo* which clearly means 'a stud bull having good marks.' Book 13 of the MBh fully packed with juridical passages belongs to the latest parts of the MBh. At any rate, this statement either later or earlier than that of Manu, certainly contradicts the viewpoint adopted by Manu.

NāS 2, (159a), 163 ab, (169).

(*na praṣṭavyāś...*)

prāgdṛṣṭadośaśailūṣaviṣajīvyahitūṇḍikāḥ

garadāgnidakīnāśaśūdrāputropapātīkāḥ

...cety asākṣinaḥ.

'(None of the following should be questioned)... a known criminal, a dancer, one who sells poison, a snake catcher, a poisoner, an arsonist, a share-cropper, the son of a śūdra woman, a minor sinner. (All these are disqualified as witnesses).'³⁰

On the authority of Asahāya's commentary (7th -8th century A.D.) *kīnāśa* means *śūdra* or a 'miser'. Following him R. S. Sharma has the term as '*śūdra* peasant'.³¹ This is all right as far as it goes. However, I feel the need of a more nuanced interpretation of this notion.

²⁸ R. S. Sharma, *Śūdras in Ancient India*, Second Revised Edition, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1980, p.329.

²⁹ *The Laws of Manu*, trans. by G. Bühler, Oxford, 1886, p. 570.

³⁰ *The Nārada-smṛiti* Critical Edition and Translation R. W. Lariviere, Delhi, 2003, pp. 321-322.

³¹ R. S. Sharma, *Śūdras*, pp. 257-258.

According to the KāKS,³² an agricultural treatise some parts of which certainly go back to the early medieval period, the science of agriculture was particularly studied by the *śūdras* (verse 681). Verse 211b, however, definitely states that ‘for the most part the *śūdras* as hired workers (*bhr̥tya*) are known in the villages.’ In the tale 47 of the Śs,³³ a text to be dated from a period before the 13th century, we meet Halapāla who is a *bhr̥tya* (a hired worker) who is ploughing in Pūrṇapāla’s field. It is another question whether share-croppers might have belonged to the *śūdra varṇa* in Asahāya’ times. But it is not sure that a *kīnāśa* was regarded as a *śūdra* in the NS. Although the KA 2, 1, 2 says that ‘he (i.e. the king) should settle villages with mostly Śūdra agriculturists [*śūdrakarṣaka*].’,³⁴ agriculturists (*karṣaka*) living in the king’s realm are not necessary *śūdras*. The KA 6, 1, 8 enlists the exemplary qualities of the countryside: ‘...containing agricultural workers with a good work ethic [*karmaśīlakarṣaka*] and landlords who are prudent; populated mainly by the lower social classes [*abaliśasvāmyavaravarṇaprāya*]; and with people who are loyal and honest.’³⁵ According to Kangle the phrase *avaravarṇa* primarily refers to the *śūdras*.³⁶ Since the *karṣakas* are either *śūdras* they are not *kṣetrikas*, i.e. owners of the land in the KA, rather people employed by others or settled on the land by the king similarly to the *kīnāśas* they cannot be called simply peasants. All in all, Lariviere has exactly translated it as ‘share-cropper’.

Ak. 3, 3, 215

kīnāśaḥ kṣudra-karṣakayoḥ triṣu.

³² *Kāśyapīyakṣisūkti. A Sanskrit Work on Agriculture* Edited with an Introductory Study by Gy. Wojtilla, Wiesbaden, 2010.

³³ *Der Textus ornatior der Śukasaptati* kritisch herausgegeben von R. Schmidt, München, 1898,

³⁴ *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India, Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra*, A New Annotated Translation by P. Olivelle, Oxford, 2013, p.99.

³⁵ King, *Governance*, p. 271.

³⁶ *The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Part II, An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes by R. P. Kangle, second edition, Bombay, 1972, p. 315.

It has the following meanings: Yama, small, a cultivator, a slayer of cattle and an ape.³⁷

It is almost impossible to see anything common in these meanings. Under special circumstances a ploughman, though innocently, can figuratively be called a 'slayer of cattle'. The adjective 'small' may indicate the low social position of the *kīnāśa*.

BhāP 3, 30, 13.

*evam svabharaṇākālpaṃ tatkalaatrādayastathā
nādrīyante yathā pūrvaṃ kīnāśā iva gojaram.*

'Seeing him unable to support them as aforesaid, his wife and others treat him not with the same respect as before, even as the miserly cultivators do not accord the treatment to their old and worn-out oxen.'³⁸

This rather terse description points to the miserable state of the ploughmen and how they treat the draft animals. However, for this behaviour they cannot fully to be blamed since they are not the owners and at the same time they are compelled to work hard for their earning a life.

Vaik. 7, 5, 23a³⁹

kīnāśo rakṣasi yame kadarye karṣake

'a demon', Yama, 'a miserable man', 'a cultivator' (Gy. Wojtilla's translation)

NS p. 27.⁴⁰

kīnāśaḥ karṣake drṣṭaḥ

'*kīnāśa* is understood as a ploughman.' (Gy. Wojtilla's translation)

³⁷ *Amara's Nāmalingānuśāsanam* Critically Edited with Introduction and English Equivalents for Each Word by N. G. Sardesai and D. G. Padhye, second edition, Poona, 1969.

³⁸ *Srīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa* (With Sanskrit text and English translation) by C. L. Goswami, Part I, Gorakhpur, 1971.

³⁹ *Vaijayanīkoṣa of Yādavaprakāśa* ed. by Haragovinda Śāstrī, Varanasi, 1971.

⁴⁰ *Nānārthasaṃgraha of Ajayapāla*, ed. by T. R. Chintamani, Madras, 1937.

Kkt. 11, p. 90.⁴¹
kīnāśaḥ kṛṣīvalaḥ
 ‘*kīnāśa* is a cultivator / ploughman’ (Gy. Wojtilla’s translation)

Mk. 164/19.⁴²
kīnāśaḥ karṣakakṣudropāṃśughātiṣu
 ‘a ploughman, a niggard, a secretly killer, Yama’. (Gy. Wojtilla’s translation)
 Anam. 95 *kīnāśa*: ‘poor, Yama, Rākṣasa, ploughing’.⁴³

The meaning ‘poor’ seems to be a natural state of a ploughman, while the interpretation ‘ploughing’ seems to be arbitrary. I translate it as ‘a ploughman’.

MBhN 12, 140, 21.⁴⁴
yah kīnāśaḥ śataṃ nivartanāni bhūmeḥ karṣati tena viṣṭirūpeṇa rājakīyam api nivartana-daśakam karṣanīyaṃ svīyavad rakṣanīyaṃ ca.
 ‘Which ploughman ploughs one hundred *nivartanas* of land that should plough in the form of forced labour (unpaid labour) ten *nivartanas* of the royal land and should protect it as his own.’ (Gy. Wojtilla’s translation)

According to Alaev⁴⁵ it is obvious that the fulfilment of forced labour is connected with lower social status and indicates that the person in question lacks full powers.

US 5, 56. It means ‘the tiller of the soil.’⁴⁶

⁴¹ *Kṛtyakalpataru of Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara, XI, Rājadharmakāṇḍa*, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Baroda, 1943.

⁴² *Medinī Kośa of Śrī Medinīkara*, ed. by J. Ś. Hoshing, Varanasi, 1968.

⁴³ *Harṣakīrti’ Anekārthanāmamālā* edited and rendered into English by C. Vogel, Göttingen, 1981, p. 151. (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1981, Nr.6)

⁴⁴ Lallanji Gopal, *Economic Life in Northern India*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1965, p. 28. fn.2.

⁴⁵ L. B. Alaev, *Sel’skaya obščina*, p. 89.

⁴⁶ V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 195.

Conclusions

1. The history of the word with a meaning 'ploughman' spans near three thousand years.
2. The references in chronological order show a peculiar distribution out of the twenty one occurrences nine belongs to the Vedic literature.
3. References according to topics are edifying: the nine early ones represent religious literature; three belong to the MBh; three are from works on law; five are from lexicography and only one is from a religious work.
4. The etymology of the word is not clear. It is certainly of non Indo-Aryan origin, however, any inference of ethnical belongings would be farfetched. It is plausible that it denoted originally those ploughmen who formed part of the non-Aryan speaking population in Northern India. The absence of the expected terms of Indo-Aryan derivation such as *karṣaka*, *krṣaka*, *krṣivāla* do not appear in Vedic texts.

Later this plausible connotation fully disappeared. Developments of the term in Middle-Indic, and Modern-Indo-Aryan are totally missing. Words for 'ploughman' in Tamil are not of this word group.

5. The basic meaning of the word is 'ploughman'; however, it gains various connotations in the different ages.

From the Vedic texts a nuanced picture emerges. The *kīnāśa* has a hard work, always sweating with the exhausted draft-animals and is thirsty. The plough and the draft-animal are not his own, they are owned by the *sīrapati* (the owner of the plough), who treat him harsh and beats him. He seems to be a farm labourer. On the authority of the Rvi he must be feed by the owner of the field. Likely, it is part of his wage, a widespread custom in India. He cannot be called a peasant with full powers.

The MBh passages are rather ambiguous, however. a possible reading is that he cannot be rich, and not being the owner he relentlessly drives the draft-animals.

As to the assumption has been advanced by Alaev there are pros and contras.

The Sbh., a text which is partly contemporary with the KA gives a vivid description of ploughmen and the draft animals in a village visited by the would-to-be Buddha and his father. It reads thus.⁴⁷

*paśyati kārṣakān uddhūtaśiraskān sphuṭitapāñipādān
rajasāvaccūrṇitagātrān balīvardāṃś ca
pratodavikṣataśarirān rudhirāvasiktapṛṣṭhakaṭipradeśān
kṣutpipāśāśramoparudhyamānaprāṇān
pratatañiśvāśoparudhyamānahṛdayān
yutaḡotpīḍanapragaḍitavraṇapūyaśonitān
makṣikākṛmisaṅghātabhaksyamānaskandhaprāṇān
halayogavilikhitacaraṇān
lālāśiṅghānakaprasrutamukhanāsān
daṃśamaśakacarmapāṇakīrṇān.*

‘(The *bodhisattva*) saw ploughmen whose turbans had been shaken off, whose hands and feet were cracked, their limbs covered with blood, and oxen with bodies wounded by the goad, backs and flanks sprinkled with blood, breathing impeded by hunger, thirst and exhaustion, hearts troubled by continuous gasping, with purulent blood oozing from the wounds caused by the chafing of the yoke, the energy of their shoulders being devoured by swarms of flies and worms, they feet scraped by attachment to the plough, mouths and noses streaming with saliva and mucus, skin and vital organs covered with gnats and mosquitos.’ (Gy. Wojtilla’s translation)⁴⁸

These *kārṣakas* with the oxen strikingly resemble of the poor *kīnāśas* with their draft animals. Beside that the Sanskrit lexicons take *kīnāśa* and *karṣaka* (= *kārṣaka*) as synonyms. It is true these works are much later than the KA.

On the contrary there is the total absence of the word in the KA and in its commentaries, while the KA after all abounds in terms related to various categories of cultivators. It gives also

⁴⁷ *Saṅghabhedavastu* ed. by R. Gnoli, Roma 1977, p. 75.

⁴⁸ Special thanks go to Prof. Richard Gombrich for checking and generously correcting my English rendering.

food to mind that the term can be attested in the MaS a text which has a lot of common ideas with the KA and which stands chronologically close to it.

The MaS and NāS suggest that he is a person who either lacks personal freedom or is deprived from certain rights.

The lexicons clearly refer to their occupation and their low position (*kṣudra*) in society.

There is nothing against it that *kīnāśas* can be regarded as *śūdras* in the early medieval times.

The testimony of the MBhN is of great importance. The *kīnāśa* who has to do forced labour (*viṣṭi*) may be called 'a bondman' in the sense of the term known from European feudalism.

6. To sum up, the term denotes a 'ploughman', who is generally poor, indigent, in many cases less than an ordinary 'ploughman' (*karṣaka*, *kṛṣivāla*). It is perhaps not by an accident that Hindi *kisān* which generally means 'peasant' does not go back to it.

7. The analysis of the other meanings than 'ploughman' is out of scope of the recent study. However, three brief remarks seem to be in order: they occur in classical Sanskrit narrative literature and the Sanskrit lexicons datable from the early medieval times; almost all have a negative connotation.

This strange view appears also in the *sūtra* 534 of the Uṇādigāṇavṛti by Hemacandra (1088-1172)⁴⁹

*lubdhaḥ kīnāśaḥ syāt kīnāśopy ucyate kṛtaghnaś ca
yośnāty āmaṃ māṃsaṃ sa ca kīnāśo yamaś caiva.*

'The *kīnāśa* may be a hunter, and also an ungrateful man is called *kīnāśa*. He is also a *kīnāśa* who eats raw flesh, and even so Yama' (the god of death) (Gy. Wojtilla's trans.)

⁴⁹ Quoted from: T. Zachariae, *Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kośa)*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 5.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ak.	Amarasiṃha: Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana / Amarakośa 6 th c. A.D.
Anam	Dhanañjaya: Anekārthanāmamālā before 1160-1200 A.D.
AV	(Śaunakīyā) Atharvavedasaṃhitā 1000-850 A.D.
AVP	(Atharvaveda-) Paippalādasamhitā 1000-850 A.D.
BhāP	Bhāgavatapurāṇa 10 th c. A.D.
KA	Kauṭilya: Arthaśāstra 2 nd -3 rd c. A.D with an earlier core
KāKS	Kāśyapīyakṛṣisūkti not before 700 A.D with later interpolations
Kkt.	Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa: Kṛtyakalpataru 1114-1154 A.D.
KP	Kṛṣiparāśara before 11 th c. A.D.
MaS	Manusmṛti / Mānavadharmasāstra 2 nd c. B.C.-2 nd c. A.D.
MB	Mantrabrāhmaṇa 850- 650 B.C.
MBh	Mahābhārata 5 th c. B.C.-4 th c. A.D.
MBhN	Nīlakaṇṭhī Ṭikā (ad MBH) / Nīlakaṇṭha: Bhāratabhāvadīpa 17 th c. A.D.
Mk.	Medinīkara: Medinīkośa 13 th c. A.D.
NāS	Nāradasmṛti 2 nd c.-7 th c. A.D.
NS	Ajayapāla: Nānārthasaṃgraha not after 1100 A.D.
RV	R̥gvedasaṃhitā 1200-100 B.C.
Rvi.	R̥gvidhāna 500-300 B.C.
ŚB	Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina-Recension c 800-650 B.C
Sbh.	Saṅghabhedavastu first centuries A.D.
Śs.	Śukasaptati, Textus ornatior before the 13 th c. A.D.
TS	Taittirīyasaṃhitā c. 650 B.C.
US	Uṇādisūtra of uncertain age
VS	Vājasaneyīsaṃhitā, Mādhyandina-Recension before 850 B.C.
Vaik.	Yādavaprakāśa: Vaijayantīkośa ca. 1050 A.D.

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**THE 16th WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE
(BANGKOK, JUNE 28th-JULY 2nd, 2015)**

REPORT ON THE SIXTEENTH WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

November 2015.

The main task of the IASS (International Association of Sanskrit Studies) is to organise a WSC (World Sanskrit Conference), usually every three years (since 1972) in different parts of the world where there is a tradition of Sanskrit and allied studies. Institutions propose to host a WSC and the final decision of the venue is generally taken at the IASS General Assembly Meeting of the members at least six years in advance.

The 16th World Sanskrit Conference was held in Bangkok, Thailand, from 28th June till 2nd July 2015, co-organised by the International Association of Sanskrit Studies and the Sanskrit Studies Centre, Silpakorn University in Bangkok, Thailand. The venue was the Renaissance Hotel. This WSC was under the patronage of HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, in whose honour it was held on the occasion of her birthday.

Her Excellency Mrs. Sushma Swaraj, the Minister of External Affairs, India, was the Guest of Honour. She delivered the Opening Address in rhetorically pleasant and chaste Sanskrit saying, among other things, that the World Sanskrit Conference shows that the 'world is indeed one family'.

The President of the IASS Professor Vempaty Kutumba Sastry also spoke in Sanskrit at this Inaugural Session in which, among other things, he highlighted the significance and contribution of the Sanskrit language.

The Keynote Speech was delivered by Professor John Brockington, Emeritus Professor, University of Edinburgh, on "Rāma's Travels Eastwards" showing how the story of Rāma flourished and was developed further in South East Asia.

At the inaugural session HRH was presented with a felicitation volume on behalf of the Sanskrit Studies Centre,

Silpakorn University: *Mahākaruṇā Dhāriṇī. Essays on Royal Women in Sanskrit Epigraphy. Felicitation Volume in Honour of Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn on Her auspicious Diamond Jubilee Birth Anniversary*, ed. Amarjiva Lochan (Delhi: Pragun Publication, 2015).

The plenary session ended with views presented by four experts in different fields about various aspects related to Sanskrit.

In the evening of the first day Her Excellency Mrs Sushma Swaraj, the Minister of External Affairs, India, hosted a gala dinner for HRH and all the participants of WSC. HE Mrs. Swaraj welcomed everyone in a short speech, again in pleasant Sanskrit. The highlight of the dinner was a Khon performance of song and dance by Thai artistes accompanied with live music, depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. After the dinner everyone present was given a bag by the Indian Ministry containing Kālidāsa's *Ābhijñanaśakuntalam*, as a token of remembrance.

On the evening of the next day, after all the papers were presented at the conference, there was a most enjoyable dramatic presentation in Sanskrit of *Karṇa-bhāram* by Bhāsa. A group of artistes from Jñāna-Pravāha, Centre for Cultural Studies and Research, Vārāṇasī, were especially invited by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for this cultural programme related to the WSC.

The WSC in Bangkok was organised in 21 Sections in addition to 8 Panels where scholars in Sanskrit and related fields presented their papers, allowing a short time also for interesting discussions. These included: Veda and Vedic Literature, Epics, Purāṇas, Āgama and Tantra, Linguistics, Grammar, Poetry, Drama and Aesthetics, Buddhist and Jaina Studies, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, History of Religions and Ritual Studies, Sanskrit in Southeast Asia, Philosophy, History, Art and Architecture, Epigraphy, Sanskrit in Relation with Regional Languages and Literatures, Sanskrit, Science and Scientific Literature, Sanskrit Pedagogy and Contemporary Sanskrit Writings, Sanskrit and the IT World, Yoga and Āyurveda, Sūtra, Smṛti and Śāstra, and Manuscriptology. Some of the independent Panels included *Nāṭya-śāstra* and its Various Dimensions, the *Caraka-saṃhitā*

as a Mirror of South Asian Cultural History, the *Vrātya* Culture in Vedic Sources, etc., with intensive discussions in each case.

The Sanskrit Studies Centre, Bangkok, invited all the participants to a special dinner before the last day of the Conference, at which a programme of dance and drama was also organised. The last day began with the customary gathering of Sanskrit poets who presented their latest compositions. There was also a meeting of traditional scholars who discussed in Sanskrit various aspects related to Sanskrit and its literature.

After the General Assembly Meeting of the IASS, the valedictory session was chaired by the Vice Chancellor of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, Professor P.N. Shastry. At this occasion information about the publication of volumes 37-39 of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* was presented to the assembly by the editor Professor Siniruddha Dash. The 16th World Sanskrit in Bangkok was then declared adjourned with final short addresses by the local organisers under the able guidance of Professor Chirapat Prapandvidya, the former Director of the Sanskrit Studies Centre in Bangkok.

As is usual at a WSC, the IASS holds its business meetings, discussing various aspects of the Association and preparing the agenda for the General Assembly Meeting at the end of the conference where the IASS members are informed about matters related to the Association and, if necessary, to vote on certain issues requiring their approval. On the eve of the inaugural session of the conference the IAAS Board met on 27th June 2015. Further, the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the IASS was held on 30th June. The relevant IASS matters and resolutions of these meetings were reported in the General Assembly Meeting on 2nd July 2015 and, wherever necessary, decisions were taken. All these meetings were organized systematically by the President and Secretary General of the IASS. Among the decisions taken at the General Assembly Meeting, it was confirmed that the 17th WSC will be held in Vancouver, Canada, in 2018 and in Canberra, Australia, in 2021. Moreover, it was recommended that the sections of a WSC should have at least 21 Sections with their Sanskrit nomenclatures. These sections will be announced when the minutes of

the meetings are published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, the official organ of the IASS.

Professor Hari Dutt Sharma
Member of the IASS Consultative Committee

PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE SIXTEENTH WORLD
SANSKRIT CONFERENCE*



Inauguration of the 16th World Sanskrit Conference by HRH the Princess
of Thailand Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.

* Pictures supplied by Prof. Khunying Khaisri Sri-Aroon, Prof. Trichur Rukmani and Prof. John Brockington.



HRH the Princess of Thailand Maha Chakri Sirindhorn receiving a Felicitation Volume presented to her at the Inaugural session of the 16th World Sanskrit Conference.



HRH the Princess of Thailand Maha Chakri Sirindhorn greeting Her Excellency Mrs Sushma Swaraj, the Minister of External Affairs, India.



HRH the Princess of Thailand Maha Chakri Sirindhorn opening the ceremony to confer the Honorary Degrees.



Professor Trichur Rukmani receiving the Honorary Degree from HRH the Princess of Thailand Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.



Professor John Brockington receiving the Honorary Degree from HRH the Princess of Thailand Maha Chakri Sirindhorn.



Professor John Brockington reading the keynote speech.

**THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF SANSKRIT STUDIES
(I.A.S.S.)**

MEETINGS OF THE I.A.S.S.
DURING THE 16th WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE
HELD IN BANGKOK

MEMBERS OF THE I.A.S.S. BOARD
2015-2018

OBITUARIES

Edited by Jayandra Soni, Secretary General of the I.A.S.S.

MEETINGS OF THE I.A.S.S.
DURING THE 16th WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE
HELD IN BANGKOK

MINUTES OF THE I.A.S.S. BOARD MEETING
BANGKOK, 27th JUNE 2015

Present: Professors V. Kutumba Sastry (President), Ram Karan Sharma, John Brockington (Vice Presidents), Georges-Jean Pinault (Treasurer) and Dr J. Soni (Secretary General).

1. The President opened the meeting and gave a brief report about the IASS and its increasing presence in the scholarly world, and about how to encourage new membership with thoughts about issuing a membership card to IASS members.
2. The Minutes of the Board and other meetings held in New Delhi, 5th January 2012, prepared by Professor John Brockington (previously circulated and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 247-253) were approved.
3. In his report the Secretary General showed his appreciation for being elected at the Delhi WSC in 2012 and the help given by the President and his predecessor Professor John Brockington in fulfilling the duties of a SG. He briefly reported about the new set-up of the IASS since the Delhi WSC in 2012 with the President, four Vice Presidents and 18 CC members. He also gave a brief report on the New Delhi WSC and, in a previously circulated list, commemorated 24 scholars who had passed away since the New Delhi WSC.
4. The Treasurer presented his cumulative report for the years 2012-2015, the financial reports for the years 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 (until June 20, 2015), as well as the auditors' statement of approval for the years 2012-2014, and 2015 (until May 21, 2015). These reports and this statement were accepted. Professors Nalini Balbir, Bruno Dagens and Oskar von Hinüber agreed to continue as auditors for the accounts

of the IASS in the next years.

- 4a. The Treasurer raised the point about individual membership and national/ regional associations. It was agreed that individuals of associations that are IASS members *and pay* their membership should be automatically regarded as IASS members as well.
- 4b. The Treasurer suggested that conveners and participants of the different sections of a WSC should be members of the IASS, at least for the year in which the WSC takes place. It was decided to think about how to implement this when a WSC is organised.
5. Election/re-election of the Board and Consultative Committees. It was agreed that members of the Board, etc. continue to remain in their positions, if they wished to do so. RDs Professors Oskar von Hinüber (for German speaking countries and N. Europe), Yaroslav Vassilkov (for Eastern Europe) and CC member Muneo Tokunaga had expressed their wish to step down from the Board. The Board thanked them very much indeed for their long association with the IASS in their capacities as RDs and as CC member. Dr Amarjiva Lochan who was coopted in 2012 (proposed by J. Soni and seconded by John Brockington) was confirmed as a CC member. Proposals for the RDs for the German speaking countries and N. Europe, and for Eastern Europe were considered, to replace Professors Oskar von Hinüber and Yaroslav Vassilkov respectively. For the German speaking countries and N. Europe it was agreed to recommend that Professor Ute Hüsken, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo (proposed by Donald R. Davis and seconded by John Brockington) be appointment as the Regional Director. There were two candidates for the RD for Eastern Europe, so it was decided to leave it to a vote at the CC Meeting.
6. The offer from the University of British Columbia Vancouver for the 17th WSC in 2018 made by Professor Adheesh Sathaye had already been accepted at the Delhi WSC in 2012.

There were three offers for the venue of the 18th WSC in 2021 and it was decided to discuss the matter at the CC Meeting.

7. Four theses were submitted for the DK Award for the period 2012-2014 and an Adjudication Panel was set up which recommended that Dr Michael Slouber be given the Award for his outstanding thesis: “Gāruḍa Medicine: A History of Snakebite and Religious Healing in South Asia”, submitted to South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2012.
8. The Board decided to recommend the conferment of the status of Honorary Research Fellow to Dr Michael Slouber.
9. The progress on the publication of previous WSC Proceedings was summarised by the SG: 11 out of 15 volumes were published for the Helsinki WSC in 2003; 3 out of 4 volumes have been published for the Edinburgh WSC in 2006; all the 4 volumes of the Kyoto WSC in 2009 have been published; 3 out of 6 volumes for the New Delhi WSC Proceedings in 2012 were still outstanding.
10. Since there was no progress regarding the 2012 resolution that the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan be given the status of a Central International Sanskrit University by an Act of Parliament (proposed by Professor R. K. Sharma, supported by Professor RV. Tripathi and others), it was decided to reiterate the proposal at the other Meetings.
11. The Membership Fee-Change Proposal formally made by CC Members Professors Donald R. Davis, Jr. and McComas Taylor, dated May 17, 2013 was discussed. The Treasurer explained the difficulty involved in implementing it. After a detailed discussion it was decided not to accept the proposal.
13. The Board decided to formulate a Voting Procedure as a by-law (proposed by Professor Brockington and seconded by J. Soni), preferably before the next WSC.
14. Since very few IASS Members of the Board and CC use the sanskritassociation.org emails it was recommended by the SG that only the minimum number in the package of the IASS website be used, 5 or 6.

15. With regard to the publication policy of the WSC Proceedings the Treasurer and SG were asked to see into the details of publishing them through our official organ: *Indologica Taurinensia*. The SG agreed to discuss the matter with VP Professor Irma Piovano.
16. In view of the increase in sections of a WSC since the 13th WSC in 2000, suggestions for a recommended number of Sections for a WSC were discussed in several email correspondence prior to the Meeting. The result was that a formal proposal was made by Professor RV. Tripathi, seconded by Professor A. Aklujkar for 21 standard Sections, in keeping with the IASS policy in previous years. The Board recommended that it be accepted, including the provision for flexibility and the use of the Sanskrit titles before their English equivalents. See the Appendix.

Abbreviations:

CC: Consultative Committee

RD(s): Regional Director(s)

SG: Secretary General

VP(s): Vice President(s)

WSC: World Sanskrit Conference

MINUTES OF THE I.A.S.S. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE
AND REGIONAL DIRECTORS' MEETING
BANGKOK, 30th JUNE 2015

Present: Professors V. Kutumba Sastry, John Brockington, Ram Karan Sharma, Georges-Jean Pinault, Oskar von Hinüber, Joel Brereton, Wendy Phillips-Rodriguez, A. Aklujkar, Greg Bailey, Mislav Ježić, Amarjiva Lochan, C.S. Radhakrishnan, T.S. Rukmani, Hari Dutt Sharma, McComas Taylor, RV. Tripathi and Dr J. Soni. Observer: Professor Adheesh Sathaye.

1. The President opened the meeting and gave a brief report about the IASS and its presence in the scholarly world, and

- about how to encourage new membership with thoughts about issuing a membership card to IASS members.
2. The Minutes of the Board and other meetings held in New Delhi, 5th January 2012 prepared by Professor John Brockington (previously circulated and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 247-253), were approved.
 3. In his report the Secretary General showed his appreciation for being elected at the Delhi WSC in 2012 and the help given by the President and his predecessor Professor John Brockington in fulfilling the duties of a SG. He briefly reported about the new set-up of the IASS since the Delhi WSC in 2012 with the President, four Vice Presidents and 18 CC members. He also gave a brief report on the New Delhi WSC and, in a previously circulated list, commemorated 24 scholars who had passed away since the New Delhi WSC.
 4. The Treasurer presented his cumulative report for the years 2012-2015, the financial reports for the years 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 (until June 20, 2015), as well as the auditors' statement of approval for the years 2012-2014, and 2015 (until May 21, 2015). These reports and this statement were accepted. Professors Nalini Balbir, Bruno Dagens and Oskar von Hinüber agreed to continue as auditors for the accounts of the IASS in the next years.
 - 4a. The Treasurer raised the point about individual membership and national/ regional associations. It was agreed that individuals of associations that are IASS members *and pay* their membership should be automatically regarded as IASS members as well.
 - 4b. The Treasurer suggested that conveners and participants of the different sections of a WSC should be members of the IASS, at least for the year in which the WSC takes place. It was decided to think about how to implement this when a WSC is organised.
 5. Election/re-election of the Board and Consultative Committees. It was agreed that members of the Board, etc. continue to remain in their positions, if they wished to do so.

RDs Professors Oskar von Hinüber (for German speaking countries and N. Europe), Yaroslav Vassilkov (for Eastern Europe) and CC member Professor Muneo Tokunaga had expressed their wish to step down from the Board. The Board thanked them very much indeed for their long association with the IASS in their capacities as RDs and as CC member.

Dr Amarjiva Lochan who was coopted in 2012 (proposed by J. Soni and seconded by John Brockington) was confirmed as a CC member.

Proposals for the RDs for the German speaking countries and N. Europe, and for Eastern Europe were considered, to replace Professors Oskar von Hinüber and Yaroslav Vassilkov respectively. For the German speaking countries and N. Europe it was agreed to recommend that Professor Ute Hüsken, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, University of Oslo (proposed by Donald R. Davis and seconded by John Brockington) be appointment as the Regional Director.

A secret ballot was taken to vote for the RD of Eastern Europe. Professor Natalia Lidova, Institute of World Literature, Russian Academy of Sciences, Asian and African Literature, Moscow, received the largest number of votes and was thus elected as the RD for E. Europe (proposed by Professor RV. Tripathi and seconded by Professor Hari Dutt Sharma).

6. The offer from the University of British Columbia Vancouver for the 17th WSC in 2018 made by Professor Adheesh Sathaye had already been accepted at the Delhi WSC in 2012.

There were three offers for the venue of the 18th WSC in 2021 so the matter was discussed in detail at the CC Meeting. The RDs and CC Members decided to support and recommend the offer made by Professor McComas Taylor to hold it in Canberra, Australia. He explained that the Australian National University there is well equipped for such a Conference because it has the necessary infrastructure. The State, he said, encourages international

conferences of this kind and that financial support would be possible.

7. Four theses were submitted for DK Award for the period 2012-2014 and an Adjudication Panel was set up which recommended that Dr Michael Slouber be given the Award for his outstanding thesis: “Gāruḍa Medicine: A History of Snakebite and Religious Healing in South Asia”, submitted to South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2012.
8. It was recommended that Dr Michael Slouber be conferred the status of Honorary Research Fellow of the IASS.
9. The progress on the publication of previous WSC Proceedings was summarised by the SG: 11 out of 15 volumes were published for the Helsinki WSC in 2003; 3 out of 4 volumes have been published for the Edinburgh WSC in 2006; all the 4 volumes of the Kyoto WSC in 2009 have been published; 3 out of 6 volumes for the New Delhi WSC Proceedings in 2012 were still outstanding.
10. Since there was no progress regarding the 2012 proposal that the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan be given the status of a Central International Sanskrit University by an Act of Parliament (Professor R. K. Sharma, supported by Professor RV. Tripathi and others), the proposal was reiterated.
11. The Membership Fee-Change Proposal formally made by CC Members Professors Donald R. Davis, Jr. and McComas Taylor, dated May 17, 2013 was discussed. The Treasurer explained the difficulty involved in implementing it. After a detailed discussion it was decided not to accept the proposal.
13. It was decided to formulate a Voting procedure as a by-law (JLB) by the next WSC.
14. Since very few IASS Members of the Board and CC use the sanskritassociation.org Emails it was recommended by the SG that only the minimum number in the package of the IASS website be used, 5 or 6.
15. With regard to the publication policy of the IASS proceedings the Treasurer and SG were asked to see into the details of publishing them through our official organ:

Indologica Taurinensia. The SG agreed to discuss the matter with Vice President Irma Piovano.

16. In view of the increase in sections of a WSC since the 13th WSC in 2000, suggestions for a recommended number of Sections for a WSC were discussed. A formal proposal was made by Professor RV. Tripathi, seconded by Professor A. Aklujkar for 21 standard Sections, in keeping with the IASS policy in previous years. The Board recommended that it be accepted, including the provision for flexibility and the use of the Sanskrit titles before their English equivalents. See the Appendix.

Abbreviations:

CC: Consultative Committee

RD(s): Regional Director(s)

SG: Secretary General

VP(s): Vice President(s)

WSC: World Sanskrit Conference

MINUTES OF THE I.A.S.S. GENERAL ASSEMBLY
MEETING
BANGKOK, 2nd JULY 2015

Present: Members of the Board, CC and RDs (17 in all), nearly 50 members of the IASS, as well as other participants of the 16th WSC.

1. The President opened the meeting and gave a brief report about the IASS and its presence in the scholarly world, and about how to encourage new membership with thoughts about issuing a membership card to IASS members.
2. The Minutes of the Board and other meetings held in New Delhi, 5th January 2012 prepared by Professor John Brockington (previously circulated and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 247-253), were approved.
3. In his report the Secretary General showed his appreciation

for being elected at the Delhi WSC in 2012 and the help given by the President and his predecessor Professor John Brockington in fulfilling the duties of a SG. He briefly reported about the new set-up of the IASS since the Delhi WSC in 2012 with the President, four Vice Presidents and 18 CC members. He also gave a brief report on the New Delhi WSC and, in a previously circulated list, commemorated 24 scholars who had passed away since the New Delhi WSC.

- 3a. Commemoration of 24 scholars who had passed away since the New Delhi WSC. While the SG read out their names everyone present stood up and at the end observed a few moments of silence as a mark of respect to the deceased scholars.
4. The Treasurer presented his cumulative report for the years 2012-2015, the financial reports for the years 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015 (until June 20, 2015), as well as the auditors' statement of approval for the years 2012-2014, and 2015 (until May 21, 2015). These reports and this statement were accepted. Professors Nalini Balbir, Bruno Dagens and Oskar von Hinüber agreed to continue as auditors for the accounts of the IASS in the next years.
5. RDs Professors Oskar von Hinüber (for German speaking countries and N. Europe), Yaroslav Vassilkov (for Eastern Europe) and CC member Muneo Tokunaga wanted to step down from the Board. At the Meeting the Board thanked them again very much indeed for their long association with the IASS in their capacities as RDs and as CC member.
Election/re-election of the Board and Consultative Committees.
Confirmation of Dr Amarjiva Lochan as CC member was approved.
RDs for the German speaking countries (Professor Ute Hüsken) and N. Europe and for Eastern Europe (Professor Natalia Lidova) were also approved as recommended by the Board.
6. The offer from the University of British Columbia Vancouver for the 17th WSC in 2018 made by Professor

Adheesh Sathaye had already been accepted at the Delhi WSC in 2012. Professor Sathaye once again invited us heartily to come to Vancouver.

The Board, RDs and CC Members recommended that the offer made by Professor McComas Taylor to hold the 18th WSC in 2021 in Canberra, Australia, be accepted. Professor Taylor explained at the meeting that the Australian National University in Canberra is well equipped for such a Conference because it has the necessary infrastructure. He personally invited all delegates to Canberra and appreciated it that his proposal was accepted at the General Assembly Meeting.

7. Four theses were submitted for DK Award for the period 2012–2014 and an Adjudication Panel was set up which recommended that Dr Michael Slouber be given the Award for his outstanding thesis: “Gāruḍa Medicine: A History of Snakebite and Religious Healing in South Asia”, submitted to South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 2012.

On behalf of DK Agencies the senior colleague, Mr Kayarat Baby, presented the Award to Dr Slouber who expressed his profound thanks.

As agreed, it was also announced that the adjudicators of the DK Award wanted to explicitly place on record that the thesis by Dr Elaine Fisher was also outstanding and that she should be mentioned honourably for her research work in the field of Sanskrit studies. This was done at the Meeting.

8. It was decided at the Meeting that the Conferment of the status of Honorary Research Fellow be made to Dr Michael Slouber.
9. In 2012 a resolution was passed by the General Assembly requesting the Government of India to give the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan the status of a Central International Sanskrit University by Act of Parliament (proposed by Professor R.K. Sharma and supported by Professor R.V. Tripathi and others). This was reiterated at the General Assembly Meeting in the hope that the resolution would be expedited sooner than later. It was also recalled that all these

resolutions were accepted unanimously.

10. Voting procedure as a by-law.
11. In view of the increase in sections of a WSC since the 13th WSC since the year 2000, including eliminations of some Sections, suggestions for a recommended number of Sections for a WSC were discussed. A formal proposal was made by Professor RV. Tripathi, seconded by Professor A. Aklujkar for 21 standard Sections, in keeping with the IASS policy in previous years. At recommendation of the Board the proposal was accepted, including especially the provision for flexibility and the use of the Sanskrit titles before their English equivalents. See the Appendix.

Abbreviations:

CC: Consultative Committee

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APPENDIX
SECTIONS OF A WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

SUGGESTIONS for future World Sanskrit Conferences

Recommendations proposed by Professor RV. Tripathi and seconded by Professor A. Aklujkar in 2015 (see also their resolution below):

1. वेदः	Veda
2. भाषाशास्त्रम्	Linguistics
3. व्याकरणम्	Vyākaraṇa
4. रामायणं महाभारतं च	Epics
5. पुराणानि	Purāṇas
6. आगमास्तन्त्रं च	Āgama and Tantra
7. विध्यनुष्ठानविमर्शः	Ritual Studies
8. काव्यम् अलङ्कारश्च	Poetry, Drama and Aesthetics
9. वैज्ञानिकं वाङ्मयम्	Scientific Literature
10. बौद्धविद्या	Buddhist Studies
11. जैनविद्या	Jaina Studies
12. वैष्णवमतं शैवमतं च	Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism
13. धर्मविमर्शः	Religious Studies
14. दर्शनानि, तत्त्वशास्त्रम्	Philosophy
15. इतिहासः कलाः स्थापत्यम् अभिलेखशास्त्रं च	History, Art and Architecture, Epigraphy
16. संस्कृतं प्रदेशभाषाश्च	Sanskrit and Regional Languages
17. संस्कृतशिक्षाशास्त्रम्	Sanskrit Pedagogy
18. आधुनिकं संस्कृतसाहित्यम्	Modern Sanskrit Writings
19. संस्कृतं निज्ञानतान्त्रिकी च	Sanskrit and Information Technology
20. हस्तलेखविज्ञानम्	Manuscriptology
21. धर्मशास्त्रम् अर्थशास्त्रं च	Law and Society

Resolution Concerning the Sections of Future World Sanskrit Conferences

Proposed in four points by Professor RV. Tripathi, seconded by Professor A. Akhujkar, on 1st June 2015. Accepted at the General Assembly Meeting in Bangkok, 2nd July 2015.

1. The list of titles of the sections that have become traditional in the organization of the World Sanskrit Conferences should, with their Sanskrit nomenclatures, be taken as a model by the organizers of future World Sanskrit Conferences.
2. The local organizers may add, delete or appropriately combine a few sections to suit local and contemporary conditions.
3. When they add sections, they should also add the appropriate Sanskrit nomenclatures.
4. Nomenclatures in Sanskrit should be put before the English titles in the circulars and webpages announcing the Conference and in the booklets, etc., specifying the Conference program.

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For further information on the I.A.S.S. please visit
<http://www.sanskritassociation.org/>

श्रद्धाञ्जलिः

Obituaries

At each WSC (World Sanskrit Conference) the IASS (International Association of Sanskrit Studies) pays homage to deceased scholars in the field of Sanskrit and related subjects. The 16th WSC was held in Bangkok in June-July 2015 and a list of 24 deceased persons was announced at the General Assembly Meeting. Everyone present stood up and observed a few moments of silence to pay our profound respects to them. The names are usually provided by the Board and Consultative Committee Members of the IASS. The following had passed away since the previous WSC in Delhi in 2012. An asterisk (*) indicates that an obituary for the scholar has been written below.

Krishna Shriniwas Arjunwadkar	Rama Ranjan Mukherjee*
Kamaleswar Bhattacharya	M. Narasimhachary*
Lance S. Cousins*	Janaki Vallabh Pattanayak
B. B. Chaubey	Pullela Sri Ramachandrudu*
Karuna Sindhu Das	P.S. Ramamurti*
Michael Hahn	Srinivas Rath*
Jan Heesterman	S. Revathy*
Prabhakar Joshi	Kalapakam Sankaranarayanan*
S. D. Joshi*	S. Sankaranarayanan
Prabhakar Narayan Kawthekar*	Vachaspati Upadhyaya*
B. Madhavan*	N. S. Venkatanathacharya
Shri Narayana Mishra	M. L. Wadekar

LANCE COUSINS
by John Brockington

Lance Cousins (8th April 1942-14th March 2015) was one of the leading scholars of Buddhism in his generation and indeed probably the leading western authority on *abhidhamma*. He won a scholarship to read History at St John's College, Cambridge but soon changed to Oriental Studies (studying with Harold Bailey and Roy Norman), although a historical approach was always evident in his work. While at Cambridge Lance met Boonman Poonyathiro, the teacher of a form of the Thai *samatha* meditation practice, and began classes with him; in due course Lance was involved in setting up the Samatha Trust, became its founding chairman (1973-1999) and remained a trustee all his life. He also helped in the establishment of *samatha* meditation groups in Northern Ireland and in the United States.

Lance was appointed Lecturer in Comparative Religion at the University of Manchester in 1970, subsequently becoming Senior Lecturer, before taking early retirement in the 1990s, and in 2000 he moved to Oxford, in order to pursue more academic research (although he remained active both in academic teaching and in the teaching of Buddhist meditation). While at Manchester he taught classes on Buddhism, Hinduism, comparative mysticism, Pali and Sanskrit; at Oxford he taught Buddhism in the Faculty of Theology and Pali in the Faculty of Oriental Studies, becoming also a Supernumerary Fellow of Wolfson College (2007-2009). His published articles (which he signed L. S. Cousins, though always Lance to friends and colleagues) were invariably significant, though not large in number (in the mid twenties). Two books were nearing completion at his death — a translation of the *Yamaka* and its commentary with Charles Shaw and a history of aspects of Buddhist meditation — and they are expected to be seen through the press by colleagues.

In addition, Lance became the first president of the UK Association for Buddhist Studies (1996-2000); he was elected to

the Council of the Pali Text Society and later served as its President (2002-2003); he was an Honorary Fellow of the Oxford Centre for Buddhist Studies; he held various visiting professorships and received several honorary degrees, most recently from Mahamakut Buddhist University, Bangkok, in 2013.

Lance Cousins was both an outstanding scholar of Buddhism and a practising Buddhist. He was fully committed to the highest academic standards and, though devoted to the practice of meditation, never allowed this to influence his scholarly judgement. Quietly spoken and unobtrusive in manner, his keen intellect and quizzical humour nonetheless enlivened any conversation or discussion. His impact on colleagues and students is as great a memorial to his life as are his scholarly publications.

Dr S. D. JOSHI
by Saroja Bhate

Dr S. D. Joshi forms the last link in the chain of Sanskrit grammarians beginning with Nāgeśa, the celebrated grammarian philosopher and his disciples in Maharashtra. He also represents a unique blend of erudition achieved by traditional learning and scholarship gained by acquiring western method of learning.

Shivaram Dattatray Joshi was born on 15th August 1926 in a town in Maharashtra. At a very early age, after the death of his father, he came to Pune to stay with his uncle Pt Maheshwar Shastri Joshi who also became his guru. He received rigorous training in the fundamental grammatical texts in Sanskrit under his guru and passed all the examinations for titles such as *Vyākaraṇatīrtha* and *Vyākaraṇacūḍāmaṇi*. Already at the age of 20 he started teaching in Poona Sanskrit College where he worked also as the Principal during 1947 and 55. Gradually he completed his formal education by passing the school matriculation examination and joined the S. P. College for graduation. A turning point in his life came when late Professor H.H. Ingalls came to Pune in search of a traditional teacher in

Sanskrit grammar. Impressed by S. D. Joshi's depth in Sanskrit grammar Professor Ingalls invited him to Harvard. He went to Harvard under a fellowship to pursue his PhD studies and was awarded the PhD in 1960. After his return to Pune Dr S. D. Joshi started his career as the editor in Sanskrit Dictionary project at the Deccan College. In 1964 he joined the Centre of Advanced Studies in Sanskrit at the University of Pune and assumed the position of Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Prakrit Languages in 1970. In 1974 he became the Director of the Centre of Advanced Studies in Sanskrit and retired in 1987. The same year he joined the Sanskrit Dictionary Project as General Editor and continued to work till 1993. Since then he engaged himself in his personal research projects. He had a peaceful death on 29th July 2014. He was busy with his studies till the year before he died.

During his academic career extending over half a century Dr Joshi produced a robust set of publications running over a thousand pages — four monographs, twelve-volume translation of the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya*, thirteen-volume translation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and a good number of research papers. Though the *Trimuni Vyākaraṇa* tradition remained the focus throughout his writings, he also contributed to Indian semantics by publishing translations of two sections, namely, *Dhātvarthanirṇaya* and *Sphoṭanirṇaya* from the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* of *Koṇḍabhaṭṭa*. A casual glance at his publications reveals that his interest focused on the translations of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. However, a careful study of his translation volumes shows that he wanted to use the translations as a platform to advocate and demonstrate his new findings. All the introductions to his translation volumes may serve, if put together, as an exhaustive prolegomena to his research works. Though unfortunately he did not publish translations of the complete texts, whatever he completed has set a model for prospective translators. His simple and explicit translations accompanied by graphical presentations of quite a few abstract grammatical notions and comprehensive exegetical material recapitulating traditional as well as modern views on respective points have proved a great aid in understanding the Pāṇinian tradition.

A historical approach dominates Dr Joshi's research methodology. It plays a major role in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* volumes. There he has applied to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules the rules of *Anuvṛtti* as stated in his pathbreaking monograph entitled "Fundamentals of *Anuvṛtti*" and has tried, on the basis of that, to identify interpretations and historical layers in the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. A Pāṇinian student scanning through his writings on *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ends up with nearly half of the text coming from a non-Pāṇinian source! Though his extreme emphasis on historical approach led Dr Joshi to dismiss even large sections such as *Taddhita* and *Samāsa* as non-Pāṇinian and therefore has been subjected to criticism, his hypothesis has a logical basis and hence it cannot be easily discussed.

Some of Dr Joshi's other contributions to Pāṇinian studies may be summed up as follows.

He gave a solid foundation to the general organization of the text of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by stating fundamental principles of *Anuvṛtti* and explaining the role of the particle *ca* as a multipurpose tool.

He reinterpreted the rule ordering principles such as *Vipratishedha*, *Utsargāpavāda*, *Antaraṅga* and notions like *Sthānivadbhāva* and presented Pāṇini's theory of grammar in a new setting.

He discovered new principles like the Siddha principle underlying Pāṇinian theory of grammar and by executing this principle he dismissed a good number of *anityaparibhāṣās*. By thus removing *ad hocism* in the Pāṇinian derivative procedure Dr Joshi tried to give a logical foundation to the Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

It may not be an exaggeration to say that in Dr S. D. Joshi Pāṇini has found THE person who could read his mind and read it out to the posterity.

PRABHAKAR NARAYAN KAWTHEKAR
by Radhavallabh Tripathi

Prabhakar Narayan Kawthekar was born on 29th September 1923 at Indore in Central India, now in the state of Madhya

Pradesh. He learned Sanskrit *śāstras* from Pandits Govinda Lal Shastri, Gajanan Shastri Karmalkar and Pandi Dhundhiraj Gopal Sapre. He was awarded the PhD from the University of Agra for his thesis on “Origin and Development of Fables in Sanskrit” in 1976. The thesis has been published under the title *Sanskrit Men Nītikathā kā Udbhava aur Vikāsa* (in Hindi).

He served as Professor of Sanskrit and Principal at the Government Colleges of Madhya Pradesh and the Vice Chancellor of Vikram University at Ujjain. He was elected General President of the All India Oriental Conference.

His original writings include *Dhvanikathā*, *Rājyoginī* (Sanskrit poem) and *Bājīrāvamastānīyaṃ* (Epic in Sanskrit, 2005). He received President’s Certificate of Honour and the Sahitya Akademi Puraskāra for his epic poem *Bājīrāvamastānīyaṃ*. The Sahitya Akademi, the National Academy of Letters in India, organized a ‘Meet the Author’ programme with Śrī Prabhakar Narayan Kawthekar, on 4th September 2014 at Indore. He served as the Chairman of Central Sanskrit Board, the highest policy making body for Sanskrit education constituted by the Government of India. A festschrift entitled *Prabhākara-Nārāyaṇa-Śrīḥ: Studies in Indology and Musicology* (1993) was edited by Prof. Sushma Kulshreshtha and J.P. Sinha in his honour.

He is known for his researches on Kālidāsa. The fifth volume of *Bhūlokavilokanaṃ*, a series of his papers and reflections on diverse aspects of Sanskrit literature by him, is entitled *Kālidāsa Vyakti tathā Abhivyakti* (Kālidāsa – the Man and his Writings).

B. MADHAVAN
by C.S. Radhakrishnan

B. Madhavan is an epitome of total dedication to the cause of spreading Sanskrit studies at various levels such as traditional learning, research, basic levels for the public, in arts and so on. Born in a very illustrious family of South India, he was at the helm of affairs of many Sanskrit Institutions. Born on 10th October 1926, he belonged to a family of legal luminaries. His

grandfather Śrī. V. Krishnaswami Iyer was a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council during the British rule. Śrī V.K. Iyer established the Madras Sanskrit College and the Venkataramana Ayurveda College. When there was some problem with the Arbuthnot bank, during the British rule, Iyer started the Indian Bank with the help of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar. The Mylapore Club was started by him as a challenge to the Madras Club where entry was allowed only for Europeans.

Iyer's sons Padmabhushan K. Balasubramania Iyer and Śrī. K. Chandrasekharan looked after these Institutions with great care and concern. The former was conferred with the title "Dharmaraksamani" by no less a person than the Paramācārya of Kanchi Kamakoti Mutt, Śrī. Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi. When Śrī Chandrasekharan passed away in 1988, there was a kind of impasse as to who will administrate these Institutions.

It was at this juncture that Śrī B. Madhavan stepped in. His earlier experience with the Govt. of India in various capacities as Vigilance Officer, Chief Finance Officer and subsequently as Additional General Manager of the Indian Railways gave him that vision to run these Institutions and more. Like the two parallel track of the railways, one track was Madhavan's administrative skill and the other was his love and commitment to Sanskrit.

From 1988, till his passing away on 29th June 2014, Śrī Madhavan worked like an untiring master to infuse fresh life into the Sanskrit Institutions in Chennai. The Madras Sanskrit College, the Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute, the Samskrita Academy, the Savitri Ammal Oriental Higher Secondary School, the Ramaratnam Nursery and Primary School all bear testimony to his tireless effort and dedication. Śrī Madhavan was also associated with Sir Sivaswami Kalalaya, lady Sivaswami School for Girls, the Samskrita Ranga, the Sampradaya and Thyagabrahma Samajam. He was the treasurer for the 40th Session of All India Oriental Conference held at Chennai in 2000.

Even with such an administrative skill under his command, Śrī Madhavan was an embodiment of *Saulabhya* and *Santha*. A keen musicologist as well, he has given discourses on

Ramayana and other topics. No wonder, the title of “Kuladharmarakṣaka” was conferred on him in July 2013 by the living legend, Paranur Mahatma Śrī Krishna Premi. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Madhavan represented Sanskrit studies in Tamil Nadu, particularly its capital Chennai. Whenever, there arose a challenge for Sanskrit, owing to educational policy, Śrī Madhavan raised the voice and asserted that Sanskrit be given its due place. Many pontiffs, Sanskrit scholars, administrators, legal luminaries and musicians visited the Sanskrit College and gave lectures.

In the demise of Śrī B. Madhavan, the world of Sanskrit has lost a great patron and scholar.

RAMA RANJAN MUKHERJI
by Hari Dutt Sharma

Professor Rama Ranjan Mukherji, a Sanskrit Scholar par excellence, was a great son of West Bengal in India, born in the house of Shri Amitaranjan and Smt. Shankaribala. He served the department of Sanskrit, Jadavpur University, Kolkata for many years. He was Head of the Department for a long time and was responsible for nurturing this Department and raising it to the glorified status it achieved. To his students he was always a source of comfort and solace, to all around him he was a tower of strength. His absence will always be felt among his friends, admirers and students, who will always miss his tender smile and resonant voice. As a man Professor Mukherji represented the highest ideal of humanity.

In addition to a number of branches of knowledge Professor Mukherji had high scholarship and specialization in Sanskrit Poetics and Aesthetics. Aesthetics was to his a part of life. He had written and published a number of books, main among them are: (i) Imagery in Poetry: An Indian Approach, (ii) Global Aesthetics and Sanskrit Poetics, (iii) Vyaktiviveka of Rājānaka Mahimabhaṭṭa, (iv) Indian Tradition: Its Continuity, (v) Comparative Aesthetics: Indian and Western, (vi) Literary Criticism in Ancient India etc. He was co-author, editor and

forward-writer of a number of books on Indology. Professor Mukherji chaired a numbers of sessions in various conferences and seminars. He was General President of the 35th session of the All India Oriental Conference held in Haridwar in 1990.

In his life time Professor Mukherji received many awards. He was given the highest Vishva Bharati Award by the Uttar Pradesh Sanskrit Sansthan; Mahamahopadhyaya degree by Govt. Sanskrit College, Kolkata; The Hiroshma Peace Award by Sokagakkai University, Japan; Vachaspati degree by Lal Bahadur Shastri Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, New Delhi; Vedānga Studies Award by Maharshi Sandipani Vedavidya Pratishthan, Ujjain; the Mahakavi Kalidasa Award by Kavikulaguru Kalidasa Vishvavidyalaya, Nagpur. He was made Vivekananda Professor by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. He received the President's Certificate of Honour, Government of India and prestigious Padmaśrī award. His achievements received appreciation and acclaim all over India and the world.

Apart from his knowledge and sensibility, Professor Mukerji had shown himself an extremely able administrator. He had built up the Department of Sanskrit in Jadavpur University; he had served as Vice-Chancellor at the University of Burdwan and Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata. He had been the Chancellor at Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupathi. He was Founder-Chairman at Śrī Sitaram Vaidika Adarsha Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya affiliated to Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi. He was also Founder-President of Śrī Sitaramdas Omkarnath Sanskrit Siksha Samsad and Founder-Chariman at Tollygunge Engineering College and Suri Engineering College. At the time of passing away he was also President of Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad.

Professor Mukherji departed this earth for the Great Beyond on 13th March, 2010. May his soul rest in peace!

M. NARASIMHACHARY
by C.S. Radhakrishnan

Professor M. Narasimhachary was born on the 6th April 1939 in

Arthamur, Andhra Pradesh. He did his BA in Telugu from Andhra University in 1958. His MA in Sanskrit (1961) was from the University of Madras and an MA in Telugu (private study) in 1970 from S.V. University, Tirupathi. He registered under Dr V. Raghavan, University of Madras for his PhD which was conferred on him in 1967 for his thesis “Contribution of Yamunācārya to Viśiṣṭādvaita”. Hailing from a family of Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Dr Narasimhachary had the *samāśrayaṇam* under His Holiness Śrī Śrī Śrī Tridaṇḍi Śrīmannārāyaṇa Jīyar in 1958. He had a traditional training in learning the Śrīvaiṣṇava scriptures under stalwarts such as Uttamur Śrī. U. Ve. Vīrarāghavācāryar Svami, Śrī U. Ve. Velukkudi Varadācārya Svami. He studied Advaita texts under Bhāṣya Bhavajña Varahūr R. Kalyānasundara Śāstrigal.

Dr M.N. as he is fondly known, worked in Vivekananda College as Assistant Professor of Sanskrit from 1970-1976. He was Reader in Sanskrit at University of Madras from 1976-1984. Professor Narasimhachary had a small stint at University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur as Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy from 1982-1984. When the Department of Vaiṣṇavism was started in the University of Madras, he was appointed as the first Professor and Head of the department. From 1984 to 1999 he built and guided the department so well that even today, it is one of the most flourishing departments.

Dr Narasimhachary was a visiting Professor at Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies, from 1999 till his demise in 2013. His classes and lectures there attracted many academics, researchers and students. He was also a visiting Professor at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Moka, Mauritius, from 2007 to 2009. Also, he was a visiting Professor at Mercyhurst College, Erie, Pennsylvania (1999). He worked with Professor Daniel Smith, Emeritus Professor of Religion, Syracuse University on various projects like Vaiṣṇava Iconography, Rāmāyaṇa, and Bibliographical Studies of Pāñcarātra Āgama Texts.

Professor Narasimhachary was also a member of the Jury of the Sahitya Academi, and member of Grants-in-Aid Committee of Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan. He was a polyglot as he was conversant with various languages such as Telugu, Sanskrit,

Tamil, Hindi, English, Malay and German.

The hallmark of Dr Narasimhachary is his instant instinct to compose verses in Sanskrit as well as in Telugu. An ardent devotee of Lord Hayagrīva, he was an ‘Āśukavi’. He composed several verses, lyrics and even Mahākāvya. In recognition of this accomplishment, titles such as “Āśukaviśekhara”, “Śāstrakavirāt” and “Sāhityaviśārada” were conferred on him. The following are some of his published works in Sanskrit: *Śrī Hanumat Pañcacāmaram*, *Śrī Toyādri Raṅganāthasvāmi Suprabhātam*; and in Telegu: *Śrī Venkateśvara Śatakamu*, *Satyapraśna*, *Jadabharatudu* and *Raghunāthavilāpamu*.

His Mahākāvya “*Abhinava Bhārata*” and the English translation of Govindarāja’s commentary *Bhūṣaṇa* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* are yet to be published.

Special mention should be made about these books by him: *Contribution of Yāmunācārya to Viśiṣṭādvaita*, *Yamuna’s Āgamaprāmāṇya: Critical Edition and Study*, the English translation of Vedāntadeśika’s *Pāḍukasahasram*, English translation of *Stotras of Vedāntadeśika*, *Spiritual Heritage of Śrī Annamācārya* (co-author Dr M.S. Ramesh), *Handbook of Hindu Gods, Goddesses and Saints* (co-author Daniel Smith).

He wrote two monographs on Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Vedāntadeśika, published by the Sahitya Academy, New Delhi (2004), under their ‘Makers of Indian Literature’. Realising the need for making Sanskrit-learning an easy affair, Dr Narasimhachary wrote the *Sanskrit for Beginners* which even today is the most sought after book for learners in the Colleges in Tamil Nadu.

In recognition of his scholarship, he was honoured by the Minister of MHRD, Govt. of India on 28th March 2000, for Excellence in Sanskrit scholarship. His Excellency, the President of India, Dr Abdul Kalam, conferred the Certificate of Honour for Sanskrit, in August 2004.

Dr Narasimhachary was a harmonious combination of erudition, simplicity, and kindness. He was a ‘*triveṇīsaṅgama*’ of Sanskrit, Telugu and English. One of the greatest authorities on Vaiṣṇavism in particular, he guided more than 25 PhD scholars and published 75 papers in Journals of great repute. He

was an inspiration to his colleagues and students.

He passed away on 6th March 2013 after a brief illness. With his passing away the world of Sanskrit has lost a great scholar, poet, orator, writer and above all a compassionate human being. May his memory inspire generations of Sanskrit lovers.

PULLELA RAMACHANDRUDU
by Vempaty Kutumba Sastry

Mahamahopadhyaya Padmashri Professor Pullela Ramachandrudu was an epoch-making personality with more than a hundred and thirty books to his credit, apart from a great number of papers and articles. Right from his 25th year till he breathed his last in the month of June 2015, his pen was continuously employed to write tens of thousands of pages. He is an illustrious 'Pandit-Scholar' with a profound knowledge and ability to handle the original Sanskrit texts in Vyākaraṇa, Vedānta and other Darśanas, Alāṅkāraśāstra and literature. Added to this was able with the ease to explaining and write down the contents of those texts in English, Telugu and Hindi. He is a well-known creative writer in many genres of Sanskrit literature. I feel privileged to have be his junior *satīrthya*.

Born in the village Indupalli in the Amalapuram District of Andhrapradesh on 23rd October 1927 to the illustrious parents Śrī Pullela Satyanarayana Sastry and Śrīmatī Satyavati, he studied Vyākaraṇa under the tutelage of his father and Śrī Kompella Subbaraya Sastry, Advaita Vedānta under the tutelage of Śrī T. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Śrī Polagam Rama Shastry, Śrī S. R. Krishna Murty Sastry and Śrī Lakshmana Sastry. He was awarded the Vedānta Śiromaṇi by the Madras University in first class with first rank. He passed the Vidvān examination in Telugu and obtained three MA degrees from Banaras Hindu University in Sanskrit, English and Hindi. He read for his PhD degree at the Osmania University which he was awarded for his work on the 'Contribution of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha to the Sanskrit Poetics.'

Professor Pullela Ramachandrudu has left behind an

immensely valuable huge corpus of expository translations, mainly in his mother tongue Telugu, but also in English and Hindi. As an astute editor, he brought out 15 books through the Sanskrit Academy, Hyderabad, of which he was the head for more than a decade; mention may be made especially of Padamañjarī and Nyāsa. He also brought out 12 volumes of annual journal of Sanskrit Academy. He has written lucid commentaries on almost all the Upaniṣads, Brahmasūtra Śāṅkara Bhāṣya and Gītā Bhāṣya, in addition to almost all the *prakaraṇa-granthas* in Telugu which are widely read and many of which were reprinted several times. He has written a word-to-word translation of the entire Rāmāyaṇa. Most of the important Alankāra texts have been commented on by him. His translation of *Dhammapada* into Sanskrit is noteworthy. His literary compositions like ‘*Susamhatabhāratam*’ and ‘*Gītāñjali*’ brought him prestigious awards from the Sahitya Academy, New Delhi and Uttar Pradesh. His ‘Contribution of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha to Sanskrit Literature’ is an invaluable critical exposition to Sanskrit poetics.

He received numerous awards from various Governmental and other agencies. He has been felicitated with the ‘Certificate of Honour’ by His Excellency the President of India. He has also been awarded the prestigious ‘Padmaśrī’ by the Government of India. A versatile scholar of Sanskrit and a tireless writer in Sanskrit, Professor Ramachandrudu contributed to the development of Sanskrit holding high positions such as the Professor and Head of the Department of Osmania University and being on several important bodies, institutions and committees.

He has not only left behind his writings in large numbers but also has an important message at the end of every work for our benefit. It reads: देवतानुग्रहः पित्रोस्तपश्चाचार्यसत्कृपा । कर्तस्मिद्ग्रन्थजातस्य करणं केवलं वयम् ॥

P.S. RAMAMURTI
by C.S. Radhakrishnan

Dr P.S. Ramamurti is a well-known figure among Sanskrit

circles in Chennai. He is fondly called as PSR. He was the son of P.A. Subrahmanya Ayyar, a former Professor of English at Annamalai University and founder of Egmore Sanskrit School. An ardent teacher and scholar of three languages, PSR had a special love for Samskrit, and taught the language to hundreds — all for free — and spread his interest and love for the language.

Among PSR's activities through Egmore Sanskrit School is Surabharati Samiti, a monthly event to encourage spoken Sanskrit. Attendees speak in Sanskrit on a specific topic in front of a supportive audience. Close to

600 such meetings have been conducted without any break.

PSR and the School also organised The Gita recitation competitions every January. The event has become so popular in recent years that it attracted more than 2000 participants from near and far, and from the age group of 3 to 80. Aided by a dedicated group of friends and family, PSR planned and executed the competition to perfection. The six chapters for recitation have been planned for the next decade and more.

PSR and his team also recited all the 18 chapters of the Gita on specific dates every year. The verses chanted to a particular tune became the standard and adapted by the Chinmaya Mission and such organisations.

PSR was so much interested in pursuing research in Sanskrit that at the age of 70, he registered for a PhD programme. The topic of his thesis was "Aesthetic Enjoyment of Kalidasa's Works" and was awarded the doctorate from the University of Madras in 2007.

PSR passed away on 31st March 2015 and his loss will be deeply felt by the Sanskrit world.

SHRINIVAS RATH
by Radhavallabh Tripathi

Shrinivas Rath (known as Rath Sahib to his friends, admirers and students) was born in 1933 at Puri in Orissa (India). He studied in the townships of Gwalior and Morena in Madhya

Pradesh and Varanasi. His father was a traditional Sanskrit pandit and Rath Sahib learnt Vyākaraṇa and other Śāstras with him. Pandit Baldev Upadhyā became his favourite teacher at the Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

He started his career as a lecturer in Sanskrit at Madhav College, Ujjain and retired as Professor of Sanskrit at Vikram University, Ujjain. As the secretary of the Kālidāsa Samiti of this University and as the Director-in-Charge of the Kālidāsa Akademi, Rath Sahib was responsible for organizing a number of conferences, national and international seminars and various other academic activities, not to talk of the famous Kālidāsa-Samāroha — the week long Kālidāsa Festival held every year at Ujjain. He also contributed to the development of Sanskrit theatre at Ujjain and was considered a theatre-person of his own standing. He authored several drama-scripts based on Sanskrit plays for theatre performances.

He started writing poetry in Sanskrit in his early youth. His only collection of poems *Tad eva Gaganam Sā eva Dharā* (The same earth, the same sky) was published from Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi in 1995. He was a lyricist *par excellence*. His poetry is characterized by emotional fervour and expression of deep anguish over the contradictions and dichotomies of our age, and deepest thoughts on the traumatic situations of modern life; but at the same time it leads to pinnacles of sheer delight by attaining rare heights of imagination and very subtle imagery. With his wonderful sense of refinement and classic elegance, Rath Sahib was a master of melody and rhyme beauty. His songs in Sanskrit have a resonance of the great classics and they present an entirely new canvas of emotional fervour with a modern sensibility.

Listening to him reciting his own songs as well as pieces from classical Sanskrit poetry with his resounding rich voice, one could experience the most sublime of the oral traditions of Sanskrit. He became an iconic figure in this respect and was emulated by young scholars and poets.

On 7th January 1997 he chaired the Sanskrit Kavi Sammelan organized under the Xth World Sanskrit Conference (3-9 January 1997) held at Taralabalu Kendra, Bangalore. A spell-

bound audience of the 13th World Sanskrit Conference at Edinburgh gave a standing ovation when he finished the recitation of his Sanskrit songs in the *Kavisamavāya* programme of this conference.

In 1999 Rath Sahib was honoured with the prestigious Sahitya Akademi Puraskāra by the Sahitya Akademi (The National Academy of Letters), New Delhi, for his *Tad eva gaganam sā eva dharā*. He was also awarded the President's Certificate of Honour for Sanskrit scholarship.

A number of research work for PhD degrees in Indian Universities were carried out on his literary oeuvre. A paper on his poetry was presented at the All India Oriental Conference (41st Session) held at Śrī Jagannatha Sanskrit University, Puri, from 14-16 December 2002. Dr Harsha Dev Madhav, one of the most renowned Sanskrit poets of our times and Dr Harekrishna Meher, a poet and scholar, have published papers on his poetry in *Drik* – a journal of critical studies on modern Sanskrit writings. Professor S.P. Narang edited a felicitation volume in his honour.

He breathed his last on 13th June 2014 at Ujjain. Rath Sahib was one of doyens in the world of Sanskrit scholars and poets.

Dr S. REVATHY
by Godabarish Mishra

The sudden and untimely demise of Dr S. Revathy on February 5, 2014, is not only a great loss to the entire fraternity of Sanskrit studies, but leaves behind a vacuum very difficult to fill. The department of Sanskrit at the University of Madras was fortunate to have her in their faculty and she was a rare blend of scholarship and sincerity and gave her best in whatever she did: studying, teaching and researching.

Professor Dr S. Revathy (1959-2014), noted for her in-depth knowledge of Advaita Vedanta and Navya-Nyāya, studied BA Sanskrit at Queen Mary's College, Chennai, before she did her Master's Degree, M.Phil, and PhD from the department of Sanskrit, University of Madras. An outstanding teacher and

researcher, Dr Revathi did all that she could to disseminate Sanskrit studies since she was a research scholar at the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras from the year 1981. She was scheduled to take up the headship of the department from the academic year 2014-15, and this unfortunately did not happen because of her unexpected passing away.

Professor Revathy was born in a Śrī Vaiṣṇava family in Chennai and led the life of a Vedāntin all along in her practices and predilections. She made her presence felt in scholarly gatherings due to her scholarship, erudition and clarity of thought. Her writings which include about 50 research articles and four books all of which stand out as the testimony of her astute academic life. The *Three Little Known Advaitins* (University of Madras), “*A critical Edition of Bhagavad Gītā with commentary Padayojana by Rāmacandrendra*”, “*A Critical Edition of Upadeśasāhasrī of Śaṅkarācārya with the Commentary Padayojanika by Rāma Tīrtha*” (all published at the Adi Sankara Research Centre, Chennai) are a few specimens of many of her known publications. She co-authored the text *Vedānta Saṅgraha of Rāmarāya Kavi* along with Professor Dr R. Balasubramanian and this was published in 2012.

Dr Revathy pursued her PhD under the supervision of Professor Dr N. Veezhinathan, the doyen of Advaitavedānta of our times, who served as the Professor and head at the Department of Sanskrit University of Madras till 1998. It was under his guidance that Dr Revathy mastered Nyāya and Advaita.

Dr Revathy was multi-faceted and very famous among her students and colleagues. She was passionate about teaching and doing research in Indian Philosophy. She won many prizes and awards for her contribution to Sanskrit research like the ‘Ram Krishna Sanskrit Award’ in 2002 from Saraswati Visvas, Canada, ‘Krishna Tatacharya Endowment Award’ in 2003, Bangalore. She attended the 14th World Sanskrit Conference at Kyoto University, Japan in 2009 being nominated by Govt. of India. In 2010 she received the ‘Certificate of Appreciation’ for her exemplary contribution to society and preserving India’s cultural and spiritual heritage from Śrīṅgeri Jagadguru Śrī Śrī

Bharati Theertha Mahaswamigal's Sacred 60th Birth Year Celebrations Committee, Chennai.

Revathy's absence is a great loss for her friends, students and colleagues who always felt her to be an embodiment of scholarly pursuits and with her passing away the world of Sanskrit scholarship lost an academic of extra-ordinary erudition and commitment.

KALPAKAM SANKARNARAYAN

by Amarjiva Lochan

Professor Dr (Mrs) Kalpakam Sankarnarayan was the Director of the K.J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies in Mumbai from 1995 till she passed away in 2014. She had a brilliant academic career, with a gold medal in MA (Sanskrit) and later a PhD in Sanskrit from the University of Madras in 1972. Her PhD was on "Critical Edition and Collation of the Unpublished Manuscript 'Rasakalikā of Rudrabhaṭṭa'".

She received the Japan Foundation Fellowship (Otani University, Japan 1993-1994) and was a Visiting Professor at the International Research Centre For Japanese Studies, Kyoto, Japan, 2000-2001. She was a recognized research guide and teacher by Mumbai University for MA and PhD (Ancient Indian Culture) from 1999. She guided eight students for the PhD and one for the MA — seven others were pursuing their PhDs when she passed away. She was also the Vice Chancellor's Nominee of the Academic Council, Mumbai University (2008-2010) and Chairperson of the Board of Examination for Ancient Indian Culture, History and Archaeology.

As an academician she presented research papers at various National and International Seminars and Conferences. Under her guidance and leadership the Buddhist Institute in Mumbai, seven International Conferences were organized on various themes related to Buddhist studies with Sanskrit as the prime mover. Her skill in organizing such international conferences brought scholars from all major academic centres of India and abroad to gather and share their research. She received

invitations to be the chairperson for various international conferences. She was nominated to be the Chair of the Buddhist Studies section of the 16th World Sanskrit Conference in Bangkok (2015) and did her job of evaluating abstracts very well till the last moments of her life.

Professor Sankarnarayan had a profound knowledge of the Japanese language which made her explore the Vedic *homa* and rituals in Japanese culture. It is no wonder that the Japan Foundation offered her its prestigious fellowship to work on the 'Cultural Tie Between India And Japan' through language, literature, religion, philosophy, art, architecture, icons (idols), festivals and faiths and the Study of Ancient Sanskrit Manuscripts preserved in Japanese Temples.

She had published three books: *Traditional Cultural Link Between India And Japan: During A.D. 8th And 9th Centuries* (1998); *Lokaprajñapti: A Critical Exposition Of Buddhist Cosmology* (2002); and *Dharmasuri and his Works: A Critical Exposition* published by the Sahitya Akademi (2013). She also has to her credit numerous scholarly papers in reputed journals. She edited various books, for example: *Relevance of the Teachings of the Buddha as in Early Scriptures to the Contemporary (Modern) Society* (2010), *Sanskrit Words in Southeast Asian Languages* (2005), and *Buddhism In Global Perspective*, in two volumes (2003). She also undertook various research projects in collaboration with Japanese universities and also Indian Government agencies like the Ministry of HRD and ICPR. In 2011 she was the brain behind the 'Re-examination of Sanskrit and Pali Inscriptions in Southeast Asia Project of Somaiya' funded by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan and the Archaeological Survey of India. I had the privilege of working with her for its first volume, *Sanskrit Inscriptions in Thailand*, which was published in 2013. The second volume on *Unknown Sanskrit Inscriptions in Cambodia* had made a good start before her demise. Professor K. Sankarnarayan was working on the ICPR funded project on *Aśvaghosa*.

During her tenure the Institute started various courses in the field of Buddhist Studies (Diploma and PG Diploma) and also Diplomas in Pali and Yoga recognized by the Mumbai

University. Professor Kalpakam worked hard to make the commencement of MA in Buddhist Studies possible. It was duly recognized by Mumbai University from 2013.

She received many awards related to her expertise in Sanskrit since the beginning of her academic career, like for example: Kerala Varma Gold Medal in MA (Sanskrit) in 1969, the first prize in the Kālidāsa Essay Competition (Kālidāsa Day Celebration, Ujjain, 1970) on “Kalidāsa Dramas and Greek Dramas”.

Professor Kalpakam was a very soft spoken scholar with a profound sense of wit. Having known her since the IX World Sanskrit Conference, Melbourne (January 1994), and attended several international conferences related to Sanskrit, Buddhism, and Southeast Asian Culture together with her, it is a personal loss not only for me but for the world of Sanskrit and Buddhist studies, for which her valued contribution will always be remembered.

VACHASPATI UPADHYAYA by Radhavallabh Tripathi

Professor Vachaspati Upadhyaya was born on 1st July 1943 at Sultanpur (Uttar Pradesh) in India. His father Pandit Ramakant Upadhyaya was a social reformer, educationist and an eminent Sanskrit author.

Vachaspati Upadhyaya pursued higher studies at Calcutta, where Pandit Gaurinatha Shastri and Rama Ranjan Mukherji were his gurus. He studied Mīmāṃsā philosophy with Pandit Pattabhīram Shastri at Varanasi. *Mīmāṃsādarśanavimarśaḥ*, his *magnum opus* comprises studies on this system. He obtained his PhD from Calcutta University, D.Litt. from Varanasi and later was conferred the Degree of D.Litt. (*Honoris Causa*) from the University of Calcutta as well as the Banaras Hindu University.

Professor Upadhyaya worked as an officer at the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University for some time, then joined the University of Delhi as lecturer in Sanskrit where he got the positions of the Associate Professor and then Professor. He had

guided more than seventy scholars for M. Phil. and more than sixty for the PhD.

He was awarded the 'President's Certificate of Honour' by the President of India in 2000. He was also a recipient of *Maharashtra Rajya Mahakavi Kalidas Sanskrit Sadhana Puraskar-2005* by the Government of Maharashtra.

He could make miracles happen or miracles happened for him. '*Vachaspativaibhavam*' — a felicitation volume in his honour was published just a few months before his death. It is one of the most voluminous festschrifts in the world of letters, with more than 2000 pages, comprising papers from many outstanding scholars of Sanskrit from several countries. The present author was the chief editor of this stupendous work, but as editor he was hardly needed to do anything for the production of this *magnum opus*, except penning an introduction at the last stage of its printing. Upadhyayaji could create a team of devoted workers for a cause. He never spoke harshly, never became tense in the moments of even a great crisis, and was never aroused. He knew how to win friends. He was a *netā* — a leader in the true sense of the term. He had an amazing capacity of acquiring languages. He spoke Bhojapuri, his mother tongue and Bangla with superb command and native accents. He was an extra-ordinary speaker on public platforms and delivered lectures through Sanskrit, English and Hindi with ease.

Upadhyayaji was one of the pioneers of Sanskrit education in India. A man gifted with a vision and drive for action, he took many initiatives for the development of Sanskrit studies. He had organized the Vishwa Sanskrit Sammelan in April, 2001 at Vigyan Bhawan, New Delhi (not to be confused with WSC of the IASS). He had called the meeting of three Vice Chancellors of Sanskrit Universities to frame a blue print of future plans for the development of Sanskrit education just a week before his departure to the heavenly abode, and saw to it that the proceedings of the meeting were drafted and dispatched by post to all concerned. The author of these lines attended that meeting and he was almost stunned when after two days of his demise, he received a letter by post which was signed by Upadhyayaji with these proceedings attached to it.

From 1994 Upadhyayaji served as the Vice Chancellor of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, a Deemed University at New Delhi, for as many as 17 years and was to complete his fourth term as the Head of this institution when his untimely death suddenly nipped many schemes and programmes he had envisaged. He had also functioned as the Director, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, and Member-Secretary of Maharshi Sandipani Rashtriya Veda Vidya Pratishthan, Ujjain. Being the senior-most amongst the Vice Chancellors of Indian Universities, he had served as the Chairman of the AIU (Association of Indian Universities).

With his wonderful sense of humour Upadhyayaji was known for his witty remarks, sweet temper and loud laughter. He remained active till the last day of life — the unfortunate 11th July 2011. On this day, he attended the office as usual, had meetings with his colleagues and late in the evening went to attend a marriage ceremony hosted by one of the teachers of his University. He blessed the married couple, cracked pleasant jokes and after coming back to his house, went to bed peacefully, never to be awakened.

In one of my memoirs, which is also published as an article in the said *Vācaspativaibhavam*, I cited this stanza from Kālidāsa to describe Upadhyayaji:

*ākārasadr̥śaprajñāḥ prajñayā sadr̥śāgamah |
āgamaiḥ sadr̥śārambha ārambhasadr̥śodayah ||*

He had wisdom like his appearance, an understanding like his wisdom, took initiatives matching to his understanding and gained as per his initiatives.

Having written that, I never imagined that I will be penning an obituary for him!

REVIEWS

ALBERTO PELISSERO, *Le Filosofie classiche dell'India*, Morcelliana, Brescia, 2004, pp. 777.

Che un manuale di filosofia indiana si apra con la domanda “Esiste una filosofia indiana” la dice già lunga sulla problematicità della questione e la mole di studi da prendere in considerazione, sia per quanto riguarda i testi del pensiero indiano, sia per quanto concerne la riflessione di ambito occidentale.

Il volume preparato da Alberto Pelissero “Filosofie classiche dell'India” edito da Morcelliana nel 2014 rappresenta davvero l'apice della riflessione sul pensiero indiano, una summa che spalanca davanti agli occhi del lettore e dello studioso un panorama di quasi ottocento pagine dedicate a ciò che in Occidente è passato sotto l'appellativo di “filosofia indiana”.

Il presupposto dell'autore è che dietro il termine di filosofia si celi una storia fatta di risvolti e significati mutevoli: se si evita di trincerarsi dietro l'acribia filologica e terminologica è dunque possibile scoprire un universo filosofico che è costituito dall'insieme delle opere e delle considerazioni maturate in area indiana, volte all'esplorazione dell'umano, del divino e dell'universale.

D'altra parte l'applicazione di un termine tutto occidentale alle riflessioni indiane rende possibile un dialogo che non sarebbe potuto avvenire: l'incomunicabilità svanisce davanti al tentativo di sondare ed esplorare un mondo di pensiero che, sia filosofico tout court, al modo d'intendere il termine tipicamente occidentale, o sia invece rielaborazione continua di miti, storie e vicende religiose, non può che offrire spettacoli di interiorità e profondità.

Il fatto che il pensiero indiano rifiuti l'autarchica dimensione dell'autosufficienza, bensì vada alla ricerca della felicità, lo pone da una parte nello scrigno della ricerca interiore volta alla liberazione, il mokṣa, dall'altra può invece accostarlo a un modo d'intendere la speculazione intellettuale che si ritrova in ambito illuminista e non solo.

La stessa dicotomia, tutta occidentale, tra filosofia e religione, dicotomia sulla quale la stessa modernità si fonda,

deve rifrangersi contro l'altro imponente scoglio terminologico, quello del vocabolo "religione" che all'India si applica con gli stessi distinguo del termine "filosofia".

Il manuale plasmato da Pelissero ha un procedere tassonomico, un caracollare attraverso generi e scuole che vuole ricalcare quell'allergia alla dimensione storica da tante parti, e da tanto tempo, attribuita all'India e alla letteratura nata nel subcontinente. Vi trova spazio anche una parte di letteratura che noi diremmo scientifica, anche in questo caso perché il pensiero indiano non ha mai voluto distinguere la filosofia dalla scienza, così come esiste, e il testo di Pelissero ne dà atto, una filosofia rintracciabile nei grandi poemi epici, nella tradizione poetica e via dicendo.

Il risultato è un volume corposo e imponente che può tranquillamente assolvere all'ambizioso compito che gli compete, quello di offrire un quadro generale ma non generico, con un piglio di natura enciclopedica che riesce a toccare tutto ciò che in India è raggruppabile sotto il grande ombrello del termine "filosofia".

Si parte dalle dimensioni vediche del pensiero per approdare al sikhismo, agli sviluppi contemporanei legati anche all'incontro con il pensiero e il mondo occidentale, attraverso le scuole del buddismo, i sei darśana del brahmanesimo, il jainismo e le scuole tantriche o teistiche dello hinduismo vero e proprio.

All'esposizione di aggiunge un imponente apparato bibliografico e in appendice una serie di tabelle che consentono al lettore di districarsi e muoversi all'interno di un immenso caleidoscopio di termini, nomi, scuole e prospettive sulla realtà.

Il manuale di Pelissero risulta una sintesi potente che funge da bussola in quel vastissimo mare della filosofia indiana, una sintesi che riserva sorprese gustose e accattivanti, pillole che annotano e spiegano arricchendo la trattazione di glosse indispensabili o note di colore, commenti e delucidazioni frutto di una conoscenza indispensabile non solo al neofita ma anche allo studioso più consumato: dalle considerazioni sul criptobuddismo di Śaṅkara all'eternità della Parola vedica, dalle analisi terminologiche come quella sulla percezione

(svalakṣaṇa) alle tante annotazioni sulle fonti, sui commentari, sugli autori e il loro specifico frutto speculativo.

L'ultimo manuale dedicato alla filosofia indiana fu redatto da Giuseppe Tucci che aprì le porte a una stagione densissima di ricerche e studi d'area indologica: adesso il volume di Alberto Pelissero può costituire un momento imprescindibile nella didattica dell'indologia in Italia.

Pietro Chierichetti

ANNOUNCEMENTS

JOHN AND MARY BROCKINGTON ARCHIVE

John and Mary Brockington are pleased to announce that they have just deposited on the Oxford Research Archive their material relating to the development and spread of the Rāma narrative, so that it can be available for others to consult even in its present, unfinished state. It can be accessed at <http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:8df9647a-8002-45ff-b37e-7effb669768b> or you can find it via the Bodleian Libraries website, under ORA, by looking for its title, Development and spread of the Rāma narrative (pre-modern).

This is a description of it adapted from the abstract mounted on the website:

This material is part of our continuing attempt to survey presentations of the Rāma story as it has been developed from its origin in the so-called *VālmikiRāmāyaṇa*, through transformations in all genres, media, languages, religions and geographical areas, until roughly the end of the eighteenth century. However, later material has also been used if it preserves motifs or records trends relevant to the earlier period, though not where it introduces new developments. In order to explore the crucial role played by sculpture and paintings in the transmission and development of the narrative, we have placed visual material side-by-side with verbal (narratives presented in words, whether written or spoken).

The basis for the survey is: a Bibliographic Inventory providing references to everything of value consulted (and a list of our own publications); a detailed tabulation of the Narrative Elements employed and modified by successive tellers to build up the story; Background Notes and photographs; and unpublished Drafts surveying the material or arising from it. Guidance Notes give detailed instructions for use.

The material is a joint project: John has compiled the Bibliographies, composed the Draft on Development and many of the notes, and taken the photographs; Mary has identified and

tabulated the Narrative Elements, and supplied some of the Drafts and other notes.

The material is far from complete, and we hope to be able to update it from time to time, and to produce further analyses and syntheses of the material. From the nature of its wide scope, much of the compilation has had to be made from translations into the major European languages, or from summaries found in secondary literature, resulting in the omission of material inaccessible by these means; regrettably, we also have no way of knowing whether the translation or summary used has been totally reliable. Where possible, always check carefully before placing too much reliance on it. We will warmly welcome any corrections or supplementary information from other scholars specialising in individual fields. With all its deficiencies, we offer this inventory as a tool to facilitate further research, not as a substitute for such research, and we will be pleased to learn of any use to which our work is put.

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