



# INDOLOGICA TAURINENSIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SANSKRIT STUDIES

*Founded by Oscar Botto*

*Edited by Comitato AIT*

## **Scientific Committee**

John Brockington, *Edinburgh, U.K. (President)*; Nalini Balbir, *Paris, France*; Giuliano Boccali, *Milano, Italy*; Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, *Paris, France*; Minoru Hara, *Tokyo, Japan*; Oskar von Hinüber, *Freiburg, Germany*; Romano Lazzeroni, *Pisa, Italy*; Georges-Jean Pinault, *Paris, France (Treasurer IASS)*; Irma Piovano, *Torino, Italy*; Saverio Sani, *Pisa, Italy*; V. Kutumba Sastry, *Delhi, India (President IASS)*; Jayandra Soni, *Innsbruck, Austria (Secretary General IASS)*; Raffaele Torella, *Roma, Italy*

## **Editorial Board**

Gabriella Olivero, Irma Piovano, Stefano Turina

*Indologica Taurinensia* was founded in 1973 by the eminent scholar Oscar Botto; it publishes articles, reviews and research communications concerning India, Central Asia and South-East Asia.

In 1976 the International Association of Sanskrit Studies selected it as its Official Organ (then Journal) on the occasion of the 30<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Human Sciences of Asia and Northern Africa (Mexico City, August 3<sup>rd</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>, 1976). It publishes also the report of the World Sanskrit Conferences and the minutes of the meetings of the I.A.S.S. (International Association of Sanskrit Studies). In 1996 it was acknowledged as a "Journal of High Cultural Value" by the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities.

It is edited by the non-profit Editorial Board "Comitato AIT", that in the year 2016 was awarded the prize "Ikuro Hirayama" Prize by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of the Institut de France, Paris, for its publishing activity.

# INDOLOGICA TAURINENSIA

THE JOURNAL OF THE  
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SANSKRIT STUDIES

VOLUME XLV

2019

EDIZIONI AIT

Publisher:  
Comitato AIT  
corso Trento 13  
10129 Torino (Italy)  
Email: [pv@asiainstitutetorino.it](mailto:pv@asiainstitutetorino.it); [indologica@asiainstitutetorino.it](mailto:indologica@asiainstitutetorino.it)  
[www.asiainstitutetorino.it](http://www.asiainstitutetorino.it)  
Printer: Edizioni ETS, Pisa (Italy)  
Annual Subscription (1 issue): € 40,00  
Desktop publishing: Tiziana Franchi  
Electronic version: [www.asiainstitutetorino.it/indologica.html](http://www.asiainstitutetorino.it/indologica.html)  
Sole Agents: Comitato AIT

Copyright © 2019 Comitato AIT per la promozione degli Studi sull'India e sul Sud-Est Asiatico  
Satya Vrat Shastri (Honorary President) - Irma Piovano (President) - Saverio Sani (Vice President) - Victor Agostini (Secretary)  
Corso Trento 13 - 10129 Torino (Italy)  
C.F. 97651370013 - R.E.A. Torino, n. 1048465 - R.O.C., n. 14802

Autorizzazione del Tribunale di Torino N. 4703 del 21/7/1994  
I.S.N.N. 1023-3881

The printing of this volume of *Indologica Taurinensia* has been realized thanks to the contribution of the Embassy of India in Rome.



## CONTENTS

### Articles

JOHN BROCKINGTON <i>Bīr Singh's Rāmāyaṇa: a note on the text</i> ..... p.	9
OSCAR FIGUEROA <i>The Secular and the Religious in Kṣemendra's Samayamāṭṛkā</i> ..... p.	39
ARUN VINAYAK JATEGAONKAR VASANTI ARUN JATEGAONKAR <i>Draupadī's Hair, her Path, and the Phrase Padavīm √gam</i> ..... p.	63
CHIARA POLICARDI <i>Theriocephalic Yoginīs in Śaiva Tantric Traditions: an Animal Mask?</i> ..... p.	87
R. N. PRASHER <i>Ṛgvedic Paṇis and Phoenicians: Trade and Cross-Cultural Diffusion</i> ..... p.	127
R.K.K. RAJARAJAN <i>Caṇḍikeśvara in Myth and Iconography: Violence and Reconciliation</i> ..... p.	157
<b>List of contributors</b> ..... p.	197
<b>The International Association of Sanskrit Studies (I.A.S.S.)</b> <i>Meetings of the I.A.S.S. during the 17<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference held in Vancouver</i> ..... p.	199

<b>Reviews</b> .....	p.	217
PRADIP BHATTACHARYA and SEKHAR KUMAR SEN (trans.), <i>The Jaiminīya Mahābhārata: Mairāvaṇacaritam &amp; Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritam, A Critical Edition with English Translation from the Grantha Script, Vol. I &amp; II, published by National Mission for Manuscripts and New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 2017</i>		
(Indrajit Bandyopadhyay) .....	p.	219
KĀLIDĀSA, <i>La storia di Śiva e Pārvatī (Kumārasambhava)</i> , a cura di Giuliano Boccali, Marsilio, Venezia, 2018		
(Cinzia Pieruccini) .....	p.	231
<b>Announcements</b> .....	p.	235



JOHN BROCKINGTON

BĪR SINGH'S *RĀMĀYAṆA*: A NOTE ON THE TEXT

The earliest illustrated *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* manuscript is undoubtedly the set of damaged folios which are sometimes designated the “burnt” *Rāmāyaṇa* and are generally – and no doubt correctly – ascribed to the patronage of Bīr Singh Dev (Vīrasimhadeva), the ruler of Orchā and Datia in Bundelkhand. It is my intention in this article to demonstrate that not merely is it accompanied on the versos of the paintings by continuous passages of text from the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* but that there is also a possibility that the text was intended to be complete – a manuscript in the fullest sense.

The extent to which the concept of this set is dependent on the group of illustrated manuscripts of the Persian translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* commissioned by Akbar makes it clear that it is the first illustrated set to incorporate text from the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, while the presence of folios assignable on artistic grounds to artists formerly employed in the imperial Mughal atelier (Jagajīvana, Makara, Lohanka, Khemana and Bhora, as indicated in Seyller 2001: 62-63), though with influences also from Rājput painting styles, confirms both their dating to the period 1600-1610 and their patron as the notable courtier, Bīr Singh Bundela. The vertical format of Mughal paintings is followed, in marked contrast to the horizontal *poṭhī* format of most Hindu, Buddhist and Jain manuscripts, but the paintings occupy the whole of one side of the folios, which were kept as separate leaves rather than bound into a volume in the Islamic style. However, there is a major difference from its Mughal models: they follow the standard practice derived from Persian

painting traditions of including text emboxed within the painting, whereas the Bīr Singh Rāmāyaṇa reverts to Indian models of keeping painting and text strictly separate, normally on obverse and reverse of the folio.<sup>1</sup>

There are several indications that Bīr Singh Bundela was indeed the person who commissioned this series of paintings, none of them conclusive in themselves but together making it almost certain. The most obvious but least secure is that several of the folios have on the verso a stamp in purple ink of the Datia Palace Library (*tasvīr khānā datiyā śeṭ*) and sometimes a number (e.g. on Met. Mus. 2002.504: *naṃbha* and a handwritten 48); these stamps evidently date from the colonial period and so there remains a possibility that the folios entered the collection at a later date than when they were made. Closer at least in date to the paintings themselves are the occasional Hindi captions added below the Sanskrit text, which are in the Bundeli dialect (Seyller 2001: 62-63, Sardar 2016: 68). Most nearly decisive is the use of artists formerly in the imperial atelier for this could only have been feasible for a major Hindu courtier such as Bīr Singh was from the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign (he is notorious for the murder of Abu'l Faḏl in 1602 on behalf of Jahāngīr, when he was still Prince Salīm and rebelling against Akbar). Bīr Singh is known on other counts as a patron of both Vaiṣṇavism and the arts: the builder of the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temple decorated with frescoes in Orchā itself, the sponsor of temples in Mathurā and elsewhere in the Braj region, and the patron of the Brajbhāṣā poet Keśavdās, author among several other works of the *Rāmacandracandrikā* (probably written for his then patron, Bīr Singh's brother Indrajīt, a devotee of Rāma) and of the *Vīrsimhdevcarit*, which duly traces his new patron's ancestry back to Rāma via the Gāhaḍavālas.

---

<sup>1</sup> Even early illustrated manuscripts on palmleaf (such as those of the Early Western Indian and Pāla styles) keep text and picture clearly separate in the blocks into which they often sub-divide the surface of the leaf. Interestingly, by contrast a somewhat later manuscript in a provincial Mughal style of the *Rāmcāritmānas* of Tulsīdās, possibly dated 1646, does have the text written alongside, below or around the illustrations and so in this respect is closer to the imperial Mughal style, though much cruder in other respects (Brockington 2018).

Although the choice of the Rāmāyaṇa as the subject for this prestige set of paintings was no doubt influenced by the precedent set by Akbar, it was not inevitable,<sup>2</sup> but it would have coincided with Bīr Singh's own Vaiṣṇava leanings. The prestige aspect is made clear not only by the style of the paintings and the painters employed but also by the choice of the Sanskrit *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* as the text to be written on the versos. It has been suggested in the past that the text was added later, in the 18th century (Jeremiah Losty in Poovaya-Smith and others 1989: 28). However, on all but one of the folios examined the text has suffered the same losses as the paintings and it is generally thought that the fire damage occurred quite soon after the series was completed; this was first suggested by Terence McNerney on the basis that "the restored areas, filling the irregular edges of some of them, are fairly close in style to the original work" (McNerney 1982: 26). So, if not contemporary with the paintings, the text is not much later.

It is not known how many folios the set originally comprised.<sup>3</sup> The completeness of the text on the illustrated manuscripts of the Persian translation which it is emulating may suggest that it would have been on a similarly large scale. The spread of known folios does indeed indicate that it was an

---

<sup>2</sup> After all, another of the major translations commissioned by and elaborately illustrated for Akbar was that of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Razmnāma*, of which Akbar's imperial copy, like that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is now in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (MS. AG. 1683-1850).

<sup>3</sup> There are now 19 miniatures in the National Museum, New Delhi (Parlier 1985; sets 56.93 containing 6 folios and 56.114 containing 13 folios) of which most come from a group of 24 offered for sale in 1956; two more were bought by the Prince of Wales Museum in Mumbai and five by the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Chandra 1957-59). Others were acquired at various times by the Metropolitan Museum, New York (four; acc. nos 2002.503-506), the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (two; M.82.6.5 and M.82.6.6), the Cleveland Museum of Art (2013.306), the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (2010.6.2), the Philadelphia Museum of Art (2004-149-15), the San Diego Museum of Art (1990.290), the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco (two; 2003.3-4), the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (68.8.56), the National Gallery of Canada (23553), the Howard Hodgkin collection (Topsfield and Beach 1991: 26-27), the Edwin Binney III collection, the Ehrenfeld collection (Ehnbom 1985: 48-49, no. 15), the Ducrot collection (Ducrot 2009, MG 1), the Polsky collection, the Fischer collection (Britschgi and Fischer 2008, no. 80), the Birla Academy of Art and Culture, the State Museum, Lucknow, the J.P. Goenka collection, Mumbai (Goswamy 1999: 46-47), the Kiran Nadar Museum of Art, New Delhi, the Pan-Asian collection (Seyller 1999: 34) and other private collections. The total number of the folios that I have so far been able to identify as belonging to this manuscript is 67 (see the listing on our Oxford Research Archive material).

extensive set but whether it was intended to include all significant episodes is unclear. The nature of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* text written on the versos provides one clue to this, as well as being of interest in other respects. The illustrated *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* text next in date to the Bīr Singh Rāmāyaṇa is that commissioned by Jagat Singh of Mewar, which still comprises over 400 paintings distributed across around 700 folios containing a substantial proportion of what must once have been the complete text.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the Bīr Singh Rāmāyaṇa there is no trace of any text-only folios and we cannot know whether any were ever produced;<sup>5</sup> the extant number of paintings is only about a sixth of that for the Mewar Rāmāyaṇa, which may suggest that this set was not intended to be as comprehensive and that the text on its versos was only intended as an extended caption. This assumption clearly underlies such descriptions of it as “an extensive unbound series of upright individual leaves with selected verses written on the reverse” (Seyller 2001: 62), which have been widely echoed.<sup>6</sup> However the reality is somewhat more complex.

---

<sup>4</sup> The bulk of this manuscript set is now in London. Most of it was given by Rāṇā Bhīm Singh of Mewar to Colonel James Tod, who was from 1818 the first British Political Agent to the Western Rajput courts, and by Tod at some point after his return to England in 1823 to the Duke of Sussex, from whom they were bought by the British Museum in 1844 (BL. Add. MS. 15296-97). It is not clear how the remains of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* (IO San 3621) left India, or indeed what happened to the rest of it until it was acquired by the then India Office Library in 1912. Nor is it known when the *Bālakāṇḍa* (now mostly in Mumbai) left the Royal Library in Udaipur; its history is obscure before it was offered for sale in Mumbai in the early 1950s. The *Aranyakāṇḍa* remained in the Royal Library in Udaipur until transferred to the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute in 1962. The artistic aspects of this manuscript have been well covered on the British Library website, “The Mewar Ramayana: a digital reunification” (<http://www.bl.uk/ramayana>).

<sup>5</sup> In the past such text-only folios have often been discarded by art dealers and collectors in favour of the paintings. As an example of this, whereas the well-preserved *kāṇḍas* of the Mewar Rāmāyaṇa bought by the British Library in 1844 include many text-only pages in these essentially complete manuscripts, of the *Sundarakāṇḍa* bought in 1912 by the India Office Library and now in the British Library there remain just 18 folios, all with paintings on the rectos. For the Bīr Singh Rāmāyaṇa it is all the more likely that text-only folios would be discarded, if they were as damaged as the extant folios are.

<sup>6</sup> For example, Marika Sardar even more emphatically states that “the text on the reverse of each painting is highly excerpted, including the Sanskrit along with a summary in a dialect of Hindi spoken in Bundelkhand” (Sardar 2016: 68).

I have so far been able to examine in detail, transcribe and identify the text on the versos of thirteen folios only.<sup>7</sup> This is quite a small proportion of the extant folios (between a fifth and a quarter) but nevertheless it is sufficient to draw certain definite conclusions. Contrary to the general assumption that the Sanskrit text consists of selections, the passages examined appear in the majority of cases to be broadly continuous. Moreover they were written by several – perhaps four – different hands, which implies that the project was at least envisaged as being larger than is apparent from the number of extant folios, since more often a single scribe would have been responsible for a considerable body of text; for example, at what is probably the other end of the scale one scribe alone, Mahātmā Hīrāṇanda, copied the entire text of the Mewar Rāmāyaṇa (between 1649 and 1653). On the other hand, there is a total absence of the colophons at the end of *sargas* that might be expected in a complete manuscript; this is the case with the first two versos transcribed. A colophon might have been expected on Met. 2002.506, since 2.58.57 is a longer verse concluding the *sarga*, but the text continues with two verses which are a substitute for 2.59.7-9, and similarly the text on the folio in the Ehrenfeld collection spans 2.90 and 91, though forming an

---

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to the National Gallery of Canada (Dr Christopher Etheridge), the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Dr Stephen Markel), The Metropolitan Museum, New York, the San Diego Museum of Art (Cory Woodall), the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (Dr John Henry Rice), all of which either include reproductions of the relevant versos on their websites or responded to my request for one, and to Professor Daniel Ehnbohm for including a black and white reproduction of the verso of the folio in the Ehrenfeld collection in his catalogue. Regrettably the Indian museums either failed to respond or, in one case, demanded an unrealistic fee.

In addition to those that I have examined myself, cataloguing information about some others gives an indication of the text on the verso. One folio showing Daśaratha with his ministers, offered for sale by David Carritt, is noted by McInerney as containing text from the vulgate 2.2 = CE 2.2 (McInerney 1982: 26). One in the Howard Hodgkin collection (the exiles at Pañcavaṭī) has text from vulgate 3.15. One in the Cynthia Hazen Polsky collection (Atikāya's arrival on the battlefield) by inference has on the verso text from the equivalent of CE 6.59 ("The name of Atikaya appears in the text on the reverse" ... "The text mentions Atikaya as having two immensely powerful, broad and long swords", NHH in *Topsfield* 2004: 358-9, no. 158).

effectively continuous text.<sup>8</sup> But in the remaining instances the text comes from within a single *sarga* and so a colophon would not be expected.

In more detail, one group among the versos transcribed consists of Virginia 68.8.56, LACMA M.62.6.5 + 6 and San Francisco 2003.3, in which the scribe followed a text with readings allied to the Northeastern (NE) recension; the writing style has a somewhat uneven top line and some characteristic letter forms, such as an angular *ta*.<sup>9</sup> Another group consists of Cleveland 2013.306 (NE readings) and Met. Mus. 2002.504 (N, not clearly either NE or NW); its letter forms are mostly similar to those in the first group, except that there is little trace of the wavy top line. A third group consists of Met. Mus. 503 + 506 and Nat. Gallery of Canada 23553, in which the scribe followed a text with readings allied to the Northwestern (NW) recension; the writing is neat, with a strong thick/thin contrast and a tendency to a serif at the lower end of the vertical line. Also to this group probably belongs the folio in the Ehrenfeld collection (Ehnbom no. 15), except that the writing is thicker and so lacking much thick/thin contrast, which could well be simply the result of using a thicker pen. A fourth group consists of San Francisco 2003.4 (N, not clearly either NE or NW) and San Diego 1990.290;<sup>10</sup> the writing again shows a strong thick/thin contrast but characteristically uses a small circle for the dots in *anusvāra* and *visarga*. In addition, one verso (Met. Mus. 2002.505) was clearly a replacement, written subsequently to the damage and pasted over something else (so exceptionally

---

<sup>8</sup> It does omit 2.90.20-25, the end of that *sarga*, but so does the manuscript D5, while D4 omits 90.20-22ab.

<sup>9</sup> Transcriptions of these 13 versos, together with identifications of the text in relation to the readings of the Critical Edition, are included in the appendix to this article. One unidentified verse occurs in the middle of San Diego 1990.290 and in the middle of Cleveland 2013.306 a couple of *akṣaras* that are surrounded by gaps remain unidentified (between 3.49.11c and 960\*). The abbreviations used from now on for recensions and manuscripts are those of the Critical Edition.

<sup>10</sup> Although there are several occasions where San Diego 1990.290 has readings in common only with D13 (a NE ms), there are other instances where it clearly diverges, though with some overall bias towards NE readings. The writing is also somewhat variable in size and between the text and the vernacular caption there are faint sketches of male figures.

the text is well within the margins of the folio); its readings tend to align with Ś1 D1-3 (NW/W) and it is also the only text to include numerals. It is puzzling that these groupings do not correlate at all with the obvious sequence of the folios shown in both the paintings and the related text. In particular, three folios where the text comes from a relatively limited span towards the middle of the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* (N inserts after 6.47.6 on San Francisco 2003.4v, 6.48.16-86 with N \* passages and variants on Met. Mus. 2002.504v, and 6.53.11-54.11 on San Francisco 2003.3v) show the handwriting of different scribes.

In the majority of cases examined the painting on the recto and the text on the verso correlate closely. But there are three significant exceptions. The first, titled “Court of Rāvaṇa” by the Metropolitan Museum (Met. Mus. 2002.505, the second in terms of narrative sequence), shows an eight-headed Rāvaṇa clasping the hand of a moustachioed courtier while others remain outside but is accompanied by the narrative of Śūrpaṇakhā describing to Rāvaṇa first Rāma and then Sītā (3.32.1-17 with minor gaps); however, the text is a later replacement, as already noted, and has possibly been placed incorrectly. The second has been titled “Rama and Lakshmana Meet Sugriva at Matanga's Hermitage” by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.82.6.6, the fifth in sequence) but the precise identification is unclear, since the recto shows three *vānaras* all with tiaras seated among rocks at the upper left, an ascetic in front of his hut at the top right and across the middle to lower part of the picture the most prominent of the three *vānaras* greeting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Sugrīva, who is indeed the *vānara* shown greeting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, explains that he lives near Mataṅga's hermitage as a sanctuary from his hostile brother, Vālin, who has been cursed by Mataṅga, in the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* at 4.11.41-45. However, the text on the verso consists of 4.2.1-20 (with NE \* passages but no real gaps), in which Sugrīva is alarmed on seeing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and consults his companions but Hanumān reassures him. Pratapaditya Pal was puzzled by this painting and includes the comment “Chapter 13 of the Book of Kishkindha describes the hermitage of Saptajanas as being occupied by several ascetics,

but here only one is shown” (Pal 1993: 290),<sup>11</sup> amplifying his earlier remark that “The exact identification of this illustration is uncertain, as the text for it would have been on the previous page” (Pal 1993: 290). But, since the text on the verso in fact forms the start of the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* in the whole Northern recension, Pal’s suggestion seems a little doubtful and it is more likely that the artist has included content from the first few *sargas* in these multiple scenes, whereas the scribe has only written the very beginning. In the case of the third exception (LACMA M.82.6.5, the sixth in sequence), if displacement of text relative to painting were the explanation, it would be in the opposite direction. Here the recto shows Rāma gesturing in reproof towards the dying Vālin, shown with Rāma’s arrow protruding from his chest, while the verso contains 4.16.1-26, in which Tārā tries to dissuade Vālin from fighting Sugrīva the second time, but Vālin’s accusation of Rāma and his reply come in the following two *sargas*, 4.17–18.

In all other instances the text was written on the verso of the painting to which it refers, as is standardly the case then in subsequent manuscripts. The first verso in narrative sequence (Met. Mus. 2002.506) contains 2.58.52-57 (with N/NW \* passages and variants), comprising the end of Daśaratha’s lament and his actual death, along with two verses that form part of a substitute for 2.59.7-9 (2.1508(A)\* 9-12 read only by D4.5.7) in which the women lament, and the painting on the recto shows the sorrowful women clustered round the dead or dying king. In the third instance (Cleveland 2013.306) the verso contains 3.49.4-16 (including NE \* passages but with no real gaps), comprising a description of the fight between Rāvaṇa and Jaṭāyus, incl. Jaṭāyus killing the horses and smashing the chariot, while the recto shows Jaṭāyus fighting Rāvaṇa, while below Sītā sits in the smashed chariot. The fourth verso (Virginia 68.8.56) contains 3.57.1-19 (with NE \* passages and variants but no gaps) in which Lakṣmaṇa explains himself to Rāma as they return to the empty *āśrama* and the recto shows

---

<sup>11</sup> In fact they pass this mysterious hermitage, from which the seven sages have already ascended to heaven, as Sugrīva leads them towards Kiṣkindhā (4.13.12-27).



the moment when the two brothers approach each other; the painting shows what is most effective visually and the text fills out the story.

The remaining folios – half of the total – all belong to the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*.<sup>12</sup> The seventh verso (San Francisco 2003.4) contains 6.951\*4 + App.30.1-40 (with some gaps; these passages are inserted by the N recension after 6.47.6), describing how Mandodarī enters Rāvaṇa's *sabhā* and seeks to dissuade him from further warfare and the corresponding recto shows Mandodarī with a female servant just outside the pavilion in which Rāvaṇa is seated, although there is no sign of the councillors (*mantrins*) mentioned in the text. The next two both relate to Kumbhakarṇa. On Met. Mus. 2002.504 the recto shows *rākṣasas* gathering round the sleeping giant and the text on the verso (6.48.16-86 with N \* passages and variants, also some sizable gaps) describes how the *rākṣasas* set about waking him. On San Francisco 2003.3 the recto shows Kumbhakarṇa fighting *vānaras* and the text on the verso (6.53.11-54.11 with minor gaps) recounts how Rāvaṇa sends Kumbhakarṇa out to fight and he wreaks havoc among the *vānaras*. The tenth folio (San Diego 1990.290) shows on the recto Rāma supporting the wounded Lakṣmaṇa as anxious *vānaras* cluster round, while in the text on the verso (6 App.56.28-328 + 2050\* + App.60.16-30, with substantial gaps; all NE inserts after 6.89.12 or 4) Sugrīva suggests sending for Suṣeṇa to heal Lakṣmaṇa, then sends Hanumān for the healing herb on Mt Gandhamādana but, not identifying it, Hanumān uproots the whole mountain and brings it back.

The last two passages of text are essentially complete, in line with their narrative significance. The text on National Gallery of Canada 23553 (6.105.6-22 + transposition as in N) declares how Brahmā reveals to Rāma his true identity as deity, while the recto shows all the actors in this scene: Rāma seated in the centre, with Lakṣmaṇa behind him, facing Brahmā, Viṣṇu

---

<sup>12</sup> The predominance of episodes from the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* is also very marked among all the known folios from the Bīr Singh Rāmāyaṇa, not just among those where the text has been identified.

and Śiva on the left, with a cluster of leading *vānaras* shown on the lower right. In the text on Met. Mus. 2002.503 (6.116.69ab + 74cd-76 plus N/NW \* passages) Rāma gives jewels to *vānaras* and dismisses them, and then honours and dismisses Vibhīṣaṇa, while the painting on the recto shows Rāma enthroned in the centre gesturing towards Sugrīva and Jāmbavān on the left, with a *chaurī*-bearing attendant on the right and other *vānaras* and courtiers below; it is possible that one of the courtiers is intended to be Vibhīṣaṇa but it seems more likely that the artist has concentrated on the first part of the passage that the scribe has then copied onto the verso.

To sum up, the extent to which this set depends conceptually on the illustrated manuscripts of the Persian translation of the Rāmāyaṇa done for Akbar shows that it is the first set to incorporate text from the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, while other evidence confirms both its dating to the period 1600-1610 and its patron as the notable Mughal courtier, Bīr Singh Bundela. The vertical format of Mughal paintings is followed but the Bīr Singh Rāmāyaṇa reverts to Indian models of keeping painting and text strictly separate; in addition, the folios were kept as separate leaves rather than bound into a volume in the Islamic style. With three exceptions the painting on the recto and the text on the verso correlate closely, as is standardly the case then in subsequent Rāmāyaṇa manuscripts. On all but one of the folios examined the text has suffered the same losses as the paintings. Since it is generally thought that the fire damage occurred quite soon after the series was completed, the text, if not contemporary with the paintings, is certainly not much later.

The spread of episodes illustrated across all known folios suggests that this was once an extensive set but whether it was intended to include all significant episodes is less clear from the evidence. The passages of text on the versos examined are broadly continuous and were written by several different hands. The number of scribes ties in with the varied alignment of the text being copied between the NE and NW recensions (the alignment cannot always be determined exactly but is always with the Northern recension). All this implies that the project

was at least envisaged as being larger than is apparent from the number of extant folios; however, there is no trace of any text-only folios.

That Bīr Singh's Rāmāyaṇa was a prestige project is obvious not only in the style of the paintings and the painters employed but also in the choice of the Sanskrit *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* as the text to be written on the versos. This choice was no doubt influenced by the precedent set by Akbar, although it would also have coincided with Bīr Singh's own Vaiṣṇava leanings. In its turn, it has set a precedent for subsequent illustrated manuscripts of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*.

## Bibliography

- Britschgi, Jorrit, und Eberhard Fischer 2008: *Rama und Sita: Das Ramayana in der Malerei Indiens* (Zürich: Museum Rietberg).
- Brockington, John 2018: “Miniature paintings of the Rāma story”, *Aziatische Kunst* (Publication of the Asian Art Society in the Netherlands) 48.1: 70-79.
- Brockington, John and Mary, *Development and spread of the Rāma narrative (pre-modern)*, on Oxford Research Archive at <http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:8df9647a-8002-45ff-b37e-7effb669768b> [last updated February 2018].
- Chandra, Pramod 1957-59: “A series of *Rāmāyaṇa* paintings of the popular Mughal school”, *Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin* 6: 64-70.
- Ducrot, Vicky 2009: *Four Centuries of Rajput Painting: Mewar, Marwar, and Dhundhar Indian miniatures from the collection of Isabella and Vicky Ducrot* (Milan: Skira).
- Ehnbom, Daniel J. 1985: *Indian Miniatures: the Ehrenfeld collection* (New York: Hudson Hills).
- McInerney, Terence 1982: *Indian painting, 1525-1825: an exhibition* (London: David Carritt).
- Goswamy, B.N. 1999: *Painted visions: the Goenka collection of Indian paintings* (New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi).
- Pal, Pratapaditya 1993: *Indian Painting: a catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection: vol. I, 1000-1700* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art).
- Parlier, Edith 1985: “Étude comparative de quelques miniatures mogholes et rajpoutes du *Rāmāyaṇa*”, *BEI* 3: 145-65.
- Poovaya-Smith, Nima, J.P. Losty and Jane Bevan 1989: *Manuscript Paintings from the Ramayana: a catalogue produced for the exhibition The Ramayana at Cartwright Hall (9 Sept. – 3 Dec. 1989)* (Bradford: Bradford Art Galleries and Museums).
- Sardar, Marika 2016: “The *Ramayana* and other tales of Rama”, in *Epic Tales from Ancient India: paintings from the San Diego Museum of Art*, ed. by Marika Sardar (San Diego Museum of Art. San Diego, California): 66-95.
- Seyller, John William 1999: *Workshop and patron in Mughal India: the Freer *Rāmāyaṇa* and other illustrated manuscripts of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm,*

- AA, Supplementum 42 (Zürich: Artibus Asiae Publishers; Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution).
- Seyller, John 2001: catalogue entry on cat. no. 16 in *Intimate Worlds: Indian Paintings from the Alvin O. Bellak Collection*, ed. by Darielle Mason (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001): 62-63.
- Topsfield, Andrew, and Milo Cleveland Beach 1991: *Indian Painting and Drawings from the collection of Howard Hodgkin* (New York, Thames and Hudson).
- Topsfield, Andrew (ed.) 2004: *In the realm of gods and kings: arts of India* (London: Philip Wilson).
- Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* 1960-75: *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki*, critically edited by G.H. Bhatt and U.P. Shah, 7 vols (Baroda: Oriental Institute). [CE]

### Appendix: transcription of versos

*Bold type has been used to indicate the red ink of the original; red double daṇḍas are used on all versos, except where noted.*

#### Met. Mus. 2002.506

*dhanyā drakṣyaṃti rāmasya tārādhipanibhaṃ mukhaṃ ||*  
*śaraccandrasya sadṛśaṃ phullasya kamala*  
 2.58.52cd–53ab (53a as Ś1 D4-7)

*dhanyā drakṣyaṃti taṃ mukhaṃ || iti rāmaṃ smarann eva*  
*śayanīyatale nṛpaḥ || śanair atha jaga* 58.53d + 1493\* 1  
 (1493\* insert of Ś1 D4-7 after 53, of other N after 1492\*)

*ye || hā rāma hā putra iti vruvann eva śanair nṛpaḥ || tatyāja supriyān*  
*prāṇān āyuso ṃt<e>*  
 unidentified final syllable, 1497\* 1-2 post.(mid)  
 (1 pr. as Ś1 D2.4-7; 1497\* N subst. for 58.56)

*sa dīnaḥ kathayan narādhipaḥ priyasya putrasya vivāsasaṃkathāṃ ||*  
*gate rdharātre śayanīya* 58.57a-c(mid.) with N vv.II.

*jīvitam ātmanas tadā || atha budhyāgataprāṇaṃ sarvaiś cihnair*  
*narādhipaṃ taṃ nareṃdraṃ mahiṣya*  
 58.57d(fin.) as N + 2.1508(A)\* 9-10 (subst. in D4.5.7 for 1508\*3-8)

*śuḥ || tataḥ pramumucuḥ kaṃṭhād vāspasaṃghāś ca tāḥ striyaḥ || hā*  
*bhartar iti duḥkhārtā ni<p>e* 2.1508(A)\* 10 fin.-12 post.(part)

#### Ehrenfeld [see Ehnbohm 1985: 48-49, no. 15]

*atha rāme tadāsīne bharate cābhigachat<i> || tasya s<ai>nyasya*  
*mahato raudraś cāsīn mahā*  
 2.2092\* (1.2 post. as D2.4.5.7; 2092\* is N subst. for 2.90.1)

*rddhatāṃ prativodhitāḥ || guhāṃ saṃtatyajur vyāghrā nilīyur*  
*vilavāsinaḥ || ṛkṣāś ca* 2.2093\*1 mid.-2 fin., 4 init.  
 (1 post. as D3-5, 2 pr. as V1 B1 4, 2 post. as D1-5.7 M4;  
 2093\* is N subst. for 2.90.2-4)

*petur harayo guhāḥ || svām upetuḥ khagās trastā mṛgayūthā*  
*vidudruvuḥ || dāvāgnibhayavitrast* 2.2093\*4 fin., 3, 5 init.  
 (3-4 transposed as D2.4.5.7, 4 pr. as D2-5.7, 5 as V1 D1-5.7 M4)

*vyajrṃbhaṃta mahāsīmḥā mahiṣāś ca vyalokayan || vilāṃś ca vipīśur*  
*vyālāḥ svasti jepur dvi* 2.2093\*6-7 (7 pr. unique v.1.)

*dharāḥ svam utpetuḥ kiṃnarā bhejire nadīḥ || tam abhyāsam  
 anuprāptaṃ tasyoddeśasya lakṣmaṇaḥ || sainyasya  
 2.2093\*8-10 init. (uniquely svam for sam- and nadīḥ for darīḥ in 8)  
 ti rāme nyavedayan || tam uvācāvyayo rāmaḥ sumitrā suprajā tvayā ||  
 mahī svanati gambhīraṃ tat tvāṃ vi  
 2.2093\*10 post. + 2096\*1-2 pr. (1 pr. as D2 M4, 2 as Ñ B D1.4.5.7)  
 sa lakṣmaṇaḥ sa tvaritaḥ śālam āruhyapuṣpitaṃ || diśaḥ krameṇa  
 samprekṣya prācīm diśam avaiḥṣata  
 2.90.7 (a as D3; b as V1 B Dg1 Dt1 Dm1; cd as all N + M4)  
 samprekṣya dadarśa mahatīm camūṃ || rathāśvagajasamkīrṇāṃ yat  
 taiḥ pūrṇāṃ padātibhiḥ || sa rāmāya nara 90.8a(mid.)-d  
 + 2098\* init. (8a as most N; b as B3; 2098\* is N subst. for 9ab)  
 paravīrahā || śaśamsa sainyam āpātāṃ vacanaṃ cedam avravīt ||  
 agnīn samyamayatvārthaḥ sītāṃ ca viśa 2098\* (N + M4 subst.  
 for 90.9ab) + 9c-10b(mid.) (novel v.l. in 9a; 10b ≈ Ś1 Ñ1 D2.4-7)  
 jje ca dhanuṣī kavacaṃ dhārayasva ca || nāgāśvarathasampūrṇāṃ  
 tāṃ camūṃ sa niśāmya ca || rāmaḥ papra  
 2099\* (N + M4 subst. for 10cd; pr. as D2-5.7) + 2100\*1-2 pr.  
 (N + M4 subst. for 11)  
 māṃ manyase camūṃ || rājā vā rājaputro vā vane smin mṛgayām  
 gataḥ || manyase ca yathāmtattvaṃ tathā saṃśasva  
 2100\*2 (fin.) + 2096\*3-4 (4 post. as V1 D2-5.7)  
 tha rāmeṇa lakṣmaṇo vākyam avravīt || didhakṣann iva kopena ruṣitaḥ  
 pāvako yathā || a 90.12a(mid.)-d (a+c as N + M4) + 2102\*(init.)?  
 (D1-5.7 subst. 2012\* for 13ab)  
 prāpya manye bhiṣecanaṃ || āvāṃ haṃtum ihābhyeti bharataḥ  
 kaikeyīsutaḥ || eṣo sya sumahān 2102\* post. + 90.13c-14a(init.)  
 (13d as Ś1 Ñ V1 B Dd1 Dm1 D6; 14a as D3-5.7)  
 prakāśate || virājayan valasyāgraṃ kovidāro rathe dhvajāḥ || athavā  
 tvāṃ giriguhāṃ sa  
 90.14b-d (c ≈ D3; d as D7) + 2103\*2 pr. (N + M4 subst. for 16a-d)  
 api me vaśam āgachet kovidāradhvajo raṇe || vāhvora yad ucitaṃ  
 sarvaṃ tat kariṣyāmi rāgha  
 90.16ef (e as V1 B2-4 D1.2.4.5.7 M4) + 2107\*1 (insert of Ś1 D4.6.7)  
 ṣyāmi tatpreṣyasyocitaṃ yathā || adya matkārmukotsṛṣṭāḥ śarāḥ  
 kanakabhūṣaṇāḥ || 2107\*2(most)-3*

*ṇām hṛdayād acirād iva || ete bhrājamti samhr̥ṣṭā hayān āruhya*  
*sādinaḥ || samaṃtāt paripa*  
 2107\* 4(fin.) + 90.15cd (d as Ś1 Ñ V1 D1-7 M4) + 2106\* pr.  
*lam apāśrayān || api paśyema bharaṭam yatkr̥te vyasanaṃ mahat ||*  
*tvām rāghavedaṃ sampraptaṃ duḥkhaṃ copa* 2106\* post.  
 (unique v.l.) + 90.17ab (a as Ñ1 D1.2.4.5.7) + 2108\*2 (as D4.7)  
*mittaṃ cyuto rājyād bhavān dharmabhṛtām vara || samprāto yam ariḥ*  
*pāpo bharaṭo vāṇagocaraṃ || bharaṭa*  
 90.18a(mid.)-d (a as D2.3.5; b as D5; cd as Ñ V1 B D1.5.7 M4)  
*haṃ paśyāmi rāghava || pūrvāpakāriṇaṃ hanyād dharmo hy api*  
*vidhīyate || pūrvāpakāri bharaṭas tyakta* 90.19b-d  
 (cd as Ś1 V1 D1-4.6.7) + 2110\* (insert of S + some N after 19cd)  
*tasmin vinihate tv adya anuśādhi vasuṃdharām || saumitrim*  
*abhijalpaṃtam akruddha krodhamūrchitaḥ <||>*  
 90.19ef (e ≈ Ś1 D5-7) + 91.1 (a as D2-5.7; b as D2.3.5)  
*edaṃ vacana dharmasamhitaṃ || nāpriyaṃ kṛtapūrvam me bharaṭe na*  
*kadā ca kiṃ || kīdr̥śaṃ vā bhayaṃ tubhyaṃ bharaṭā*  
 91.1d + 4(part) (1d as D2.4.5.7; 4 read after 1cd as N + M4;  
 minor v.l. in 4b; 4cd as D2.4.5.7)  
*ā kāryam asina vā<sup>tha</sup> carmaṇā || maheśvāse mahāprājñe bharaṭe*  
*svayam āgate || ?am*  
 91.2a(fin.)-d (a as D2 G3) + first syllable of 3a  
*ti || asmāsu manasā hy eṣa nāhitaṃ karttum ācara*  
 91.3b(final syllable)-d (d as Ś1 Ñ2 B D2.4-6)  
 upper middle section only of next line remaining  
 (not sufficient to read)

### Met. Mus. 2002.505

*tataḥ sūrppanakhā dīnām vadaṃtī paruṣaṃ vacaḥ | amātyamadhye*  
*samkruddhaḥ paripa-*  
 3.32.1a-d(mid) (anusvāra omitted from *sūrppanakhām*)  
*pracha rāvaṇaḥ | kasya rāmaḥ kuto rāmaḥ kiṃvīryaḥ kiṃparākramaḥ*  
*| āyudhaṃ* 32.2ab + 3a(init.)  
*kiṃ ca rāmeṇa nihata yena rākṣasaḥ | kharaś ca nihato yena dūṣaṇas*  
*triśi-* 32.3a(rest)-d  
*rās tathā || rāmam asmaī yathātatvam ākhyātum upacakrame ||*  
*dīrghabāhuṃ vi-* 32.3d(fin.) + 4cd-5a (4c as Ś1 D1-3)



*śālākṣaṃ cīrakṛṣṇajināmvaraḥ* || *rakṣasām māmavīryānām sahasrāṇi*  
*ca* 32.5ab + 9ab (9a as Ś1 D2)  
*turdaśa* | *nihatāni śarais tīkṣnais tenaikena mahātmanā* ||| 83 || ||  
 32.9b(fin.)-d (d as Ś1 D1-3)  
*sītā nāma varārohā vedīpratimamadhyamā* | *naiva devī na gadharvī*  
*nāsu-* 32.14c-15b (14d as N; 15b as Ś1 Ñ1 D2.3)  
*rī na ca rākṣasī* || *tavānurūpā bhāryāsya tvaṃ ca tasyās tathā patih* ||  
 || 32.15b(fin. as N) + 17cd (error in c)  
*rāmād api ca marttavyam marttavyaṃ rāvaṇād api* | *ubhayor yadi* ||  
 [83 erased] || || 3.762\*1-2 pr.(part)  
 (insert of Ś1 Ñ D1-3 at various points before start of *sarga* 40)  
*marttavyaṃ varaṃ rāmo na rāvaṇaḥ* || 59 || [83 erased] || ||  
 3.762\* 2 (most)

**Cleveland 2013.306v**

*grdhrarākṣasayor atha* || *sapakṣayor bhṛśam tatra mahāparvatayo-*  
 3.49.4b-d with NE vv.II.  
*-ais tīkṣnais cāpi vikarṇibhiḥ* || *abhyavarṣan mahāvegai-*  
 49.5a(fin.)-c with NE vv.II.  
*-tāni śarajālāni grdhraḥ patrarathesvaraḥ* || *jaṭāyuh pra-*  
 49.6a-c(mid.)  
*-ṇ<i> samyuge* || *tataḥ sa krodhasaṃraddho vikīrṇa iva parvataḥ* ||  
 49.6e(fin.) + 957\* 1 (NE),  
 with °*saṃraddho* for °*saṃrabdho*, cf. °*saṃbaddho* of B3  
*nakhais ca vicakarṣatam* || *tasya tīkṣṇanakhābhyaṃ tu cara<ṇ>-*  
 957\* 2 post. + 49.7a-b(mid.)  
*rudhiraṃ gātraṃ kṣaṇāt patrarathesvaraḥ* || *tataḥ sa rāvaṇaḥ kru-*  
 49.7c(as Ñ2 D5.7)-d(as NE) + 958\* 1 pr.  
 (subst. for 49.8 in Ñ2 D5.7)  
*-magaiḥ* || *vibheda samare ghorair grdhrarājānam āsugaiḥ* || *atha*  
 958\* 1(fin.)-3(init.)  
*jagrāha rathamārgagān* || *mṛtyudaṃḍo paramān dhorān śatru-*  
 958\* 3 post. (°*margagān* unique v.l. for °*margaṇān*) + 4  
 (*dhorān* scribal error for *ghorān*)  
*-r vāṇair mahāvīryaṃ svarṇapumkhair mahāvalaḥ* ||  
*nirvi[evasure]bheda sut<ī>-* 959\* 1(as D5.7) –2 pr. (as Ñ2 D5.7);  
 959\* is NE subst. for 49.9

- tr<in> ... *aciṃtayitvā tān vāṇān rāvaṇaṃ sanadudruvan* ||  
959\* 2 post. (as Ñ2 D5.7) + 49.10cd  
*pakṣāv udyamya mūrdhani* || *pakṣābhyām abhisamrabdhas tāḍayām*  
962\* 1 post.–2 post. (mid)  
*-śaraṃ cāpaṃ muktāmaṇibibhūṣitaṃ* || *caranābhyām mahāte-*  
49.11a(mid)–c  
*-rava-* ... <sa rā>*vaṇavimuktāṃs tu śarān vai patageśvaraḥ* || *tato*  
*vaha-* unidentified, then 960\* (ins. after 12 by Ñ2 D5.7)  
+ 965\* 1(init.); 965\* is NE insert after 49.12 / 960\*  
*k<i> .. hā..laḥ* || *jāmbūnadamayam divyam sarvaratnopaśobhitaṃ* || ..  
965\* 1(fin.)–2  
..... *nabhastale* || *aśobhata patat tat tu sūryyamaṃḍala<s>*  
965\* 3(fin.)–4  
*-dān hatvā piśācavadanān kharān* || *vikṛṣya taras<ā>*  
49.13a(mid)–c(mid) with NE vv.II.  
*-t* || *kāmagam tu mahāghoraṃ cakrakūvarabhūṣaṇam* || *mani-*  
49. 13d(fin.)–14abc all as NE  
*ca mahāratham* || *samāśliṣya rathāt tasmāt sārathim pat-*  
49.14d(fin.) + 968\*1 (968\* is insert of Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)  
*-yitvā yad asrjat* || *sa bhagnadhanvā viratho* 968\* 2 post. + 49.15a  
*-dehūṃ papāta bhuvi rāvaṇaḥ* || *drṣtvā nīpati-* 49.15c(mid)d–16a(init.)  
*-dhv iti bhūtāni grdhrarājam apūjayat* || 49.16c(mid)–d  
*-maramukheṣv anirjitaṃ* || *parājitaṃ pata-*  
966\* 2(fin.)–3(init.) (966\* NE insert after 14cd/16)  
*-lokya taṃ* || *tato 'stuv ? patagavaram divau-* 966\* 4(fin.)–5  
*-ṃsitaḥ sa vihagarājasattamo vyava-* 966\* 7(as Ñ2 D5.7)–8

### Virginia 68.5.56

- tam aṃtarā raghunaṃdanah* || *paripapracha saumitriṃ rāmo*  
*daśarathātmaḥ* || 3.57.1b-d (d as Ñ2 D5.7)  
*sān maithilī rahite śubhā* || *nyāsadharmān mayā dattā vane rākṣasa*  
57.2d (as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7) + 1110\*1(most)  
[1110\* subst. in Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7 for 2ab, read after 2cd)  
*va tāṃ samutsrjya matsamīpam upāgataḥ* || *tavaivāgamanān medya*  
*sītām saṃ* 1110\*2(most) + 57.3ab (as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)  
*ṇa* || *saṃkamānaṃ mahat pāpaṃ yat satyaṃ vyathitaṃ manah* ||  
*spaṃdate nayanam savyam*  
57.3b(fin.)–d + 4a (as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)

- ca me || dṛṣṭvā lakṣmaṇa dūrāt tvām sītāvirahitaṃ vane || evam  
ukta[deletion]s tu*  
57.4a(end)-5a(init.) (4c as N, d as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)
- kṣmaṇaḥ śubhalakṣaṇaḥ || duḥkhaśokasamāviṣṭo rāghavaṃ vākyam  
avravī* 57.5b + 1111\* (subst. in Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7 for 5cd)
- yaṃ kāmākāraṇe sītāṃ<sup>tya</sup> kvāham āgataḥ || pracoditas tayaivāhaṃ  
tatas tvām* 57.6a(most)-d(part)  
(b as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7; cd as Ñ2 B1.3.4 D5.7)
- aḥ || āryyeṇa hi vikruṣṭaṃ tu lakṣmaṇeti suvisvaram || paritrāhīty asa*  
57.7a-c(part) (a as Ñ2 D5.7; b as Ñ V1 D5-7 M3 Ct;  
c as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)
- lyās tachrutim gataṃ || sā tam ārttasvaram śrutvā bhartṛsnehena  
maithilī || ga* 57.7d(end)-8c(init.) (8b as N)
- mām āha rudatī bhayaviklavā || pracodyamānena mayā gacheti  
vahuśa* 57.8c(end)-9ab (-viklavā as in many mss for -vihvalā)
- tyuktvā maithilī vākyam mayā tvatpriyakāmyayā || na tam paśyāmy  
ahaṃ loke* 57.9c-10a (9a as Ñ2 B3.4; d as as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)
- nayam ānayet || nivṛtā bhava nāsty etac chaṃke kenāpy udāhṛtaṃ ||  
vigarhitam* 57.10b(end)-11a (init.)  
(10b as Ñ2 V1 B1.3 Dm1 D4.5.7.8 G M2; 10d as Ñ2 V1 B1.3 D5.7)
- katham āryyo bhidāsyati || trāyasyeti vacaḥ sīte yas trātā tridaśā*  
57.11b-d(most) (c as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7; d as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D1.5.7)
- nimittaṃ tu kenāpi bhrātur alaṃvya me svaram || visvaram [erasure]  
vyāhṛtaṃ vākyam* 57.12a(most)-c
- āhi mām iti || na bhavatyā vyathā kāryya kunārījanasevita || alaṃ*  
57.12d(most)-13a
- āgatya svasthā bhava śucismite || na so sti triśu lokeśu pumān yo  
rāgha* 57.13a(end)-d(most)  
(a as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7; c as Ś1 Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7 T1.2 G3)
- to vāpi janiśyo vā saṃgrāme taṃ parābhavet || evam uktā tu vaidehī*  
57.13e(most)-14a (13ef both as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)
- etanā || uvācāśrūṇi muṃcaṃtī tadā māṃ paruṣaṃ vacaḥ || bhāvo mayi*  
57.14b(end)-15a(part) (14d as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)
- i lakṣmaṇa || vināsaṃ trātari prāpte tatraiva samavāpsyasi*  
57.15b(end)-d  
(b + d as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7 (d not B3); c as these + D4.8 G M1.2)

*gachasi* || *krośamānaṃ tathā hi tvaṃ nainam abhyupapa*  
 16b(end)-d(most) (c as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7; d as Ñ2 V1 B3.4 D5.7)  
*vatsyati maithilī* || *na cāham āśāṃ kuryyaṃ te*  
 1116\* 1 post–2 pr. (insert of Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7 after 16)  
*nnarūpas tvaṃ rāmaṃ samanugachasi* || *rāghava*  
 57.17ab (as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)– c(init.)  
*evam uktas tu vaide*[hī deleted]*hyā saṃravdho raktalo* 57.18a-b(most)  
*ḥ sṛto ham athāśramāt* || *evaṃ* [erasure] *vruvānaṃ*  
 57.18d-19a (init.) (18d as Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7)  
*d<u>ṣkṛtaṃ saumya* <sup>ya</sup>*t tvayā gatam āśramāt*  
 57.19cd (with d cf. Ñ2 B3 D7)

**n.b.** Ñ2 V1 B1.3.4 D5.7 are all NE mss [NE usually also includes Ñ1 and B2 (missing here)]

#### LACMA M.82.6.6

*tau tu dṛṣṭvā mahātmānau bhrātarau rāmalakṣmaṇau* || *sugrīvaḥ*  
*pa*<sup>ra</sup>*modvignaḥ sarvair anucaraiḥ* || 4.2.1ab + 4cd  
 (erroneous final *daṇḍas*; NE mss read 4cd after 1ab)  
*saha* || *ciṃtayābhiparītātmā niścītya girilaṃghanaṃ* ||  
*varāyudhadharau vīrau sugrī*  
 2.4d(fin.) + 73\* (NE insert after 4cd) + 1c-d(init.)  
*vaḥ plavagādhipaḥ* || *na sa cakre manaḥ sthātuṃ vīkṣyamāno*<sup>3</sup>  
*mahābalau* || *udvignahr̥da* 2.1d (as all N) + 3ab  
 (as NE except B2-3) + 2a(init.) [NE transpose 2 and 3ab]  
*yaḥ sarvā dīśaḥ samavalokayan* || *vyavātiṣṭhata naikasmin deśe*  
*vānarapu* 2.2a(mid.)-d (most) (c as NE except V1.2)  
*ṅgavaḥ* || *sa ciṃta*[yitvā deleted]*yām āsa vibhur vimṛṣya ca punaḥ*  
*punaḥ tyaktukāmo gi* 2.4ab + 71\* pr.  
 (4b as N; 71\* NE ins. after 4ab/NW subst. for 4cd)  
*reḥ śṛṅgaṃ yātrāsīt samavasthitaḥ* || *ciṃtayann eva dharmātmā*  
*hanūmatpramukha ha*  
 4.71\*(most) + 72\* (NE + D3 cont. after 71\*)  
*rīn* || *maṃtraniśca*[itya deleted]*vyatatvajñān samīpasthān vyalokayat* ||  
*tataḥ sa sa* 4.72\*1(fin.)-2 + 4.5a(init.)  
*civebhyas tu sugrīvaḥ plavagādhipaḥ* || *śāśaṃsa paramodvignau*  
*bhrātarau rāmala*  
 4.5a(mid)-d (-vignau for -vigno in c, d as N except V2)

*kṣmaṇau* || *etau vanam idam durgam vālipranihitau carau* ||  
*chadmanā cīrivasanau* 4.5d(fin.)-6c (6b as NE except V2)  
*manuṣyāv āgatāv iti* || *tataḥ sugrīvasacivā dr̥ṣṭvā tau varadhanvinau* ||  
*ja* 4.6d + 76\*(init.) (6d as NE except V3)  
*gmus te girisikharam tasmād anyat plavaṅgamāḥ* || *te kṣipram*  
*abhisaṅgamyā yūtha* 4.76\*(most; subst. of V1.2 B for 7cd)  
+ 4.8a-b(init.) (8a as NE except V3)  
*pā yūthaparśabham* || *harayo vānaraśreṣṭham parivaryyāvatasthire* ||  
*tataḥ śākhāmṛ* 4.8b(mid)-d + 10a(init.)  
*gāḥ sarve plavamānā mahāvalāḥ* || *vabhañjuh pādapāms tatra*  
*puṣpitāms ca vanadru* 4.10a(mid)-d(most) (cd as NE except V1)  
*mān* || *tataḥ sugrīvasacivāḥ parvatemdraṃ samāśritāḥ* || *saṅgamyā*  
*kapimukhyena* 4.10(fin.) + 12abc  
*sthitāḥ prāṃjalayas tadā* || *tatas taṃ bhayasambhrāmtaṃ*  
*vālikilviṣaśamkitāṃ* || *uvāca*  
4.12d–13c(init.) (12 as N; 13a as Ñ2 V2 B2-4 D7, i.e. most NE)  
*hanumān prājñāḥ sugrīvaṃ vākyam a[vra deleted]rthavit* || *kasmād*  
*udvignacetās tvaṃ pradruto ha* 4.13c-14b(part)  
(13d as most N; 14a as Ñ2 V2 B D7 plus G1)  
*ripuṅgava* || *taṃ ghoradarśanaṃ ghoram neha paśyāmi vālinam* ||  
*yasmāt tava bhayaṃ nityaṃ pūrva* 4.14b(fin.)-15b(init.)  
(14c as V2.3 B D7; 15a as Ñ2 V2.3 B D3.7.11)  
<ka>*rmaṇaḥ* || *sa neha vālī duṣṭātmā na te paśyāmy ahaṃ bhayaṃ* ||  
*sugrīvas tu su* 4.15b(fin.)-d + 18a(init.)  
*nūmataḥ* || *tataḥ śubhataram vākyam hanūmaṃtam uvāca ha* || *etau*  
*dr̥ṣṭvā* 4.18b(fin.)-d + 83\*1(init.)  
(83\* subst. for 19 in Ś1 Ñ2 V2 B D3.7.12)  
*au<ja>sau* || *vālip<ra>ñī<h>i<t>āvautau śamke haṃ*  
<puru>*ṣo<ttam>au* 4.83\*1(fin.) + 20ab  
[only upper part of this line extant, so vowels more certain]

### LACMA M.82.6.5

*tā . . . . . rāṃ tārādhipatinibhānanām* || *vālī nirbhartsayām āsa*  
*vākyam etad uvāca* 4.16.1a-d(most)  
(6 syllables obscured in a, d up to 7th syllable, d as Ñ2 V B D7)  
*ha* || *garjato 'sya suviśrabdham satror nnotyātātāyinaḥ* ||  
*marṣayiṣyāmi taṃ śabdaṃ* [*śabdaṃ* deleted]  
16.1d (end)–2c (ab as Ñ2 V B D7, c as Ñ2 D7)

- jātakrodha<sup>h</sup> katham priye || adharsitānām śūrānām samyugeṣv  
anivarttinām || dharsaṇāma*  
16.2d-3c(mid) (2d as Ñ2 V B D7, 3b as Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7)  
*ṣaṇam kāmte maraṇād atiricye || soḍhum na ca samartha haṃ  
yoddhukāmasya samyuge || tataḥ*  
16.3c(mid)-4b (3c as N) + 10a(init.)  
*svasyayanam kṛtvā maṃtravid vijayaiśiṇīm || amtaḥpuram saha  
strībhiḥ praviveśa sumadhya*  
16.10a(mid)-d(most) (10d as Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7)  
*mā || praviṣṭāyām tu tārāyām saha strībhiḥ svam ālayam || niścakrāma  
tato vālī ma*  
16.10d(fin.)-11d(init.) (11c as Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7)  
*hāsarpa i[superscript insertion mark] śvasan || sa niḥsṛtya mahāvegaḥ  
krodhaparyākulekṣaṇaḥ || sa dadrśa ta*  
16.11d(most)-12b + 13a(init.) (11d + 12a as Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7)  
*to dūrāt sugrīvaṃ hemamālinam || tasya cābhimukhaṃ cāpi yayau  
yoddhum ativaran*  
16.13a(mid)-b + 328\* (insert of Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7 after 13ab, with  
reading of Ñ2 D7)  
*susannaddham yoddhukāmaṃ rāmāśrayagarvvitam || sa ca dṛṣṭvā  
mahāvīryyaḥ sugrī*  
329\* (subst in Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7 for 13cd) + 14ab (a as Ñ2 D7)  
*vaṃ samupasthitam || gādham sannahanaṃ cakre kariṣyan karma  
duṣkaram || uvāca cāti* 16.14b (as Ś1 Ñ2 D2.4.7.12)  
+ 330\* (subst. in Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7 for 14cd) + 331\*1(init.)  
*tāmrākṣaḥ sugrīvaṃ ro[deleted syllable]samūrchitaḥ durvuddhe pāpa  
sugrīvakā tvarā maraṇe pun*  
331\*1(mid)-2 (continuation in Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7 after 330\*)  
*eṣa muṣṭir mayā vaddhas tvadvadhārthaṃ samudyataḥ || yas te  
mūrdhni vinirmuktaḥ prāṇa*  
16.18a-c(init.) (b as Ñ2 B1-3; cd as Ñ2 V B D7)  
*n apahariṣyati || evam uktā tu sugrīvo hṛdaye tena tāḍitaḥ ||  
saṃkruddhas tāḍita* 16.18d + 333\*  
(subst. in Ñ2 V1 B1-3 D7 for 19) + 20a (as Ñ2 V B D7)  
*s tena samabhiplutya vegitaḥ || abhavac choṇitodgārī sāpīḍa iva  
parvataḥ |* 16.20a(fin.)-d (b as B1-3 D7; d as most N)

*sugrīvena tu niḥsaṃkaṃ śālam utpāṭya tejasā || hṛdaye nihato vālī*  
*vajre* 16.21a-d(init.) (a as Ñ2 V1 B1-3.4 D7-10;  
 b as Ñ V2.3 B D2.3.6.7.11; c as Ñ2 V B D7)  
*ṇeva mahāgiriḥ || sa tu vālī raṇagataḥ śālatādanavīhvalaḥ ||*  
*gurubhāra* 16.21d(fin.)–22c(init.)  
 (22a as Ñ2 V B D7; 22b as Ñ V B D2.4.6.7.13)  
*samākṛāntaś cacāla ca jaghūrṇa ca || tau bhīmavalavikrāntau*  
*suparṇagativegi* 16.22c(fin.)–23b(most)  
 (22c as Ś1 Ñ V1 B D1.2.4.6.7.12.13; 22d and 23b[-V2] as Ñ2 V B  
 D7)  
*tau || prayuddhau ghorarūpau tau svasthau pāpagrahāv iva || vālinā*  
*bhagnadarpe tu sugr<ī>*  
 16.23b(fin.) + 336\* (Ś1 Ñ V1 B D1-4.7.11-13 subst. for 23cd) +  
 24ab(init.) (a as Ś1 Ñ V1.2 B D1-4.7.11.13)  
*ve maṃdatejasi || vālī sāmarsahṛdayaś cukrodhātīva rāghavaḥ || tataḥ*  
*saṃdhāya* 16.24b(fin.)–25a(init.) (24b as Ñ2 V2.3 B D7;  
 c as Ñ2 V2 B1.3.4 D7; d as Ñ2 V B D7; 25a as N)  
*eṇa śaram āśīviṣopamaṃ || nihato hṛdaye vālī hemamālī mahāvalaḥ ||*  
 16.25a(fin.)-d (cd as Ñ2 V B D7)  
 <ī> *hṛdaye vālī nihato nipapāta ha || hā hato smīti*  
 16.26a(mid)-b (as Ñ2 V B D7)  
 + 344\*init. (insert of Ñ2 V B D7 after 26)  
*vā[deletion]<sup>spa</sup>saṃ<sup>ru</sup>ddhakaṅtho tha dr̥ṣṭvā rāmam avasthi*  
 345\*1 (N continuation after 343\*/344\*; reading as Ñ2 V B D7)  
 [only 4 syllables at end of last line partially visible]

#### San Francisco 2003.4

*tum echad atikruddhaḥ sarvasainyena saṃvṛtaḥ || saṃgrāmam*  
*abhikāṃkṣantaṃ rāvaṇaṃ śrutyā bhāginī || tatrotthā*  
 6.951\*4 (pr. start unique) + 6 App.30.1-2(init.) (2 as V3 D4.13)  
 [951\* is N insert after 6.47.6, followed by App.30]  
 <nā>*mnā maṃdodarī tathā || praviśya ca sabhāṃ divyāṃ prabhayā*  
*dyotamānayā || dr̥ṣṭuṃ vai rāvaṇo sā tu mayasya duhi*  
 App.30.2 post. (as V3 B4)  
 + 13 (pr. as V2.3 B1.2.4 D2 T2.3)-14 post. (mid)  
*devīm tato rājā priyāṃ maṃdodarīm tadā || dr̥ṣṭvā sasambhramas*  
*tūrṇaṃ pariśvajya dasānanaḥ || avravīd vi*  
 App.30.15(most)–16 (*sasambhramas* for *sasambhramaṃ*) + ?

*gaṃbhīranisvanah || kim āgamanakṛtyam te devi śīghram tad ucyatām*  
 || *evam ukte tu vacane devīvacanam avravīt |*  
 App30.26 post.(most)–27 + 30  
 ? *rājyemdra yāce tvāham kṛtāmjalih || nāparādhas ca kartavyo*  
*vadatyā mama mānada || śrutā me naga* App.30.31(most;  
 1st syllable perhaps śya as V3; rājyemdra for rājemdra)–32 (init.)  
*ā me rākṣasā hatāḥ || dhūmrākṣasahitā vīrāḥ prahastena sahaiva tu ||*  
*bhavāṇ vai yuddhakāma* App.30.33 post.(most)–35 pr.(most)  
*niścayah || iti samcitya rājyemdra mamāgamanakāraṇam || nanv*  
*ayuktaṃ pramukhataḥ sthātum tas* App.30.35(fin.)–37(most)  
 (rājyemdra for rājemdra; nanv ayuktaṃ for na ca yuktaṃ)  
*masya sumahābhāga yasya bhāryā hṛtā tvayā || na ca mānuṣamātro*  
*sau rāmo daśarathātmaja* App.30.38(most) + 40(most)

#### Met. Mus. 2002.504

*-muḥ paramasambhrāntāḥ kuṃbhakarṇaniveśanam || āsādya*  
*bhavana<ṃ> tasya vivīśus te n<ṛ>pā*  
 6.48.16cd + 1034\* (N insert)  
*praviṣya mahadvāraṃ sarvvato yojananāyutaṃ || vitrasayamtaṃ*  
*niśvāsai śayānam piśitāśanam || bhīmaprā-* 1036\* 1  
 (N subst. for 48.18) + 1040\* (N subst. for 22cd) + 23a (as N)  
*laṃ bhīmaṃ pātālavipulā<sup>na</sup>naṃ || kuṃbhakarṇam mahānidram*  
*vodhanāya pracakrire || jaladā iva u* 48.23a(fin.)b  
 + 1043\* (N ins. after 48.28ab) + 48.29c(init.)  
*duḥ jātudhānās tatas tataḥ || uṣṭrā<na del.>n kharān hayān nāgān*  
*jaghnatur daṃḍakaśāmkuśaiḥ || yadā tu tai* 48.28d (as N+)  
 + 38ab + 32a(init., as N)  
*saṃnainadair mahātmā na kuṃbhakarṇe vuvudhe prasuptaḥ || tadā*  
*bhuśumḍīmuśalāni caiva rakṣoga-* 48.32a(mid)–d(init. as N)  
*s te jagṛhur gadās ca || sukhaṃ pra<sup>su</sup>ptaṃ bhūvi kuṃbhakarṇam*  
*rakṣāmsy udagrāṇi tadā nijaghnuḥ || kuṃbhakarṇ-*  
 48.32d(fin.) + 33cd + 1050\*(init.; N subst. for 44ef)  
*dā supto naiva sampratyavudhata || tato gajasahasraṃ tu śarīre*  
*sampradhāvati || gītavāditraśabde* 1050\* + 47ab (with N vv.II.)  
 + 1055\* 15(init.; 1055\* N ins. after 47ab)  
*svareṇa madhureṇa ca || divyenaiva ca gaṃdhena sparśeṇa vividhena*  
*ca || vivuddhaḥ kuṃbhakarṇo sau*  
 1055\* 15 post.–16 + 1058\* pr. (1058\* N subst. for 47cd)



*mo bhīmaparākramaḥ || vijṛṃbhamāno tibalaḥ pratyavudhata*  
*rākṣasaḥ || so gaḁṣan bhavanaṃ* 1058\* post. (as Ś Ń2 D2.3.12)  
 + 48.51ab (as Ś V3 B4 D3.12) + 48.84a (as N but *kṣa* for *ccha*)  
*jñō rakṣoganaṣamanvitaḥ || kuṃbhakarṇapadanyāsaḥ kampaṃyann iva*  
*medinīm || vanaukasaḥ prekṣa* 48.84a(fin.)-d + 87c (init.)  
*vṛddham adbhuṭaṃ bhayārditā dudruvire* (after corr.) *samaṃ tataḥ ||*  
*kecicharaṇyaṃ śaraṇaṃ ca rāmaṃ vrajaṃti kecid vya*  
 48.87cd (d as N) + 86a(ca for *sma*)-b(mid)  
*tāḥ pataṃti || kecid diṣaṃ satvaritāḥ prayāṃti kecid bhayārṭta bhuvī*  
*śerate sma ||* 48.86b(fin.)-d (as N)

**n.b.** sequence of stanzas 48.21-87 in N mss differs greatly from that in CE text

towards bottom, on right: purple stamp, *tasvīr khānā datiyā śeṭ,*  
*naṃbha* + written 48

### San Francisco 2003.3

<*gacha*> *śa<sup>tru</sup>vadhāya tvaṃ kuṃbhakarṇa jayāya ca || asahāyasya*  
*gamaṇaṃ mama vuddhyā na rocate || tasmāt pa*  
 6.53.11cd + 1142\* (N insert after 53.16) + 18a (init.)  
*nyaiḥ parivṛto vraja || athāsanāt samutthāya maṇim*  
*sūryasamaṇprabhaṃ || āvavaṃdha maha*  
 53.18b + 19abc (a as G3; b as N)  
*kuṃbhakarṇasya mastake || aṃgadāny aṃgulīveṣṭhān kavacaṃ ca*  
*mahādhanam || hāraṃ ca śaśi*  
 53.19d (as Ś D2.8.12)-20abc(init.) (b as N)  
*dha mahātmanaḥ || gātreṣu yojayāmāsa kuṃḁalaṃ ca mahābhujam ||*  
*kuṃbhakarṇo mahāvahur*  
 53.20d(fin.) + 21cd (as N) + 22c (as N)  
*tma ivāvabhau || śronīśūtreṇa mahatā kāmcanena virājatā || sa*  
*puradvā<sup>ra</sup>m āśri<sup>tya</sup> rākṣaso* 53.22d(fin.)-23ab (as N)  
 + 1145\* (N insert after 53.32; *āśritya* for *āsādyā*)  
*naḥ || niḥpapāata mahātejāḥ kuṃbhakarṇaḥ pratāpavān ||*  
*kuṃbhakarṇo mahāvakraḥ prahasana vā*  
 [? -*naḥ* for <*ghoradarśa*>*naṃ* as N, i.e. 53.33b(fin.)]  
 + 53.33cd + 35cd (most, as N)

- vraṅvīt* || *purarodhasya mūlaṃ tu rāghavaḥ sahalakṣmaṇaḥ* || *hate*  
*tasmīn ahaṭaṃ sarvaṃ taṃ haniṣyāmi*  
 53.35d(fin.) + 38a-d (d as Ś B1.4 D1.2.8.12.13)
- yuge* || *sa niḥkramya puradvārāt kuṃbhakarṇō mahāvalaḥ* || *te dr̥ṣṭvā*  
*vānaraśreṣṭhāḥ rākṣasaṃ pa<r>vva*  
 53.38d(fin.) + 46ab (as N) + 47ab (as N)
- pamaṃ* || *vāyukṣiptā tathā meghā yayuḥ sarvā diśas tadā* || *tāms tu*  
*vidravato dr̥ṣṭvā rājaputre* 53.47b(fin.)–d (as N)  
 + 54.3ab (as N +) [n.b. N mss repeat 53.47(-49) after 54.2]
- do vraṅvīt* || *kva gachata bhayatrastā prākṛtā harayo yathā* || *sarve*  
*saumyā nivartadhvaṃ kiṃ pra* 54.3b(fin.) + 4cd-5b(init.)
- n parirakṣatha* || *kṛchreṇa mahatāśvastāśaṃ stabhya ca parasparaṃ* ||  
*śilāpādapahastā*  
 54.5b(fin.) + 1156\*1-2 pr. (N subst. for 54.7; 1.1 garbled)
- sthuḥ saṃgrāmamūrdhani* || *mamaṃtha paramāyasto vanāny agnir*  
*ivotthitaḥ* || *lohitakta*  
 1156\*2 post. + 54.10cd (as N)– 11a(init.) (as Ñ2)
- havaḥ śerate vānaraśabhāḥ* || *aṃgadaḥ kumudo nīlo gavākṣaś*  
*caṃdano hariḥ* || *maimdo tha dvi*  
 54.11b(mid.) + 1171\*5-6 pr. (1171\* is N insert after 55.4)
- ś caiva jāṃvavān vi[erasure]natas tadā* || *jugapa[erasure]d vyahanat*  
*sarve kuṃbhakarṇaṃ mahāvalāḥ* || 1171\*6 pr.(mid.)-post.  
 (tadā for tathā)–7 (-valāḥ in post. as Ś1 Ñ2 D1-4.8.12)

### San Diego 1990.290

- <ma>*ṇaṃ patitaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā sarve pi haripuṃgavaḥ* || *sugrīvaś*  
*cāṃgadaś caiva kumudaḥ keśarī tathā* || *nīlo nalaś-*  
 6 App.56.28–30 pr. (28 post. as B2; 29 pr as D13)  
 (6 App.56 inserted by Ñ V B D7.13 after 6.89.12 or 4)
- ? *sumālī gaṃdhamādanaḥ* || *vīravāhuḥ suvāhuḥ ca gavākṣaḥ śarabhas*  
*tathā vibhīsaṇapurogās ca* App.56.30 post.–32 pr.
- nam upāga[deletion]tāḥ* || *etasmīn aṃtare rājā sugrīvaḥ prāñjalir*  
*vacah* || *vabhāṣe sumahāprājñāṃ rāmaṃ śo-*  
 App.56.32 post.(mid)–34 post. (mid.)  
 (33 pr. as Ñ2 D7.13; 34 pr. nearly as D13)
- lutaṃ* || *mā viṣīda mahāvāho sukheṇo n<sup>2</sup>ma nāmataḥ* || *pratyavekṣatu*  
*saumittim lakṣaṇaiḥ puṇyala<kṣa>* App.56.34(fin.)  
 + 35 pr. + 37 post. (35 pr. + omission of 1.36 as Ñ2 D7) + 38

- ? || *yadi jīvati saumītrir bhrātā te bhrātrvatsalah* || *sugrīvasya vacaḥ śrutvā rāghavo vākyam avravīt* App.56 39-40 (40 post. as D13)  
*ghram ānaya taṃ vaidyaṃ suṣeṇaṃ karmasiddhaye* || *evam uktaḥ sa sugrīvaḥ suṣeṇārtham mahātmanā* || *vānarān preṣa* App.56 41-43 pr. (41 pr. as D13)
- ??*sa sīghram ānīyatām iti* || *tataḥ suṣeṇa āgatya prāṃjalir vākyam avravīt* || *kiṃ karomi ma* App.56.43 post.–45 pr.(init.)  
 -*ho kim ājñāpayasi prabho* || *rāghaveṇa samājñāpto lakṣmaṇaḥ prekṣyatām iti* || *suṣe[ḥ] deleted[no lakṣma*  
 App.56.45 pr.(fin.)–46 (46 post. as Ñ2 D7.13) + 49 post. (init.)
- dṛṣṭvā rāghavaṃ vākyam avravīt* || *viśādaṃ mā kṛthāḥ vīra saprāṇo yam arimdamah* || *oṣadhyānayanane <yu>* App.56.53 pr.(mid)-post. + 89.11cd (with unique [?] transposition) + App.56.59 pr.  
 <*kri*>*yatām gaṃdhamādane* || *suṣeṇasya vacaḥ śrutvā rāghavo vākyam avravīt* || *sugrīva preṣayasveha hanumaṃtaṃ ma*  
 App.56.59 post. + 68-69 post.(mid) (69 as D13)  
*balam* || *tataḥ sugrīvavacanād dhanumān udatiṣṭhata* || *jiyāsutam atho rāmaḥ sagauravaṃ abhāṣata* ||  
 App.56.69 post.(fin.) + unidentified
- gacha vīra mahāprājña parvataṃ gaṃdhamādanaṃ* || *evam astu iti kṛtvā sa prayayau vā[hu deleted]<sup>yu</sup>naṃdanaḥ* || *āruro*  
 App.56.70 (cf. 85 pr.) + 117 +265(init.)
- ??*gam divyaṃ nānādhātuvicitritaṃ* || *saṃcacāra nagaṃ divyaṃ oṣadhīm prati vānaraḥ* || *mārgamānas tu saṃravdhas ta*  
 App.56.265 + 291-292 pr. (291 post. as NE; *tu* for *su*- in 292)
- m apaśyaṃ[śca deleted]auśadhīm* || *ciṃtayitveti hanumān avatīrya mahītalaṃ* || *giriṃ nānādrumalata na* App.56. post. + 2040\*  
 (subst. in Ñ2 V B for 89.20ab) + App.56.293 pr.
- ?*puṣyopaśobhitam* || *līlayā harimukhyo sau vāhubhyā udapāṭayat* || *utpādyamā*  
 App.56.293 post. + 301 + 307 (pr.)  
 [cf. 302 pr., so possible haplography]
- naḥ sahasāvibhunā vāyusūnūnā* || *nānāsatvaravoghuṣṭaṃ girim ādāya satvaraḥ* || *utpapā* App.56.307-9(init.)
- tāśu vegena hanumān vāyuvikramaḥ* || *tataś ca hanumān vīro rāmasainyam apaśyata* || *a* App.56.309 pr.(mid)-post. + App.56.97\*10 (Ñ1 D13 subst. for 319-25; reading close to D13)

*bhyāśe nyapatacchūṅgaṃ tadā<sup>dā</sup>ya girer mahat || tatas tu hanumān  
vīro vāyutulyaparākramaḥ || ni*  
App.56.324 (*chūṅgaṃ* for *chrṅgaṃ*)–326(init.)  
*kṣīpya parvataṃ ramaṃ nānādhātuvicitritam || vinītaḥ prāñjalir  
bhūtvā upasṛtya samā* App.56.326(most)–327(most)  
*sthitaḥ || vijñāpayata sugrīvaṃ rāmaṃ ca savibhīśaṇam ||  
nādhyagacham ahaṃ tasminn ośadhīm gamdha*  
App.56.327(fin.)–328 (as B4) + 2050\*1  
(subst. in Ñ2 V B for 89.21; V3 line 1 only)  
*mādane || tato yaṃ śikharah kṛtsno gires tasya mayā hataḥ || suṣenaṃ  
cāvraṇīc cātha sugrī?* 2050\*1(fin.)-2 (*hataḥ* for *hṛtaḥ*)  
+ App.60.16 (App.60 insert of Ñ2 V B13 after 2050\*)  
*?mahāyaśāḥ || dehi śīghra mahābhāga lakṣmaṇāya mahauśadhīm ||  
a<sup>2</sup>ruhya tvarayā caiva* App.60.16(fin.)-17 (as V3), 30 pr.  
*? auśadhīm || dr̥ṣṭvā cotpātayamāsa viśalyakaraṇīm śubhām || la*  
App.60.30(fin.) + 89.22cd (as Ñ2 V B)  
½ of line illegible || *viśalyaṃḥ tām samā* ½ of line illegible  
for middle ½ cf. 89.24

### National Gallery of Canada 23553

*-s tvam padmanābho bhavāṃtakṛt || saraṇyaṃ śaraṇam ca tvām āduḥ  
seṃdrā maharṣayaḥ || ṛksāmaśrṅgovedā<tmā>*  
6.105.16a(fin.)-d (b as D2; *āduḥ* for *āhuh*;  
*seṃdrā* as Ś B1 D1-3.8.9.12 in d) + 17a (as N)  
*bhaḥ || tvam yajus tvam vaśatkāras tvam omkārah paraṃtapaḥ ||  
ṛtadhāmā vasuḥ pūrvaṃ vasūnām ca prajāpatih || trayanā<m>*  
105.17b(fin.)-d (unique [?]) *yajus* for *yajñas* in c) + 6a-c  
(init. with transposition as N) [n.b. N mss read 6-8b after 17]  
*ām ādikartā svayaṃprabhūḥ || vasūnām aṣṭamaḥ sādhyah sādhyānām  
api paṃcamaḥ || aśvinau cāpi karṇau ca caṃdra*  
105.6d–7d(mid) (7a as V1 B2-4)  
*cakṣuṣī || aṃte cādau ca madhye ca dr̥ṣyate tvam paraṃtapa ||  
prabhavaṃ nidhanaṃ cāpi na vidmaḥ ko bhavān iti || dr̥ṣyase sa*  
105.7d(fin.)–8b (8a as Ś B1 D1-3.5.8-12) + 18a-c(init.) (a as most N)  
*ṣu goṣu ca vrahmaṇeṣu ca || dikṣu sarvāsu gagane parvateṣu vaneṣu  
ca || sahasracaraṇaḥ śrīmām chataśīrṣaḥ sahasrapāt*  
105.18d-19b (18d transposed as N; 19b as D1.2.9)

*rayasi bhūtāni vasudhām caiva parvatān || aṃte pṛthivyāḥ salile*  
*drśyase tvaṃ mahoragaḥ || trīn lokān dhārayan rāma devagaṃ*  
 105.19c(mid)-d (as D2) + 20a-d(mid)  
*rmaḍānavān || ahaṃ te hṛdayaṃ rāma jihvā devī sarasvatī || devā*  
*romāṇi gātreṣu nirmītās te svamāyayā || nimiṣas*  
 105.20d(fin.)–22a(init.)  
 (21c as N; 21d as Ś B1 D1-3.8.9.12; 22a as B1 D2)  
*to rātrir unmeṣo divasas tathā || saṃskārās te bhavad vedām na tad*  
*asti vinā tvayā ||* 105.22a(mid)-d (a as B1 D9-11;  
 b as most N; *bhavad-* for *'bhavan* in c)

**Met. Mus. 2002.503**

*harīṇām cābhīmukhyāya śubhāny ābharaṇāni ca || sarvān kāmagaṇān*  
*hārān pradadau vasudhādhipaḥ || sarvavānaravṛddha*  
 6.116.69ab (a as Ś2 D1-4.8.9.12) + 74cd (c as Ś2 D2.8.9.12) + 75a  
*ye cānye vānareśvarāḥ || sarvebhyaḥ pradadau rāmo bhūṣaṇāni*  
*yathocitaṃ || vāsobhir bhūṣaṇaiś caiva yathārham atipuṣkalaiḥ*  
 <||> 116.74b-d (d as D1-4.8.9.12)  
*prahr̥ṣṭamanasaḥ prītā jagmuś caiva yathāgatam || hr̥ṣṭāḥ sarve*  
*yathātmā vai te sarve vānaraśabhāḥ || viśṣṭāḥ pāṛthiveṃdreṇa*  
*kiṃ* 116.76cd (as B3 D1-4) + 3686\* 2 (as Ś2 D1.2)–3  
*kiṃdām punarāgatāḥ || vibhīṣaṇopi rāmeṇa pūjitaḥ satkr̥taḥ prabhuh*  
*|| kr̥tānujño vidhijñena prahr̥ṣṭaḥ svām purīm ya*  
 3686\* 3 (cont.) + 4 pr. + expansion + 4 post.  
*yau ||* 3686\* 4 post. (fin.)  
 (3686\* is insert of N + G2.3 M3.5 after 116.76)



OSCAR FIGUEROA

THE SECULAR AND THE RELIGIOUS IN  
KṢEMENDRA'S *SAMAYAMĀTRKĀ*\*

**0. Introduction**

Composed by the eleventh-century Kashmiri polymath Kṣemendra, *Samayamātrkā* is an illuminating text to reflect upon the interaction between secular and religious life in medieval India. Constructed as a brothel story, with a sinister bawd as model of success, the text is a satirical meditation upon religious hypocrisy and more generally upon human bent to pleasure. Tantric religion is the main target of the work's rhetoric of irony. Yet, there is still a lack of understanding of this presence in the light of the work's tone and style. This article argues that in the act of parodying Tantra as a cult of pleasure, Kṣemendra puts into question the religious establishment, underscoring the difficulties to follow a truly pious life in a world characterized by delusion and desire. Seen in this light, the text seems to advocate an ethical stance, wherein satire bears a ludic, non-sectarian, and at times even universal significance.

---

\* This article was written with the kind support of the Dipartimento di Lingue, Letterature e Studi Interculturali of the Università degli Studi di Firenze as part of a research stay in the Spring of 2018. In Italy, Prof. Fabrizia Baldissera, an authority in the work of Kṣemendra, acted as my adviser, discussed with me some of the ideas here presented and made a number of precious remarks, for which I am deeply grateful. I also thank the comments received during the 17<sup>th</sup> World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver (July 2018), where I read an earlier and much shorter version of this article. In particular, I am grateful to Iris Iran Farkhondeh for the interchange of ideas. Needless to say, any errors in form and content remain mine.

## 1. Much more than a brothel plot

Of all the satirical works written by the eleventh-century C.E. Kashmiri polymath Kṣemendra, his *Samayamātrkā* (SM) has been the less studied to date. In line with previous works focused on ordinary and sometimes socially controversial characters as a way to explore the conflict between orthodox ideals and values, on the one hand, and the forces of everyday life, on the other, SM offers a mordant portrait of the evils of medieval Indian society seen from the point of view of a sinister bawd, Kaṅkāli, and her young apprentice, Kalāvati, presented as models of success.

SM's plot can be summarized as follows: Distressed due to her "mother's" recent death, Kalāvati receives the visit of an old friend, the barber Kaṅka, who recommends to adopt a new "mother": the famous Kaṅkāli, "all skin and bones ... and a deathly pale face like a ghost".<sup>1</sup> In order to convince Kalāvati, Kaṅka recounts Kaṅkāli's adventures from childhood to old age, a life made of many identity changes always in pursuit of money. After this, comes the encounter between the protagonists. Seeing in Kalāvati an opportunity to make a living, Kaṅkāli becomes her new mother and starts teaching the trade. The training includes the well-known lessons to catch rich men, win their hearts, rip them off, and kick them out.<sup>2</sup> Kalāvati puts all this into practice at the expense of Paṅka, the innocent son of a rich merchant.

Now, interspersed within this amusing plot, the reader meets with constant jokes at religious figures. Some scholars have correctly pointed out that Śaiva Tantra is the main target.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> SM 4.2. All translations from the Sanskrit are mine. The verses from SM here presented reproduce my rendering of the whole text into Spanish (Trotta, Madrid, 2019) on the basis of P. Durgāprasād's edition (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1925), this latter based in turn on the manuscript discovered by G. Bühler in the 19th century and today kept in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (number 201/1875-76), and to which I also had access.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance Vatsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra* 6.3.39-44.

<sup>3</sup> See Wojtilla, G., "Notes on Popular Śaivism and Tantra in Eleventh Century Kashmir: A Study on Kṣemendra's *Samayamātrkā*", in Ligeti L. (ed.), *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*,



Others have called attention to the attacks on Buddhism and orthodox Brahmanism as well.<sup>4</sup> Yet, most scholars have treated this aspect as secondary compared with Kṣemendra's supposed primary interest – writing a brothel story for didactic purposes, preventing good and pious men from tangling with bad women. Thanks to the progress in the study of Kṣemendra's other satires and to the advancement of our knowledge of religious diversity in medieval Kashmir, we have today more information to explore the text in its complexity. Thus, this article reflects upon the interplay between religious and secular motifs in SM. In this context, it is argued that in the very act of satirically condemning Tantra as a cult of pleasure, the work puts into question the religious establishment, underscoring the difficulties to follow a truly pious life in a world characterized by delusion and desire.

In order to appreciate fully this aspect of the text, I propose a reversal of priority as the key to go deeper into its meaning in connection with the mockery of Tantric religion. SM can be read as a satirical meditation on religious hypocrisy constructed upon or disguised as a brothel story. Scholarly opinion has identified another brothel-poem from Kashmir, Dāmodara's *Kuṭṭanīmata* (eight century C.E.), as the main influence behind SM. The change of emphasis I propose here underscores other influences: SM can be read as being also influenced by previous works concerned with religious hypocrisy (*dambha*) and especially with Tantric-inspired hypocrisy – a motif absent in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*.

In the sphere of drama, we have the farcical genre (*prahasana*), defined in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* precisely as focused on “ridiculing holy men, ascetics, Brahmins and other [religious

---

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1984: 381-389; and more recent and informed Baldissera, F., “The Satire of Tantric Figures in Some Works of Kṣemendra”, in Torella, R. (ed.), *Le parole e i marmi. Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli*, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Rome, vol. 1, 2001: 13-35.

<sup>4</sup> See respectively Boccali, G., “In margine a un testo di Kṣemendra”, in Bolognesi, G. and Pisani, V. (eds.), *Linguistica e filologia. Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti*, Paideia Editrice, Brescia, 1987: 207-209, and Siegel, L., *Laughing Matters. Comic Tradition of India*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1987: 110.

figures]”.<sup>5</sup> The image of the Śaiva Tantric initiate as a hedonist occurs already in one of the earliest *prahasanas*: Mahendravarman’s *Mattavilāsa*, from the seventh century C.E. Also in the sphere of drama and using the brothel as ideal setting, the repeated allusions to religious hypocrisy – here mainly of the Brahmanical type – found in the four satirical Monologue-Plays (*Caturbhāṇī*) (ca. sixth century C.E.) constitute an undeniable influence.<sup>6</sup> Other important influences in this regard appear to be the “Tantric episodes” in Bhavabhūti’s drama *Mālatīmādhava* and Bāṇabhaṭṭa’s prose romance *Kādambarī*, both from the seventh or eight centuries C.E. The resemblance with these two works sometimes goes beyond the evocation of a common atmosphere. For instance, the praises to the Tantric goddess Cāmuṇḍā in *Mālatīmādhava* 5.22-23 are very similar to some of the verses in SM where Kṣemendra associates satirically his protagonist Kaṅkālī with the Tantric goddess. I will come back to this later. As for the *Kādambarī*, the influence is beyond doubt, for we know that Kṣemendra wrote a recreation, the *Padyakādambarī*, which unfortunately has not come to us.

My opinion is that Kṣemendra’s SM should be read more properly upon this line of influence, and that it is upon such line that he innovates. Perhaps the most important innovation has to do with Kaṅkālī’s leading role, an aspect that take us directly to the work’s Tantric background. As I will show, the construction of the text subtly, but thoroughly, embraces the Tantric milieu of Kashmir during Kṣemendra’s time.

## 2. The Tantric background

Kaṅkālī gives new life to the satirical image of the Tantric initiate built upon a double identity, sacred and profane, in previous literary works. Kṣemendra does so combining the

---

<sup>5</sup> *Nāṭyaśāstra* 18.103-104. Of course, this possible influence would suggest the presence of a theatrical element in SM.

<sup>6</sup> See Loman, J.R., “Types of Kashmirian Society in Kṣemendra’s *Deśopadeśa*”, *Brahmavidya. The Adyar Library Bulletin* 31-32, 1968: 176-177.

figure of the nun who acts as go-between, present in many literary works,<sup>7</sup> and the figure of the religious student who uses Tantra to dissimulate his bent to pleasure. But Kṣemendra goes even further, for he associates the figure of the nun who acts as go-between not only with a Tantric devotee but with the Tantric goddess. Fierce, Tantric goddesses in previous dramas and poems are not “characters” as such; rather, their presence is scenographic, dependent on the true characters, among them their devotees. The best example is, again, the goddess Cāmuṇḍā-Karālā in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* and Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*. For his part, playing on words and using puns, Kṣemendra creates a link between the old whore Kaṅkālī and the fierce Tantric goddess. Put differently, from a religious perspective, Kaṅkālī's leading role calls for a satirical identification not with the Tantric devotee – that is the role of her apprentice Kalāvātī – but with the goddess herself.

This underlies the very title of the work, formed by the words *samaya* and *mātrkā*. The latter means “mother”. Instead, *samaya* has a clear polysemic value. Starting from the basic meaning of “coming together”, in political and commercial contexts *samaya* is the union of wills by means of an alliance or contract. When such agreement gains authority, *samaya* means habit, precept, doctrine. In time-space terms, *samaya* is the coming together of auspicious circumstances, and therefore opportunity. Finally, in the private sphere, *samaya* means erotic encounter, sexual union. All these meanings are implied in the title of the work, and therefore more than one translation is possible: mother by contract, mother for convenience, an opportunist mother, etc. Of course, as noted long time ago by M. Winternitz and G. Boccali, *samayamātrkā* ends up being an euphemism for “bawd”.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> See for instance Daṇḍin, *Daśakumāracarita* 2.2 and 2.3; also Bhavabhūti, *Mālatīmādhava*, first act, about the Buddhist nun Kāmandakī. On this topic, see Bloomfield, M., “On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 44, 1924: 236-242.

<sup>8</sup> Respectively in *History of Indian Literature*, vol. 3, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1963: 169, and “Appunti per la traduzione della *Samayamātrkā* di Kṣemendra”, *Paideia, rivista*

But to all these meanings one needs to add a specific religious meaning, related to the work's Tantric background, and which the options "contract", "convenience", and so on do not convey. Based on the ideas of alliance and opportunity, in many Tantric sources, either Śaiva, Śākta or Buddhist, the word is used in connection with the ordinances the initiate follows under oath. The initiate renounces his ordinary identity (family, caste, etc.) and creates a bond (a coming together) with his guru, the deities and other supernatural creatures, thus becoming a *samayin*. This bond implies a "commitment" or "pledge" to follow certain doctrines and practices. *Samaya* is both the observances to be followed by the initiate, as well as the pledge to follow them.<sup>9</sup>

An illuminating hint concerning the Tantric meaning of *samaya* in SM can be obtained from another of Kṣemendra's satirical works, his *Narmamālā*. There, in an important section of the second chapter, a group of parasites (*viṭa*) devises how to seduce the conceited wife of the protagonist, a corrupt officer (*kāyastha*). In accordance with the literary stereotype I just mentioned, the parasites conclude that the help of an old Buddhist nun is necessary, for everyone knows that in reality she is a go-between.<sup>10</sup> To this double identity, religious and secular, the text adds a third ingredient: the nun is a Tantric adherent as can be inferred from her name, Vajrayoginī. This piece of information intensifies the parody and frames the description of Vajrayoginī as the "mother of the yogas to bewitch", as the "divine go-between to adulterers", and more importantly as the "women's *samaya-devatā* in the initiation ceremonies to catch men".<sup>11</sup> She is the "deity" (*devatā*) with whom women seal an "alliance" (*samaya*), in the religious sense

---

*letteraria di informazione bibliografica* 34, 1984: 49-53. Evidently, bawds are called "mothers" due to the matrilineal and hereditary nature of prostitution in India.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance *Brahmayāmalatantra* 61, 85 and 73.47, quoted by Hatley, S., "The Brahmayāmalatantra and Early Śaiva Cults of Yoginīs", PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2007: 33 and 180. Also *Tantrāloka* 15.521-613. For Buddhist sources, see *Guhyasamājatantra* 17.11-25, among many others.

<sup>10</sup> Kṣemendra, *Narmamālā* 2.7-29.

<sup>11</sup> SM 2.30.

of making a “vow” or “pledge” (*samayadīkṣā*), in exchange for instruction – here of course erotic instruction.<sup>12</sup> This use of the word *samaya* has an obvious resonance with the title of our text, and the nun Vajrayoginī, although Buddhist, says a lot about Kaṅkāli, the *samaya-devatā*, the secular and religious mother of Kalāvati.

All this suggests that the second word in the title, the word *mātrkā*, has also a Tantric import. Moreover, its presence in the title is deliberate. Kṣemendra combined *samaya* with *mātrkā*, and not with any other word for “mother”, because only the latter possessed the semantic import he was interested in. This can be substantiated by the mere six occurrences of the word within the text,<sup>13</sup> three of them simply reiterating the title, whereas a synonym like *jananī* occurs dozens of times. Indeed, the ancient worship of mother goddesses was the substratum for the development of a properly Tantric worship of clans of female divinities, sometimes also called *mātrkā* or *mātr*.<sup>14</sup> From this older substratum, Tantric worship of mother goddesses evolved into a conception of these female creatures as the forces presiding over the various planes of existence, and in a more technical sense as the sonic or mantric womb from which emanates the manifested world. Of course, Kṣemendra's deliberate preference for *mātrkā* in the title confirms in turn the Tantric meaning of *samaya*. Therefore, behind the opportunist mother by contract, there is a sacred mother by pledge. Kalāvati receives initiation by such a mother, sealing with her an erotic-cum-religious alliance. In sum, a *samayamātrkā* can only be a *samayadevatā*, a Tantric goddess.

Now, the easiest way to confirm Kaṅkāli's Tantric identity would be her name, literally “Skeleton”. Unfortunately, as far as my research goes, I have not been able to find abundant

---

<sup>12</sup> Similarly, see Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa* 8.9, concerning an “honourable wife” (*kulavadhū*), who after being initiated in the arts of a lustful Tantric guru, avoids her husband in bed precisely because of his “lacking of *samaya*”.

<sup>13</sup> SM 1.3, 1.43, 1.45, 6.5, 8.127 and 8.129.

<sup>14</sup> Hatley, S., “From Mātr to Yoginī: Continuity and Transformation in the South Asian Cults to the Mother Goddesses”, in Keul, I. (ed.), *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2012: 107-117.

unequivocal testimonies. An illuminating exception is found in Somadevabhaṭṭa's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, another text from Kashmir from the same period. There we read the story of a pious Brahmin who sacrifices himself before the "supreme mother" Durgā (also known as Caṇḍī, Ambikā, and Kālī) and in that context he worships her as Kaṅkālīnī.<sup>15</sup> Note also that in his *Deśopadeśa*, a didactical poem with a hint of satirical flavour, Kṣemendra describes "bawds" (*kuṭṭanī*) as *kaṅkālākṛti*, "having the form of a skeleton",<sup>16</sup> in connection with the Kāpālikas, literally the Skull Bearers, a group of Śaiva Tantric ascetics mentioned also in SM and to which I will return.

In any case, although the word as such does not seem to have a prolific history as a proper name in Tantric sources, the associations with other names and motifs in SM offer relevant information. Kaṅkālī's voracity stands out. She is a "tigress avid of blood and flesh", she is a "sinister man-eater".<sup>17</sup> Physically, this voracity is represented by a gaping mouth. Kaṅkālī sucks out the golden earrings of one lover; she bites and tears off the tongue of another lover.<sup>18</sup> The motif is more explicit some stanzas later: "Her enormous jaws were always open in order to take over the riches of others ... Her long and sharp teeth visibly projected outwards gave her a terrifying look".<sup>19</sup> The same image occurs in SM's chapter six, when a man greets her in the street with these words: "Your pointed teeth look threatening in the abyss of your mouth, a mouth whose awful palate is hell itself; your tongue stretches out twisting like the crest of an ardent fire that devours everything ... Hail to the sublime Caṇḍaghaṇṭā".<sup>20</sup>

Caṇḍaghaṇṭā is a name of the goddesses Durgā and Kālī with a conspicuous presence in Śaiva and Śākta Tantric sources,

---

<sup>15</sup> *Kathāsaritsāgara* 12.11.90-92.

<sup>16</sup> *Deśopadeśa* 4.3.

<sup>17</sup> SM 1.40 and 4.14.

<sup>18</sup> SM 2.10 and 2.50.

<sup>19</sup> SM 4.4-6.

<sup>20</sup> SM 6.30.

more often as Caṇḍamuṇḍā, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍī, Caṇḍikā, etc.<sup>21</sup> Significantly, she is the goddess mentioned by both Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Bhavabhūti in the Tantric episodes of their works. In particular, as I said, the praise to Cāmuṇḍā in *Mālatīmādhava* 5.22-23 has a great similarity with this passage in SM. But again, unlike Cāmuṇḍā's scenographic or, at the most, side role in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's and Bhavabhūti's works, in Kṣemendra's brothel poem she is the main character.

Kaṅkālī's association with Cāmuṇḍā explains also the association with Time and Death,<sup>22</sup> very common in the case of the goddesses Durgā and Kālī.<sup>23</sup> Kaṅkālī proclaims: "I have lived more than a thousand years".<sup>24</sup> She is a living corpse, in that being timeless, she is finitude and death. Moreover, in the invocation of the text Kṣemendra asserts that Kālī's realm is the *samsāra*. In line with this, Kaṅkālī is *samsāra* incarnated, she is the open manifestation of an existence subjected to the forces that consume and kill in the act of enjoying them. Seen in this light, SM's invocation has a further meaning. There, Kṣemendra invokes the goddess Kālī as Karālā, in reference to her gaping mouth. Bhavabhūti's influence emerges again, for in *Mālatīmādhava* we read about a crematory where "Cāmuṇḍā is worshipped under the name Karālā", later depicted as the "mother of all creatures", and at the same time as the gaping mouth to which they all return.<sup>25</sup> In reality, an extended presence underlies this resonance. Indirectly identified as Karālā, the protagonist of SM possesses numerous antecedents.<sup>26</sup> Significantly, most of them are Tantric. For instance, in the ca. seventh-eight century C.E. *Brahmayāmalatantra*, also known as the *Picumata*, Karālā is

<sup>21</sup> See for instance *Devīmāhātmya* 7.8-25, which describes the battle of Kālī against Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, whence the name Caṇḍamuṇḍā is derived.

<sup>22</sup> See SM 1.50 and 4.44.

<sup>23</sup> See for instance *Mahābhārata* 4.6.25, among many other examples.

<sup>24</sup> SM 2.103.

<sup>25</sup> Prose after 1.18, 5.3 and 5.22-23. Karālā reappears in the passage in prose after 5.4, also in 5.21, 5.32, and 9.48. For Cāmuṇḍā, see 5.22 and 5.25.

<sup>26</sup> For pre-Tantric sources see for instance *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* 1.2.4, where Kālī and Karālī are the names of two of the seven Agni's tongues; also *Mahābhārata* 6.22, where Kālī y Karālā are used as names of Durgā; and *Devīmāhātmya* 7.6 y 7.19, where Kālī is described as the goddess of the gaping mouth (*karālavadanā*, *karālavaktrā*).

part of a clan of feminine creatures (mothers, goddesses, consorts, etc.) venerated in initiations and other ceremonies, a role repeated in later Śaiva ritual manuals from Kashmir.<sup>27</sup>

In sum, Kṣemendra presents a satirical portrayal of the religious hypocrisy of his time on the basis of the literary image of the Tantric goddess, and more exactly on the basis of the literary stereotype of the Tantric goddess as a devious creature, as the goddess of *samsāra*. To this stereotype he adds specific features and elements taken from the Śaiva and Śākta traditions with which he was familiar. With all this in mind, the Tantric implications of the erotic-cum-religious alliance between Kalāvātī and her mother Kaṅkāḷī become more visible. The parody of Kalāvātī's initiation, in SM's fourth chapter, includes the formal petition of serving like a loyal daughter and the approval of her new mother. Kalāvātī is now an initiate and as such she becomes the goddess' "receptacle of the teachings".<sup>28</sup> Thus, when the word *samaya* reappears at the end of that chapter its double import becomes more evident. Kaṅkāḷī says:

Having heard such eloquent words, a laudation of riches,	
In an "instant" ( <i>samaye</i> )	I assumed that it was
I assumed that it was	the "best of Tantras"
the "essential doctrine"	( <i>sāra-tantra</i> ) as to the
( <i>sāra-tantra</i> ) for	"sacred pledge"
"explaining human	( <i>samaye</i> ) to "deceit this
condition" <i>daśāpadeśa</i> ).	era" ( <i>daśāpadeśa</i> ). <sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Brahmayāmalatantra* 4.890-894, quoted by Hatley, S., "From Mātṛ to Yoginī: Continuity and Transformation in the South Asian Cults to the Mother Goddesses", in Keul, I. (ed.), *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2012: 109. See also Sanderson, A., "Śaiva Texts", in Jacobsen, K.A. (ed.), *Brill's Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, vol. 6, Brill, Leiden, 2015: 25, and "The Śaiva Exegesis of Kashmir", in Goodall, D. and Padoux, A. (eds.), *Mélanges tantriques à la mémoire d'Hélène Brunner / Tantric Studies in Memory of Hélène Brunner*, Pondicherry: Institut français d'Indologie/École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2007: 237. In *Netratantra* 10.35, the akin form *karālī* is the name of one of the four consorts forming the clan of Bhairava; in *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 20.44, it is the name of a *yoginī*. See also *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 7.3 and 7.20-21.

<sup>28</sup> SM 4.10-17.

<sup>29</sup> SM 4.115.



The word *tantra* rounds up the play on words. This is not any “doctrine” or “book”, the basic meanings of *tantra*, but rather the doctrine of the heterodox cults that today we call Tantra and which Kṣemendra elevates and discredits satirically.

Once the Tantric import of the plot's gist is made visible, many specific passages and motifs acquire a new meaning under the same rationale. Kṣemendra transfers Kaṅkālī's double identity as a secular and sacred mother to other figures and situations. The parody of the goddess is extensible to her circle under the same logic of simulation, where the search for salvation is also a search for pleasure. If the divine mother and her daughter are at the same time cunning prostitutes, then the devotees of this cult, the cult of *samsāra*, cannot be but mere hedonists. Again, in accordance with the influence of previous works, the sectarian identity of these libertines is predominantly Tantric, with especial emphasis on Śaiva-Śākta Tantra, as it can be inferred from the mentioning of specific groups like the Mahāvratins and the Kāpālikas. In this way, while introducing new details about specific groups and their ceremonies, Kṣemendra reiterates the stereotype of Tantra as a religion tailor-made to secular life. To shed some light on this point some examples are in order. Virtually all of them passed unnoticed by the three previous translators of SM into European languages – J. Meyer's translation into German, D. Rossella's translation into Italian, and A.N.D. Haksar's free translation into English.<sup>30</sup> The first who called attention to SM's passages with a Tantric import and attempted a systematic account were G. Wojtilla, and later and more accurately F. Baldissera.<sup>31</sup> Together these two scholars identified some 40 stanzas with a Tantric import distributed throughout the text's eight chapters, except for the third one. My own reading of the text identifies some 20 more stanzas. It is highly probable that some more will come to light as our knowledge of Kṣemendra and the Tantric traditions from Kashmir grows. In any case, the importance of all these

---

<sup>30</sup> Respectively *Das Zauberbuch der Hetären*, Lotus Verlag, Leipzig, 1903; *La perfetta cortigiana*, Editoriale Nuova, Novara, 1984, and *The Courtesan's Keeper. A Satire from Ancient Kashmir*, Rupa, Delhi, 2008.

<sup>31</sup> See n. 3.

stanzas cannot be reduced to a quantitative or statistical fact. Their true import is subtler. Without eclipsing the brothel plot, Tantric references and innuendos build a sort of subtext around Kañkāli's leading role, subtly reminding the audience that SM is not only a brothel story with a predictable didactical purpose, but also and at the same time a deep meditation on human hypocrisy, specially on religious hypocrisy, for which Tantra offers the greatest literary potential. In the next section, I will try to show in what sense. For now, let us mention a few instances.

The ascetics Nandisoma and Bhairavasoma are both Kāpālikas as can be inferred from the name ending in *-soma*;<sup>32</sup> Līlāśiva, Śambarasāra and Dambhabhūti are described as libidinous Śaiva ascetics;<sup>33</sup> the drunkard penitent Kaṭighaṇṭa and, in the fifth chapter, the anonymous ascetic with a clandestine paramour are presumably also Śaivas.<sup>34</sup> In the fourth chapter, as Kañkāli enters in Kalāvati's house, we read: “[There is] Nobody like her to protect the forest of the prostitutes and to reduce the body of the lovers who follow the ‘great sex observance’ to [the condition of] the sacred staff [*i.e.*, thin and emaciated like an staff]”.<sup>35</sup> Kṣemendra has here in mind Lākulas and Kāpālikas ascetics, who according to a number of sources were the first Śaivas who follow the “great observance” or “great vow” (*mahāvratā*). Such observance included the use of a human skull (*kapāla*) as alms bowl, as well as a sacred “staff” (*kaṭvāṅga*) with a skull on the top.<sup>36</sup> In his SM, Kṣemendra mocks at the *mahāvratins* as following the observance not in the name of Bhairava but in the name of “sex” (*rāga*), becoming thus the victims of the bawd, who reduces them to the *kaṭvāṅga*, not understood anymore as a “sacred staff” but as an ordinary

---

<sup>32</sup> SM 2.19 and 2.58.

<sup>33</sup> SM 6.9, 6.25, 7.42.

<sup>34</sup> SM 2.89 and 5.64.

<sup>35</sup> SM 4.8.

<sup>36</sup> See Sanderson, A., “The Lākulas: New Evidences of a System Intermediate Between Pāncārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism”, *The Indian Philosophical Annual* 24, 2006: 178-183, and Törzsök, J., “Kāpālikas”, in Jacobsen, K. A. (ed.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of Hinduism*, vol. 3, Brill, Leiden, 2011: 355-356.

walking stick, a symbol of decrepitude. In this connection, the ascetic who conducted the funerals of Kalāvati's father was also a *mahāvratin*.<sup>37</sup>

As for Tantric ceremonies, the sequence 8.3-7 about the sudden catatonic state of Paṅka, the first victim of Kalāvati, during his encounter with her stands out. The sequence appears to be parodying a Tantric rite of initiation (*dīkṣā*), so that the "scoundrel lad" (*dhūrta śiśuka*) would in fact be a "false disciple" receiving initiation not in the sacred mysteries but in the amatory arts. The image of the young man with lifeless members would parody the state of possession of the initiates at the time of rendering their will to the goddess' will as she descends upon them. Describing this rite in his *Tantrāloka*, Abhinavagupta, the great Śaiva exegete and Kṣemendra's teacher in poetics, mentions that this descent takes place once the members of the initiate look "without support" (*nirālamba*), that is to say, adds Jayaratha (thirteenth century C.E.), the author of the only commentary of the *Tantrāloka* that has come to us: "Virtually lifeless, for the energy [of the initiate], being transitory and superficial, has extinguished itself".<sup>38</sup> At that moment, says Abhinavagupta, the initiate falls "at the feet [of the goddess]" and in a state of possession he begins to unwittingly move one hand, conceived now as the goddess' hand. It is a moment of death and resurrection. In SM, the movement of Kalāvati's hand upon the chest of Paṅka trying to bring him to life again may also be a parody of the rite.<sup>39</sup> For its part, the sequence in 4.94-111 seems to parody the foundational myth of the Kāpālikas and other Tantric groups, namely the myth of Śiva-Bhairava stigmatized as a skull-bearer after having committed "the killing of a Brahmin" (*brahmahatyā*, *brahmavadha*), the worst of sins according to traditional law

---

<sup>37</sup> SM 7.33.

<sup>38</sup> Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka* 29.187-198 (with Jayaratha's *Viveka* commentary).

<sup>39</sup> SM 8.6. See also *Narmamālā* 3.79, where Kṣemendra includes a similar scene in the context of an orgy disguised as Tantric ceremony.

codes.<sup>40</sup> Also, in the very invocation, the text is defined as a *mantra-tantra* for prostitutes, where the formula *mantra-tantra* clearly evokes a magical power that parodies Tantric cults as pleasure cults. As for the many names Kaṅkālī adopted throughout her bizarre life, most of them have a Tantric import: Śikhā, Vajraghaṅṅā, Tārā, Bhāvasiddhī, Kumbhādevī, Kalā.<sup>41</sup> Finally, her CV includes stays in sinister Tantric monasteries;<sup>42</sup> she is a devotee of the goddess Sureśvarī (Durgā);<sup>43</sup> she is conversant with *maṇḍalas*, mantras, yoga, and magical ablutions;<sup>44</sup> she can use magic to cure wounds, to paralyze armies, to turn herself invisible, and to control the forces of the netherworld;<sup>45</sup> she is an augur, an expert in drugs, a snake charmer, an alchemist and an expert in black magic;<sup>46</sup> she wanders naked like a lunatic, and people think that she is a supernatural creature.<sup>47</sup>

With the text's Tantric background in mind let us deepen the analysis.

### 3. The secular and the religious

Although evidence from Kashmir indicates that false Tantric gurus and their worship of pleasure were not only a literary fiction,<sup>48</sup> the mockery of Tantra that subtly pervades SM is to a large extent built upon the stereotyped image of the *tāntrika* in previous literary works. How to conciliate this continuity with the temporal distance between Kṣemendra and those antecedents? As we saw, the continuity of the stereotype is not

---

<sup>40</sup> On this important myth and its many variants see Ladrech, K., *Le crâne et le glaive. Représentations de Bhairava en Inde du Sud (VIIIe-XIIIe siècles)*, Institut français d'Indologie/École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondichéry, 2010: 54-83.

<sup>41</sup> Respectively SM 2.58, 2.61, 2.76, 2.85, 2.86 and 2.88.

<sup>42</sup> SM 2.43, 2.61 and 2.92.

<sup>43</sup> SM 2.29.

<sup>44</sup> SM 2.63-64, 2.94 and 2.97.

<sup>45</sup> SM 2.95, 2.96, 2.98 and 2.100.

<sup>46</sup> SM 2.84, 2.88, 2.101, 2.103, and 8.39.

<sup>47</sup> SM 2.86 and 2.54.

<sup>48</sup> See for instance Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 7.277-284.

free from innovation. But innovation can be overlooked insofar as it primarily consists in iteration or intensification. Kṣemendra exaggerates the stereotype.

But again, considering the time and the place where he lived, considering that he was a student of Abhinavagupta, the great exegete of Śaiva Tantra, the persistence of the stereotype cannot be but surprising, for one would assume that, unlike his predecessors, Kṣemendra was acquainted with the Tantric sophisticated doctrines of his time. Despite of this, he avoids any reference in that direction and instead focuses his attacks precisely on the stereotyped version of Tantra, intensified through the aberrant combination of a goddess and a bawd. In sum, while in earlier works containing Tantric episodes – the already mentioned *Mālatīmādhava*, *Kādambarī* or *Mattavilāsa* –, written three to four centuries before, simplification and clichés are to some extent understandable due to the incipient and marginal nature of the Tantric phenomenon, in Kṣemendra's case, an author of the eleventh century, from Kashmir, student of Abhinavagupta, the same parodic simplification cannot be but deliberate. This confirms the literary nature of the Tantric element in SM.

In general, this intensified continuity reiterates the movement by which classical Sanskrit belles lettres (*kāvya*) externalized secular life through negative characters, *i.e.*, through idealized characters but in the inferior scale, characters that inspire empathy (they are common people) in the very act of displaying the persistence of forces like desire and greed. Therefore, the stereotype's iteration may be understood more generally as a component of *kāvya*'s original interest in love and desire as central motifs *vis-à-vis* the sacred order. Tantric practices, especially those focused on magical acquisition of power and worldly enjoyment, allowed for a larger visibility of the tension between these two orders, the secular and the religious, and therefore represented a suitable literary motif. Perforce, resorting to such motif produced a parodic demonization of Tantra. But such demonization does not necessarily end in itself insofar as it is a literary construct. And being a deliberate stereotype, focusing only on the attack to Tantra for didactical

purposes is not enough. The stereotype has other purposes. This is crucial to understand SM's deepest meaning.

With a devious Tantric goddess as main character in her own right, Tantric religion is no more a peripheral narrative element, the experience of secondary characters. Rather, it becomes the central motif. This places Tantra in a privileged position, even if the tone is satirical. In the text the privilege has to do with the absence of an opposite force, at least openly. Kañkālī is a devious figure, but her depravity possesses wisdom. This underlies the text's empathy towards her and her world, the world of desire and material gain: she is never openly condemned and there is no opposite moral message. The only allusion in that sense, in the epilogue, limits itself to wishing rich men to keep their money, not that they become better or more virtuous persons. Also in the epilogue, the comparison between the prostitute and the poet as illusion makers is equally illuminating: "Like the verses of good poets, the best of prostitutes bewitches by means of her attributes". The prominence of Kañkālī converges with the ultimate goal of poetry, for both have the power to create the illusion that unmasks the naivety of those who think the matter is as easy as casting all evil and guilt upon the shoulders of prostitutes, parasites and Tantric initiates.

In fact, the life of the brothel ends up as the model. Existence is characterized by greed, hedonism, hypocrisy, and illusion. No character can be identified as the story's good guy. Victims and aggressors shape together this secular reality, and in that sense victims, either due to ignorance or consciously, are as guilty as their aggressors.<sup>49</sup> Of course, this sort of reversal is particularly powerful in connection with orthodox religious values. All kinds of ascetics, Brahmins, and mere devotees are mixed up with hedonists, parasites, and pariahs, for they all share the same secular aspirations, pursued with the same obstinacy. In that sense, the devious model associated with Tantric religion becomes something like a trial by fire or a lie-detector. The

---

<sup>49</sup> See Zentai, G., "The Use of Religious Themes in the Satires of Kṣemendra", *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History* 17, 2017: 104.

reversal that emerges from the centrality of the Tantric mother and her victims, calls for a new look at things. As L. Siegel has suggested, everyone knows that nothing good can be expected from a bawd and the circle around her. Therefore, it is a bit naïve to assume that Tantra may be the only target of Kṣemendra's mockery.<sup>50</sup> Rather, precisely due to Kaṅkālī's prominence, our attention is subtly displaced to those who presume to live in the superior levels, on the side of the "good manners". Suddenly, nobody seems to remain without sin.

A few examples suffice. The most evident ones involve the priestly class, including orthodox Brahmins. The two stories narrated by Kaṅkālī in the fourth chapter to illustrate how stupid can a man be once overcome by desire revolve around Brahmins who were her lovers.<sup>51</sup> Among the easiest victims for a prostitute, she explains, is the "son of an adulterous Brahmin".<sup>52</sup> The parasites portrayed in the sixth chapter leaving the brothels at dawn include a number of priests.<sup>53</sup> The seven parasites that accompany the young Paṅka to his encounter with Kalāvati are described as "cunning Brahmins who never miss the opportunity to preside over the sacred plundering of riches".<sup>54</sup> The selected staff in Kalāvati's brothel includes the "voluptuous Brahmin Ratiśarma, the protector of courtesans against the evil eye".<sup>55</sup> Mockery of Buddhism is also present. Kaṅkālī's record of deceits includes having pretended to be a Buddhist nun under the name Vajraghaṅṭā, a woman who shamelessly begged for alms wrapping herself in a red shawl – "a reminiscence of the passion she used to feign in bed" – and tonsuring her head – "a monastic Eden" (*vihāra*) for her lovers –.<sup>56</sup> Even the integrity of the

<sup>50</sup> *Laughing Matters. Comic Tradition of India*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1987: 111-112.

<sup>51</sup> SM 4.9-65.

<sup>52</sup> SM 5.66.

<sup>53</sup> SM 6.15-22.

<sup>54</sup> SM 7.20.

<sup>55</sup> SM 7.39.

<sup>56</sup> SM 2.61-62. As noted by D. Rossella y G. Boccali, among Buddhists and Jains the term *vihāra* means "temple" or "monastery", and therefore the use of the word to describe Kaṅkālī's head is a way of making fun of both traditions on the basis of the erotic appeal attributed to the head in various texts (see for instance *Kāmasūtra* 2.7.1-2, also Śyāmilaka's

Vaiṣṇava faith is called into question in the person of Viṣṇu and his avatar Rāma, whom myths and legends portrait as stupidly blinded by desire and greed.<sup>57</sup>

Again, due precisely to its nerve to make apparent what others pretend, the caricature-like depiction of Tantric adherents works like a mirror where the hypocrisy of all kind of believers becomes visible. And by suggesting that no religious group is the panacea, the stereotype goes further, with its mordacity pointing now to the social fabric and the human condition. The exaggeration of the stereotype through the prominence of a Tantric goddess who is also a bawd allows to take that very stereotype beyond the antagonism of the good guy versus the bad guy. The Tantric motif behind the brothel plot does not culminate in a judgement about the superiority of some religion upon another, but rather in something simpler and yet profound, that to which all religions are also subjected and sometimes contribute: hypocrisy, ignorance, delusion. Kṣemendra's satire needs the distorted image of Tantra in order to make complete sense, *i.e.*, in order to expand its criticism to those who pretend to be free from stain. It employs irony and humour – the brothel plot – as means to reflect upon the human condition.

Although it is a caricature or precisely because of that, Kaṅkāli represents the secular world in its facticity. Indirectly, the demonization of prostitution through Tantric religion, and the other way around, the vulgarization of Tantric doctrine through brothel hedonism, question society as a whole. By demonizing the *tāntrika*, Kṣemendra suggests the fragility of traditional values and ideals, all of them focused on the possibility of escaping the “illusion” of the secular. Moreover, due to her own cheek, the bawd, and with her Tantric religion,

---

*Pādatāditaka*, one of the *Caturbhāṇī*, 1.16-35). Kaṅkāli's head is the “true” *vihāra* where monks take refuge. See Rossella, D., “Ancora sulla Samayamātrkā di Kṣemendra”, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Milano* 39-2, 1986: 159, and Boccali, G., “In margine a un testo de Kṣemendra”, in G. Bolognesi, G., and Pisani, V. (eds.), *Linguistica e filologia. Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale di Linguisti*, Paideia Editrice, Brescia, 1987: 209.

<sup>57</sup> SM 4.32-34. Similarly see Kṣemendra, *Darpadalana* 7, as well as *Narmamālā* 2.29, 3.37, and 3.39-40.



appear as ironic models of wisdom and honesty. Suddenly, to be bad has a liberating power.<sup>58</sup> In acknowledging this wisdom lies the clue to understanding that the stigma of Tantric religion as perversion, reiterating the old stereotype, cannot be reduced to a mere condemnation of Tantric religion. The transformation of the Tantric mother into a leading character has less to do with legitimating traditional religious discourse and more with dismantling satirically the supposed wisdom of that discourse. Here lies the deepest implication of SM's stereotyped image of Tantric religion taken as a literary image.

#### 4. Final remarks: towards an ethical religiosity?

SM's catastrophic element should not come as a surprise. By choosing the brothel as representation of the society of his time, Kṣemendra had in mind the decadence and corruption associated with Kaliyuga, the last and worse of the four ages (*yuga*) that make a cosmic aeon (*kalpa*).<sup>59</sup> In this context, Kaṅkālī is compared to the scale that judges the creation in Kaliyuga, the age of deception, when nobody can trust anyone.<sup>60</sup> As other late Sanskrit authors, Kṣemendra's words convey a deep awareness of the evils of Indian society as a sign of the "modern" times.

His criticism is directed to a political and administrative system corrupted by greed and lust, a view reiterated one century later by Kalhaṇa in his chronicle of the kings of

---

<sup>58</sup> See Siegel, L., *Laughing Matters. Comic Tradition of India*, The University of Chicago, Chicago, 1987: 115-116.

<sup>59</sup> A *kalpa* presupposes the process of material entropy and moral degeneration to which creation is subjected. Being the final stage of that process, Kaliyuga is characterized by "discord" and "conflict", the primary meanings of the word *kali*. For the catastrophist view of Kaliyuga, see Sharma, R. S., "The Kali Age: A Period of Social Crisis", in Mukherjee, S.N. (ed.), *India: History and Thought*, Subarnarekha, Calcutta, 1982: 186-203, and Yadava, B.N.S., "The Accounts of the Kali Age and the Social Transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages", *Indian Historical Review* 5, 1978: 31-63.

<sup>60</sup> SM 4.4, 6.29 and 8.39. See also *Narmamālā* 1.9-19 on the political class as incarnation of Kali, the god of corruption and moral decadence.

Kashmir.<sup>61</sup> Yet, as SM shows, his satirical attacks have also religion as a key target. If the moral decadence associated with Kaliyuga affects humanity, then human beliefs cannot but be infected by the same disease. The satirical appropriation of Tantric religion seeks to make more visible the disease. Therefore, it could be argued that for Kṣemendra no religion is per se superior to any other.

How to conciliate Kṣemendra's mockery of all sectarian affiliations with the biographical information that suggests a religious sensibility? Kṣemendra speaks with admiration about two important Śaivas in his life, his father Prakāśendra and his teacher Abhinavagupta;<sup>62</sup> he praises a Vaiṣṇava (*bhāgavata*) teacher called Soma,<sup>63</sup> and puts his literary skills at the disposal of this tradition by writing a book about the deeds of Viṣṇu's ten avatars, the *Daśāvatāracarita*; his respect for orthodox (*vaidika*) Brahmanism is evident from a number of passages, notably those extolling his father as a benefactor of the priestly class.<sup>64</sup> Finally, a sincere admiration for Buddhism and even an oniric vision of the Buddha himself inspired him to write his *Avadānakalpalatā*.<sup>65</sup>

So contrasting evidence claims for a different look at things, beyond the almost futile attempt at finding Kṣemendra's "religion" in a traditional sense, *i.e.*, as sectarian adherence. Rather, by satirically displacing the attention towards the universal problem of human stupidity and hypocrisy, Kṣemendra seems to invite his readers to look more carefully at rivalry among religions. Moreover, his stance casts important light on the subject of sectarianism in Medieval India. SM evokes a flexible intermingling of sectarian adherences as the hallmark of religious life in Medieval Kashmir, something that

---

<sup>61</sup> See Kalhaṇa, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.661-670, 7.277-284, among many other passages.

<sup>62</sup> See *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* 19.34-35, and *Aucityavicāracarcā*, epilogue 1-2.

<sup>63</sup> See *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* 19.38, and *Bhāratamañjarī*, epilogue 9.

<sup>64</sup> See *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* 19.34-35; *Daśāvatāracarita*, epilogue 2; *Carucārya* 20, and *Daśāvatāracarita* 10.5-9.

<sup>65</sup> *Avadānakalpalatā* 1.11-17.

puts into question and calls for a reevaluation of the notion of deep separations between different religious groups.<sup>66</sup>

At any rate, SM can be read as advocating a sort of ethical position wherein what matters is not sectarian identity but important moral values. Given the illusory nature of this world and the universality of human stupidity as essential components of Kaliyuga, the ultimate foundation can only be ethics, without distinction of creed. Seen in this light, SM's satirical tone seems to bear a ludic, non-sectarian, and at times even universal significance.

This is indeed a very original stance within classical Sanskrit literature and as such one which deserves further analysis, not only in order to understand fully the contents and purpose of SM, as I have tried here, but also in order to appreciate more accurately some of Kṣemendra's other works, both satirical and didactical, and finally in order to appreciate his contribution to our understanding of the the complex interaction of religious and secular orders in pre-modern India, and the role of Tantric religion in that interaction.

---

<sup>66</sup> On this topic see Sanderson, A., "Tolerance, Exclusivity, Inclusivity, and Persecution in Indian Religion During the Early Medieval Period", in Makinson, J. (ed.), *Honoris Causa: Essays in Honour of Aweek Sarkar*, Allen Lane, London, 2015: 155-224. This flexibility also underlies a passage of his *Narmamālā* where the protagonist is described as having been "a Buddhist in the beginning, then out of hypocrisy he became a Vaiṣṇava, and now, in order to protect his wife [from suitors], he began to show interest in the Kaula tradition" (2.101) – a multiple religious conversion that we could well have found in SM.

### Sanskrit sources

- Abhinavagupta, *Tantrāloka*, eds. M. Rāma and M. K. Shāstrī, 12 vols., Research Department of Jammu and Kashmir, Shrinagar, 1918-1938.
- Bāṇabhaṭṭa, *Kādambarī*, ed. M.R. Kale, Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1928.
- Bhavabhūti, *Mālatīmādhava*, ed. M. Coulson, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1989.
- Caturbhāṇī*, eds. C. Deszó and S. Vasudeva, New York University Press / JJC Foundation, New York, 2009.
- Daṇḍin, *Daśakumāracarita*, ed. M.R. Kale, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1966.
- Devīmāhātmya* (=Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 81-93), ed. J. Varenne, Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1975.
- Guhyasamājatantra*, ed. Y. Matsunaga, Toho Shuppan, Osaka, 1978.
- Kalhaṇa, *Rājataranṅinī*, trad. M. A. Stein, 2 vols., Constable, Westminster, 1900.
- Kṣemendra, *Aucityavicāracarcā*, in S. Varakhedi, V. S. Sharma and K. V. Suryaprakash (eds.), *Minor Works of Kṣemendra*, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 2009, 5-65.
- Kṣemendra, *Avadānakalpalatā*, eds. S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyābhūṣhaṇa, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1888.
- Kṣemendra, *Bhāratamañjarī*, eds. M. P. Śivadatta and K. P. Parab, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984.
- Kṣemendra, *Br̥hatkathāmañjarī*, eds. M. P. Śivadatta and K. P. Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1901.
- Kṣemendra, *Darpadalana*, in S. Varakhedi, V. S. Sharma and K. V. Suryaprakash (eds.), *Minor Works of Kṣemendra*, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 2009, 155-223.
- Kṣemendra, *Daśāvātāracarita*, eds. P. Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1930.
- Kṣemendra, *Deśopadeśa*, ed. M. Kaul, Āryabhūshan Press, Pune, 1923.
- Kṣemendra, *Narmamālā*, ed. F. Baldissera, Ergon Verlag, Heidelberg, 2005.
- Kṣemendra, *Samayamātrkā*, ed. P. Durgāprasād, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1925.

- Mahābhārata*, eds. V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar, 18 vols., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, 1927-1966.
- Mahendravarman I, *Mattavilāsa*, ed. N. P. Unni, College Book House, Trivandrum, 1974.
- Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, ed. M. Kaul Shastri, Tatva-Vivechaka Press, Bombay, 1922.
- Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, ed. P. Olivelle, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001.
- Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, 4 vols., Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1926-1964.
- Netratantra*, ed. M. Kaul, 2 vols., Tatva Vivechaka Press, Bombay, 1926-1939.
- Vatsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, ed. P. D. Prasad, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, 2006.



ARUN VINAYAK JATEGAONKAR  
VASANTI ARUN JATEGAONKAR

DRAUPADĪ'S HAIR, HER PATH, AND THE PHRASE  
*PADAVĪM √GAM*

**Abstract:** The usual meaning of the phrase *padavīm √gam* ( $\sqrt{car}$ ,  $\sqrt{yā}$ , etc.) is “to go the way of” or “to follow someone’s trail”. This paper claims that, in the *Mahābhārata* (*MBh*) and elsewhere, that phrase is sometimes used in an idiomatic sense; and, when so used, it means “to exact revenge for something” or “to avenge someone or something”, a meaning that appears to have gone unnoticed by most commentators and translators. Once this meaning of the phrase in question is taken into account, several well-known episodes in the *MBh* acquire a meaning that is different from and more apposite than the prevalent one.

**1. Hildebeitel’s interpretations of the phrase *padavīm*  
 $\sqrt{gam}$**

In his 1981 paper entitled “Draupadī’s hair”, Hildebeitel refers to verse 12.16.25 from Bhīma’s speech in the Śāntiparvan,<sup>1</sup> a speech in which Bhīma tries to persuade

---

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Appendix A, all verses mentioned in this paper are, unless explicitly stated otherwise, from the *Mahābhārata* (*MBh*), edited by Sukthankar, V. S. et al., general eds., (1933-66). That edition of the *MBh* is henceforth referred simply as *the Critical Edition* (*CE*). The text of the *MBh* supplied by the Critical Edition is referred to as *the CE text*.

All verses mentioned in Appendix A are from the Critical Edition of the *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, edited by Bhatt et al (1960-75).

Yudhiṣṭhira not to abdicate the throne. The Critical Edition Text (henceforth, the CE text) states that verse thus:<sup>2</sup>

*diṣṭyā duryodhanaḥ pāpo nihataḥ sānugo yudhi |  
draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasya diṣṭyā tvam padavīm gataḥ ||  
12.16.25*

The relevant literal meaning of the word *padavī* is “a road, path, way, etc.”; and the literal meaning of the phrase *padavīm √gam* (*√car, √yā, etc.*), (henceforth, *padavīm √gam*, for short), is ‘to go the way of’, or ‘to follow someone’s trail’; cf., Apte (1998: p. 585); Monier-Williams (1997: p. 583); see also Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on 5.135.19, quoted in footnote #12.<sup>3</sup> In accord with these meanings, Hiltebeitel (1981: pp. 200-1) translates the preceding verse thus: “By good luck, the sinful Duryodhana has been slain with all his followers in battle. By good luck, you have gone the way of Draupadī’s mass of hair.” That verse is translated more or less the same way in Hiltebeitel (2009: p. 175) except that “*padavī*” is translated there as “path” rather than as “way”. When read this way, the verse seems to invite the reader to see some hidden meaning in that phrase. Based on all this, and based, perhaps, on the idea, stated in Hiltebeitel (1981: p. 186), that “the *Mahābhārata* seems to know more about Draupadī’s hair than it ever makes explicit”<sup>4</sup>, Hiltebeitel has several things to say about Draupadī’s hair that he thinks are implicit in the epic. For example, Hiltebeitel (1981: p. 201) asserts: “This passage [verse 12.16.25, quoted

<sup>2</sup> An interesting variant of this verse is discussed in Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> A search in the e-text of the *MBh* maintained by Smith (1999) revealed that the phrase *padavīm √gam* occurs 26 times in the CE text and occurs 8 times in the additional passages – i.e., the passages which are mentioned in the CE but are not accepted in the CE text.

For the use of the phrase in question in the sense of “to follow someone’s trail”, see verses 3.252.14, 16 and 3.253.12, 17. (They are discussed in footnote #6.)

<sup>4</sup> The study of the attempted disrobing episode in Hiltebeitel (2001: pp. 250-2) contains a cautionary remark which, although along similar lines, is far more encompassing in its scope. It states: ‘*Mahābhārata* poets often imply more than they tell, as when Draupadī’s hair is called a “path” that the Pāṇḍavas followed to victory (12.16.25) – without it ever being clear what Draupadī did with her hair (Hiltebeitel 1981, 200-1).’ This interpretation of that verse is different from Hiltebeitel’s interpretation of it in his 1981 paper and in his 2009 paper. (For more on his 2009 paper, see below).



above] establishes beyond any reasonable doubt that Draupadī has worn her hair loose since the dice match.” After making a few comments on Ganguli’s translation of 12.16.25,<sup>5</sup> Hiltebeitel then remarks, ‘In “following the way of Draupadī’s mass of hair” [Hiltebeitel’s quotation marks], the Pāṇḍavas have moved from the depth of defilement to rebirth, from rebirth to revenge, and from revenge to coronation.’

In section B of his 2009 paper, Hiltebeitel partially quotes, translates, and discusses seven verses from the CE text. Five of them contain the phrase *draupadyāḥ* (or *yasyāḥ* or *mama*) *padavīm* √*gam*; one contains the phrase *draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasya padavīm* √*gam*; and the remaining one contains the phrase (*tasyāḥ*) *padam* √*gam*.<sup>6</sup> Hiltebeitel translates those

<sup>5</sup> Ganguli (1991, vol. VIII, p. 30) translates the second hemi-stitch of 12.16.25 thus: “By good luck, thou too hast attained the condition of Draupadī’s locks.” In a footnote on that verse, mentioned by Hiltebeitel (1981: p. 201), Ganguli then adds: “*The condition of Draupadī’s lock[s]* – i.e., thou hast been restored to the normal condition. [Ganguli’s italics.] Draupadī had kept her locks disheveled since the day they had been seized by Duḥśāsana. After the slaughter of the Kurus, those locks were bound up as before, or restored to their normal condition.” Ganguli provides no reference in support of that statement. He is referring to a version of a misconception that seems prevalent in various parts of India. We knew a version of it even as teens. Our version matched more closely with that of *Veṅṭsamhāra* (long before we had heard of that work).

<sup>6</sup> The seven verses quoted by Hiltebeitel can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of verses 2.68.45, 5.88.79, 5.135.19 and 12.16.25. The first three of these verses contain the phrase *draupadyāḥ padavīm* √*gam*; for the first of them, see section 2 (i); for the next two, see section 2 (ii-iii) and section 3. The fourth verse, quoted above, contains the phrase *draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasya padavīm* √*gam*. A search in the e-text of the *MBh* maintained by Smith (1999) revealed that those are the only verses in the CE text that contain those precise phrases. The second group consists of verses 3.252.14, 16 and 3.253.12. All three of them are from the episode from the *Āraṇyakaparvan* in which Jayadratha attempts to abduct Draupadī. The first two verses are from a speech by Draupadī, and contain the phrase (*yasyāḥ* or *mama*) *padavīm* √*gam*. The third one is from a speech by Yudhiṣṭhira’s charioteer, and contains the phrase (*tasyāḥ*) *padam* √*gam*; (that phrase is discussed in section 4). A search of the e-text of the *MBh* maintained by Smith (1999) revealed that, apart from the first group of four verses mentioned earlier in this footnote, these three are the only verses in the CE text that use the phrase *padavīm* √*gam* or *padam* √*gam* in reference to Draupadī. (The only exception is verse 3.253.17 from the above-mentioned *Āraṇyakaparvan* episode. In the context of Draupadī’s abduction, the fourth quarter of that verse contains the words *śīghram padavīm vrajadhvam*. However, the context makes the intended meaning of that verse clear: To rescue Draupadī from Jayadratha, the Pāṇḍavas should take off after her right away. Hiltebeitel (2009) does not mention this verse.) In all three of these verses, van Buitenen (1978: pp. 712, 715) reads the

phrases as “walk the path of Draupadī” (with appropriate modification when the relevant phrase contains other words). Once again, if read that way, those phrases almost invite one to speculate and expound on “the path of Draupadī” – which Hildebeitel duly does. For instance, concerning verse 12.16.25, quoted above, this is what he now has to say: “Bhīma describes Duryodhana’s death to Yudhiṣṭhira as a resolution toward which Draupadī’s path has led”; see Hildebeitel (2009: p. 175).

## 2. The idiomatic use of *padavīm* √gam

Be that as it may, it seems doubtful whether the epic refers to any such thing as “the path of Draupadī” or “the path of Draupadī’s hair”. It also seems doubtful whether verse 12.16.25 has anything to do with the manner in which Draupadī wore her hair since the dice match. (See section 5 for further remarks on Hildebeitel’s 1981 paper on Draupadī’s hair.) Indeed, we think that the verse in question should be translated thus: “By good fortune, the sinful Duryodhana has been slain with all his followers in battle. By good fortune, you have repaid the debt owed to Draupadī’s tresses.”<sup>7</sup> One reason we believe the verse should be so translated (as opposed to Hildebeitel’s above-quoted translation of it) is the endnote in CE on that verse by

---

phrases in question in the sense of following someone’s trail. Ganguli (1990, vol. III, part II, pp. 522-3) also reads those phrases in a similar manner. We agree with those translations.

Curiously, as noted by Hildebeitel, Draupadī, in her speech to Jayadratha, seems to be describing how the latter “will be killed in the Mahābhārata war, not how her husbands will rescue her now from his grasp.” It should be noted though that Jayadratha was killed for his role in the killing of Abhimanyu, not for abducting Draupadī.

Apropos verse 3.252.14, mentioned by Hildebeitel (2009). The phrase *kṛṣṇau* [ . . . ] *samāsthītāv ekarathe* in that verse seems to refer to the compact reported in verse 3.48.15 that, in the coming war, Kṛṣṇa was to become Arjuna’s charioteer. This raises questions as to the originality of the episode in the Udyogaparvan in which Duryodhana and Arjuna happen to visit Kṛṣṇa at the same time and ask him to join their side in the upcoming war; see 5.7.1-21.

<sup>7</sup> The notion underlying this verse as well as all the verses mentioned later in this section is that any act of enmity perpetrated by one’s enemies (or just the enmity by itself) creates a debt which has to be repaid in the same coin; cf., 3.36.7-8; 3.38.41; 8.60.App. I, #28, lines 9-12.

Belvalkar, the editor of the CE's Śāntiparvan; (for other reasons, see below). According to that endnote, the phrase *padavīm* √*gam* is used in that verse in the sense of exacting revenge for something.<sup>8,9</sup> (See also footnotes #12 and #13 where Nīlakaṇṭha's glosses on some relevant verses are stated.)

Belvalkar's endnote on verse 12.16.25, quoted in footnote #8, deals just with that one verse. It gives no indication that the phrase *padavīm* √*gam* may have an idiomatic meaning and that it may have been used in the idiomatic sense elsewhere as well; cf., the endnote on 12.16.25 by Fitzgerald (2004: pp. 200, 694), quoted in footnote #8. Nevertheless, the unambiguous assertion in Belvalkar's endnote is one of the several things<sup>10</sup> that led us to look systematically for other places in the text where the phrase *padavīm* √*gam* may have been used idiomatically in the

---

<sup>8</sup> Belvalkar's endnote on 12.16.25 states: "*padavīm* 'the [final] procedure in the matter of [reaping revenge for] the seizure of Draupadī's hair'. [Belvalkar's quotation marks and rectangular brackets.] Cv [Vādirāja's commentary] explains: 'yathā draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasparśakarṣaṇādīnā tairghātītām, tathā mayāpi keśādau pādasparśena itastata ākarṣaṇena ca te ghātītā iī bhāvāḥ'." Nīlakaṇṭha has no gloss on verse 12.16.25.

Fitzgerald (2004: pp. 200, 694) translates the second hemi-stitch of verse 12.16.25 thus: "Fortunately you have followed the lead of Draupadī's tresses." In the endnote on the translation of that verse, Fitzgerald states: 'I believe the editor Belvalkar is correct when he sees this statement as Bhīma's approving Yudhiṣṭhira's participation in the revenge his brothers (in *MBh* 2.68) and then Draupadī (at *MBh* 2.71.18-20) pledged against the Kaurava villains who molested her during the dicing match. This pledge of revenge is frequently signified in the *MBh* by Draupadī's unbound hair (she is often described as *muktakeśī*, "her hair unbound"). See Alf Hildebeitel, "Draupadī's hair," and the first note to 11.9.10 [from Fitzgerald (2004)].' However, a search of the e-text of the *MBh* maintained by Smith (1999) revealed that, in Draupadī's context, the word *muktakeśī* occurs only twice in the CE text (at 2.70.9 and 2.71.18), and occurs only once in the additional passages (at 2.70, App. I, #41, line 58). For some remarks on Hildebeitel's 1981 paper on Draupadī's hair, see Mehendale (1997). See also section 5.

<sup>9</sup> Hildebeitel's 1981, 2001 and 2009 studies do not mention Belvalkar's endnote, quoted in the preceding footnote. In view of that endnote, Hildebeitel's interpretations of that verse in those papers seem doubtful. It also seems doubtful whether there is such a thing as "the path of Draupadī" that Hildebeitel sees in the seven verses he quotes in his 2009 paper; see footnote #6 for details.

<sup>10</sup> That something was the matter with the way the phrase in question was being interpreted was clear to us when we encountered it for the first time in the endnote on translation of 10.3.24 in Johnson (1999: pp. 16, 106). (For verse 10.3.24, see section 2 (v) below.) For, even as children, we "knew" that Aśvatthāman is *cirañjīva*, a word we took to mean "deathless" (*amara*). Kṛpa, mentioned in section 2 (iv) and (vi) below, is another person from the *MBh* we knew to be *cirañjīva*. See, however, footnote # 16.

sense of exacting revenge for something, or avenging someone or something.<sup>11</sup>

In our opinion, that phrase is used idiomatically in the sense of exacting revenge for something, or avenging someone or something, not only in verse 12.16.25 but also in the sixteen instances listed below; (in case of several of them, the ‘correct’ meaning, once pointed out, is obvious).<sup>12</sup>

### Instances from the CE text:

(i) Verse 2.68.45 from Nakula’s vow to exact revenge in the aftermath of the second dicing match. The CE text states it thus:

---

<sup>11</sup> The phrase *padavīm √gam* has two other idiomatic uses as well. Thus, under appropriate circumstances, that phrase can also mean “to go (or come) to the aid of”; see, for instance, verses 7.85.89; 87.6, 26; 88.27; 102.9, 14, 42 from the Jayadrathavadha episode in the *MBh* in which Yudhiṣṭhira instructs Sātyaki, and later Bhīma, to go to the aid of Arjuna. See also verse 7.152.33 from the episode describing the fight between Bhīma and a *rākṣasa* named Alāyudha where, seeing that Bhīma is succumbing to Alāyudha, Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna to go right away to Bhīma’s aid (*padavīm asya gaccha tvam mā vicāraya pāṇḍava*). (For later reference in section 4, we note that the variant of that verse in a few northern mss. has *padam asya anugaccha* in place of *padavīm asya gaccha*). For another idiomatic use of that phrase in the sense of *pāpaprakṣāṇa*, see Appendix B.

<sup>12</sup> From the sixteen passages mentioned below, Nīlakaṇṭha glosses only on three of them: 5.135.19; 8.25.App. I, #5, lines 50-1; and 10.3.24. (As noted in footnote #8, he has no gloss on 12.16.25.) Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on the last two passages states: *padavīm āṇṇyam*; see Aināpure (1901). His gloss on 5.135.19 states: *padavīm cara mārgam anusara | śatrustrīṇām vaidhavyārtham yatasva ityarthah |* (Curiously, Nīlakaṇṭha has no gloss on 5.88.79 although its relevant part is identical with that of 5.135.19, and the former precedes the latter in the text.) The first sentence in Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on 5.135.19 gives one pause: It can be read as a reference to “the path of Draupadī”. However, it is not just that there is no such thing as “the path of Draupadī”, (or, for that matter, “the path of Draupadī’s hair”), as can be seen from the preceding discussion of 12.16.25 and from some of the sixteen other instances discussed below. We believe Nīlakaṇṭha did not mean to refer to any such thing as “the path of Draupadī” since, as can be seen from his above-quoted gloss on 8.25.App. I, #5, lines 50-1; and on 10.3.24, he is aware of the idiomatic use of the phrase in question. It thus appears that the first sentence in Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on 5.135.19 gives the literal meaning of the phrase in question, and the second sentence, stating the intended meaning of that phrase in the present context (*ityarthah*), appears to be another way of saying *āṇṇyam*. (There may be an implicit reference in the second sentence of that gloss to Draupadī’s speech as she was leaving for forest with her husbands (2.71.18-20); see also the next footnote.)

*nideśād dharmarājasya draupadyāḥ padavīm caran |  
nirdhārtarāṣṭrām pṛthivīm kartāsmi nacirād iva ||  
2.68.45*

(ii-iii) Verses 5.88.79 and 5.135.19 from Kuntī's messages to Arjuna urging him to exact revenge; (see footnote #12 for Nīlakaṇṭha's gloss on verse 5.135.19; see section 3 for comments). The CE text states the latter verse thus:

*taṁ vai brūhi mahābāho sarvaśastrabhṛtām varam |  
arjunam puruṣavyāghram draupadyāḥ padavīm cara ||  
5.135.19*

Verse 5.88.79 is identical with the one quoted above except that it has *gatvā* in place of *taṁ vai* and *pāṇḍavam vīram* in place of *puruṣavyāghram*.

(iv) Verses 8.18.44-7 in Saṁjaya's description of what the warriors on the battlefield were saying concerning the spirit of exacting revenge in which Kṛpa was attacking Dhṛṣṭadyumna. The CE text states them thus:

*tatrāvocaṁ vimanaso rathinaḥ sādinas tathā |  
droṇasya nidhane nūnam saṁkruddho dvipadām varaḥ ||  
8.18.44  
śāradvato mahātejā divyāstravid udāradhīḥ |  
apī svasti bhaved adya dhṛṣṭadyumnasya gautamāt ||  
8.18.45  
apīyam vāhinī kṛtsnā mucyeta mahato bhayāt |  
apy ayam brāhmaṇaḥ sarvān na no hanyāt samāgatān  
||8.18.46  
yādṛśam dṛśyate rūpam antakapratimam bhṛśam |  
gamiṣyaty adya padavīm bhāradvājasya saṁyuge ||  
8.18.47*

(v) Aśvatthāman's resolute words in 10.3.23-4 about exacting revenge for the dastardly way in which the Pāṇḍavas

had killed Duryodhana and Droṇa.<sup>13</sup> The CE text states them thus:

*dhārayitvā dhanur divyaṃ divyāṅy astrāṇi cāhave /  
pitarāṃ nihataṃ dṛṣṭvā kiṃ nu vaksyāmi saṃsadi ||  
10.3.23*

*so 'ham adya yathākāmaṃ kṣatradharmam upāsyā tam /  
gantāsmi padavīm rājñāḥ pituś cāpi mahādyuteḥ ||  
10.3.24*

(vi) Dhṛtarāṣṭra's query in verses 10.8.2-3 as to whether, in the planned night raid on the *pāṇḍava* camp, Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman succeeded in exacting revenge for the way Duryodhana was killed. The CE text states them thus:

*kaccin na vāritau kṣudrai rakṣibhir nopalakṣitau /  
asahyam iti vā matvā na nivṛttau mahārathau || 10.8.2  
kaccit pramathya śibiraṃ hatvā somakapāṇḍavān /  
duryodhanasya padavīm gatau paramikām raṇe || 10.8.3  
pāñcālair vā vinihatau kaccin nāsvapatām kṣitau /  
kaccit tābhyām kṛtaṃ karma tan mamācakṣva saṃjaya ||  
10.8.4*

(vii) Verses 10.8.137-8 from Saṃjaya's account of the way Aśvatthāman, during the night raid on the *pāṇḍava* camp, avenged his father's killing. The CE text states them thus:

*sa niḥśeṣān arīn kṛtvā virarāja janakṣaye /*

<sup>13</sup> As noted in the preceding footnote, Nīlakaṇṭha's gloss on verse 10.3.24 states: "padavīm ānṛṇyam". In reference to third quarter of 10.3.24, the CE notes that the manuscript K<sub>1</sub> has *yāsyāmi apacitīm rājñāḥ* written in the margin. The latter phrase (which, in the present context, means, "I shall avenge the king") clarifies the meaning of the corresponding words in the CE text; it recurs in the additional passage 10.5.15\*, which occurs in K<sub>2-4, 6</sub>.

There are several passages in the Sauptikaparvan that contain the phrase *padavīm* √gam – all of them are mentioned in this section – verse 10.3.24 being the first among them. Thus, even though Nīlakaṇṭha does not gloss on that phrase again in that parvan, it seems to be understood that his gloss on 10.3.24 is applicable to those other verses in that parvan as well (specifically, to verses 10.8.3, 138, mentioned below) and, perhaps, also to 12.16.25, discussed in section 1.

*yugānte sarvabhūtāni bhasma kṛtveva pāvakaḥ ||*  
10.8.137

*yathāpratijñam tat karma kṛtvā drauṇāyaniḥ prabho |*  
*durgamām padavīm kṛtvā pitur āsīd gatajvaraḥ ||*  
10.8.138

Since the massacre is over at this point, the intended meaning of these verses has to be that Aśvatthāman exacted a nearly impossible revenge. The variant of the latter verse in manuscript G<sub>1</sub> has *gatānṛṇaḥ* in place of *gatajvaraḥ*., making the intended meaning of the verses unmistakable. See also (xi) below.

(viii) Verses 16.4.24-7 from the scene in the *Mausalaparvan* in which Sātyaki suddenly decapitates Kṛtavarman stating that he is doing so to exact revenge for the latter's role in the night massacre. The CE text describes that scene thus:

*tata utthāya sakrodhaḥ sātyakir vākyam abravīt |*  
*pañcānām draupadeyānām dhṛṣṭadyumnaśikhaṇḍinoḥ ||*  
16.4.24

*eṣa gacchāmi padavīm satyena ca tathā śape |*  
*sauptike ye ca nihatāḥ suptānena durātmanā ||16.4.25*  
*droṇaputrasahāyena pāpena kṛtavarmanā |*  
*samāptam āyur asyādyā yaśaś cāpi sumadhyame ||*  
16.4.26

*itīdam uktvā khaḍgena keśavasya samīpataḥ |*  
*abhidrutya śiraḥ kruddhaś ciccheda kṛtavarmanaḥ ||*  
16.4.27<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> This footnote is about verse 7.122.30 (not mentioned elsewhere in this paper). That verse is from a conversation between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa just after the killing of Jayadratha. Arjuna points out to Kṛṣṇa that Karṇa was aggressively approaching Sātyaki, and – referring to the recent decapitation of Būriśravas by Sātyaki – tells Kṛṣṇa to follow Karṇa, saying: *yatra yāti eṣa tatra tvaṁ codayāśvān Janārdana | mā somadatteḥ padavīm gamayet sātyakim vṛṣaḥ ||* (In the preceding verse, Būriśravas is referred to as Somadatti). Since the recent decapitation of Būriśravas by Sātyaki was in complete contravention of dharma, the motive of revenge on part of the Kaurava side is palpable in the situation. Thus, the translation of the second hemi-stitch of that verse by Ganguli (1998, vol. VI, p. 326) – “Let not Vrisha (Karṇa) cause the Satwata hero [Sātyaki] to follow in the wake of Bhurisravas” – is viable. We wonder though whether the intended meaning of the second hemi-stitch of that verse is, “Let not Karṇa avenge (the killing of) Būriśravas by killing Sātyaki”. Some southern manuscripts have *somadattestu padavīm* in place of *mā somadatteḥ padavīm* in that

### Instances from variants of verses in the CE text:

(ix) Arjuna's wishful words in verses 7.77.20-1 about killing Duryodhana when the latter, clad in an impenetrable coat of mail, faces Arjuna in battle, Kṛṣṇa told him to kill that *kulādhama* right then and there to end the war, and Arjuna consented. The CE text states them thus:

*yenaitad dīrghakālam no bhuktaṁ rājyam akaṅṭakam /  
apy asya yudhi vikramya chindyām mūrdhānam āhave //  
7.77.20  
api tasyā anarhāyāḥ parikleśasya mādharma /  
kṛṣṇāyāḥ śaknuyām gantum padaṁ keśapradharṣaṇe //  
7.77.21*

We shall attend to these verses in section 4 (where we shall attend to the phrase *padam* √gam). For the moment, we just note that the southern recension has “*padavīm kalahasya ca*” in place of “*padam keśapradharṣaṇe*” in its variant of 7.77.21. This variant then has to be read in the sense of exacting revenge.

(x) Aśvatthāman's resolute words in 10.3.32 concerning Duryodhana, Karṇa, Bhīṣma and Jayadratha. The CE text states that verse thus:

*duryodhanasya karṇasya bhīṣmasaindhavayor api /  
gamayisyāmi pāñcālān padavīm adya durgamām //  
10.3.32*

The phrase *gamayisyāmi pāñcālān padavīm* in this verse is usually read in the sense of sending the *Pāñcālas* to heaven by killing them on the battle field; see the translation of this verse by Johnson (1999: p. 17) and his endnote on verse 10.3.24 on p. 107; however, see Appendix B. Be that as it may, in this verse, all but one of the nine southern manuscripts in the Saṁskṛtīkāparvan's Critical Apparatus have *gamiṣyāmi niśāveḷām*

---

verse; (the resulting hemi-stitch is, presumably, to be read as a question). The preceding remarks apply to this variant too.



in place of *gamayiṣyāmi pāñcālān*. This variant then has to be read in the sense of exacting revenge.

(xi) In verse 10.8.137 quoted above in (vii), several relevant northern manuscripts (and also the vulgate) have *durgamām padavīm gatvā* in place of *sa niḥśeṣān arīn kṛtvā*. Since the massacre is over at this point, the intended meaning of this variant – just as in the case of 10.8.138 – has to be that Aśvatthāman exacted a nearly impossible revenge.

(xii) Verse 15.43.13 from Āstika's speech to Janamejaya towards the end of the Āśramavāsikaparvan. The CE text states it thus:

*śrutam vicitram ākhyānam tvayā pāṇḍavanandana /  
sarpās ca bhasmasān nītā gatās ca padavīm pituḥ ||  
15.43.13*

The phrase in question is usually read in this verse in the sense of following someone; see Ganguli (1998: vol. XII, Āśramavāsika parva, p. 55), Smith (2009: p. 750) (?); however, see Appendix B. Nevertheless, several manuscripts in the Āśramavāsikaparvan's Critical Apparatus (and also the vulgate) have *gatās ca* in place of *gatās ca*; this variant then expresses the sense of exacting revenge in explicit terms.

**Instances from the additional passages** (i.e., the passages which are mentioned in the CE but are not accepted in the CE text):

(xiii) Lines 87-8 from the southern passage 2.63, App. I, #38 which contain a verbatim repetition of Nakula's vow in 2.68.45 to exact revenge. That vow is quoted above in (i).

(xiv) Lines 13-4 from the southern passage 4.45, App. I, # 41 in which Karṇa tells the raiding Kaurava army that they can go home, and that he will single-handedly take care of the Virāṭa army that was coming to exact revenge. The CE states those lines thus:

*āgamiṣyanti padavīm mātṣyāḥ pāṇḍavam āśritāḥ |*

*tān ahaṁ nihaṅṣyāmi bhavatā gamyatām gṛham ||*

(xv) Duryodhana's request to Śalya in the passage 8.25, App. I, #5, lines 50-1 to become Karṇa's charioteer and thus help him, Duryodhana, exact revenge for the deaths of his brothers and others. The CE states those lines thus:

*tvatkṛte padavīm gantum iccheyāmi yudhi māriṣa |  
sodarāṅgām ca vīrāṅgām sarveṣāṁ ca mahīkṣitām ||*

As noted in footnote #12, Nīlakaṅṭha's gloss on this verse states: *padavīm ānṛṇyam*.

(xvi) Passage 10.3.10\* from Aśvatthāman's speech to Kṛpa and Kṛtavarman resolutely stating that he was going to avenge the five warriors – presumably, Bhīṣma, Droṇa, Karṇa, Śalya, and Duryodhana – each of whom was killed by the Pāṇḍava side using *adharma*. The CE states that passage thus:

*gamiṣyāmi atha pañcānām padavīm adya durgamām  
|10.3.10\**

In translating the seventeen instances mentioned above – the sixteen quoted in this section and verse 12.16.25 discussed in section 1 – (and also the three instances from the *Rāmāyaṇa* discussed in Appendix A), none of the translations listed in the references to this paper employ the idiomatic use of the phrase *padavīm √gam*. (The same holds for the commonly used Marathi, Gujarati and Hindi translations of the *MBh*.) The closest to come is Fitzgerald (2004: pp. 200, 694) in his translation of 12.16.25; see footnote #8 for details.

The preceding considerations show that, once the idiomatic use of the phrase *padavīm √gam* in the sense claimed here is taken into account, several well-known episodes in the *MBh* acquire a meaning that is different from, and more apposite than the prevalent one. Based on the same considerations, it should be clear at this stage that there is no such a thing as “the path of Draupadī” or “the path of Draupadī's mass of hair” that Hildebeitel sees in his papers mentioned in section 1.

The preceding evidence establishes our point beyond any reasonable doubt. Indeed, as was suggested by Prof. Robert Goldman in a private communication, the phrase in question appears to be a *lectio difficilior*.

### 3. Some comments

An excellent illustration of the way the phrase under consideration is used in the sense of exacting revenge for something, or avenging someone or something occurs in Kuntī's martial messages in the Udyogaparvan, the ones she sent to her sons with Kṛṣṇa; see adhyāyas 5.130-5. Her message to Arjuna at that time, and also on an earlier occasion, was: “*draupadyāḥ padavīm cara*”; see verses 5.88.79; 5.135.19, quoted above in section 2 (ii-iii). Van Buitenen (1978: pp. 371, 439, 550) translates that message thus: “Walk the path of Draupadī!”<sup>15</sup> Other translators and commentators listed in the references to this paper read that message in a similar manner. See also Hildebeitel (2009: p. 175). However, it is unlikely that this *ksatriyā* was thinking of any such thing as “the path of Draupadī”. For, on those occasions, Kuntī also reminds Kṛṣṇa of the martial prowess of Bhīma and Arjuna, and asks him to remind them of something they were hardly likely to have forgotten: Just the fact that Draupadī was brought to the assembly hall is an insult to both of them (5.88.80-1; 5.135.20-1). It seems that, in her pointed message to Arjuna, “*draupadyāḥ padavīm cara*”, Kuntī was urging – perhaps, ordering – her martial son, the greatest of all bearers of arms, a man-tiger, to avenge the thing she had found utterly unpardonable in what had taken place in the Kuru assembly hall during the two dicing matches and their aftermaths: Neither the loss of the Pāṇḍava kingdom nor the exile of her sons, but her daughter-in-law's maltreatment by the Kauravas; see 5.88.84-6, 5.135.15-8. To Kuntī, avenging that maltreatment was a matter

---

<sup>15</sup> In an endnote on verse 5.88.79, van Buitenen explains: “*Walk the path of Draupadī: sc., of vengefulness.*” See also Nīlakaṇṭha's gloss on verse 5.135.19, stated in footnote #12.

of honor.

Verses 10.3.24, 10.8.3, 138, mentioned in section 2 (v), (vi) and (vii), respectively, provide another excellent illustration. In translating these verses, the word *padavī* is usually translated as “a path”; the verses themselves are read in reference to attaining heaven by dying on the battle field; cf., Crosby (2009: pp. 29, 67, 91, 350); Johnson (1998: pp. 16, 34, 45, 107), Smith (2009: p. 566, 574). However, Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on these verses, indicated in footnote #12 and in the second half of footnote #13, (to wit: *padavīm ānṛṇyam*), leaves little doubt as to how these verses (and others in the Sauptikaparvan) were traditionally read. To us, Aśvatthāman’s speeches during his discussion with Kṛpa in the beginning of the Sauptikaparvan, and his later actions in that parvan, are neither about treading the path of Droṇa and Duryodhana (there is no such thing as far as we can see) nor about dying on the battle field; they are about avenging at all costs the *adharma* that was involved in the way in which Droṇa and Duryodhana were killed by the Pāṇḍava side.<sup>16</sup> To Aśvatthāman, avenging that *adharma* was a matter of honor!

#### 4. Another idiomatic phrase related to *padavīm √gam*

The phrase *padam √gam* is related to (but is less often used than) the phrase *padavīm √gam*. The usual meaning of both phrases is ‘to go the way of’, or ‘to follow someone’s trail’. For the use of the former phrase in this sense, see verse 3.253.12 (mentioned in footnote #6); verse 3.295.10 from the Āraṇeya episode; verse 7.87.13 from the Jayadrathavadha episode in which Sātyaki tells Yudhiṣṭhira that he shall infiltrate the Kaurava army following the trail left by Arjuna. That phrase can also mean “to go to the aid of”, as can be seen from the variant of 7.152.33 in a few northern mss. (That verse and its northern variant are mentioned in footnote #11.) However –as in the case

---

<sup>16</sup> In case of verses 10.3.24 and 10.8.3, there is also the fact that Aśvatthāman and his uncle Kṛpa are supposed to be unslayable (*avadhya*); see verse 8.64.21; see also footnote #10; for Kṛpa, see also verse 6.41.69. However, that fact is hard to reconcile with verse 10.8.4, quoted in section 2 (vi), and with verses 10.11.14-25.

of the phrase *padavīm √gam* – the phrase *padam √gam* is sometimes used in the sense of exacting revenge for something or avenging someone or something. For instance, that phrase is used in that sense in verse 7.77.21, quoted in section 2 (ix); see Ganguli (1998: vol. VI, p. 205) and Pilikian (2009: p. 285) who translate it that way. Also, as noted in the CE's *Sabhāparvan*, in the variant of the additional passage (2.63, App. I, #38, lines 87-8) in the manuscript G<sub>4</sub>, Nakula's vow has *draupadyāḥ padam icchatām* instead of *draupadyāḥ padavīm caran*. Since meaning of the latter phrase is, by now, clear, so should be that of the former. (For Nakula's vow, see section 2 (i), (xiii)).

## 5. Remarks on Hildebeitel's paper on Draupadī's hair

A few words on Hildebeitel's 1981 paper on Draupadī's hair may not come amiss.

One of the several claims in Hildebeitel (1981) is that Draupadī had worn her hair disheveled throughout the thirteen years of exile. (Verse 12.16.25, quoted and discussed in section 1, is but one verse he uses to support that claim.) Mehendale's 1997 paper on that topic contains a point-by-point refutation of Hildebeitel's claims, including refutation of the specific claim stated above. Although we do not quite agree with some of Mehendale's arguments, his paper contains, in our opinion, enough evidence to raise serious doubts concerning several of Hildebeitel's claims, including the one specifically stated above. All we shall do in this section is to draw attention to verse 4.8.1 along with its northern and southern variants, and point out that they provide textual evidence which Mehendale could have used to further strengthen his arguments against Hildebeitel's above-stated specific claim.

Verse 4.8.1 is part of the scene in which Draupadī approaches Sudeṣṇā, the Virāṭa queen, seeking employment as Sairandhrī. The CE text states the verse thus:

*tataḥ keśān samutkṣipya vellitāgrān aninditān |*  
*jugūha dakṣiṇe pārśve mṛdūn asitalocanā || 4.8.1*

The point to ponder here is the appropriate meaning of the verb *samutkṣip*.

Van Buitenen (1978: p. 37) translates this verse thus: “Then black-eyed Kṛṣṇā braided her perfect, curly-tipped locks, hid them at her right side, [. . .].” Since Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on that verse states, “*samutkṣipyā veṅīkr̥tya*”, and since the word *veṅīkr̥tya* means “having braided her hair”, that would seem to settle the issue. However, Hildebeitel (1981: p. 191) also discusses this verse and translates it thus: “Then, having tossed back her curly ended faultless soft hair, that dark-eyed one concealed it on her right side.” Hildebeitel neither mentions van Buitenen’s translation of that verse nor mentions Nīlakaṇṭha’s gloss on that verse. Also, in keeping with his claim about Draupadī’s hair, the word “braided” is conspicuously absent in his translation of that verse. Since none of the three dictionaries listed in the references translate the verb *samutkṣip* quite the way Nīlakaṇṭha and van Buitenen do,<sup>17</sup> it seems advisable to take a closer look at the information on which that reconstituted verse is based, particularly since the northern and the southern variants of that verse differ considerably.

Let us start with the northern variant. Most northern manuscripts in the Virāṭaparvan’s Critical Apparatus (and also the vulgate) have the following additional line inserted after the first hemi-stitch of the above-quoted verse 4.8.1:

*kṛṣṇān sūkṣmān mṛdūn dīrghān samudgrathya śucismitā*  
/ 195\*

It should be clear at this stage that *samutkṣip* is not the only crucial verb involved; one has to pay attention also to the verb *samudgrath*. Apte and Monier-Williams do not cover

<sup>17</sup> Among the meanings of the verb *samutkṣip* given by Böhtlingk and Roth (2000) (see under *kṣip*), the relevant one for our purpose is “auseinanderwerfen, lösen, anwerfen”. Böhtlingk and Roth also quote *keśān samutkṣipyā* and mention *MBh* 4,244, which, in terms of the CE text, is 4.8.1 with the additional line 195\* (quoted below) inserted after its first hemi-stitch. Taking into consideration their interpretation of the verb *samudgrath* (discussed in the next paragraph), it seems that Böhtlingk and Roth took (the northern variant of verse in question) to mean that Draupadī loosened her hair and then rebraided it; (for the rebraiding part, see the next paragraph.)

*samudgrath* (or *samudgranth*)<sup>18</sup>, and Nīlakaṇṭha has no gloss on *samudgrathya*. However, according to Böhtlingk and Roth (2000), the verb *samudgrath* means, “in die Höhe binden” (to tie up); they also quote *keśān samudgrathya* and mention *MBh* 4,244, which, in terms of the CE text, is 4.8.1 with the above-quoted additional line 195\* inserted after its first hemi-stitch. (This is the same verse as the one quoted in footnote #17 in connection with the verb *samutkṣip*.) All this along with the information in footnote #17 shows that, according to the northern recension, Draupadī's hair was tied up – not dishevelled – en she met Sudeṣṇā for the first time.<sup>19</sup>

Now, the Southern recension. It has the following additional line inserted before the above-quoted verse 4.8.1:

*tataḥ kṛṣṇā sukeśī sā darśanīyā śucismitā | 194\**

More importantly, in place of the word *tataḥ* in the first hemi-stitch of the above-quoted verse 4.8.1, it has the word *veṇī-*. Thus, out of the ten southern manuscripts in the Virāṭaparvan's Critical Apparatus, three have *veṇīkeśāntamutkṣipya* in place of *tataḥ keśān samutkṣipya*; one has *veṇīkeśāntamutkṣipya*; and six have *veṇīkeśānsamutkṣipya*. No matter how those words are interpreted, the word *veṇī-* in all these variants shows that either Draupadī's hair was already braided and she then unbraided them, or the other way around.<sup>20</sup> Neither interpretation is in accord with Hildebeitel's claim.

To sum up: Although the two recensions of the *MBh* use different wording and different additional lines for verse 4.8.1,

<sup>18</sup> An internet search showed that, under *samudgranth*, the second edition (1899) of Monier-Williams has the following entry: *samudgrathya*, ind. p., to bind up together, tie or fasten up, *MBh*.

<sup>19</sup> Ganguli (1998: vol. IV, p. 15) translates the passage consisting of verses 4.8.1, with 195\* inserted in it, thus: “Binding her black, soft, fine, long and faultless tresses with crisped ends into a knotted braid, Draupadī of black eyes and sweet smiles, throwing it upon her right shoulders, concealed it by her cloth.”

<sup>20</sup> See also the additional passage (4.8. App. I, #6) from the southern recension. The relevant lines in it are 12-6, which occur in all but one relevant southern manuscripts. Those lines describe the scene in which Draupadī meets Sudeṣṇā for the first time and contain the words *samudgrathya* and *nibadhya* in connection with Draupadī's hair.

both of them independently and clearly contradict Hildebeitel's claim that Draupadī had worn her hair disheveled throughout the exile.

### Appendix A: The phrase *padavīm √gam* in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*

A search of the e-text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* maintained by Smith (2014) revealed that the phrase *padavīm √gam* occurs at just three places in the Critical Edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, edited by Bhatt et al (1960-75).<sup>21</sup> Those three places, verses 3.19.4, 3.20.12, and 6.31.54, are commented upon below. These comments show that the idiomatic use of the phrase *padavīm √gam* pointed out in this paper is not restricted to the *MBh*.

The first two of the three places mentioned above, verses 3.19.4 and 3.20.12, are from the Śūrpaṅakhā disfigurement episode in the Aranyakāṇḍa. Verse 3.19.4 is where Rāma notices that Śūrpaṅakhā, who had ran away from them after her disfigurement at Lakṣmaṇa's hands, has returned and was accompanied by fourteen *rākṣasas*. He then says to Lakṣmaṇa:

*muhūrtam bhava saumitre sītāyāḥ praty anantarah |  
imānasyā vadhiṣyāmi padavīm āgatāniha || 3.19.4*

Pollock (1991: p. 128) translates this verse thus: “Look to Sītā for a moment, Saumitri [Lakṣmaṇa], while I slay these creatures here that have come to the aid of the *rākṣasa* woman.”

In an endnote on this verse, Pollock (1991: p. 278) states: “Here and in 20.12 I am inclined to see an idiom of sorts.” He then provides some references.

As remarked in footnote #11, in some situations, the phrase *padavīm √gam* can mean “go (or come) to the aid of”. (That is the idiomatic meaning of sorts that Pollock seems to have in

---

<sup>21</sup> This fact was kindly pointed out to us by Prof. John Brockington in a private communication.

All verses as well as references to verses mentioned in this Appendix are from the Critical Edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, edited by Bhatt et al (1960-75).



mind.) Nevertheless, we believe that the second hemi-stitch of verse 3.19.4 should be translated thus: “while I slay these creatures here that have come to avenge the *rākṣasa* woman.” First of all, it should be clear by now that this translation is not off the mark. Secondly, from the details in sargas 3.17 and 3.18, we, the readers, know what had transpired on the *rākṣasa* side between the time Lakṣmaṇa hacked off Śūrpaṅakhā’s ears and nose and the time Śūrpaṅakhā returned to Rāma’s āshrama accompanied by fourteen *rākṣasas*. Specifically, we know that those fourteen *rākṣasas* were servants of Khara, Śūrpaṅakhā’s brother, and were instructed by him to kill Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā. But Rāma does not know any of this. The moment he saw them, he, of course, would have gathered the obvious: Those fourteen *rākṣasas* are here to avenge the *rākṣasa* woman. There seems no reason why Rāma should have assumed that they “have come to the aid of” her. Indeed, Rāma would know that those *rākṣasas* were not there to “aid” Śūrpaṅakhā: She was not going to be an active participant in what was needed to be done to avenge her. Brockington and Brockington (2006: p. 81) translate the second hemi-stitch of verse 3.19.4 thus: “I’ll kill these creatures approaching along the path with her.” This is accurate. Perhaps, the translation we suggest captures the revenge motif more clearly.

Let us turn to 3.20.12. That verse is a part of Śūrpaṅakhā’s speech to Khara when she goes back to him and tells him that Rāma had killed the fourteen *rākṣasas* he, Khara, had ordered to accompany her. The verse states:

*ete ca nihatā bhūmau rāmeṇa niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ |*  
*ye ca me padavīm prāptā rākṣasāḥ piśitāśanāḥ || 3.20.12*

Pollock (1991: p. 131) translates it thus: “All the *rākṣasas*, eaters of raw flesh, who came to my aid now lie dead on the ground, killed by Rāma’s sharp arrows.” Since this is part of Śūrpaṅakhā’s speech, the situation here is less clear than the one in verse 3.19.4. Nevertheless, we would prefer “came with me to avenge me” in place of “came to my aid” in that translation. Brockington and Brockington (2006: p. 82) translate 3.20.12

thus: “Those flesh-eating *rākṣasas* who followed where I led have been butchered by Rāma’s sharp arrows.” The translation we suggest captures the revenge motif more clearly.

Let us now turn to verse 6.31.54 from the Yuddhakāṇḍa. That verse is part of Rāma’s bellicose message to Rāvaṇa just before the beginning of the epic war, a message telling Rāvaṇa that his days as a tyrant are over and that he is about to get his comeuppance. The Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* states that verse thus:

*padavīm devatānām ca maharṣīnām ca rākṣasa /  
rājarṣīnām ca sarveṣām gamiṣyasi mayā hataḥ || 6.31.54*

Goldman et al. (2009: p. 201) translate that verse thus: “Once I have killed you, *rākṣasa*, you shall attain the realm of the gods, the great seers, and all the royal seers.” In their commentary on this verse, all the commentators mentioned by Goldman et al. (2009: p. 746) seem to take it for granted that Rāvaṇa, once killed by Rāma, will go to heaven; however, there is no unanimity among them about the reason this would happen. (It appears to us that the phrase *padavīm* √*gam* may have been used here in the sense explained in Appendix B.) Be that as it may, several relevant northern manuscripts have *gamiṣyāmi yudhi sthitaḥ* in place of *gamiṣyasi mayā hataḥ*. Since Rāma was thinking of killing Rāvaṇa rather than being killed by him, this variant has to be read in the sense of Rāma exacting revenge for Rāvaṇa’s maltreatment of the gods and others.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> The following remarks by Professor Robert Goldman are from a private email correspondence with the authors, and are included here with his kind permission: ‘The situation in which the phrase [*padavīm* √*gam*] and its variants are used, in both epics, definitely fits the context of avenging an injury or killing (in case of the YK [Yuddhakāṇḍa] many killings). The interesting thing also is that the phrase does not appear to have been understood by the commentators. This is signaled, typically, by their proposing a number of alternative explanations as in the YK example. The seeming obscurity of the phrase may also be seen in what may well be a gloss on part of the northern scribes. [. . .] It has been generally observed that N [northern recension] frequently appears to rephrase obscure passages in S [southern recension]. [. . .] So although N’s *gamiṣyāmi yudhi sthitaḥ* is perfectly lucid as a phrase, it is also a bit awkward in the context and may well be one of the northern “corrections” of the south.’

## Appendix B: Another idiomatic use of *padavīm √gam*?

It appears that, in some situations, the phrase *padavīm √gam* has yet another idiomatic meaning. To see this, let us go back to verse 12.16.25, quoted and discussed in section 1. From the details given in the CE, it is clear that the Bengali version of the epic and southern recension of the epic read the second hemi-stitch of that verse in thus:

*draupadyāḥ keśapakṣasya diṣṭyā te padavīm gatāḥ ||*

A literal (and wrong) translation of this would read thus: “Fortunately, they followed the path of Draupadī’s hair”. The “they” in this variant are, of course, the sinful Duryodhana and his followers. Now, as seen before, there is no such thing as “the path of Draupadī’s hair” (or, for that matter, the path of Draupadī) so far as the Pāṇḍava side is concerned. It would then be preposterous to assume that such a thing exists for the Kaurava side. Thus, as in the variant of that verse in the CE text (quoted in section 1), the phrase *padavīm √gam* in this variant must also be read as an idiom. And, as is clear, that phrase is not used in this variant in the sense in which it is used in seventeen instances cited in sections 1 and 2 and in the three instances cited in Appendix A. We thus have something new here.

The question then arises: What is the sense in which the phrase *padavīm √gam* is used in this variant? Perhaps, we should indicate our suspected answer to that question in the form of another question: Could that sense be that of *pāpaprakṣāḷana*? i.e., the “they” referred to in that verse paid for their sin (*pāpa*) incurred in what they had done to Draupadī’s hair? The answer, we think, should be: Most likely! That then leads to another question: Should verses 10.3.32 and 15.43.13, quoted, respectively, in section 2 (x) and (xii), and verse 6.31.54 from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, quoted in Appendix A, be read in a similar manner? Keeping in mind that these three verses make some sort of sense even if the phrase in question is assigned its usual meaning of following someone’s trail, our

hesitant answer: Probably!<sup>23</sup>

The authors wish to thank Professor John Brockington, Professor Robert Goldman, Professor Alf Hiltebeitel and Professor John D. Smith for helpful comments and suggestions.

---

<sup>23</sup> For a clearer answer in case of verse 6.31.54 from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, see the preceding footnote.

## References

- Aināpure, Vāsudev Bālāchārya. ed. 1901. *The Mahābhārata with commentary 'Bhāvadīpa' of Nīlakaṇṭha*. Bombay: Gopal Narayan & co.
- Apte, Vaman Shivram. 1890; Fourth Revised and Enlarged Edition, Reprint. 1998. *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Bhatt, G. H., and Shah, U. P., General Editors. 1960-75. *The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: Critical Edition; 7 vols*. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- Böhtlingk, Otto, and Roth, Rudolf. Reprint 2000. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, 7 vols*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Brockington, John, and Brockington, Mary. tr. 2006. *Rāma the Steadfast: An early form of the Rāmāyaṇa*. London and New York, Penguin Books.
- van Buitenen, J. A. B. tr. and ed. 1975. *The Mahābhārata, vol. 2: 2. The Book of the Assembly Hall; 3. The Book of the Forest*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago press.
- . 1978. *The Mahābhārata, vol. 3: 4. The Book of Virāṭa; 5. The Book of the Effort*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago press.
- Crosby, Kate. tr. 2009. *Mahābhārata, Book 10: Dead of Night; Book 11: The Women*. Clay Sanskrit Library. New York Univ. Press.
- Fitzgerald, James L. tr. and ed. 2004. *The Mahābhārata, vol. 7: Book 11. The book of the Women; Book 12. The book of Peace, Part One*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago press.
- Ganguli, Kisari Mohan. tr. original edition 1884-96; reprint, 1990-9. *The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa: Translated into English Prose from the Original Sanskrit text, 12 vols*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Garbutt, Kathleen. tr. 2008. *Mahābhārata, Book Five: Preparation for War, vol. two*. Clay Sanskrit Library. New York Univ. Press.
- Goldman, Robert P., Goldman, Sally J. Sutherland, and van Nooten, Barend A. tr. and ed. 2009. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: an epic of ancient India: volume VI, Yuddhakāṇḍ*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Hiltebeitel, Alf. 1981. Draupadī's Hair. In *Autour de la déesse hindoue*, ed. Madeleine Biardeau, *Puruśārth*, 5, 179-214. Reprinted in Adluri,

- Viswa, and Bagchee, Joydeep. ed. 2011. *When the Goddess was a Woman: Mahābhārata Ethnographies –says by Alf Hiltebeitel*, volume 2; pp. 2-32. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- 2001. *Rethinking the Mahābhārata: A Reader's Guide to the Education of the Dharma King*. Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- 2009. Authorial Paths Through the Two Sanskrit Epics, Via the *Rāmopākhyāna*. In, Goldman, Robert P. and Tokunaga, Muneo. eds. *Epic Undertaking*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 169-214. Reprinted in Adluri, Viswa, and Bagchee, Joydeep. ed. 2011. *Reading the Fifth Veda: Studies in the Mahābhārata-Essays by Alf Hiltebeitel, Vol. I*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, pp. 279-313.
- Johnson, W. J. tr. 1999. *The Sauptikaparvan of the Mahābhārata: The Massacre at Night*. Oxford, New York: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Mehendale, M. A. 1997. Once again Draupadī's hair. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 78, 159-75. Reprinted in Laddu, S. D., et al. ed. 2001. *Madhu-Vidyā: Prof. Madhukar Anant Mehendale collected papers, L. D. Series: 125*. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, pp. 509-25.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. First ed. 1899; reprint 1997. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Pilikian, Vaughan. tr. 2009. *Mahābhārata, book Seven: Droṇa, vol. two*. Clay Sanskrit Library. New York Univ. Press.
- Pollock, Sheldon I. tr. 1991. *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An epic of ancient India: volume III, Aranyakāṇḍa*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, John D. ed. 1999. *Mahābhārata* (e-text), Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (<http://bombay.indology.info/mahabharata/statement.html>).
- 2009. *The Mahābhārata: An abridged translation*. London and New York: Penguin Books.
- 2014. ed. *Rāmāyaṇa* (e-text). Baroda: Oriental Institute. (<http://bombay.indology.info/ramayana/statement.html>).
- Sukthankar, V. S. et al. eds. 1933-66. *The Mahābhārata for the First Time Critically Edited, 19 vols*. Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
- Wilmot, Paul. tr. 2006. *Mahābhārata, book two: The Great Hall*. Clay Sanskrit Library. New York Univ. Press and JJC Foundation.

CHIARA POLICARDI

THERIOCEPHALIC *YOGINĪS* IN ŚAIVA TANTRIC  
TRADITIONS: AN ANIMAL MASK?

**Summary:** The *yoginīs*, goddesses or divinised figures closely associated with the tantric phenomenon, are often represented with seductive feminine bodies but animal faces in various Śaiva tantric texts belonging to Vidyāpīṭha and Kaula traditions, and such a composite anatomy is mirrored in several animal-faced *yoginī* sculptures enshrined in the mediaeval circular temples dedicated to these deities.

Such a therianthropic representation raises several questions. Why are these figures often conceived and represented with animal traits? How does this composite form relate to their functions? What meanings and implications lie behind these portrayals?

Among the possible implications, the iconographic depictions of *yoginīs* strongly suggest the form and the concept of an animal mask. The analysis of the sculptures of *yoginīs* reveals that in some instances the head is wholly theriomorphic, but in several cases an animal face is combined with other components of the head, such as the hair and the ears, that are clearly human. In other words, only the outer surface of the head is depicted as animal-like.

If animal-faced *yoginī* representations hint at an animal mask, who is the figure wearing that mask, a deity or a woman? And why is she wearing it? Do *yoginī*-related texts offer evidence to unravel the issue?

Relying on relevant literary and sculptural evidence, the present paper investigates the unexplored hypothesis of an animal mask of the *yoginīs*.

## Introduction

Ambivalent, multiple, manifesting themselves at the borders with wilderness and after transgressive rituals, capable of deeply transforming their devotees, and, peculiarly, often represented with seductive feminine bodies but animal faces: these are some of the characteristics of the *yoginīs*. This group of goddesses or divinised figures – subject of study only since relatively recent times – is closely associated with the tantric phenomenon, and the figure of *yoginī* emerges primarily in the Hindu Śaiva domain.

As a premise, the semantic breadth of the term “*yoginī*” should be taken into account. In the history of Indian religions, the lexeme appears in different socio-historical contexts, conveying distinct meanings. It is used to designate a spectrum of female figures. Already Dehejia in her pioneering work (1986: 11-35) identifies at least eleven distinct meanings for the term, which in extreme synthesis can be recapitulated as follows: *yoginī* as an adept in yoga; *yoginī* as a partner in *cakra-pūjā*; *yoginī* as a sorceress; *yoginī* as an astrological concept; *yoginīs* as presiding deities of the internal *cakras*; *yoginīs* as deities of the Śrīcakra; *yoginī* as the great goddess; *yoginīs* as aspects of Devī; *yoginīs* as attendant deities of the great goddess; *yoginīs* as acolytes of the great goddess, corresponding to the *mātrīs*; and *yoginīs* as patron goddesses of the Kaulas. As noted by Keul (2013: 12-14), we are not dealing with a case of homonymy – where terms accidentally have the same form but no semantic relation between their meanings –, but with a case of polysemy: the different meanings are interconnected, at different levels.

In the present paper, I will refer to *yoginīs* affiliated to the Śaiva tantric tradition. They are divine or divinised figures possessing command of yoga, understanding “yoga” as a



dimension of numinous power. In this domain (but also in others) it is possible, I believe, to intend *yoginīs* as “the potent ones”. They are perceived as sources of immense power, but at the same time of great danger. This is to say that they are highly ambivalent beings: on the one hand, they are harmful and can be fatal, but on the other hand, in certain circumstances, they can bestow the highest spiritual realisation upon the adept and grant him all desires within a very brief period of time. In fact, *yoginīs* possess different kinds of supernatural powers (*siddhis* – including the power to change their shape at will) and can bestow these on their devotees. Among these extraordinary abilities, the foremost is considered the power of flight (*khecaratā*).

In Śaiva tantras, the term *yoginī* is used to designate both powerful goddesses and female adepts who ritually embody the deities. The two levels, divine and human, do not present clearly fixed boundaries between each other, posing an interpretative dilemma to scholars – are these figures deities, semi-deities, or human women? Actually, the divinising of women as goddesses represents a distinctive trait of the tantric *yoginī* cult.

Also, the relevant texts present us with other and more elaborate taxonomies, which complicate the picture even further. Depending on the given scripture, the *yoginīs* are classified into different types. For example, in an eleventh-century Kaula text, the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, the *yoginīs* are grouped into *khecarī*, *bhūcarī* and *gocarī* (KJN 9.2), and the first type, the Sky-traveller *yoginī*, is described as the overall mother of all *siddhiyoginīs* (*sarvasiddhiyoginīnām khecarīm sarvamātarīm*, 9.2ab). Such a prominence given to the *khecarīyoginī* is a recurrent theme in Śaiva sources, in front of the variability of the other typologies.

Historically, the Śaiva cult of *yoginīs* flourished to the greatest extent from the eighth to the twelfth centuries CE. Although tantric practices connected to these sacred figures are attested both before and beyond this period, it was in these centuries that the primary scriptures related to *yoginīs* were composed.

Originally pertaining to strictly esoteric cultic contexts, the phenomenon of *yoginīs* subsequently became widespread and achieved prominence in the broader Indian religious landscape. Two different kinds of evidence prove this process: on the one hand, the *yoginīs* were admitted to the purāṇic literature, a sign of the attempt to incorporate the cult into the “orthodox” tradition, while, on the other, they received royal patronage (Hatley 2014).

These mediaeval centuries witnessing the ascent of the cult represent a period of extreme political instability, in which states quickly rose and died and tribal kingdoms tried to elevate themselves on the fluid political map – its borders continuously re-defined by ongoing regional warfare. This climate of fraught uncertainty has been a factor for exponents of royal families to turn their devotion to *yoginīs*. They addressed these potent goddesses for protection, success in military actions, and achievement of political stability, thus contributing to no small extent to the blossoming of the *yoginī* cult. It was thanks to royal patronage, indeed, that from the end of the ninth through to perhaps the thirteenth century monumental stone temples dedicated to *yoginīs* were erected over the entire Indian subcontinent (Dehejia 1986: 67-186, Hatley 2014: 196-204).

These shrines stand out as unique structures in the architectural panorama of mediaeval India: hypaethral and circular-shaped, their entire internal perimeter is sectioned by a series of niches that house the goddesses’ images. These sculptures usually present sensuous feminine bodies, but, whereas some of them have finely delineated, gentle faces that complete their beauty, others show terrifying expressions, and several others feature clearly non-human, animal faces (Figures 1a, 1b, 3a, 3b, and from 5 to 12).

This theriocephalic representation of *yoginīs* finds attestation in textual sources as well. Tantric Śaiva texts related to *yoginīs* belong to two main corpora: that of the Vidyāpīṭha (“Female Mantra-deities Corpus”) and that of the Kaula (“[Tradition] of the [Goddess] Clans”). The tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha, dating from the eighth-ninth centuries, predate the *yoginī* temples by at least two centuries, while several Kaula scriptures, post tenth-

century, belong to the period of major *yoginī* temples.<sup>1</sup> In both these traditions, the figures of *yoginīs* are frequently conceived and depicted as partly anthropomorphic and partly theriomorphic in form, as an anatomical combination of human and animal traits or, more rarely, with complete animal appearances.

Thus, *yoginīs* are often endowed with a dual nature, human and non-human, feminine and animal, at the same time. This coexistence of two natures, this very conception and the mode of representing it, has not been given sufficient scholarly attention in its own right.

The therianthropic<sup>2</sup> form of *yoginīs* poses to the modern reader and observer several and manifold questions. The question that is both the most immediate and, so to speak, the ultimate question pertains to a why, as often happens in research: why are the *yoginīs* often imagined and represented with animal traits in texts and images? Or, in other words, why are these figures so closely intertwined with animals? Furthermore, how does this composite form relate to their functions? Is it meaningful to find as a rule a key body part such as the face occurring in animal form? What meanings and implications lie behind these portrayals? These questions, which could be ramified and multiplied, frame complex and wide-ranging issues.

In the present paper, relying on relevant literary and sculptural evidence, I will focus on one of the possible interpretations of this form, investigating the so far unexplored hypothesis of an animal mask of the *yoginīs*.

---

<sup>1</sup> The structure and development of Tantric Śaivism, in its different systems, has been masterfully illustrated by Sanderson in a 1988 essay, which remains indispensable. On *yoginī*-related scriptures see Hatley 2007: 133-189 and Serbaeva 2009: 314-337.

<sup>2</sup> In the narrower sense, the term therianthropism merely designates the anatomical combination of human and animal traits, but scholars have also included under its rubric deities who, mostly depicted as anthropomorphic, are however able to transform themselves into animals, such as Zeus and Dionysus (Walens 2005). While hybrid appearances may sometimes reflect metamorphic abilities (and in several instances this applies to *yoginīs* as well), here I will employ the term therianthropism solely to refer to composite animal-human figures (and, as a subcategory, theriocephalism to define animal-headed or animal-faced beings), and theriomorphism for purely animal forms.

### **On significance and meanings of therianthropism in the Śaiva *yoginī* cult**

*Yoginīs*' therianthropism consists mostly in an animal-human combination in which both ingredients are physically and externally apparent within a single anatomy. In a minor number of cases such coexistence is expressed in the shapeshifting ability from anthropomorphic appearance to theriomorphic and back.<sup>3</sup> Thus, it is not only the animality of the figure that is relevant, but above all its dual nature, its ambiguity that simultaneously contrasts and compounds two different categories of beings. In this way, also opposite conceptual categories are made contiguous, such as nature-culture, wild-domesticated, irrational-rational, and the like (Walens 2005).

Therianthropic *yoginīs* cross the borders between different realms of the living in their own morphology, in a combination of two states that is impossible or unacceptable in real life. This may express the idea of exploring territories normally precluded to humans. In general, therianthropic deities are often surrounded by a condition of tense ambivalence. In different religious contexts, animal-human figures, as a typology of beings whose elements are neither separate nor unified, are frequently connected with rituals "of transition and liminality" (Walens 2005: 9155), as for instance initiation rites.

In the case of *yoginīs*, a significant question pertains to the way in which animal and anthropomorphic parts are combined: is it meaningful to find as a rule a key body part such as the face occurring in animal form? In other words, is there a hierarchy between animal and human parts? The face is usually conceived as the most important anatomical part, and the foremost signifier – it is "the personality's most immediate *mis-en-scène*" (Tonkin

---

<sup>3</sup> For instance, in KJN 23 the *yoginīs* are said to wander the earth in the form of various animals, and we can assume that these appearances are the result of a transformation: the text explicitly states that the *yoginīs* take (*saṃgrah-*, KJN 23.5c) these different forms. For an analysis of KJN 23 and, more specifically, of this point, see Policardi 2016: 137-143.

1979: 241). Hence, an animal face in a composite being presumably indicates a largely animal identity.<sup>4</sup>

Also several major and minor Hindu deities present human or mostly human body and limbs crowned with the head of an animal. Examples are two of the still most popular Hindu gods, the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa and the monkey-god Hanumān, and three figures among Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, namely the boar-headed Varāha,<sup>5</sup> the lion-headed Narasiṃha – the third and fourth manifestations –, and the horse-headed Hayagrīva or Hayaśīras, who, depending on the single tradition or the single text, is considered alternatively as a demon – in some purāṇic myths killed by Viṣṇu in the form of one of his *avatāras* –, or as an incarnation of Viṣṇu himself and included in non-canonical lists of *avatāras*.<sup>6</sup> Among the therianthropic gods that maintain a minor or sectarian relevance, the goat-headed Naigameṣa might be mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Thus, it seems that in Hindu religious and mythological panorama, with few notable exceptions (among others, the *nāgas* and the goddess Manasā), the privileged way to imagine animal-human deities is as theriocephalic beings. While some patterns emerge as to the values attributed to this form, the divine functions of theriocephalic deities are as various as the significance of their physical form.

Concerning the animal aspect of *yoginīs*, the textual and iconographic material is very elusive, and does not lend itself to a straightforward interpretation. In an attempt to plumb the conceptual world that has generated these richly expressive therianthropic forms, as to the meaning and significance of the animal-human form of *yoginīs* it is possible, in my view, to

---

<sup>4</sup> Another facet of interest concerns the species of animals most commonly associated with *yoginīs*: is there a significance of species, which allows us to understand the choice of the kinds of animals appearing as *yoginīs*' faces or as *yoginīs*? Due to reasons of space, it is not possible to answer here to this question. Indeed, in both textual and iconographic sources, the representations of *yoginīs* form bestiaries variegated enough to contain, side by side, domesticated animals and wild animals, birds, mammals, and reptiles – different species that present us with a rich range of symbolic possibilities.

<sup>5</sup> With the exception of few Varāha depictions wholly as a boar, see e.g. van der Geer 2008: 401-408.

<sup>6</sup> On Hayagrīva see e.g. Nayar 2004 and van der Geer 2008: 237.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. van der Geer 2008: 172-173.

identify three interpretation lines, which are to be intended as interlocking and not mutually exclusive. These can be subsumed in few key words and organized in three sets: (1) metamorphosis, *melaka*, and supernatural powers; (2) liminality, wilderness, and otherness; (3) an animal mask?<sup>8</sup>

### **An Animal Mask?**

Among these, the hypothesis of an animal mask has not been investigated in previous scholarship,<sup>9</sup> and, as we are about to see, it is an interpretation as fascinating and thought-provoking as problematic.<sup>10</sup>

The form and the concept of a mask are strongly suggested by iconographic depictions of *yoginīs*. The analysis of the single sculptures reveals that in some instances the head is wholly theriomorphic, but in several cases an animal face is combined with other components of the head, such as the hair and the ears, that appear clearly human. In other words, only the outer surface of the head is depicted as animal-like.<sup>11</sup>

At Hīrāpur, near Bhuvaneśvar, in Orissa, rises one of the best preserved *yoginī* temples. Dated by Dehejia (1986: 98-100) to the second half of the ninth century, it enshrines exactly sixty-four *yoginīs*. While the enclosing walls consist of coarse

---

<sup>8</sup> For an extensive discussion of these three interpretation lines, see Policardi 2017, chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>9</sup> A partial exception is a recent work by an Indian scholar, Roy 2015, which, entirely dedicated to the “sixty-four *yoginīs*”, devotes a few pages to the idea of an animal mask of the *yoginīs* (pp. 44-48). While interestingly proposing the idea, Roy, however, does not elaborate it, so that the treatment appears somewhat cursory and unsystematic; moreover, she takes for granted information and analyses found in not always reliable secondary literature.

<sup>10</sup> On the functions, forms and typologies of masks and masking in South Asia see, among others, Emigh 1984, Emigh 1996, the essays collected in Malik 2001 (which includes also papers concerning other cultural contexts), and Shulman-Thiagarajan 2006. The general secondary literature on the phenomena of masks and masking and, in particular, on animal masks is obviously immense, and due to reasons of space and thematic coherence a brief study such as the present one cannot pretend to mention but a few studies, relevant to this specific discussion (see in particular Tonkin 1979, Pollock 1995 and Pernet 2005).

<sup>11</sup> In what follows, for both iconographic and textual sources, I will adduce illustrative rather than exhaustive evidence.

sandstone, the sculptures are carved from fine-grained dark chlorite, which allows a high degree of artistic refinement. Indeed, the elegant figures of Hīrāpur *yoginīs* display an exquisite attention to detail. Represented in standing postures, they form a variegated symphony, which varies from joyful and dancing notes to warrior and fearsome tones.

Special mastery is exhibited in the varying styles of coiffure. Also a number of *yoginīs* with animal faces present elaborate hairstyles, and in some cases bejeweled human ears complete the composition. Particularly striking is the case of the animal-faced *yoginī* No. 28 (Figure 1a), whose lineaments, in my view and according to van der Geer,<sup>12</sup> reminds closely the muzzle of the Indian hawk eagle. Peculiarly, her curly upright hair appears to have been fashioned to resemble the upright crown feathers of this bird of prey (cfr. Figures 1b and 2). Instead, the *yoginī* No. 25 (Figure 3a), sloth bear-faced, presents a multitude of fine hairs arranged around the head, which may be interpreted both as an unusual human hairstyle, perhaps intended to resemble a thick fur, or as a voluminous fur *tout court*. Probably the ambiguity is deliberate (cfr. Figures 3b and 4).

---

<sup>12</sup> I am sincerely grateful to Alexandra van der Geer – whose area of expertise encompasses paleontology, biogeography, and Indology – for having enthusiastically discussed with me several animal-faced *yoginī* sculptures between March and April 2017, providing valuable and compelling remarks based upon zoological analyses and comparisons.



Figure 1a: *Yoginī* No. 28, probably hawk eagle-faced, Hīrāpur temple.  
Photo: G. Pistilli.





Figure 1b: Detail of *yoginī* No. 28. Photo: G. Pistilli.



Figure 2: Changeable hawk eagle (*Nisaetus cirrhatus*), Tadoba National Park, Maharashtra. Photo: A. Shah for National Geographic.



Figure 3a: *Yoginī* No. 25, sloth bear-faced, Hīrāpur temple.  
Photo: S. Dupuis.



Figure 3b: Detail of *yoginī* No. 25. Photo: S. Dupuis



Figure 4: Sloth bear (*Melursus ursinus*), Bandhavgarh National Park, Madhya Pradesh. Photo: A. Gilson.

At Bherāghāṭ, near Jabalpur, in Madhya Pradesh, on the top of an isolated hill overlooking the river Narmadā, stands the largest and most imposing *yoginī* temple, which enshrined eighty-one sculptures of *yoginīs*. According to Dehejia (1986: 125, 129), the worship of eighty-one *yoginīs* was especially intended for exponents of royal families; the shrine was probably built by a sovereign of the Kalacuri dynasty in the last decades of the tenth century.

The Bherāghāṭ *yoginīs* differ from the slender damsels of Hīrāpur: slightly larger than life-size in dimension, they are

characterised by sensuous bodies and assured elegance, evoking a mature beauty. Moreover, each *yoginī*, richly carved in elaborate details, has a halo and a number of arms which ranges from four to eighteen, indicating her divine status. Nonetheless, even here, where the sculptural style becomes more sophisticated and exuberant, the animal-faced iconographic type is not dismissed.

Interestingly, in this shrine, most of the theriocephalic *yoginī* sculptures exhibit two pairs of ears: a theriomorphic pair in the upper part of the head and a human pair, with earrings, in the lower part of the head. This peculiar feature is particularly clearly visible in three cases: in the horse-faced *yoginī* labeled as Śrī Eruḍi, the No. 8 (Figure 5; the simultaneous presence of human and animal traits is highlighted in Figure 6); in the sow-faced *yoginī* by name Śrī Vārāhī, the No. 11 (Figures 7 and 8); and in the possibly bear-faced *yoginī* called Śrī Jāmvavī, the No. 16 (Figures 9 and 10). All the regal figures of animal-faced Bherāghāt *yoginīs*, moreover, present plainly human hair, arranged over their heads in a *jaṭāmukuta* or similar elaborate hairstyle.

Other examples of juxtapositions of human and animal features in one and the same head are found among the statuary of *yoginīs* recovered near the small village of Lokhari, in Uttar Pradesh. The most interesting case is represented by the hare-faced *yoginī* (Figure 11): while at first sight her head could appear as completely theriomorphic, she is clearly holding a strand of her human hair in her right hand. This gesture is probably intended to draw attention to her human hair, in a conscious pose that perhaps implies a slight nuance of playfulness.

On the other hand, a pattern that recurs in the different temples concerns the *yoginī* with snake traits. This figure invariably presents a wholly cobra head, with a more or less extended cobra-hood (see e.g. Figure 12). Thus, no human hair or particular coiffure is found in these cases; the cobra-hood substitutes the hair and the entire head appears as theriomorphic.



Figure 5: Śrī Eruḍi, No. 8, horse-faced, Bherāghāṭ temple.  
Photo: C. Policardi.

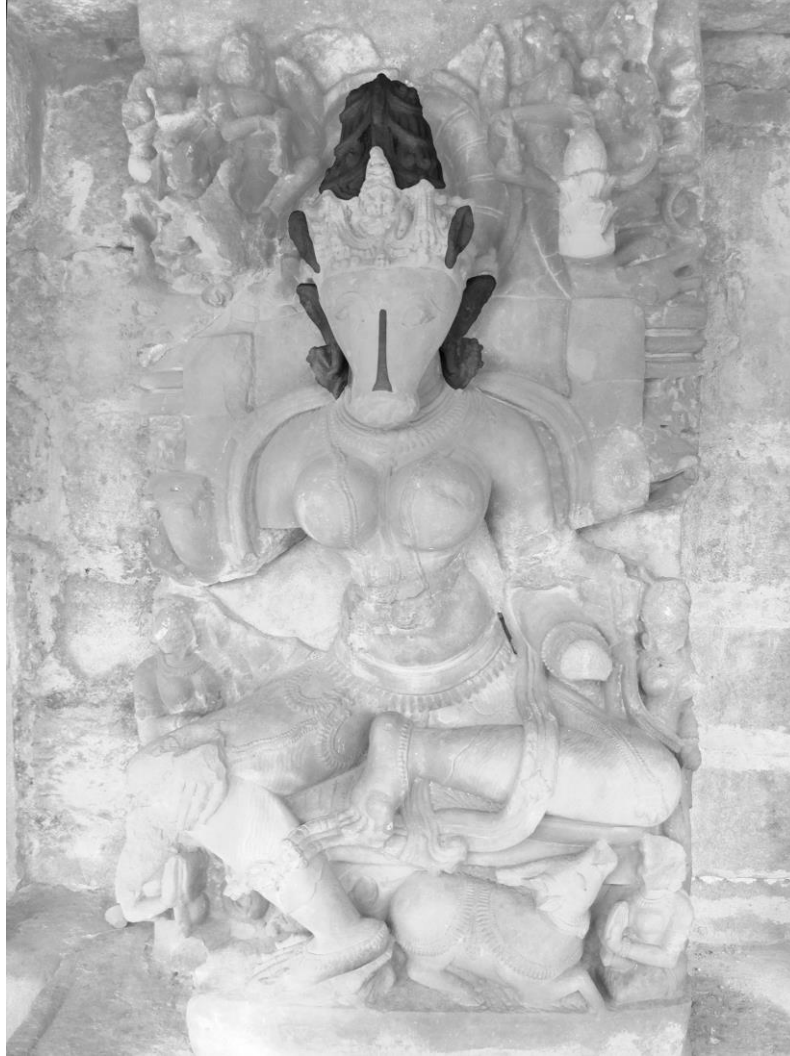


Figure 6: Śrī Eruḍi. Graphic design by D. Danielli. From above: (a) human hair arranged in a *jaṭāmukūṭa*; (b) animal ears; (c) human ears with wheel-like earrings; (d) vertical relief strip probably representing the white blaze on the nose of some horse breeds.





Figure 7: Śrī Vārāhī, No. 11, sow-faced, Bherāghāṭ temple. Photo: C. Policardi.



Figure 8: Śrī Vārāhī. Graphic design by D. Danielli. From above: (a) human hair; (b) animal ears; (c) human ears with circular earrings; (d) *vāhana*'s ears resembling the *yoginī*'s animal ears in shape.



Figure 9: Śrī Jāmvavī, No. 16, bear-faced?, Bherāghāṭ temple. Photo: C. Policardi.



Figure 10: Śrī Jāmvavī. Graphic design by D. Danielli. From above: (a) human hair arranged in a high *jaṭāmukuta*; (b) animal ears; (c) human ears.

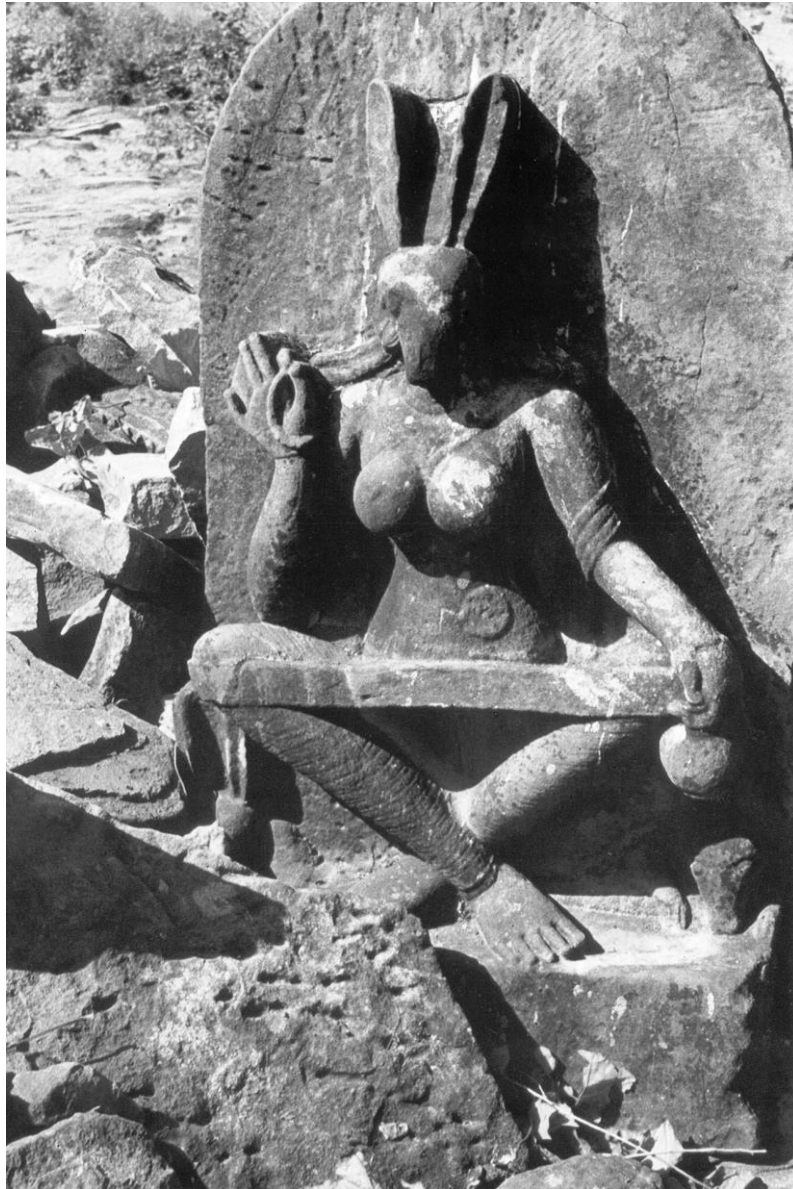


Figure 11: Hare-faced *yoginī* from Lokhari. Photo: after Dehejia 1986, 157.



Figure 12: Cobra-headed *yoginī* from Lokhari. Photo: after Dehejia 1986, 158.

*Yoginī*-related texts do not appear to offer decisive evidence to unravel the issue. In descriptions of *yoginīs* and in names of *yoginīs*, the indication of the type of animal is usually followed by terms designating the face, such as *ānana*, *vaktra*, *mukha*, *vadana*, while much more rarely words denoting the entire head, such as *śīrṣa* and the like, are used.

The earliest attested texts on Śaiva *yoginīs* belong to the Vidyāpīṭha tradition, a division of the Bhairavatantras characterised by predominantly female pantheons. This literature – some texts of which may have circulated in the seventh century – appears to survive in four principal exemplars, namely the *Brahmayāmala*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Tantrasadbhāva* and *Jayadrathayāmala*.<sup>13</sup>

Mentions or descriptions of animal-faced *yoginīs* are found in different passages of the *Brahmayāmala* (BraYā). The main initiation *maṇḍala* delineated by chapter 3 features various therianthropic *yoginīs*, among whom explicitly named as animal-faced are Siṃhānā (3.60a), ‘Lion-faced’, who belongs to a group of twenty-four *yoginīs*, and Kharānā, ‘Donkey-faced’ (3.82d), who is part of a set of six *yoginīs* placed in Virajā *śmaśāna*, one of the lotuses surrounding the core of the *maṇḍala*. While other *yoginī* names enclosed in this *maṇḍala* present the theriomorphic ingredient, in the absence of a term denoting the face, it is not possible to infer from their names whether these figures are meant to be interpreted as animal-faced or whether as completely theriomorphic.<sup>14</sup>

The sixth chapter of BraYā provides instructions on representing images of goddesses related to nine household

<sup>13</sup> Even if there is a large amount of work in progress, none of these four texts has yet been converted into a complete critical edition. The majority of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* has been edited by Törzsök (1999), in a currently unpublished doctoral thesis, which is likely to appear as a print edition in the near future. Kiss (2015) and Hatley (2018) have recently published an edition and translation of several *Brahmayāmala* chapters (3, 21, and 45 in Kiss 2015; 1-2, 39-40, 83 in Hatley 2018), while some other chapters of this text are edited and translated in Hatley’s doctoral thesis (2007).

<sup>14</sup> E.g., in the group of twenty-four *yoginīs* mentioned above (BraYā 3.57cd-3.61ab), according to the names, there are *yoginīs* with the appearances of a horse (Hayavegā), a monkey (Vānarī), a jackal (Kroṣṭukī), a tiger (Vyāghrī), an antelope (Hariṇī), and a cat (Mārjārī).

items, in which the deities dwell or on which they should be visualised.<sup>15</sup> In two cases the *devīs* are transparently described as animal-faced (namely, *kharānanāḥ*, 6.1c, ‘donkey-faced’ and *uṣṭravaktrāḥ*, 6.4b, ‘camel-faced’). In other cases the goddesses are defined by compounds having the term for the type of animal followed by °*rūpa-* as the second member: while *rūpa* usually denotes the general appearance, it does not categorically exclude the possibility of an animal face, given the importance of the face, and especially of an animal face in a therianthrope being, in connoting the general form and in denoting identity.

Similarly to chapter 6, but in a less systematic way, chapter 8 of BraYā, which deals with magical rituals (*ṣaṭkarman*)<sup>16</sup>, features therianthrope goddesses.<sup>17</sup> The *devīs* should be visualised with the faces of lions (16 ab *jvālārūpāḥ sthitā devyaḥ simhavaktrā vicintayet*), of jackals (22cd-23ab *ākrāntaṃ śaktibhiḥ dhyāyec chaktinā hr̥di bheditaṃ | mryate nātra sandeho gr̥hītaṃ kroṣṭhukānanaiḥ*)<sup>18</sup>, and with the appearance of camels (26 ab *hr̥tpadme saṃsthitā devya uṣṭrarūpaṃ vicintayet*).<sup>19</sup>

The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (SYM), in subsequent works considered as the foundational work of the Trika (Triad) tradition, in its thirteenth chapter offers a vivid glimpse on animal-faced *yoginīs*. Here, the beginning of a *melaka*, the encounter of the adept with the *yoginīs*, is described. Announced by a typical loud sound, “as if to mark the entrance of the *sādhaka* into a different and special state”,<sup>20</sup> the *yoginīs* fall down to the ground and surround the practitioners:

<sup>15</sup> These figures, defined as *siddhi* granting goddesses, can be considered as belonging to the general *yoginī* typology.

<sup>16</sup> In the tantric domain, the *ṣaṭkarman* are six standard actions of magical prowess of an adept.

<sup>17</sup> The electronic transcription of BraYā 8 is kind courtesy of Shaman Hatley.

<sup>18</sup> The masculine °*ānanaiḥ* clearly stands for the feminine; the use of masculine for feminine is a common trait in Aiśa language. On this peculiar register of Sanskrit influenced by Middle-Indic languages spoken at the time, see Törzsök 1999: xxiv-ixx and Kiss 2015: 74-86.

<sup>19</sup> The terms *devī* and *śakti* are clearly used here as interchangeable, and, as in chapter 6, denote female figures of the *yoginī* typology; indeed, these terms are attested in other contexts as synonyms of *yoginī*. See Törzsök 2014: 347-348.

<sup>20</sup> Serbaeva 2013: 200.



*k[ā]ścid utphullanayanāḥ k[ā]ścid raktāyatekṣaṇāḥ |  
uṣṭravāghrānanāḥ k[ā]ścit k[ā]ścic caiva kharānanā[h]  
|| 16 ||*

Some of them have their eyes wide open, others have huge, red eyes, still others are camel- tiger- or donkey-faced.<sup>21</sup>

*Yoginīs* connoted by animal faces appear again in SYM's chapter 25:

*vikṛtair ānanaiś cāpi rṅṣavyāghrānanais tathā || 74||  
gajāsyā rātricārāsyā aśvasūkarakādibhiḥ |  
dṛṣṭvā tān tu na hr̥ṣyeta na ca kopam samācaret || 75 ||*  
They have extraordinary faces such as bear, tiger, elephant, demon, horse, boar and other faces. Seeing them, one should not rejoice, nor should be angry.<sup>22</sup>

In *Tantrasadbhāva* a recurrent figure of *yoginī* is *siṃhavaktrā*, 'lion-faced' (e.g. TS 13.80a, 16.80b, 16.105a, 16.118b).

If the earliest sources on *yoginīs* belong to the Vidyāpīṭha, the majority of the extant Śaiva literature related to *yoginīs* is inscribed in various Kaula systems, where these figures become mostly associated with the number sixty-four.

An interesting passage featuring therianthropic *yoginīs* is enclosed in the *Ṣaṣṭhasrasaṃhitā* (ṢSS), a tantra belonging to the Western Kaula tradition centred on the cult of the goddess Kubjikā. Closely related to the *Kubjikāmata*, which is the root text of this tradition, the ṢSS is dated approximately from the twelfth century.<sup>23</sup> In its unpublished fifteenth chapter, it offers a detailed iconographic description of the sixty-four *yoginīs*, who should be visualised in eight lotuses (15.100-165).<sup>24</sup> Eleven *yoginīs* are described as theriocephalic, namely: Viśālākṣī, boar-

<sup>21</sup> Edition and translation by Törzsök forthcoming. I am much indebted with Judit Törzsök for providing me with chapters of her forthcoming critical edition.

<sup>22</sup> Edition by Törzsök forthcoming, translation mine.

<sup>23</sup> See Schoterman 1982: 5-6.

<sup>24</sup> For ṢSS 15 I refer to the text as given in the draft edition by Sanderson, reported in Serbaeva 2006: Appendix 7.6.

faced (*śūkarāsyā*), 15.118; Huṃkāri, fish-faced (*mīnavaktrā*), 15.119; Vaḍavāmukhī, horse-faced, 15.120; Hāhāravā, donkey-faced, 15.121; Mahākrūrā, buffalo-faced (*lulāpākhyā*), 15.122; Hayānanā, horse-faced (*turaṅgāsyā*), 15.130; Pralayāntikā, monkey-faced, 15.145; Piśācī, crow-faced (*kākāsyā*), 15.147; Tapanī, snake-faced (*pannagānanā*), 15.152; Vāmanī, most likely elephant-faced, 15.153; and probably Bīḍālī, described as cat-eyed (*viḍālākṣī*), 15.162.<sup>25</sup>

Significantly, the SSS is most probably coeval with the construction of the major *yoginī* temples, and these portrayals of *yoginīs* might have been transversal across literary and non-literary domains, that is to say across different media. While it is not possible to establish a biunivocal correspondence between written representations and the extant sculptures, they appear as typologically congruent, reflecting closely related religious visions in mediaeval India, post tenth-century.

Coming back to our main focus, the hypothesis of an animal mask of the *yoginīs*, it should be noted that terms such as *āsyā*, *ānana*, *vaktra* and the like, while commonly denoting the face, may well be used by synecdoche to refer to the whole head, hence it does not appear safe to infer conclusions on *yoginī* representations on the basis of the usage of these terms. Moreover, in texts there are no explicit hints pointing towards the idea of an outer surface that conceals or disguises the face of an entirely human or anthropomorphic being.

On the other hand, as Shulman (2006: 20) remarks, surprisingly, in Sanskrit and other Indic languages a specific term for “mask” is not present:

the concept seems to be missing in India. Even a word for ‘mask’ is lacking. Empirically and analytically, we find

---

<sup>25</sup> The Sanskrit passages describing Hāhāravā and Pralayāntikā have some textual problems which, presumably, conceal the mentions of their animal faces. The latter, however, can be surmised from parallel passages in other texts. In the case of Vāmanī too her animal head can be presumed in the light of further evidence. For a detailed discussion on the iconographic section of SSS 15 and on the remarkable textual parallels present in different purānic sources, see Policardi 2017 § 3.1.2B.

masking and masquerade in abundance all over the subcontinent.

In the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the term *pratiśīrṣa*, “counterhead”, occurs, but it appears to refer to a covering for the whole head, including a crown.<sup>26</sup> But, significantly, as Shulman (2006: 20) stresses, the languages of India refer to that part of the guise that primarily concerns the head exactly and simply as “face” (*chehra*, *mukha*, *ānana*, *āśya*, etc.).

Is it, then, possible that behind the designations for animal-faced *yoginīs* there is a reference to a mask? Possibly yes, albeit far from being certain. If masks were employed in *yoginī* cult, would they be more explicitly attested in texts? Not necessarily: Indological studies show that in several cases art-historical or visual records attest facts or usages that do not find evidence in texts, and vice versa.

Thus, texts leave a possibility open, while iconographic sources present striking peculiar features that call for an explanation. The first point to consider is whether this juxtaposition of human and animal traits on the level of the head can be interpreted merely as a stylistic device adopted by sculptors, an artistic convention commonly used to represent animal-faced deities.

Considering the representations of other theriocephalic Hindu deities, we can observe that Vārāhī, for example, is frequently depicted with an elaborate hairstyle or with a conical crown that accents the long diagonal of her face.<sup>27</sup> Along the same line, in portraits of Gaṇeśa the elephant head is often adorned with more or less elaborate and towering *jaṭāmukūṭas*.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, also Narasiṃha<sup>29</sup> and Hanumān<sup>30</sup> may present unambiguously human coiffure. In these cases, the elegant

---

<sup>26</sup> *Nāṭyaśāstra* 21.210. On the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s section devoted to the use of “masks”, see Gerow 2006: 208-210.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. some examples of Vārāhī sculptures in van der Geer 2008, figures from 502 to 505.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. the examples in van der Geer 2008, figures from 293 to 295.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. figure 436 in van der Geer 2008.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. figure 382 in van der Geer 2008.

hairstyles are clearly intended to emphasise the distinguished, divine status of the figures; they are part of the overall ornamentation of the deity.

This can be true also for *yoginī* depictions. Thus, the presence of human hairstyle is common to the representations of other animal-faced Hindu deities and cannot be interpreted as a decisive hint for the hypothesis of a mask. However, the human hair is not the only trait at play in *yoginī* portraits. The arrangement of the hair resembling the feathers or the fur of a particular animal in the Hīrāpur sculptures may not be simply ornamental. Moreover, animal-faced Hindu deities do not present, as a rule, two pairs of ears, animal and human: thus, also the presence of a double pair of ears at Bherāghāṭ might be meaningful. Finally, the hare-faced *yoginī* at Lokhari that patently holds a strand of her human hair with one hand cannot be dismissed as an artistic convention: the gesture seems both explicit and purposeful.

Another option might be to consider these elements simply as ways to avoid that the theriomorphic features deprive these images of their charm and femininity, ways to harmonise the animal-faced sculptures with the ensemble of the *yoginī* circle. While this may be true, the cases are striking and numerous enough, I believe, to make the hypothesis of a mask worth investigating. Not only are they striking and numerous, but they are also found at not close geographical locations (Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh) and are attested from slightly distant chronological periods (from ninth century to eleventh century): thus, they are not limited to a single local tradition or related to one specific temple.

Hence, I will assume that the animal mask-like face in *yoginī* depictions is not a mere matter of artistic device, but a meaningful trait. What could be, then, the meaning and function of this form?

### Three possible interpretative hypotheses

These composite representations of *yoginīs*' heads, I believe, open up three possible interpretative hypotheses: (1) these sculptures represent deities, with mask-like animal faces; (2) they represent real women wearing an animal mask, presumably for ritual purposes; (3) the distinction between deities and women was not relevant or, better said, women could embody deities, thus these sculptures represent simultaneously women and deities, conceived with animal faces. Each of these three possibilities ramifies in various directions. Leaving aside the case of cobra-headed *yoginīs*, which seems to represent an exception (an exception that proves the rule?), let us now proceed to examine these three hypotheses.

The divine status of *yoginīs* in sculpture is suggested by the multiple arms exhibited in several cases. Thus, it is not rare to find an animal-faced *yoginī* presenting four or more arms. As is well-known, in Indian art the multiplicity of bodily parts is a clear indication of a divine status.<sup>31</sup> If the animal-faced *yoginī* is a goddess, then, why is she wearing a mask? As a divine being, she does not need a mask to transform herself: she possesses supernatural powers, among which the most conspicuous is the shapeshifting power. In other words, why those who conceived the sculpted images and the sculptors themselves made the effort to imagine and to represent the *yoginīs*' heads with human and animal traits juxtaposed? One answer might be that it was a way to underline the simultaneous presence of the two natures – animal and human – also on the level of the head itself. Hence, the mask-like face would not conceal any human face; it would be simply an anatomical component of a composite being whose head itself is composite. If these are simply deities with animal mask-like faces, it is nonetheless a particularly striking way of rendering figures connoted by the power of transformation and by a shapeshifting nature. This is to say that also if we intend these representations as deities *tout court*, their mask-like

---

<sup>31</sup> The extensive study by Srinivasan 1997 remains the main reference on the subject.

qualities do not appear meaningless, but they are probably related to their power to transform both themselves and others.

In the second hypothesis, these sculptures would portray human women wearing animal masks, presumably for ritual purposes. In this case, we face two major problems. First, this interpretation does not explain the multiplicity of arms: human figures are not, as a rule, endowed with more than two arms. The second problem concerns recovery of data: in the tantric domain, actual data on historical women and social facts are extremely difficult to recover, as stressed by both Törzsök (2014: 340-341) and Hatley (forthcoming). Nonetheless, we may consider the possibility that these images refer to rituals in which human women identify themselves with animal-faced goddesses, ritually acting like animals and birds, and possibly assuming the guise of the deities they were representing. Some textual references seem to offer glimpses of rituals in which the practitioner imitates the calls and the movements of animals; the most significant passages are found in *Jayadrathayāmala*, at 2.2.90-99 and 3.38.<sup>32</sup>

In different religious conceptions, familiarity to and identification with animals is a sign of the initiates' proximity to the realm of the supernatural and divine.<sup>33</sup> In the Śaiva context of the *yoginī* cult, the imitation of animals appears interwoven with the conception of possession. In the earliest sources on *yoginīs*, *āveśa* and cognate terms from *ā-√viś* define an altered state of consciousness, in which the *yoginīs* possess the initiate.<sup>34</sup> Such an experience is transitory, usually very brief, and always intense. If such a possession is not controlled by the practitioner, it is of baneful nature, but if the *sādhaka* himself provokes and controls it, he can obtain knowledge and

---

<sup>32</sup> See Serbaeva 2013: 200; 202.

<sup>33</sup> On this theme, see e.g. Thumiger 2014: 388.

<sup>34</sup> For the purpose of the present paper, I confine myself to a very brief outline on the theme of *yoginī* possession. An insightful analysis of occurrences and significance of possession (*āveśa* and related terms, *stobha*) in early texts on *yoginīs* is offered by two thorough papers, Törzsök 2013 and Serbaeva 2013. For possession in Śākta traditions see Sanderson 2009: 133-134. For a broader study of possession in South Asia traditions see the monograph by Frederick M. Smith (2006).

supernatural powers in the quickest way. This state of possession manifests itself in various external signs, including the imitation of animals in both the behaviour and the calls. This might indicate that the adept is undergoing a radical change, shifting away from his ordinary identity.

Did these rituals implying possession on the part of the *yoginīs* make use of animal masks? Masking, probably a universal phenomenon, constitutes a prominent dimension in South Asian traditions and religions. While in other cultures it is often possible to make a distinction between masked rituals and performances on the one hand and practices of possession on the other hand, in South Asia these phenomena frequently appear strictly interrelated.<sup>35</sup>

Masking represents both a mode of concealment and a mode of revelation and transformation. Across the different Indian traditions, the mask, being a means of transitory alteration of physical appearance, allows disengagement from ordinary time and facilitates the entry into a different domain. In ritual contexts, the mask is a privileged way to accompany the transition from one status to another. According to Tonkin (1979: 242-243), masks are used:

to transform events [...] or mediate between structures. That is why they so often appear in rites of passage. In particular they are often conductors, exemplars and operators in those innumerable initiation sequences which enact the death of the old self and the rebirth of a new one. [...] The mask carrier is said to assume power, the aim of a Mask cult is to channel, elicit or transmit power.

We can add a nuance by quoting Shulman (2006: 20):

[in masking], in general, there is a sense of exchanging and expanding, let us say, a human

---

<sup>35</sup> See Shulman 2006: 22-24. For some bibliographical references on South Asian masks and masking see *supra*, note 10.

persona to the point where it assimilates or appropriates a divine (or demonic) existence.

In other words, wearing a mask is equivalent to cross a threshold: masking is one of the most immediate ways to become other than oneself, and thus, often, to pass from Self to Other. Concerning theatrical masks, Emigh (1984: xviii) states: “for the actor, the otherness of the mask becomes both the obstacle and the goal”. This idea can be applied to the ritual actor too.<sup>36</sup>

In ritual practices connected to *yoginīs*, the otherness of an animal mask might have had the function to trigger a boundary shift. Women might have worn animal masks to assume the identity of animal-faced goddess *yoginīs*. The mask might have been a tool to facilitate transformation, both women’s own transformation and of the male practitioner. In *yoginī* tradition, hence, the animal, presumably – and texts seem to allow for this interpretation – was not seen as a negative “other”, as a threat of loss of human identity, but as an otherness that allows a redefinition and a reconstruction of a new, expanded identity.

Going another step further and developing a strand of this second hypothesis, we might suppose that animal-faced *yoginī* sculptures represent simultaneously deities and women, in a deliberate ambiguity. Indeed, we might ask if the distinction between deities and human women is merely a manifestation of our own need for an unambiguous explanation, a label which was simply not relevant in the tantric thought-world of mediaeval India. In other words, it is possible that imposing a sharp demarcation of the confines between the two categories would fit more the demands of another culture than the one in which these figures have been conceived.

As already remarked, female divinisation quintessentially informs the *yoginī* tradition and, presumably, the categories of human women embodying *yoginīs* and divine *yoginīs* were not

---

<sup>36</sup> I do not need to mention that in several South Asia traditions the boundaries between ritual and theatrical performances are ultimately blurred; on the scholarly debate around this topic see e.g. the recent overview by Ganser 2017.



mutually exclusive units in the minds of mediaeval tantric practitioners. Possibly, *yoginīs*, and also therianthropic *yoginīs*, straddle the real/imagined divide, in a fluid continuum of reality. If we interpreted the sculptures as reflecting an intentional and programmatic overlapping of deities and ritual reality, both the mask-like faces, which appear to suit human figures, and the multiple arms, which are instead appropriate to a deity, would find an explanation.

## Conclusions

In conclusion, the peculiar mode of *yoginī* representation that depicts only the outer surface of the head as animal-like and juxtaposes it with human features does not seem meaningless; it suggests the idea of an animal mask. While iconographic sources offer compelling hints in this direction, the concept of an animal mask does not find explicit confirmation in textual evidence. Due to the lack of unequivocal or at least significant textual data, at the present state of research, all the three hypotheses above delineated appear theoretically possible, but remain in the realm of speculation, and the question about the animal mask should remain open.

Nonetheless, in my view, the understanding of theriocephalic *yoginīs* as simultaneous representations of animal-faced deities and women wearing animal masks, mirroring ritual rituality (as above advanced as the third possible hypothesis), while waiting to be more strongly validated by further research, appears as a promising path and as a possible, thought-provoking interpretative solution.

## References

### Primary sources

BraYā = *Brahmayāmalatantra*

1. Hatley, S. (ed. and transl.). 2018. *The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata, volume I. Revelation, Ritual, and Material Culture in an Early Śaiva Tantra: Chapters 1-2, 39-40, and 83*. Collection Indologie, no. 133 (Early Tantra Series, no. 5), Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient/Asien-Afrika-Institut Universität Hamburg.
2. Kiss, C. (ed. and transl.). 2015. *The Brahmayāmalatantra or Picumata, volume II. The Religious Observances and Sexual Rituals of the Tantric Practitioner: Chapters 3, 21, and 45*. Collection Indologie, no. 130 (Early Tantra Series, no. 3), Institut Français de Pondichéry/École française d'Extrême-Orient/Asien-Afrika-Institut Universität Hamburg.
3. Hatley, S. (ed. and transl.). 2007. *The Brahmayāmalatantra and the Early Śaiva Cult of Yoginīs*. Unpublished PhD dissertation (supervisor H. Isaacson), University of Pennsylvania.
4. *Brahmayāmalatantra*. Transcription of chapters 6 and 8 from National Archives of Kathmandu Ms. No. 3-370, NGMPP reel No. A42/6. Courtesy of Shaman Hatley.

KJN = *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* of Matsyendranātha

1. Mukhopadhyaya, S. (ed. and transl.). 2012. *The Kaulajñānanirṇaya. The Esoteric Teachings of Matsyendrapāda*. Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.
2. Bagchi, P. C. (ed.). 1934. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha*. Calcutta Sanskrit Series, no. 3, Calcutta: Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House.
3. National Archives, Kathamandu. Ms No. 3-362 = NGMPP reel A48/13, palm-leaf, Newari, undated, missing its first two folios. E-text of chapters 1-11, with variant readings from ms NAK 3-362, courtesy of Shaman Hatley.

ṢSS = *Ṣaṣṭhasrasaṃhitā*

1. Schoterman, J. A. (ed. and transl.). 1982. *The Ṣaṣṭhasra Saṃhitā. Chapters 1-5*. Leiden: Brill.

2. Draft edition of chapter 15 by Alexis Sanderson, reported in Serbaeva 2006: II. 14 and III, Appendix 7.6.

SYM = *Siddhayogeśvarāmata*

1. Törzsök, J. Forthcoming. *The Teaching of Powerful Yoginīs. A Critical Edition of the Siddhayogeśvarāmata with an Introduction and Annotated Translation.*
2. Törzsök, J. (ed. and transl.). 1999. *The Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits. A Critical Edition of Selected Chapters of the Siddhayogeśvarāmata(tantra) with Annotated Translation and Analysis.* Unpublished PhD dissertation (supervisor A. Sanderson), University of Oxford.

*Tantrasadbhāvanā*

- Dyczkowski, M. (ed.). "Partially and provisionally edited". E-text available from the Digital Library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute.

## Secondary sources

- Dehejia, V. 1986. *Yoginī Cult and Temples. A Tantric Tradition.* Delhi: National Museum.
- Emigh, J. 1984. Dealing with the Demonic: Strategies for Containment in Hindu Iconography and Performance. In: *Asian Theatre Journal* 1/1: 21–39.
- Emigh, J. 1996. *Masked Performance. The Play of Self and Other in Ritual and Theatre.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ganser, E. 2017. Theatrical and Ritual Boundaries in South Asia: An Introductory Essay. In: E. Ganser and E. Debicka-Borek (eds.). *Theatrical and Ritual Boundaries in South Asia: Part I. Cracow Indological Studies.* Vol. XIX No. 1: vii-xxiv.
- Gerow, E. 2006. Masks and Associated Mythical Beasts. In: D. Shulman and D. Thiagarajan (eds.). *Masked Ritual and Performance in South India. Dance, Healing, and Possession.* Ann Arbor: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan Press: 208-223.
- Hatley, S. Forthcoming. Sisters and Consorts, Adepts and Goddesses: Representations of Women in the *Brahmayāmala*.

- Hatley, S. 2014. Goddesses in Text and Stone: Temples of the Yoginīs in Light of Tantric and Purāṇic Literature. In: B. Fleming and R. Mann (eds.). *Material Culture and Asian Religions. Text, Image, Object*. London: Routledge: 195-225.
- Hatley, S. 2013. What is a Yoginī? Towards a Polythetic Definition. In I. Keul (ed.). *'Yoginī' in South Asia. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. London: Routledge: 21-31.
- Hatley, S. 2012. From Mātṛ to Yoginī: Continuity and Transformation in the South Asian Cults of the Mother Goddesses. In: I. Keul (ed.). *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter: 99-129.
- Keul, I. (ed.). 2013. *'Yoginī' in South Asia. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Malik, S. C. (ed.). 2001. *Rūpa-Pratirūpa. Mind, Man, and Mask*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts–Aryan Books International.
- Nayar, K. E. 2004. *Hayagrīva in South India. Complexity and Selectivity of a Pan-Indian Hindu Deity*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pernet, H. 2005. Masks. In: L. Jones (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Second Edition. Vol IX. Detroit–New York: MacMillan Reference–Thomson Gale: 5764-5772.
- Policardi, C. 2016. Therianthropic *Yoginīs* in Early Śaiva Tradition. In R. Torella, M. Franceschini, T. Pontillo, C. Pieruccini, A. Rigopoulos and F. Sferra (eds.). *Proceedings of the Meeting of the Italian Association of Sanskrit Studies (Bologna 27-28 March 2015)*, *RSO*, Supplemento n. 2, Nuova serie, vol. LXXXIX: 119-154.
- Policardi, C. 2017. *Of Deities and Animals. Therianthropic Yoginīs in Pre-modern Śaiva Traditions*. Unpublished PhD dissertation (supervisor R. Torella), Sapienza Università di Roma.
- Pollock, D. 1995. Masks and the Semiotics of Identity. In: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 1, No. 3: 581-597.
- Sanderson, A. 2009. The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period. In: S. Eino (ed.). *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series, 23: 41-350.

- Sanderson, A. 1988. Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions. In: S. Sutherland et alii (eds.). *The World's Religions*. London: Routledge: 660-704.
- Serbaeva, O. 2013. Can Encounters with Yoginīs in the *Jayadrathayāmala* be Described as Possession? In: I. Keul (ed.). *'Yoginī' in South Asia. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. London: Routledge: 198-212.
- Serbaeva, O. 2009. Tentative Reconstruction of the Relative Chronology of the Śaiva Purāṇic and Śaiva Tantric Texts on the Basis of the Yoginī-related Passages. In: M. Ježić and P. Koskikallio (eds.). *Parallels and Comparisons. Proceedings of the Fourth Dubrovnik International Conference on the Sanskrit Epics and Purāṇas*. Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts: 313-348.
- Serbaeva, O. 2006. *Yoginīs in Śaiva Purāṇas and Tantras. Their Role in Transformative Experiences in a Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Unpublished PhD dissertation (supervisors M. Burger and P. Schreiner), Université de Lausanne.
- Shulman, D. 2006. Towards a New Theory of Masks. In: D. Shulman and D. Thiagarajan (eds.). *Masked Ritual and Performance in South India. Dance, Healing, and Possession*. Ann Arbor: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan Press: 17-58.
- Shulman, D. – Thiagarajan, D. (eds.). 2006. *Masked Ritual and Performance in South India. Dance, Healing, and Possession*. Ann Arbor: Centers for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan Press.
- Smith, F. M. 2006. *The Self Possessed. Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Thumiger, C. 2014. Metamorphosis: Human into Animals. In: G. L. Campbell (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 384-413.
- Tonkin, E. 1979. Masks and Powers. In: *Man*, New Series, Vol. 14, No. 2: 237-248.
- Törzsök, J. 2014. Women in Early Śākta Tantras: *Dūtī*, *Yoginī* and *Sādhakī*. In: M. Czerniak-Drożdżowicz and E. Dębicka-Borek

- (eds.). *Tantric Traditions in Theory and Practice*, Cracow *Indological Studies*, vol. XIV: 339-367.
- Törzsök, J. 2013. Yoginī and Goddess Possession in Early Śaiva Tantras. In: I. Keul (ed.). *‘Yoginī’ in South Asia. Interdisciplinary Approaches*. London: Routledge: 179-197.
- van der Geer, A. 2008. *Animals in Stone. Indian Mammals Sculpted through Time*. Leiden: Brill.
- Walens, S. 2005. Therianthropism. In: L. Jones (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Second Edition. Vol XIII. Detroit–New York: MacMillan Reference–Thomson Gale: 9155-9156.

R. N. PRASHER

RGVEDIC PANIS AND PHOENICIANS:  
TRADE AND CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFUSION

**Synopsis**

Conjectures have been made about the identity of R̥gvedic Panis and the Phoenicians. The term Phoenician is of Greek coinage applied to people who were earlier known as Canaanites/Sidonians in Biblical times. In this paper, we are not getting into the quagmire of identification of the Panis and Phoenicians with each other or the issue of the relative chronology of the Vedic age and the Indus valley cities. We have tried to show that some aspects of the technological, cultural and philological overlap between the ancient civilisations of the Near East and the people living in the north-west part of the Indian sub-continent continuously from 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. till the Mauryan times are the consequence of extensive maritime trade between the two regions and that both the Panis and the Phoenicians were renowned as traders in their respective regions. We have noted that both the R̥gvedic Panis and the Canaanites/Phoenicians were skilled carpenters and shipbuilders. The conflict of the Panis with the Vedic people and indication of their shifting their base towards the west while maintaining trade contacts with India enriched the overlap. Similarity of dentistry knowledge between Mehrgarh and Phoenicians has been noticed. These further strengthen the view that there was continuous cultural and technological

diffusion between the Indian sub-continent and the west over millennia through trade carried by the Paṇis and the Phoenicians. Finally, the name of the important Phoenician site of Pani Loriga in Sardinia, gives first-ever indication of the presence of the R̥gvedic term Paṇi in the Phoenician Mediterranean.

### Phoenicians and Paṇis

Phoenicians find repeated mention in the works of classical writers. Herodotus, while narrating the Persian and Phoenician versions of kidnapping or eloping of Io at Argos, incidentally mentions that the Phoenicians had formerly dwelt on the shores of the Erythraean Sea. They migrated to the Mediterranean and settled in the parts that they inhabited in the days of Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> It has been noted that the Phoenicians are the same people who are called Canaanites or Sidonians in the Bible.<sup>2,3</sup>

The Erythraean Sea, in modern spelling, Eritrean Sea, is the Greek name for the Red Sea. Yet, to the ancient Greeks, it included the Indian Ocean and its branches, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.<sup>4</sup> The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, is an account of maritime trade from Roman and Egyptian ports on the coast of the Red Sea, to the Horn of Africa, then to Sindh region in the Indus delta and finally to western and south western coastal regions of India. It mentions that a direct sea route from the Red Sea to the Indian west coast was discovered by Hippalus of 1<sup>st</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Blakeney, E. H., Ed., *The History of Herodotus, Translated by George Rawlinson, vol. I*, 1910, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *The Old Testament*, New International Version (NIV), Genesis 10:19; Numbers 13:29.

<sup>3</sup> Haber, Marc, et al, Continuity and Admixture in the Last Five Millennia of Levantine History from Ancient Canaanite and Present-Day Lebanese Genome Sequences, *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 101(2):274-282, also Kristine, Romey, Living Descendants of Biblical Canaanites Identified Via DNA, *National Geographic*, accessed online at <https://news.nationalgeographic.com/2017/07/canaanite-bible-ancient-dna-lebanon-genetics-archaeology/>

<sup>4</sup> Huntingford G. W. B., Trans. and Ed., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, By an Unknown Author, With Some Extracts from Agatharkhidēs 'On the Erythraean Sea'*, The Hakluyt Society, London, 1980, p. 1.



century B.C. Pliny, the Elder wrote that the discovery of Hippalus was not the route but the monsoon wind which is also called Hippalus. André Tchernia, however, calls Hippalus a myth and supports this word's reading as Hypalus, the wind Hypalus meaning the wind that comes from under the sea, this being the Greeks' belief that the winds come from inside the sea.<sup>5</sup> The Monsoon winds must have been known from the earliest times to all who sailed along the African and Arabian coast, and the normal trade route from the Persian Gulf to India could never have been along the inhospitable shore of Gedrosia.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, now known that the sea trade with the Near East had continued since at least 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C.<sup>7</sup> The evidence from Mehrgarh, Pakistan, though scanty, may take this date further backwards.<sup>8</sup> Excavations at Mehrgarh have placed the Neolithic of the Indian sub-continent chronologically on the same footing as the West Asian Neolithic.<sup>9</sup>

The Periplus, which is subsequent to Herodotus, does show that the term Erythraean Sea was used by the Greeks to denote the waters from the Red Sea to the west coast of India. Hence, it can be safely concluded that the Phoenicians who, in terms of the account given by Herodotus, had the strongest maritime presence in the region for more than two millennia before Herodotus, were familiar with the Sindh region and the west coast of India.

It is noticed that the words Phoenicia and Phoenicians are based only on Greek sources and as mentioned above, they are the same people as the Canaanites or Sidonians, under which name they are known in the Old Testament. Many conjectures

---

<sup>5</sup> Tchernia, André, *The Romans and Trade, Translated by James Grieve (with Elizabeth Minchin)*, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 229-231.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p.229, Ref. 2, Kennedy (1898). The Early Commerce of Babylon with India, 700-300 BC, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland(JRAS)*, 30: 241-88 at 272-3.

<sup>7</sup> Katz, Nathan, From Legend to History: India and Israel in the Ancient World, *Shofar*, (Spring 1999), Vol. 17, No. 3: 7-22 at 11-12.

<sup>8</sup> Tosi, Maurizio and Vidale, Massimo, 4<sup>th</sup> Millennium BC Lapis Lazuli Working at Mehrgarh, Pakistan, *Paléorient*, vol. 16/2 – 1990: 89-99.

<sup>9</sup> Naseem, Mohd., Indigenous Origin of the Neolithic Cultures in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 41 (1980): 905-911 at 906

exist regarding the etymology of Phoenicia and Phoenicians. These words may come from Greek *Phoinikes*, from *Phoinos*, meaning blood-red, which may be further related to *phonos*, 'murder'. The purple dye, of which the Phoenicians had the monopoly of manufacture and trade, and which became a symbol of power and wealth, earning the names of Tyrian purple and royal purple, would strengthen that association.<sup>10</sup>

Phoenicians traded in dates (*Phoenix dactylifera* L.) too and had carried the Palm cult to all parts of the Mediterranean as early as the Neolithic period. The Phoenician god Baal appears to have an association with the date palm. Baal is an old Semitic word that, even today in Arabic, means an unirrigated palm.<sup>11</sup> It was considered important enough to be called the Tree of Life.<sup>12</sup> The fact that the Greeks obtained their knowledge of the date palm from the Phoenicians is evident from the name they gave it – Phoenix, the tree of the Phoenicians and the purple colour of dates could have reinforced that association. As the symbol of Phoenicia, date palm is found on the Phoenician and, later, Carthaginian coins struck in Sicily.<sup>13</sup> The earliest archaeological evidence of date cultivation is from Mehrgarh around 7000 B.C. It remained an important food item in the cities of Indus Valley Civilisation. It is indigenous to the "Sahara-Sind region", a desert or semi desert belt extending from the Indus valley to North Africa.<sup>14</sup> It is believed by some to have been derived from the wild or date-sugar palm of western India (*Phoenix sylvestris* Roxb.)<sup>15</sup> Greek mythology connects the date palm to the immortal Phoenix. Ezekiel, the dramatist, and Ovid, the Latin

---

<sup>10</sup> The Phoenicians (1500-300 B.C.), essay accessed at [https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/phoe/hd\\_phoe.htm](https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/phoe/hd_phoe.htm)

<sup>11</sup> Popenoe, Paul, The Date-Palm in Antiquity, *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Sep. 1924): 313-325, at 320.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* p. 318.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 321.

<sup>14</sup> A'lam, Hūsang, "Date Palm", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, VII/2, P.117. Accessed online at <http://iranicaonline.org/articles/date-palm>

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

poet, speak of the Phoenix as a bird that is perched on the homonymous palm tree.<sup>16</sup>

Sidonius Apollinaris mentions Cinnamon with the phoenix, particularly in his description of the triumphant procession of Bacchus as the conqueror of India, in which the phoenix marched among prisoners, carrying a tribute of cinnamon.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the phoenix got transferred to India, where the cinnamon came from. The homelands of the phoenix, Arabia and later India, were usually called Felix, meaning primarily 'fertile'. Later, as it found a home in Rome, it was seen along with the tiger and the elephant in books and mosaics.<sup>18</sup>

The Phoenicians seemed to have knowledge of dentistry including bridgework. The method used false teeth carved from ivory and attached to natural teeth by thin gold wire.<sup>19</sup> The Phoenicians are said to have obtained this knowledge from the Egyptians. Evidence of tooth drilling has been found from 7000 to 5500B.C. at Mehrgarh. They used bead-making technology to drill holes in molars. A few holes had concentric rings showing drill marks. Wearing of tooth along these drill marks showed that these individuals continued to live for a considerable time after drilling was completed.<sup>20</sup> The much earlier date of Mehrgarh does point to this site being the source of the Phoenicians' knowledge of dentistry.

Lastly, association is pointed out with Phoenix, brother of Cadmus.<sup>21</sup> Herodotus credits Cadmus with introducing the Phoenician alphabet and places him around 2000 B.C.<sup>22</sup> Interestingly, in Biblical Hebrew, the word Canaanite became

---

<sup>16</sup> Lecocq, Françoise, *Inventing the Phoenix: A Myth in the Making Through Words and Images*, Ch. 21: 449-478, at 453-454, in *Animals in Greek and Roman Religion and Myth, Proceedings of the Symposium Grumentinum Grumento Nova (Potenza) 5-7 June 2013*, Ed. Johnston, Patricia A., Mastrocinque, Attilio and Papaioannou, Sophia, 2016.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 459.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. 462.

<sup>19</sup> Zogheib, Carina Mehanna, "Dentistry, a Gift from Phoenicia to the World", *EC Dental Science* 9.2 (2017): 33-36. Accessed at <https://www.econicon.com/ecde/pdf>

<sup>20</sup> Coppa, A., Bondioli, L., Cucina, A, et al., *Nature* 2006; 440: 755-756, Quoted in *British Dental Journal* 200, 425 (22 April 2006), Accessed at <https://www.nature.com/articles/4813555>

<sup>21</sup> Menoni, Burton, *Kings of Greek Mythology*, 2016, p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

the equivalent of “merchant”<sup>23</sup> and the Sidonians and the Phoenicians were primarily traders.

Variations of the word Phoenician are also seen in classical works. Puni was used for the Phoenicians before Carthage arose and thereafter it was used for the Carthaginians. Poeni too has been used. But there was no instance of the use of Pani. Yet, we do not know what appellation, if any, these seafarers, maritime traders, inventors of the alphabet and colonisers used for themselves. Paṇis are mentioned repeatedly in the *Ṛgveda*, mostly in a negative light. Conjectures have been made for a long time that both Phoenicians of the Mediterranean and Paṇis of *Ṛgveda* represent the same people. The name Paṇi is not, however, met in classical works. Later in this paper, we report the use of Pani as a qualifying word for an archaeological site of the Phoenicians on the island of Sardinia.

The *Ṛgveda* has numerous references to Paṇis. They stole the cows of Indra and hid these in caves. Interlocutor Saramā tries to persuade them to give back the stolen property but they taunt her.<sup>24</sup> There is war and defeated Paṇis retreat westwards. There is another interpretation of the verse where Indra is the aggressor and has taken the cows. Lastly, the verses are interpreted with no cows in the picture but rays of the sun.<sup>25</sup> Whatever be the object intended, Paṇis are described as rich, wise and given to introspection.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, they are shown as garrulous, arrogant, lazy, showing no respect for rituals and of rude speech.<sup>27</sup> They were gluttons<sup>28</sup>. The word Paṇi has roots in *paṇa*, which denotes the process of bargaining and selling. *paṇa* is a well known unit of money since earliest times. *Vanij*, a derivative of Paṇi means a trader, and Paṇis too are mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* as traders.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>23</sup> Broek, R. Van Den, *The Myth of the Phoenix: According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions*, Trans. Seeger, I., Leiden, 1971, p. 65.

<sup>24</sup> *Ṛgveda* X.108.

<sup>25</sup> Max Müller F., *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Longmans, Green and Co., 1873, pp. 511-513.

<sup>26</sup> *Ṛgveda* 4.25.7, 3.58.2, 6.61.1.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 7.6.3.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 6.51.14.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 1.33.3.

This vilification of Paṇis does seem to flow from their financial success and their refusal to respect the rituals which meant that they did not share their wealth with the priests. Similar scorn was expressed by the Greeks and Romans for the rich Phoenicians who did not have any respect for Roman and Greek gods and worshipped their own gods. While adopting Phoenicians' alphabet, medical science, metallurgy shipbuilding, and even some of the gods, Homer described Phoenicians as slippery and swindlers. Isaiah called Tyre a whore while Romans depicted them as treacherous.<sup>30</sup>

Some writers have mentioned a few points of similarity between Paṇis and Phoenicians. Scholars have, however, not taken these seriously because of lack of strong correlation with existing research on the subject. Yet, some of these conjectures have been substantiated by deeper research later.

As early as 1852, it was surmised that the Phoenicians were migrants from a place near "Logurh in Afghanistan".<sup>31</sup> It was mentioned in 1904 that Phoenicians originally lived in Afghanistan and when driven out, they migrated to the west.<sup>32</sup> It was stated in 1902 that based on the commentary of Sāyanāchārya, Paṇi can be interpreted as *vaṇij*, a merchant. The writer was of the opinion that the word *vaṇij* can be derived from the root *paṇ* following rules for *unnādi* suffixes in Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar. Thus, it was surmised that Paṇi might refer to Phoenicians.<sup>33</sup> Kosambi surmised that the Paṇis were the same as people of the Indus Valley Civilization.<sup>34</sup> A 1977 publication again has tried to establish that the ancient Phoenicians "were no other than the Paṇis of the *Rgveda*".<sup>35</sup> Some of the arguments, or lack of them, drew justified derision,

---

<sup>30</sup> Bikai, Patricia M., Stieglitz, R. Robert and Clifford, Richard J., Rich and Glorious Traders of the Levant, *Archaeology*, Vol. 43, No. 2, (March/April 1990): 22-30 at 25.

<sup>31</sup> Pococke E., *India in Greece*, 1852, p. 219.

<sup>32</sup> Rajeswar Gupta, *The Rig Veda: A History Showing How the Phoenicians Had Their Earliest Home in India*, 1904, p. 4, 37.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* p. 37, quoting a letter of Prof. Satish Chandra Achārya, Vidyābhūsan, of the Presidency College, Calcutta.

<sup>34</sup> Kosambi, D. D., *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, 1956, pp. 87-88.

<sup>35</sup> Prasad, Prakash Charan, *Foreign Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1977, p. 35.

as is this remark of Rahul Peter Das, "... I would, for comic value, prefer the argument of an Indian scholar presented in 1984 at the Sixth World Sanskrit Conference in Philadelphia, who opined that the Paṇis were obviously the Paṭhāns, a fact which was self-evident, since 'even today these are known as miserly persons'".<sup>36</sup> Yet, in research of considerable merit, mention has been made of Afghan tribes called Panni, Pani or Parni. It has been postulated that Paṇis lived in what is today called Afghanistan and from there they moved westwards after their defeat.<sup>37</sup>

Both Paṇis and Phoenicians were associated with serpents from the earliest times. Sanchoniathon, who comes to us through Philo of Byblos and Eusebius, says that the Phoenicians were among the earliest of the nations that adopted ophiolatrea. In the words of Sanchoniathon, "Tautus consecrated the species of dragons and serpents; and the Egyptians and the Phoenicians followed him in the superstition. An Indus valley seal shows a serpent being worshipped. In the *R̥gveda*, Vṛtra is called 'ahi', a serpent. As chief of the Paṇis, Vṛtra must have been worshipped by them. Indra slayed Vṛtra and is called Vṛtraghna. It is interesting to note that the name Verethraghna (=Sanskrit Vṛtraghna) appears in the *Avesta* too."<sup>38</sup>

Other scholars have come to even more radical conclusions. In the opinion of Kinnier Wilson, the Harappans and Sumerians were initially one people, or at least closely related. It is opined that Harappans were the parent stock and the Sumerians were a small branch that left the parent (Indian) stock to develop independently in a new surroundings.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Das, Rahul Peter, The Hunt for Foreign Words in the *R̥gveda*, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 3, (July 1995): 207-238, at 218, ref. 55.

<sup>37</sup> Bharadwaj, O. P., The R̥gvedic River Rasā, *Indologica Taurinensia*, Proceedings of the XIth World Sanskrit Conference, (Turin, April 3-8, 2000): 9-26.

<sup>38</sup> MacDonell A. A., Mythological Studies in the Rigveda, *JRAS* (July 1893): 419-496 at 484.

<sup>39</sup> Wilson, Kinnier, Fish Rations and the Indus Script: Some New Arguments in the Case for Accountancy, *South Asian Studies*, 3, 1987: 41-46, quoted in Caspers, E. C. L. During, The Indus Valley 'Unicorn': A New Eastern Connection?, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of Orient*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (1991): 312-350 at 319, ref. 17.

It has also been opined that the Phoenicians are a creation of the Greek mind and the people that are connoted by this term never existed as a self-conscious collective or “people”. Though there is ancient evidence for a conception of them as a group, yet this evidence is entirely external.<sup>40</sup> Common mythology between far-flung groups of Phoenicians, however, points to a common thread between these apparently unconnected people. Baal was a common deity for all groups of Canaanites, the Phoenicians, and the Puni, his personality and functions known from a number of tablets excavated at Ugarit (Ras Shamra, on the outskirts of modern Latakia, in northern Syria) and dating to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C. Biblical sources tell of vehement opposition of Israelites to Baal.<sup>41</sup> In the *R̥gveda*, Vala is mentioned with the Paṇis. Vala is a god or a cave that holds the cows, horses and other wealth of the Paṇis. Vala is rent asunder by Indra to take back the wealth stolen by Paṇis or to steal Paṇis’ wealth in different interpretations.<sup>42</sup>

It has been pointed out that there is no good evidence in our surviving ancient sources that these Phoenicians saw themselves, or acted, in collective terms above the level of the city or in many cases simply the family.<sup>43</sup> It appears that the same is true of what is called the Indus Valley Civilization. Starting at the latest in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C. but perhaps much earlier, the more than 1400 towns and settlements of this civilization were spread over a vast geographical area from the environs of Delhi to south-western Baluchistan and Afghanistan. Vast similarity is found in these sites in terms of the yet un-deciphered script, the material, style and motifs of the iconic seals, trade practices, pottery, town planning, sanitation, system of weights etc. Yet, there is no hint of a central authority and each town seemed to be self-governing but lacked in ostentatious palaces, temples or monuments, without any

---

<sup>40</sup> Quinn, Josephine, *In Search of the Phoenicians*, Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology, Princeton University Press, 2018, p. xxi.

<sup>41</sup> *The Old Testament*, New International Version (NIV), Numbers 25:1-3.

<sup>42</sup> Srinivasan, Doris, The Myth of the Panis in the Rig Veda, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 93, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1973): 44-57 at 48-49.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* p. xviii.

obvious central seat of government or evidence of a king and hence, these appear “pretty faceless”.<sup>44</sup>

Some seals from Mohenjo-daro show a three-headed animal. In one of these, the heads are from different animals, a bull, a unicorn, and an ibex. In another, the three heads are from the same animal but their horns are different.<sup>45</sup> In the *R̥gveda*, Indra slays the three-headed, six-eyed demon. Trita.<sup>46</sup> In Greek mythology, Cerberus, the monstrous watchdog of the underworld is more often shown with three heads, though rarely with two or four heads also. Heads of snakes grow from its back and it has a serpent’s tail.<sup>47</sup> The *Avesta*, too, has its three-headed, six-eyed serpent Azi Dahāka.<sup>48</sup> Thus, we have similar myths permeating the Indus Valley civilisation, the *R̥gveda*, the Mediterranean world and the *Avesta*.

It is being increasingly felt that there was no disconnect between the late Harappan and the Vedic periods and an alien culture did not subjugate a local one. In the words of Romila Thapar, “It would seem that the transition from the Harappan culture pattern to the Vedic was very gradual with a continuity of Harappan institutions into the Vedic. The above analysis would not support the theory of a sharp conflict between the two with a submergence of the earlier culture under the dominance of the latter, believed to be alien. It would be of interest to the historian to examine the transformation from one language and cultural pattern into another; the process probably not brought about by invasion or large scale migration so much as by migrating technologies and ideas, travelling repeatedly across

---

<sup>44</sup> Roach, John, *National Geographic*, Mohenjo Daro: “Faceless” Indus Valley City Puzzles Archaeologists, , accessed at <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/archaeology-and-history/archaeology/mohenjo-daro/>

<sup>45</sup> Heras, H., Three Headed Animals in Mohenjo Daro, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 23, No, 1/4 (1942): 187-195 at 187.

<sup>46</sup> *R̥gveda* 10.99.6.

<sup>47</sup> Bloomfield, Maurice, *Cerberus, the Dog of Hades: the History of an Idea*, Chicago, 1905, pp. 3-4, also Cerberus, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed online at [www.britannica.com/topic/Cerberus](http://www.britannica.com/topic/Cerberus)

<sup>48</sup> MacDonell A. A., Mythological Studies in the Rigveda, *JRAS*, July, 1893, pp. 419-496 at 486.



the borders of north-western India and west Asia, over many centuries, and in both directions.”<sup>49</sup>

The continuity of the culture from Harappan times to even the present is beautifully presented in an article in the *Scientific American*.<sup>50</sup> The Archaeologists watched the traditional *sang* or “gathering fair” close to Harappa excavation site. As new excavations began, the surface layer had debris from the recent fairs including pottery fragments, pieces of glass bangles, modern coins, lead pellets from air guns, toy fragments, etc. Then, just below the surface level, they found similar debris of market from ancient Harappa. This continuity shows that while the fortunes of the settlements may fluctuate with circumstances, there is no break with the past and essential cultural elements show a remarkable continuity. This is true of all ancient civilisations of the Near East also. Hence, when we find cultural, technological or linguistic overlap between Indus cities and the ancient Near East, the timelines are not as important as the fact that this is evidence of sustained trade contacts and two-way diffusion of culture over millennia between these civilisations.

Traders and trade routes were the lifeline of this continuity. Two major ancient Indian arterial land routes were the Uttarāpatha<sup>51</sup>, the northern trade route which included the later-christened Silk Route, and the Dakṣiṇāpatha<sup>52</sup> linking southern India. These are also called northern and southern regions. In addition there were the maritime routes linking India with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea with islands like Socotra (Sanskrit Sukhādāra, meaning “Island abode of bliss”. Agatharchides refers to it as (“Island of the Blest”)<sup>53</sup> and trading centres like

---

<sup>49</sup> Thapar, Romila, A Possible Identification of Meluḥḥa, Dilmun and Makan, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan., 1975): 1-42 at 41-42.

<sup>50</sup> Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark, Uncovering the Keys to the Lost Indus Cities, *Scientific American*, Vol. 289, No. 1 (July 2003): 66-75 at 68.

<sup>51</sup> *Mahābhārata*, ŚāntiParva, 207.43. For map, see Jason, Neelis, *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks: Mobility and Exchange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia*, 2011, p. 185.

<sup>52</sup> *Mahābhārata*, ŚāntiParva, 207.42. For map, see Jason Neelis, *supra*, p. 205.

<sup>53</sup> Shcoff, Wilfred H., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912, p. 133

Mleiha acted as transit stations while also serving the purpose of keeping the sources of goods secret. Trade brought prosperity and with the relative egalitarian society of the Indus cities as compared to the rulers of the ancient Near East who frittered wealth on palaces and tombs, money was available for public works. For the excellent water and disposal structures excavated in the Indus cities, it has been noticed that “Save for the Indus cities, no other city in the ancient world featured such sophisticated water and waste management system. Even during the Roman Empire, some 2000 years later, these kinds of facilities were limited to upper-class neighbourhoods.”<sup>54</sup>

### **Traders as Carriers of Culture and Technology**

As mentioned above, extensive land routes were already developed in Babylonian times for trade between India and the West. Babylonian manufactured goods penetrated to the cities of India, not only by sea, but also through Persia.<sup>55</sup>

The discovery of ancient cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and the presence of artefacts having origin in Western ancient civilisations and identification of some artefacts excavated from Mesopotamian sites with those of the Indus Valley sites provided many links in the story of trade between these two regions. Yet, much before these excavations, mention had been made of the trade between ancient India and Babylon. In 1887, it was stated that Babylonians’ commerce with India by sea must have been carried on as early as 3000 B.C. This was proved by the finding of Indian teak in the ruins of Mugheir. An ancient Babylonian list of clothing mentions *sindhu*, or muslin, the *śadin* of the Old Testament, the *sindon* of the Greeks, which had been long recognised as the Indian cloth. The fact that it begins with a sibilant and not a vowel proved that it must have come to the west by sea and not by land, because on the land

---

<sup>54</sup> Kenoyer, *op. cit.* at 71.

<sup>55</sup> Moscati, Sabatino, *Ancient Semitic Civilizations*, 1960, p. 85.

route, the original ‘s’ would have become ‘h’ in Persian mouths.<sup>56</sup>

The port where this Indian cotton would have been bought “was probably Patāla, meaning the port, which has been identified by Alexander Cunningham with the modern Hyderabad, in Sindh. It is mentioned by Arrian as the only place of note in the delta of the Indus, and was the capital of the king of the snake race who ruled the country.”<sup>57</sup> The close association of Paṇis and Phoenicians with snakes as mentioned later in this paper makes Arrian’s remarks even more interesting. Pātāla, the lowest underworld in Indian mythology is the world of *nāgas* (snakes), with Vāsuki as their leader.<sup>58</sup> Only two serpents, Vāsuki and Takṣaka had survived the sacrificial fires of Janamejaya. Takṣaka the leading figure for snake-worshipping people in India would be an important figure for Paṇis too. This long chain hints at connection of the Paṇis to the trade of Patāla with ancient Baylonia. Agatharchides of Cnidus tells of merchants from Patāla, which he calls Potana, coming to the island of Socotra to trade with merchants from Alexandria.<sup>59</sup>

Ever since the discovery of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa there is mention of their trade with the west. It has been concluded that there was export of Nal vessels, steatite seals, pottery, *turbinella pyrum*, (raw as well as with elaborate inlays), pipal wood (raw as well as finished goods), etched carnelian beads, and faience bangles from Indus valley to Helmand Civilization in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Sayce, A. H., Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians, *The Hilbert Lectures*, 1887, Fifth Edition, Williams and Norgate, London, 1898, pp. 137-138.

<sup>57</sup> Hewitt, J. F., Notes on the Early History of Northern India, *JRAS*, New Series, Vol. 20, No. 3 (Jul. 1888), pp. 321-363 at pp. 337-338.

<sup>58</sup> *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 5.24.31.

<sup>59</sup> Burstein, Stanley M., Trans. and Ed., *Agatharchides of Cnidus on the Erythraean Sea*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1989, p. 169.

<sup>60</sup> Cortesi E., Tosi M., Lazzari A., Vidale M., Cultural Relationships Beyond the Iranian Plateau: The Helmand Civilization, Baluchistan and the Indus Valley in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium B.C., *Paléorient*, vol. 34.2, pp. 5-35 at p. 29, 2008.

The evidence of trade contacts between Indus valley cities and the ancient civilisations of West Asia cropped up at the earliest stages of excavations at Mohenjo-Daro. When it was first discovered, Sir John Marshall had called attention to several points of affinity between the antiquities of the “Indo-Sumerian” period of the Indus Valley and the contemporary antiquities of Mesopotamia, calling the script of the Indus-seals “Indo-Sumerian pictographic script”.<sup>61</sup> The next year, he again referred to the materials from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa as Indo-Sumerian.<sup>62</sup> The very next year, however, he said that he would use the term “Indus” instead of Indo-Sumerian.<sup>63</sup> This was in keeping with the trend of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century archaeology to initially consider foreign influence as the most salient cultural feature of ancient India. Even for various phases of development of Taxila, Marshall gave appellations as “the Greek-city”, the “Indo-Scythian city”, the “Indo-Parthian city” and the “Kuṣāṇa city”.<sup>64</sup>

Sir John Marshall published a preliminary account of the seals and other objects discovered at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro in the *Illustrated London News* of 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1924. Just a week later, on 27<sup>th</sup> September, Sayce pointed out strong resemblance of these objects with those found at Susa. After another week, on 4<sup>th</sup> October, S. Smith and C. J. Gadd compared these objects with those from Mesopotamia. A seal found in 1923 at Kish in a chamber was shown to have been brought as part of debris to fill the foundation and was judged of early Sumerian date. It had very strong similarities with Harappa seals indicating the antiquity of Harappa as well as existence of trade between early Sumer and the Indus Valley.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Marshall, Sir John, Ed., *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASIAR)* 1923-24, Calcutta, 1926, p. 51.

<sup>62</sup> Blakiston J. F., *ASIAR*, 1924-25, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 60-63.

<sup>63</sup> Blakiston, J. F., *ASIAR*, 1925-26, Calcutta, 1928, p. 75.

<sup>64</sup> Michon, Daniel, *Archaeology and Religion in Early Northwest India: History, Theory, and Practice*, Routledge, 2015, p. 58.

<sup>65</sup> Mackay, Ernest, Sumerian Connexions with Ancient India, *JRAS*, No. 4 (Oct., 1925): 697-701 at 697-698.

Ernest Mackay, who took over the excavations from Sir John Marshall in 1927, enumerated large number of clear indicators of such trade contacts.<sup>66</sup> Among these are seals of “Indian workmanship” found at Sumerian sites and a steatite vessel similar to the one found at Susa,<sup>67</sup> which seemed to have been imported into India as many such vessels were found at Sumer and Elam. Carnelian beads of a deep red colour decorated with white lines by a “peculiar and unusual process” were exactly similar to the beads found at Ur.<sup>68</sup> Mackay had earlier sent a sample of one such bead found at Kish to Marshall who informed that similar beads have been found in large quantities in India dating from early to comparative recent times from North-West to Madras (now Tamil Nadu) in the south of the country. Mackay concluded that India was the original home of manufacture of these beads.<sup>69</sup> A particularly remarkable similarity is of a seal which represents “a hero or deity wrestling with two animals, a scene which is well known in Sumerian art and was also depicted in very early times in Egypt.” In Sumer and Egypt, the animals represented are always lions while at Mohenjo-Daro these are tigers,<sup>70</sup> an indication of abundance of different fauna in the two regions.<sup>71</sup>

A saw, with roughly notched teeth, is exactly the same shape as those used in ancient Egypt and Crete. It has, however, a unique feature in that the edge undulates to prevent the blade from getting stuck in the cut. It was stated to be the earliest known example of a saw with such an edge and this feature does not appear again before Roman times.<sup>72</sup> A piece of shell, 2.6 inches long, with carefully spaced lines incised on it

---

<sup>66</sup> Mackay, E. J. H., Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 82, No. 4233 (January 5<sup>th</sup>, 1934): 206-224.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 214.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* p. 215.

<sup>69</sup> Mackay, 1925 *op. cit.* at 698-699.

<sup>70</sup> Mackay, 1934 *op. cit.* at 216.

<sup>71</sup> Caspers, Elisabeth C. L. During, Cultural Concepts in the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Transmissions in the Third Millennium and Their Significance, *Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar for Arabian Studies held at The School of Oriental and African Studies and the Institute of Archaeology, London on 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> July, 1975* (1976): 8-39 at 30.

<sup>72</sup> Mackay, 1934, *op. cit.* at 220.

appeared to be part of a longer measure on the decimal system. The weighted average width of one space is 0.264 inch, the mean error of graduation being 0.003 inch. It was surmised based on this find that the Sumerians derived the decimal system from India.<sup>73</sup>

Mackay was associated with the excavations at Chanhu-daro also. Here again, he found several indicators of trade with the West. He found evidence of small model doves with outstretched wings associated with Mother-goddess figurines. It was mentioned that the dove was intimately associated with the worship of the Mother-goddess in ancient Crete, Sardinia, Mesopotamia and elsewhere.<sup>74</sup> Small cones of pottery or shell that were found at same levels at Harappa and Chanhu-daro are “very similar” to the cones which served an architectural purpose at Warka, Ur, and other early Sumerian sites.<sup>75</sup>

It is clearly emerging from the textual and the archaeological records of Mesopotamia “that the third millennium, especially the second half of the third millennium, was a period of unprecedented interaction between and among the peoples of the Middle Asian Interaction Sphere, and that the Harappan Civilization was the eastern “anchor” of this institution”.<sup>76</sup>

One of the earliest items of trade between the Indian subcontinent and the West was Lapis Lazuli. It was mined in Badakshan in Afghanistan since the 7<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.<sup>77</sup> This mine had almost a monopoly in the old world as the only other source at Lake Baikal produced inferior quality and hence, presence of good quality lapis lazuli at any ancient site indicates a link to the trade network with Indus Valley civilization. The Dwarka-Kamboja land route, which was part of the silk route, connected Kamboja in Afghanistan to Dvārakā (Dvārāvati) and

---

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* at 222.

<sup>74</sup> Mackay, Ernest, Excavations at Chanhu-Daro by the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Season 1935-36, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Vol. 34, No. 205 (Oct. 1936): 83-92 at p. 89.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* p. 91.

<sup>76</sup> Possehl, G. L., The Mature Harappan Phase, *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. 60/61, Diamond Jubilee volume (2000-2001): 243-251 at 248.

<sup>77</sup> Sarianidi V. I. and Kowalski Luba H., The Lapis Lazuli Route in the Ancient East, *Archaeology*, Vol. 24, No. 1, (January 1971): 12-15.

the other major ports in Gujarat<sup>78</sup>, permitting goods from Afghanistan and China to be exported by sea to southern India, Sri Lanka, the Middle East, ancient Greece and Rome up to historical times. This route finds mention in Buddhist, Hindu and Jain works.

Based on latest excavations in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India, it has been indicated that use of iron and iron smelting was prevalent in the Central Ganga plain and the eastern Vindhya from the early second Millennium B.C. It has been further surmised that the quantity and types of iron artefacts, and the level of technical achievement indicate that the introduction of iron working took place even earlier. Further there is evidence of early use of iron in other areas of India and of the fact that India was indeed an independent centre for development of the working of iron.<sup>79</sup> Forbes quotes Philo of Byblos stating on the authority of Sanchoniathon, the Phoenician historian (1200 B.C.) that his people were inventors of iron working.<sup>80</sup> Early Phoenician iron objects like arrow-heads, rings and nails date from 1000 B.C.<sup>81</sup> Forbes is of the opinion that the word 'ayas' is strong proof of the existence of iron in the Vedic age supported by words like *karmār* for "smith" and *dhamātr* for blower.<sup>82</sup> Others have disagreed saying that 'ayas' may refer to bronze but agree that *śyāmayas* in the *Atharva Veda* refers to iron.<sup>83</sup> Taking note of the mention of black and red 'ayas', Tripathi has also concluded that black 'ayas' refers to iron.<sup>84</sup> It has been shown that working of iron in India could be placed as far as back as 14<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, 1977, p. vii.

<sup>79</sup> Tiwari, Rakesh, The Origins of Iron-working in India: New Evidence from the Central Ganga Plain and the Eastern Vindhya, *Archaeology Online*, 2014. Accessed at <http://archaeologyonline.net/artifacts/iron-ore.html>

<sup>80</sup> Forbes R. J., *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, 1950, p. 436.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* at 432-433.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* at 436.

<sup>83</sup> Singh, S. D., Iron in Ancient India, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (Jul. 1962): 212-216 at 215.

<sup>84</sup> Tripathi, V., Emergence of Iron in India: Archaeological Perspective, in *Metallurgy in India: A Retrospective*, Eds. Rao, P. Ramachandra and Goswami, N. G., pp. 25-51 at 37.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

There is evidence of Indian iron exports to Alexandria where *ferrum indicum* is mentioned as one of the items subject to import duty.<sup>86</sup>

Another important item of trade for both Paṇis and Phoenicians was tin, being very vital for every Bronze Age civilization and even thereafter. Egyptians obtained their tin from Phoenician traders and it is said that they got it from the British Isles, where it had been mined 3000 years ago.<sup>87</sup> Simultaneously, it is stated that the ancient Assyrians obtained tin from India.<sup>88</sup> On the other hand, in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., Herodotus, the diligent historian, does not know the location of ‘Tin Islands’ or the Cassiterides from where the Phoenicians got their tin.<sup>89</sup> Clearly, there was profit in maintaining secrecy about source of supplies. Afghanistan has good sources of tin and it has been surmised that it may have come to Mesopotamia from that source.<sup>90</sup>

The importance of tin for ancient India is borne out by the fact that one source gives the following words for tin<sup>91</sup>:

*Vanga, trapu, svarṇaja, nāgajīvana, mṛdvanga ranga,  
gurupatra, piccata, cakra, tamara, nāgaja, kastira,  
ālīnaka and siṃhala.*

It has been surmised that the name of the chief ore of tin, cassiterite, possible derived from Sanskrit kastira. It was felt that the original area of the Vedic people, Brahmāvarta, in Haryana state of India, does not have any tin deposits. Deposits

---

<sup>86</sup> Schoff, Wilfred H., The Eastern Iron Trade of the Roman Empire, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 35 (1915): 224-239 at 230.

<sup>87</sup> Phillips, George Brinton, The Composition of Some Ancient Bronze in the Dawn of the Art of Metallurgy, *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Apr.-Jun., 1922): 129-143, at 129.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Muhly, James D., Sources of Tin and the Beginnings of Bronze Metallurgy, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vo. 89, No. 2 (Apr., 1985): 275-291 at 276.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid* at 281.

<sup>91</sup> Dube, R. K., On the Sanskrit Word Svarṇaja used for metal, Tin, *Indian Journal of History of Science*, 44.1 (2009): 95-102 at 95.



of tin found in Tosham in this state appear to resolve this anomaly.<sup>92</sup>

Another item of trade mentioned in the Periplus is *lakkos chromatinos*. It leaves everyone guessing as it is not found elsewhere in ancient trade accounts or in the Greek or Roman literature. Yet, *lacca* of medieval Latin is borrowed from Arabic *lakk*, which in turn is borrowed from Sanskrit *lāksā*, Prakrit form being *lakkha*, which means red-coloured resin called *lac* in English. The *lac* insect (*Tachardia Lacca*) is native to India,<sup>93</sup> still confined to this country and is used as lacquer and also as a red colourant.

One of the unusual items of trade from India to the West appears to be Indian elephants. One piece of terracotta from Diqdiqeh near Ur shows an elephant being ridden and could be dated to late third millennium B.C. It also appears that only Indians knew the art of domesticating the elephant and it was Indian mahouts who seem to have domesticated the African elephants for the Egyptians and Carthaginians.<sup>94</sup> One Harappan ivory duck figurine has been found at Tell Abraq, an undisturbed tomb, the grave goods of which gave evidence of a trade network linking Mesopotamia, Iran, Arabia, Afghanistan and the Indus Valley. Ivory combs have been found here which differ in shape from the Indus Valley combs but the ivory is from Indian elephants.<sup>95</sup>

In the trade of Indian Subcontinent with the West, we get a curious indication of a long-standing trade monopoly. Though initially there was direct trade, certain products of India in large demand in the Mediterranean world were later handled only by South Arabian merchants and were not offered by Indians to ships of Roman registry which succeeded in finding their way to India. There were way stations like Ocelis which were reserved

---

<sup>92</sup> Pareek, H. S., (1986) Petrography and Geochemistry of the Tosham Hill Felsic Volcanics, Haryana, Journal of Geological society of India, vol. 27(3): 254-262.

<sup>93</sup> Schoff, Wilfred H., *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, 1912, p. 71.

<sup>94</sup> Colon, Dominique, *Ivory*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Autumn, 1977, pp. 219-222.

<sup>95</sup> Potts, Daniel T., Arabian time Capsule, *Archaeology*, Vol. 53, No. 5, (September/October 2000), pp. 44-48.

for vessels arriving from India. The *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea* says that Ocelis was not a market town but the first landing for those sailing into the gulf. This effort at secrecy kept hidden the actual source of many items of trade. For example, the Romans believed cinnamon to be a product of the Horn of Africa but it never grew there and Arab and Tamil vessels brought it to the Horn from Malabar.<sup>96</sup>

### **Wood and Carpenters of Phoenicians and Papis**

Descent of the term Poeni, and subsequently Punicus from ancient Egyptian word 'FNHW', meaning carpenters<sup>97</sup> has also been surmised as Mediterranean Phoenicians had the best cedars and they were so famous for making ships from it that they were repeatedly commissioned by Biblical kings to provide cedar logs and artisans to build their temples and palaces. The Phoenician king Hiram of Tyre sent cedar, carpenters and masons to Jerusalem to build a palace for King David.<sup>98</sup> Hiram also provided cedars and carpenters to King Solomon for construction of his palace and the Temple in Jerusalem.<sup>99</sup> There is evidence of Indian cedar-wood in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Birs Nimrud and teak seems to have been used in a temple rebuilt by him and Nabonidus.<sup>100</sup>

Export of wood from India to the West may be much older. A small piece of wood found at the ancient site of Ur during recent excavations may have come from India 4000 years ago, obviously from the time of Indus Valley civilization.<sup>101</sup> It is now

---

<sup>96</sup> Schoff, 1915, *op. cit.* at 231.

<sup>97</sup> Goedicke, Hans, Sinuhe's Reply to the King's Letter, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 51, (Dec., 1965), pp. 29-47, at p. 40, Ref. 5.

<sup>98</sup> *The Old Testament*, New International Version (NIV), 2 Samuel 5:11.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 2 Chronicles 2:3,7.

<sup>100</sup> Barnett, L. D., Commercial and Political Connexions of Ancient India with the West, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, Vol. I, No. 1, (1917): 101-105 at 101.

<sup>101</sup> Andrew Lawler, City of Biblical Abraham Brimmed with Trade and Riches, *National Geographic*, Published March 11, 2016 accessed at

known that wood was brought to Indus valley cities from distant places in India. A high-status Harappan was buried in an elegant coffin made of elm and cedar from the distant Himalayas and rosewood from central India.<sup>102</sup>

The *Rgveda* refers to men, eager for gain, going to sea.<sup>103</sup> The story of rescue of Bhujyu from the ocean mentions a ship with hundred oars.<sup>104</sup> A group of Paṇis called Bṛbus are described as carpenters.<sup>105</sup> The *Rgveda* says a *takṣa* would like to have a *riṣṭam* (saw).<sup>106</sup> The *Mānasāra*, an ancient treatise on architecture, mentions *takṣaka* as a carpenter. *Takṣaka* is supposed to know the Veda and to be skilled in his craft of wood joinery. It has been said that the knowledge of the Veda for lower members of the guild of carpenters should not be taken literally. Rather, it indicates some awareness of a purpose of their craft in the divine scheme of things.<sup>107</sup> It can be visualised that Paṇis, the ship-builders and traders, would be more interested in the worldly and practical aspects of the Vedas.

Takṣaka is mentioned as King of snakes<sup>108</sup> and thus has an association with snake worshipping Paṇis. Both for Phoenicians and Paṇis, as well as for the Indus valley people, marine trade in valuable timber and work of carpenters and shipbuilders was clearly very important.

---

<https://news.nationalgeographic.com/2016/03/160311-ur-iraq-trade-royal-cemetery-woolley-archaeology/>

<sup>102</sup> Andrew Lawler, Boring no more, A Trade-Savvy Indus Emerges, *Science*, New Series, Vol. 320, No. 5881 (Jun. 6, 2008): 1276-1281 at 1279.

<sup>103</sup> *Rgveda* 1.56.2.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 1.116.5, 1.182.7.

<sup>105</sup> Max Müller, F., *Chip From a German Workshop*, Vo. II, Longmans, Green and Co., 1868, p. 131.

<sup>106</sup> *Rgveda* 9.112.1.

<sup>107</sup> Jose Jacob, *The Architectural Theory of the Mānasāra*, A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Study and Research, School Of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal, 2003, p. 52.

<sup>108</sup> Smith, Vincent A., *Art of India*, Parkstone International, 2012, p. 248.

## Meluh̄ḫa

Meluh̄ḫa finds repeated mention in cuneiform texts. It is mentioned 76 times in documents prior to the reign of Hammurabi. The citations include reference to wood (*mesu*, identified with *sissoo*<sup>109</sup>), carnelian, Meluh̄ḫan furniture, copper, a ship of Meluh̄ḫan style, lapis lazuli, pearls, fresh dates, and gold.<sup>110</sup> It is now generally accepted that Meluh̄ḫa referred to the Indus region and that there are good grounds for the conclusion that, in the early second millennium B.C., the eastern end of Meluh̄ḫa matched with the very confines of ancient India, against that part of it which today is denominated as independent Pakistan.<sup>111</sup> This opinion will be strengthened by the fact that *turbinella pyrum*, mentioned above as an item of trade from the Indus valley to Helmand, is the sacred conch blown at Hindu temples and at religious ceremonies in India. It is unique to the Indian Ocean and thus objects made from *turbinella pyrum* found in Mesopotamia could have been acquired only from the coastal areas of Indus civilisation.<sup>112</sup> It has been noted that large convex/concave perforated discs were made at Mohenjo-daro from the body whorl of *turbinella pyrum*. The presence of identical discs has been noted in Mesopotamia.<sup>113</sup> This does strengthen the identification of Meluh̄ḫa with Indus Valley area.

The mention of trade in an inscription of Sargon (2334 – 2279 B.C.) refers to Meluh̄ḫan ships docked at his capital, the city of Akkad.<sup>114</sup> A late Sargonic tablet datable to 2200 B.C.

---

<sup>109</sup> Mallowan, M. E. L., The Mechanics of Ancient Trade in Western Asia: Reflections on the Location of Magan and Meluh̄ḫa, *Iran*, Vol. 3 (1965): 1-7, at 4.

<sup>110</sup> Possehl, *op. cit.* at 245.

<sup>111</sup> Mallowan, *op. cit.* at 5.

<sup>112</sup> Gensheimer Thomas. R., The Role of Shell in Mesopotamia: Evidence for Trade Exchange With Oman and the Indus Valley, *Paléorient.*, 10-1(1984): 65-73, at 67.

<sup>113</sup> Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark, Shell Working Industries of the Indus Civilization: A Summary, *Paléorient*, 10-1 (1984): 49-63 at 55.

<sup>114</sup> Parpola, Simo, Parpola, Asko, and Brunswig, Robert H., Jr., The Meluh̄ḫa Village: Evidence of Acculturation of Harappan Traders in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (May, 1977):129-165 at 130.

mentions a man with an Akkadian name as ‘the holder of a Meluḥḥa ship’. An Akkadian seal describes a person as Meluḥḥa interpreter.<sup>115</sup> Thus Meluḥḥa must have been a seafaring nation. Among the imports from Meluḥḥa were various kinds of wood, including the highly appreciated *sissoo* wood. Copper imported from Meluḥḥa was of a different quality than that which came from Magan. There are close parallels for bump-shaped copper ingots, copper amulets and a copper animal figurine from both Susa and Lothal during the third millennium B.C.<sup>116</sup> Further, the presence of the ‘reserved slip ware’ at Ur and Brak as well as in the early levels of Mohenjodaro and Lothal, at various sites in Baluchistan, and in Kutch, suggest possible pre-Akkadian contacts.<sup>117</sup>

Other imports from India were gold, silver, ivory and ivory objects such as combs, multi-coloured birds, and pearls.<sup>118</sup> It has been opined that, “it would seem strange that the name of the Harappan culture should not have been known in Southern Mesopotamia in spite of the fact that archaeology clearly shows that since about 2600 B.C. and especially between 2400 and 2000 B.C. the two regions must have kept up fairly frequent contacts. No other name than that of Meluḥḥa fits the description.<sup>119</sup> Because of the absence of aspirant ‘ha’ in the Semitic languages, it has been pointed out that Meluḥḥa should be taken as Melukkha, this being closer to Prakrit Milakkhu, “which is the same as Pali Malikkho or Malikkhako (*Childer’s Pali Dictionary*), and both of them are the Prākṛit forms of the Sanskrit word *mlechchha*, meaning a stranger, a foreigner.”<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> Thapar, Romila, *op. cit.*, at 4.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> Caspers, Elisabeth C. L. During, Harappan Trade in the Arabian Gulf in the Third Millennium B.C., *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, Vol. 3, *Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar for Arabian Studies held at the Institute of Archaeology*, London 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> September 1972 (1973): 3-20 at p. 7.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> Dhavalikar, M. K., Meluhha – The Land of Copper, *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 13, 1997, Issue 1, Special Number in Celebration of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Independence of India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, pp. 275-279 at p. 275.

Here, we may again mention the place Mleiha, in the Emirate of Sharjah where material of Indian, African, Iranian, and Mesopotamian origin has been found, showing that it was also connected to a comprehensive Indian Ocean trade network in the first centuries A.D.<sup>121</sup> It will require more studies to establish whether similarity in name with Meluḥḥa is a mere coincidence or it is also case of a colony of Meluḥḥans keeping memories of home alive in the place name.

The trade with Meluḥḥa continued even after the fall of the Akkadian empire. Inscriptions of Gudea of Lagaš (2143-2124 B.C.) describe the coming of Meluḥḥans from their country to supply wood and other raw material for construction of the main temple of Gudea's capital.<sup>122</sup> This trade continued even as city-states like Lagaš were submerged in the multi-state empire of the Ur III dynasty established by Ur-Nammu (2112-2095 B.C.). In this period, a Meluḥḥa village, situated in the territory of the old city-state of Lagaš, is mentioned repeatedly over a period of 45 years (2062-2028 B.C.). Most of "Meluḥḥans" mentioned now have Sumerian names. Two are mentioned as "sons of "Meluḥḥa" and in one case Meluḥḥa is used as personal name. It indicates that certain Meluḥḥans had undergone a process of acculturation into Mesopotamian society by Ur III times during three centuries when that description changes from a distinctly foreign people to an ethnic component of Ur III society.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> Seland, Eivind Heldaas, *Archaeology of Trade in the Western Indian Ocean*, 300 BC-AD700, *Journal of Archaeological Research*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (December 2014): 367-402 at 375.

<sup>122</sup> Purpola *et al.*, *op. cit.* at 131.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.* at 152.

## Purushkhanda and Parshukhanda: Homonyms Across Oceans

The first mention of Meluḥḥans in Sargonian Akkad reminds us of an interesting episode involving a palpably Indian place-name. Merchants of Purushkhanda (the Hittite Parshukhanda) beseech, with offer of rich inducements, the help of Sargon against an oppressive ruler Nur-dagal. The journey is long and difficult and Nur-dagal boasts that because of floods and forests, Sargon will never reach there. “Who could, with such a huge Army, cross these tracts, climb up the summits of these unparalleled mountains, and penetrate jungles? Even the bushes would become nets hunting that army,” mocked Nur-dagal.<sup>124</sup> Yet, in spite of incredible difficulties, Sargon reaches Purushkhanda and Nur-dagal makes immediate submission. Evidence indicates that Purushkhanda lay in neighbourhood of Caesarea (Kayseri) in Cappadocia.<sup>125</sup>

The significance of Purushkhanda is seen from the fact that just 20 km north-east of the modern city of Kayseri lies the great circular mound of Kültepe rising 20 meters above the surrounding plain. A smaller mound about 90 meters to the north-east of the main mound has yielded about 15000 cuneiform tablets. This site is now identified with the Anatolian principality of Kanesh.<sup>126</sup> The levels at this site extend from the early third millennium right through 1200 B.C. and the tablets show extensive trade contacts with the major Assyrian trade centre of Ashur 1200 km away.<sup>127</sup> An important trade centre Purushhattum finds mention, the ruler of this place being called ‘great prince’.<sup>128</sup> This name Purushhattum is Akkadian version of Purushkhanda and has been identified with modern Acem-

---

<sup>124</sup> Hanna-Fatuhi, Amer, *The Untold Story of Native Iraqis: Chaldean Mesopotamians, 5300 B.C.-Present*, 2012, p. 56.

<sup>125</sup> Gadd, C. J., The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1966, Vol. I, Ch. XIX, pp. 12-13.

<sup>126</sup> Parkins, Helen and Smith, Christopher, Ed., *Trade, Traders and the Ancient city*, Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005, p. 18.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, at 19.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, at 23.

Hoyuk or Karahuyuk-Konya.<sup>129</sup> Another version of the name of this place is Parsuhanda.<sup>130</sup>

Doubts were cast on the veracity of this story of Sargon's expedition to far off Purushkhanda but a Hittite cuneiform text was excavated asserting that Sargon really fought the battle. The text was inscribed much later in 1650 B.C. by Hittite king Hattusili/Khatusili and it seems unlikely that a king will make up the story of defeat of his own people by a foreign king.<sup>131</sup> The name of this place crops up again with Naram-Sin, where Purushkhanda appears to be the utmost bound of his dominion and is destroyed by invading hordes.<sup>132</sup>

As mentioned above, the Hittite variation of Purushkhanda is Parshukhanda.<sup>133</sup> One of the words for battle-axe in Sanskrit is Khaṇḍaparaśu.<sup>134</sup> Dowson says Paraśurāma "bears the appellation Khaṇḍa-paraśu, 'who strikes with the axe'..."<sup>135</sup>. The *Mahābhārata* narrates the battle between Nara and Rudra: "112. In the meantime Nara, for destroying Rudra took up a blade of grass and inspired it with Mantras. The blade of grass thus inspired, was converted into a powerful battle-axe. 113. Nara suddenly hurled that battle-axe at Rudra but it broke into pieces. For that weapon thus breaking into pieces, it came to be called Khaṇḍa-paraśu."<sup>136</sup>

The earliest reference to Khaṇḍa-paraśu is found in *Subāla Upaniṣad* of *Śukla-Yajurveda*.<sup>137</sup> Here, the translator's note says:

<sup>129</sup> McIntosh Jane R., *Ancient Mesopotamia: New Perspectives*, 2005, p. 323.

<sup>130</sup> Mallowan, *supra*, at 2.

<sup>131</sup> Amer Hanna-Fatuhi, *supra*, at p. 57.

<sup>132</sup> Edwards, I.E.S., Ed., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Third Edition, Vol. 1, part 2, 1971, at 442.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* at 426.

<sup>134</sup> Patil, Devendra kumar Rajaram, *Cultural History from the Vāyupurāṇa*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1973, p. 226.

<sup>135</sup> Dowson, John, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History and Literature*, New Delhi, 2000, p. 240.

<sup>136</sup> Dutt, Manmatha Nath (Shastri), *A Prose English Translation of The Mahabharata: Shanti Parva*, Calcutta, 1903. Ch. CCCXLIII, 112-113.

<sup>137</sup> Aiyar, Nārāyaṇasvāmi K., Tr., *Thirty Minor Upanishads*, 1914, at p.61, *Subāla Upanishad* of *Śukla-yajurveda*, Khaṇḍa I.



“Khaṇḍa means divided or with parts. Paraśu literally injuring another. Hence Mṛtyu with his khaṇḍa-paraśu divided eternal time into its parts and conditions the absolute through primordial matter. In the Purāṇas and other books, Mṛtyu and Yama are represented as having an axe broken in conflict.”<sup>138</sup>

We find mention of Puruṣapura as the ancient name of modern city of Peshawar<sup>139</sup>. We have noted the indication of Paṇis in Afghanistan in the R̥gvedic times. In some texts a variation of the ancient name is Parṣupura.<sup>140</sup> Abul Fazl and Al-Beruni use *Parashawar* as a variation.<sup>141</sup> It does appear that the trading people, be they Cananites, or Phoenicians or the Vedic Paṇis would have caused this diffusion of similar names between India and Anatolia.

Hittites called themselves Hattis. Since Semitic languages do not have the aspirant ‘ha’, it is substituted by ‘kha’, as the name Hattusili having a variant Khatusili. This indicates that ‘Hattis’ could be read as *Khattis* also. Hittites occur in the records of the other people of the region variously as Kheta, Khatti or Hatti.<sup>142</sup> We find Khattis mentioned in the play *Mṛcchakaṭikam* of Śūdraka:

“Candanaka: What is the matter with you, man? We southerners don’t speak plain. We know a thousand dialects of the barbarians – the Khashas, the Khattis, the Kadas, the Kadathobilas, the Karnatas, the Karnas, the Pravarnas, the Dravidas, the Cholas, the Chīnas, the

---

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> Wilson, H.H., Summary Review of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang, *JRAS*, Vol. 17, London, 1860, pp. 106-137 at p. 114.

<sup>140</sup> Kaur, Satwant, *Bhai Vir Singh*, Tran. BimalKaur, Bhai Vir Singh SahityaSadana, New Delhi, 2008, p. 93.

<sup>141</sup> Saleem, Samina, *Significant Dilapidated Havelis (Residential Places) in Peshawar, Pakistan*, *Sci. Int. (Lahore)*, 29(4), 851-859, 2017 at 852.

<sup>142</sup> Sweeney, Emmet, *Gods, Heroes and Tyrants: Greek Chronology in Chaos*, 2009, p. 87.

Barbaras, the Kheras, the Khānas, the Mukhas, and all the rest of ‘em, ....”<sup>143</sup>

It has been stated that Khattis were members of a community associated with the Hūṇa intrusion into North Punjab and Kashmir regions, as noted by Xuanzang.<sup>144</sup>

*Pani Loriga: The Name Pani on Phoenician Sardinia*

All these conjectures for more than a century of scholarship remain mere conjectures because the word Pani (people on the Mediterranean cannot pronounce *ṇ*) is not found in the Phoenician heartland, that is, the colonies around the Mediterranean. However, such scholarship seems to have ignored the word Pani to qualify a Phoenician site which has been excavated on the island of Sardinia since 1960s.

Pani Loriga is an important Phoenician site on southern Sardinia.<sup>145</sup> Excavation has revealed significant fortifications and even a necropolis with 150 burials. It has been noted that while at the main site of Monte Sirai burial was almost exclusively by inhumation, at the fort of Pani Loriga, also a Nuraghic site, cremation was common.<sup>146</sup> Loriga is the name of the place and Pani is prefixed to signify its association with Phoenicians.

Pani Loriga is near the modern town of Santadi, on a low relief with the Mannu River as its eastern border. The name of this river does evoke the name Manu, occurring in Indian mythology from pre-flood to Pauranic period legends. Ferruccio Barreca discovered the site in the mid-1960s. The existence of a Nuraghe was already known but the topographic survey carried

---

<sup>143</sup> Sohoni, S.V., Some Aspects of Act VI in the Mṛchhakatīkam, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. 69, No. ¼ (1988): 155-182 at 176-177

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, at 174.

<sup>145</sup> Moscati, Sebastino, A Carthaginian Fortress in Sardinia, *Scientific American*, Vol. 232, No. 2 (February 1975): 80-87 at 84.

<sup>146</sup> Whittaker, C. R., The Western Phoenicians: Colonisation and Assimilation, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, NEW SERIES, No. 20 (200) (1974): 58-79 at 73.

out in 1965 revealed the existence of Punic remains suggesting a large settlement, a necropolis and a sacred area. Excavations in 1968-1976 revealed the Phoenician necropolis with 150 burials identified. The grave goods showed a trade network involving not only Sulci but also Greeks and Etruscans.<sup>147</sup>

Further surveys and excavations at Pani Loriga started in 2005 by Istituto di Studi Sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo (ISCIMA) of the National Research Council are continuing at present by the Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA). Ceramic material found at the site shows that trading contacts between the local communities and Phoenicians date back to 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, that is, even prior to the founding of the Punic settlement.<sup>148</sup> This is in conformity with the Phoenicians practice of first establishing trade and if the volume of trade was sufficient, then establishing a settlement and later even manufacturing facilities.

Thus, we have a least one instance where Phoenicians, on an Island that was an important Phoenician settlement, are signified as Pani. It may be sheer coincidence that the surname Pani continues to this day in Afghanistan as well as in Sardinia. The famous Afghan Daud Khan Pani, who died in a battle in 1715, left a hundred elephants, some Persian grey-hounds, tigers, leopards, and a number of birds. He was described by the British as ‘very precarious in his temper when sober, free and generous when supplied with the liquor he asks’.<sup>149</sup> A search on webpage of Sardegna<sup>150</sup> for this surname show that though this surname Pani is found in 397 Italian towns, it is mostly concentrated on Sardinia.

Before closing, we refer to another such “coincidence”. Sardinia, which has a very high prevalence of centenarians, has a greeting, “A Kent’Annos” which means “may you live to be 100”. A Vedic prayer goes:

---

<sup>147</sup> Botto, Massimo, The Punic Settlement of Pani Loriga in the Light of Recent Discoveries, *Fasti Online Documents and Research*, Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica, p. 2, accessed at [www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2017-393.pdf](http://www.fastionline.org/docs/FOLDER-it-2017-393.pdf)

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*, at 1.

<sup>149</sup> Tate G. P., *The Kingdom of Afghanistan: A Historical Sketch*, 1911, p. 30.

<sup>150</sup> [www.mondosardegna.net](http://www.mondosardegna.net)

For a hundred autumns, may we see.  
For a hundred autumns, may we live,  
For a hundred autumns, may we know,  
For a hundred autumns, may we rise,  
For a hundred autumns, may we thrive,  
For a hundred autumns, may we be,  
For a hundred autumns, may we become,  
Aye, and even more than a hundred autumns.<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> *Atharva Veda* 19.67, translation from Crawford, S. Cromwell, *Dilemmas of Life and Death: Hindu Ethics in North American Context*, State University of New York Press, 1995, p. 22.

R.K.K. RAJARAJAN

CAᅇDIKEŚVARA IN MYTH AND ICONOGRAPHY:  
VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION

**Abstract:** Caᅇdikeśvara, Tamil Caᅇtipperumaᅇ, was one of the Nayaᅇmāᅇ who predates the time of the *Tēvāram* trio (seventh-eighth century CE). His hagiography is elaborately told in the *Tiruttonᅇar Purāᅇam* of Cēkkiᅇār (twelfth century CE). He is represented in sculpture from the seventh or eighth century CE. An analogous iconographical figure is Lakuliśa, who appears in sculptural form since the Kuᅇāᅇa period. This connection has been noted by scholars working on Indian religion and art and is both nuanced and elaborated further in this essay. Caᅇdikeśvara was an *aᅇiyar* (slave or servant of Śiva), and Lakuliśa was identified with Śiva. Caᅇdikeśvara was a fanatic or violent devotee who took to task anyone who hindered his worship of Śiva, even his father. This mythology is portrayed in a narrative sculptural panel, hitherto unreported, in the Toᅇᅇīśvaram at Nāvalūr, an early Cōᅇa temple. The prime concern of the article is to examine the iconographical significance of this panel. The problems centering on Caᅇdikeśvara as *nāyaᅇār*, his affinity with Lakuliśa, iconographical samples from various parts of South India, and the place of violence in mythology and art are discussed. The sources considered are mainly medieval Tamil literature, epigraphy, and iconography. The study shows how violence is pacified at the instance of divine grace.

Caṇḍikeśvara is one among the Nāyaṇmār. The saint's life is told in the *Tiruttoṅṅar Purāṇam* of Cēkkiḷār c. 1135 CE (Zvelebil 1974: 91). The Nāyaṇār, Tamil Caṇṭipperumān is mentioned in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*-trio<sup>1</sup>. Cuntarar has listed the 63+ Nāyaṇmār, traditionally called Arupattumūvar 'the Sixty-three', in his work, the *Tiruttoṅṅattokai* under the Seventh 'Tirumuṟai' (*Patikam* 39) of the Śaiva sacred books. Cuntarar, c. 780-830 CE (Zvelebil 1974: 91), says Caṇṭipperumān hacked off the legs of his father<sup>2</sup>. Nampī Āṅṅār Nampī c. 1080-1100 CE (Zvelebil 1974: 91), who composed a quatrain in honour of each saint in the *Tiruttoṅṅar-tiruvantāti* (v. 22 on Caṇṭi), adds that the legs were brutally amputated (*tāḷ irañṭum maḷuvāḷ erintu*). The Nāyaṇmār belong to a vast span of time (sixth to the tenth century CE), and are of various status groups, such as kings (Niṅṅacīr-Neṭumāraṅ, Aiyatikāḷ-Kāṭavarkōṅ), queens (Maṅkaiyarkkaraci), ādi-Śaiva-antaṅars (Cuntarar), ministers (Kulaccirai), *vellāḷars* (landlords or peasants, Nāvukkaracar), *brāhmaṅas* (Ñāṅacampantar), *vaṅikar* (merchants, Kāraikkālammaiṅār), *pañcama* (Tirunālāippōvār), and so on (Sitānarasimhan 2006: 126-29). Cēkkiḷār narrates the myth in the *Caṇṭēcura Nāyaṅār Purāṇam* (CNP), Episode 22 of *Tiruttoṅṅar Purāṇam*, also known as *Periya Purāṇam* (Zvelebil 1974: 174-75) presents a detailed enumeration of the *Periya Purāṇam* 'introductory legends' of 'Śaiva hagiographic tradition'. Nampī calls the boy-saint Caṇṭi and mentions cutting off his father's legs for hampering Liṅga worship of Śiva. Cēkkiḷār elaborates the myth in 60 quatrains. Solitary images of Caṇḍikeśvara in early medieval rock-cut (c. 550-850 CE) and structural temples have been reported. The present article brings

<sup>1</sup> The *Tēvāram* trio is Nāṅacampantar, Nāvukkaracar and Cuntarar (Sathyanathaier 1988: 263). Nāṅacampantar notes the cosmic mass that worships Śiva and brought Caṇṭi in his service as a slave (*aṭimai* [Dehejia 1988]): *Āṅṅarṭoḷu Caṇṭippani koṅṅaṭimai koṅṅavirai* (*Tēvāram* 3.326.10). The word *aṭimai* means "slave". Nāvukkaracar elaborates the episode in which Caṇṭi offers an *abhiṅeka* of milk, his father objects, and Caṇṭi hacks off his leg (*Tēvāram* 4.73.5, 5.187.8). He is named Caṇṭi (2.201.2, 3.326.10, 4.48.4, 6.247.10, 7.16.3, 7.17.4), Caṅṅican (1.62.4), Caṅṅicuvārar (5.184.1), Caṅṅāyakan (5.187.8) and Taṅṅican (4.73.5).

<sup>2</sup> *meymaiṅē tirumēṅi vaḷipatā niṅka vekunṅṅunta tātaiṅāḷ maḷuṅṅaḷerintā | ammaiṅāṅṅic caṅṅipperumān* (*Tēvāram* 7.39.3).

to light a narrative panel from the Toṇṭīśvaram (Sanskrit Bhaktajaneśvara) temple at Nāvalūr, the birthplace of Cuntarar. This early Coḷa temple dated around the tenth century (ARE 1939-40: no. 241), contains a chapel of Caṇḍikeśvara. The panel adds immensely to our knowledge of the religious history of South Asia. To my knowledge no such medieval sculpture of Caṇḍikeśvara has been reported (cf. Marr 1979; Sivaramamurti 1984). Independent images of Caṇḍikeśvara in Tamilnadu and Southeast Asia are seated, whereas the narrative panel shows him in action.

The article sets out to analyse the myth and cult of Caṇḍikeśvara from Tamil literary and epigraphical sources, tracing his representation in the art of Tamilnadu of the early medieval Pallavas and Pāṇḍya empire I, and its overgrowth during the later medieval phase under the Cōḷas (850-1250 CE); solitary Nāyaka (mid-sixteenth century onward) images are cited in the penultimate part. Caṇḍikeśvara is compared and contrasted with Lakulīśa, who is iconographically akin.

## Hagiography of Caṇḍikeśvara

The hagiography of Caṇḍikeśvara, in the CNP of the *Periya Purāṇam*, states he was born in a *brāhmaṇa* family. He used to lead cows to their pastures, and collect the sacred firewood, *samidh-*, (Apte 2012: 588) for *yajñas* (Tamil *vēlvi*, Vedic fire sacrifices). Due to the inspiration of Śiva, he used to make sand Liṅgas and offer *abhiṣeka* of milk<sup>3</sup>, drawn from the teats of the cows under his care. The child's devotional play or prank was observed and reported to his father. One day the father followed his son unnoticed, and smashed the pots that were filled with milk meant for *abhiṣeka*. The furious son threw a battle-axe and

---

<sup>3</sup> *Veṇmaṇal-ālaiyam* (CNP, v. 35) or *maṇal-kōyil* (CNP, v. 56) is a metaphor for the sand Liṅga. The *Kāñci Purāṇam*, the *sthalamāhātmya* of Kāñcīpuram says Umā made sand Liṅga in the Pālāru (Milk River), and undertook *pañcāgnitapas* to take the hand of Śiva-Ekāṃranātha (Shulman 1980, Jeyapriya 2016: figures of *pañcāgnitapas* by Umā). The climax is that the Milk River, Pālāru, wipes out the sand Liṅga. For a significant study on types of *abhiṣeka* system see Ferro-Luzzi 1981.

injured the legs of the intruder. Instantly, Śiva-Umāśahita appeared on the spot and honoured Caṇḍi with a garland of the sacred *konrai* (Cassia fistula) flowers (Fig. 14). He was appointed head of the *tonṭar* (“Slaves of the Lord” Dehejia 1998) and given the name Caṇḍicaṇ, Sanskritized Caṇḍikeśvara (cf. Zvelebil 1974: 175n, Prentiss 1999: 105-06, Goodall 2009: 363).

Centuries before Cēkkiḷār, the myth of the boy-saint was mentioned in the *Tēvāram* (seventh-eighth century CE). A few references are cited hereunder.

*Tantaitaṇaic cāṭa* “remonstrates with the father” (1.62.4)

*Tantai tālai eṛinta* “threw (the axe) on the father’s knee” (4.73.5)

*Viṇṭatātaiyait tālara vīciya* “throw (axe) to cut the knee of the angry father” (5.187.8)

*Tātaiyattāl tuṇamiṭa* “father’s leg amputated” (7.16.3)

*Tāitāḷ maḷuviṇāl eṛinta* “threw the axe at the knee of his father” (7.39.3)

Śiva conferring his *aruḷ* “benediction” is noted in a number of hymns (e.g. 2.201.2, 4.48.4, 5.184.1, 5.187.8, 6.232.10)

Śiva honoured Caṇḍi with flowers: *malar koṭuttāṇ* 1.62.4, *muṭimēl malarmālai yaḷitta* “place a flower garland on the head” 6.232.10, *tātumalar Caṇṭikkuk koṭuttu* “offer honey-dripping flowers to Caṇḍi” 6.247.10.

For a detailed enumeration of these idioms see Kalidos (2006: II, 39-40).

Caṇḍikeśvara was a popular cult hero before the seventh century CE. He was recognized in literature, inscriptions and the arts during the seventh to the tenth centuries CE. The cult value attached to him is evident from literature and Cōḷa inscriptions (Sastri 1916: 161-62); e.g.

The service of Caṇḍi to the Lord is known as *Caṇṭippani* “service of Caṇḍi” (*Tēvāram* 3.326.10).

During the high Cōḷa time records in Śiva temples were maintained in the name of Caṇḍikeśvara, Āticaṇṭēcura-



*cācaṇam* (ARE 1922, no. 57) or *Caṇṭēcuraṇ-ōlai* (ARE 1912, no. 511).

Assets of Śiva temples were known as *Caṇṭēcuraṇ-ātēcāṃ*. If temple properties were sold the price was called *Caṇṭēcuraṇ-peruvilai* (Kalidos 1988a: 435), which means all transactions took place in the name of *Caṇḍikeśvara*.

Donations to temples were registered in the name of *Caṇṭēcāṇ* (ARE 1921, no. 592, 1908, no. 658).

Bronze images of *Caṇḍikeśvara* were donated to temples of which detailed information is found in the *Taṅcāvūr* inscriptions of *Rājarāja I* 985-1016 CE (SII, II, 98).

*Caṇḍikeśvara* was the *mūlabhṛtya*, *Ādidāsa* of the Lord Śiva<sup>4</sup> (SII, II, 78).

All these indicate the value that *Caṇḍikeśvara* commanded in the establishment of a temple for Śiva by about the tenth century CE (Kalidos 1988a: 435-36). He was accorded the status of legendary Lord Comptroller of the temples of Śiva.

The etymology of *Caṇṭi*/*Caṇḍi*/*Caṇṭa* needs clarification. It is not clear whether *Caṇṭi* is derived from *Caṇḍī*, *Caṇḍā* or *Caṇḍikā* (cf. Edholm 1984: 75)<sup>5</sup>. The *Cilappatikāram* (30.69) talks of *Pācaṇṭaṇ* or *Pācaṇṭa-cāttan* (*ibidem* 9.15), which may be early forms of *Caṇṭaṇ*/*Caṇḍa*<sup>6</sup>. *Pācaṇṭaṇ* was a guardian deity in metropolitan cities (*Cilappatikāram* 30.69; 30.78) who punished evil-doers by casting a *pāśa* “noose” and killing them; a *danḍanāyaka* of ancient Tamil tradition.

*Caṇḍa* in Sanskrit means ‘fierce, violent, angry’; *caṇḍiman* means ‘passion, violence’ (Monier-Williams

<sup>4</sup> Earlier noted in Monius (2004: 171, fn. 39).

<sup>5</sup> See the several lists of *Yoginīs* in Dehejia (1986: 194-218). *Cāmuṇḍā*, *Caṇḍogrā*, *Caṇḍaghantā*, and *C[h]aṇḍa* (Dowson 1996: 66).

<sup>6</sup> A genie related to ‘*Pācaṇṭaṇ*’ is ‘*Pūtam*’ (*Cilappatikāram* 6.11, 15.78, 83, 28.147). Subrahmanian (1990: 544), citing the *Cilappatikāram* (9.15 ‘*Pācaṇṭacāttan*’, 26.130 ‘*Pācaṇṭatturāi*’) considers *Pācaṇṭam* “logicians of the 96 varieties of faiths”. For a detailed discussion see Rajarajan 2016: chap. IV. The suffix *Cāttan* appears in early *Caṅkam* literature (*Akanāṇṭūru* 327, *Puraṇāṇṭūru* 125, 178), and is frequent in Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, dated since the fifth century BCE, latest radio-metric date (Rajan & Yatheeskumar 2013: 291-94).

2005: 383; Bhide 1990: 452). It might suggest Caṇḍikeśvara was a passionate devotee of Śiva and violent toward heretics.

The word *caṇṭi* in Tamil has odious meanings such as “wicked man or woman”, and “shameless (*lajjā Lalitāsahasranāma* 740), obstinate or perverse person” (*Tamil Lexicon* III, 1245).

Cēkkiḷār describes Caṇṭi as Vicāracarumaṇār (Sanskrit *viśāraśarma*), meaning a *brāhmaṇa* proficient in the *Vedas* (CNP v. 12). By about the age of five he had mastered the *Vedas*, the six *aṅgas* and *āgamas* (CNP, v. 13). His father is Eccatattaṇ, meanings one responsible for the *karmas* of both past and present births (*Peruñcollakarāti*, IV, 68). Strangely, the boy’s domestic job was to take care of cows. Inscriptional sources that register endowments of cows or sheep to medieval Indian temples do not associate menial jobs with the *brāhmaṇas*. A few inscriptions of the Toṇṭīśvaram in Nāvalūr reveal that donated cows and sheep were left in the charge of *āyar* “cowherd” or *iṭaiyar* “shepherd”, i.e. *maṇṇāṭis* (ARE 1902, no. 357). Śiva-*yogis* seeking asylum in *maṭhas* may do it (ARE 1902, no. 361, cf. ARE 1904, no. 579). Otherwise, the village self-governing bodies such as *ūr* or *sabhā* (ARE 1902, nos. 336, 356) undertook the responsibility of cattle sustenance. The lease-holders were expected to repay milk for *abhiṣeka* or ghee for lamps and food preparation in temples (ARE 1939-40, nos. 227, 271). There is no epigraphic evidence to prove *brāhmaṇa*-boys tending cattle.

The village from where the boy-saint claims origin was Cēyñālūr<sup>7</sup>. It was inhabited by *iraṇṭupirappiṇ cirappiṇar*, i.e. respected *dvijas* (includes *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*), and those who studied the *caturvedas* in the traditional way, *nāṅkuvētam muraipayinrār*, and they were Maṇaiyōr/Vedis (CNP, v. 2). Cēyñālūr was a place where the *Vedas* were recited unflinchingly, and *yajñas* conducted regularly (CNP, vv. 3-4). The CNP mentions activities associated with the rituals: *Cāmam-kaṇippōr*

<sup>7</sup> It is one of the Śaiva *sthalas* mentioned in *Tēvāram* 1. 48.

those that memorize the *Sāmaveda*), *camittu/ samid* (wood for offering in *yāgakunḍa*), bathing in *tīrthas* (v. 5) (*tīrttanīrāṭal*), maintaining *yāgaśālā* (sacrificial yard), performing *vēḷvi* (Vedic sacrifices), and so on, and the presence of *vimānas* “temples” (v. 6).

For menial work such as feeding cows they had *śūdra* servants.

The family of Caṇḍi held the *urimai* “right” (CNP, v. 20) to perform the *abhiṣeka* in the temple at Cēyñālūr<sup>8</sup>; Cēyñālūr-*pillai* a boy of Cēñālūr (CNP, v. 37) and *patti mutirnta pālakaṇ* boy of mature devotion (CNP, v. 53). He is said to belong to *Ciṇa-Māl-viṭait-tēvar-kulam*<sup>9</sup> or *Curapikulam (Surabhīkulam)*<sup>10</sup>, and the milkmen called *curapikaḷ* (CNP, vv. 20, 22). Zvelebil (1974: 175) says Caṇṭēcuvarar was a *brāhmaṇa* and “became a herdsman”. It is added he guarded “each day the kine of all the brāhmaṇa community of the town” (idem). T.A. Gopinatha Rao (1999: 205) adds the boy volunteered to do the job.

Caṇḍikeśvara is said to have attacked his father with a staff that “became the sacred axe of Śiva” at the time of *prayoga* (Zvelebil 1974: 175). He was given the name Caṇṭēcuvarar “The Impetuous Lord” (CNP, v. 55). The father was forgiven and restored. As punishment for kicking the pots of sacred *abhiṣeka*-milk, *tirumañcaṇak kuṭappāl kālāl iṭaric cintiṇāṇ* (CNP, v. 50), the boy-saint had amputated his leg. All this was the sacred play of the Lord; *tiruvilaiyāṭṭu* or *līlā* (CNP, v. 39).

<sup>8</sup> Cēyñālūr was close to Tillai/Citamparam. It is added the family of Aṇabhāya Cōla Kulōttuṅga used to get their coronation performed at Tillai: ‘Aṇapāyaṇ varum tolmarapiṇ muṭicūṭṭum’ (CNP, v. 8).

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit equivalent may be *ugra-viṣṇu-vr̥ṣabhadeva-kula*. ‘Mālviṭai’ stands for Nandi, the bull vehicle of Śiva (cf. Rajarajan et al. 2017: 732), who is identified with Viṣṇu in Śaivite lore (Rajarajan 1996: 305-10).

<sup>10</sup> *Curapikulam* is interesting. It may be the equal of *gotra* that is Kaśyapa or Vasiṣṭha. The word *gotra* stands for “a cowshed” or “herd of cows” (Basham 1971: 154). The other *gotras* are Bhṛgu, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Atri and Viśvāmitra, and Agastya added. Vasiṣṭha is said to have maintained the baby of Kāmadhenbu, Nandinī, and the celestial all-giving cow. Surabhī was another sacred cow, the daughter of *Prajāpati*-Dakṣa. Surabhī was the progenitor of cattle, and given in marriage to Kaśyapa (Liebert 1986: 287). Surabhī, the “cow of plenty” was born of the Ocean of Milk according to another mythology (Dowson 1998: 309). For illustrations see Boner 1994: *Tafel* 18, Rajarajan 2009: pl. VI).

It seems Caṇḍikeśvara's father did not accept the *bhakti* mode followed by his son, suggesting a conflict between orthodoxy and *bhakti*. It may lead to the question whether Vedic scholars did not approve of the devotional trends; e.g. the *muṇivar/ṛṣi*-priest, Cīvakoṅvariyaṅ's lamentations (*Periya Purāṇam*, 'Kaṇṇappa Nāyaṅār' alias Tiṇṇaṅ, v. 134). The devotional cult in its early stages had to face the opposition of Vedic *brāhmaṇas* (Stietencron 1977: 130-31), since most of the *toṇṭar* were of low-grade caste lineages from *vellālas* to *pañcamas*; this is exemplified in the story of the cunning *brāhmaṇas* of the 'Tillai...Āṅantap-Perunkūttar' temple (*Periya Purāṇam*, 'Tirunālaippōvār' vv. 34, 36) forcing the *pañcama* Nālaippōvar to plunge himself in fire (ibidem, vv. 30-31). Tiruppāṇālvār is another example, ill-treated by the high-minded Śrīraṅgam *brāhmaṇas* (Varadachari 1970: 105-106, Rajarajan 2016: 44-60). From Caṇṭi to Vicāracarmaṅ, it seems a god of the little tradition, seems to have been exalted to the high tradition.

The CNP refers to *veṅmaṅal-ālayam* (temple of white-mud). *Maṅal-kōyil* (mud temple) is a positive clue to the building material. The Tamil lexicon *Piṅkalam* (c. thirteenth century CE) includes *maṅ* among the raw materials employed temple building and sculpture making (Kalidos 1996-97: 19)<sup>11</sup>. It suggests during the pre-Pallava period temples were built of mud or bricks and wood (cf. the Maṅtakappaṭṭu Inscription in Srinivasan 1964: 47). Caṇḍikeśvara belongs to such a phase of history as he may be dated in the pre-Mahēndravarmaṅ (610-630 CE) period. 'Maṅṭali' (Temple of Mud) is the name of a sacred venue (*Tēvāram* 7. 96). Cuntarar's Ārūrpparavaiyiṅ-*maṅṭali*, is another venue in the Kāviri delta; a mud-temple within the [Tiru]Ārūr complex that retained the primeval mud-

<sup>11</sup> The other raw materials are stone, metal, brick, wood, stucco, ivory, paint and wax. The *Tēvāram* makes a note of mud-Liṅga made by Caṇṭi for worship: *niraṅta maṅalaik kūppi* "heap a good quantity of mud" (4.73.5) and *maṅali liṅkamatu [v]iyarri* "make a Liṅga out of mud" (7.16.3).

tradition. Such temples are a common sight in the countryside in Tamilnadu today (Fig. 8).<sup>12</sup>

It seems the boy built a model mud temple or toy house, called *cirril* (Subrahmanian 1990: 366 citing *Akanāṅṅuru* 110, *Kalittokai* 51, dated in the early centuries CE) for play, and mud Liṅgas to which he offered an *abhiṣeka* of milk. Caṇṭi's father must have considered the offering of milk to the toy Liṅga a waste, or not in harmony with orthodox practice, and hastened to punish the boy. Elders taking to task mischievous children playing with fire to cook rice in play-pots (Edholm 1984), called *ciṭṭi-muṭṭi* (*caṭṭi* is burnt earthen pot, see Dumont 1986: figs. 6, 20) is not uncommon today (Fig. 15). The Āḷvārs, particularly Periyāḷvār in *Tirumoli* considers Kṛṣṇa a child and narrates his pranks at length. Āṇṭāḷ (*Nācciyār Tirumoli* 2.3) makes a specific reference to the play of Kṛṣṇa, who wiped out the toy houses or “sandcastles” of the *gopīs* (Dehejia 1992: 29):

*Enkaḷ cirril vantu citaiyēlē* “Do not destroy our little houses”  
The child's play with mud-Liṅga and milk *abhiṣeka* is admitted. What was frenzied devotion for the boy-Caṇṭican was naughty for the father-Eccatattan. We must note here that the Pallavas, Calukyas and Rāṣtrakūṭas not only built mega-temples for Śiva and Viṣṇu (e.g. Vaikuṅṭha Perumāḷ in Kāñci and Ḍumārleṇa in Ellora) but also mini-masterpieces, technically *cirril*; e.g. the Kīḷmāvilaṅkai rock-cut temple (Srinivasan 1964: XXXVII.A) and Cave XXVIII (about a meter high) in Ellora that falls on the narrow pathway in between the Milk Maids Cave and Ḍumārleṇa (Rajarajan 2012: pls. 9-10, 28, 33, 52, 58) that were definitely centres of ritual.

Furthermore, these little houses or temples are the dreamland of immature boys and girls, metaphorically the dreaming *jīvātma*; e.g. Caṇṭi or Kōtai/Āṇṭāḷ and the *gopīs* that aspire to reach the sacred zone or venue, *tiruttalam* or *divyadeśa* of their personal god, *paramātma*. In their devotional approach the *cirril* is an instrument. The dream turns reality when the Almighty

<sup>12</sup> A meter-high mud-liṅga is supposed to have been installed by Arjuna reported from the Mahāliṅgeśvara at Aḍūr in Kāsargod, upper Kerala. The Māriyamman temple at Aitiri (Sultanpatēri Taluk) has a meter-high *mūlabera* in mud (Jayashanker 1997: 276-284).

arrives in person to honour the *tiruttonṭar* (sacred slaves) or *ālvār* (divers) (Fig. 14). The coming of God is not that easy; and to invite his presence the *tonṭar* have to undergo ordeals (cf. the Pālāru episode in note 4) such as dismantling the little houses, or Kṛṣṇa stealing the garments of *gopīs*. When the Self is mature enough to receive the blessings, the Lord arrives without an invitation to offer redemption.

Caṇḍikeśvara commands an outstanding status in the Tamil Śaivite ritual tradition and pantheon of gods. He receives the *nirmālyam* (*nirmala* “without impurity”) – the discarded remnants from sacrifices to Śiva (Goodall 2009: 356-358; 385-395; cf. Edholm 1984: 75, 83; Jayashanker 1997: 309). In Tamil tradition, he is one among the Pañcamūrtis, the hierarchical order being Gaṇapati/ Murukaṅ/ Umāsaḥita/ Devī/ Caṇḍikeśvara. In festive processions such as the *Brahmotsava* in Maturai, Nelvēli, Cītamparam, Ārūr, and Aṅṅāmalai, Gaṇapati leads the temple-car procession (*rathotsava*) and Caṇḍikeśvara comes last (Kalidos 1989: 224).

## Sculptures of Caṇḍikeśvara

Art historical evidences with Caṇḍikeśvara images in chronological order may be listed in the following order.

The Dharmarāja-*ratha*, Māmallapuram dated in seventh century CE in its *madhyamatala* accommodates Caṇḍeśānugrahaṃmūrti (Srinivasan 1975; Kalidos 2006: II, 170-71). However, the identification of the image in Somāskanda of the same *ratha/vimāna* is controversial (Srinivasan 1964:153).

The Ḍumārleṇa (Cave XXIX) in Ellora, dated in 675 CE (Soundararajan 1981: 9) may be reexamined in the context of Kalidos (1988: fig. 70, Bisschop 2010: fig. 7) designating Lakulīśa as Caṇḍikeśvara (Fig. 2) and Edholm 1988 and Choubey (1997: fig. 6) renaming Caṇḍikeśvara of Artṭāpaṭṭi as Lakulīśa.

Kailāsanātha of Kāñci of Rājasimha Pallava in 690-91 CE (ARE 1888, nos. 5-6) brings to light a narrative

theme Caṇḍeśānugraha. The image is accommodated in *devakulika*, a model shrine; Śiva honouring his devotee with a wreath (Rajarajan 2012: figs. 46-47, Rajarajan 2015-16: figs. 16-17)).

Bhairavakoṇḍa caves with an inscription in Cave VI noting “Śrī Brahmīśvara Viṣṇu” is dated in 750 CE (Soundararajan 1981: 9, 307) accommodate Caṇḍikeśvara and Gaṇapati on either side of the façade (Kalidos 2006: IV-II, pl. VI.1, Rajarajan 2012a: fig. 65).

Vāgīśvara of Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi (Kalidos 2006: IV, II, pl. XXXVII.1) is of the period of Dandivarman Pallava, dated in 812 CE (IPS, no. 18).

Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi (Kalidos 2006: pl. XXXVI, cf. Edholm 1998) and Kuṇṇāṅṭārkōyil<sup>13</sup> (Kalidos 2006: IV-II, pl. XXXVII 2) are not dated. Kuṇṇāṅṭārkōyil is an incomplete rock-cut excavation close to the main cave.

Among these, the Early Pāṇḍya Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi cave, with Caṇḍikeśvara (Fig. 1) and Gaṇapati on either side of the west-facing façade, may be the forerunner of Eastern Calukyan sculptures in Bhairavakoṇḍa (Kalidos 2006: II, 162). Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi may be dated in the later seventh century CE, thus bringing it close in time to Kāñci. There is no Caṇḍikeśvara in the Kuṇṇakkuṭi cave<sup>14</sup>. More images are spotted in the Bhairavakoṇḍa (‘Bhairava-Hill’<sup>15</sup>) caves than in comparable sites in Tamilnadu (Soundararajan 1981: 298-312).

<sup>13</sup> Some scholars retain the archaic spelling, *kōvil* (L’Hernault 2006: passim); better *kōyil* (*Tamil Lexicon* II, 1190; Kalidos 2006: I, xxviii).

<sup>14</sup> R. Nagasawamy (1964: 216, fig. 2a) identifies an attendant of Harihara with Caṇḍikeśvara. Harihara is not linked with Caṇḍikeśvara. It may be Nandi on the Hara side (right) and *Garuḍa* on the Hari side (left). See an image in the Durgā temple, Aihole (Tartakov 1997: fig. 73). The zoomorphic Nandi and *Garuḍa-puruṣa* appear in the Virupākṣa at Paṭṭadakkaḷ (Meister & Dhaky 1986: pl. 233). Anthropomorphic figures of Nandi and *Garuḍa* appear in the Ādivarāha-Viṣṇu-*gr̥ha* in Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: II, pl. LXVIII.2). No attendant is present in the Dharmarāja-*ratha* (ibid., pl. LXXI.2). Harihara is a pan-Asian theme in art (cf. Taddei 1996: 453-56). Kalidos’ legend Kuṇṇakkuṭi (2006: IV, II, pl. XXXVII.2) is due to oversight; it is Kuṇṇāṅṭārkōyil.

<sup>15</sup> I am told no one writing on Caṇḍikeśvara could visit Bhairavakoṇḍa; except K.V. Soundararajan, Raju Kalidos and ASI officers. It is situated in an inaccessible terrain. The route is: Nellore> Udayagiri> Sitārāmapauram> Kottapalli> Bhairavakoṇḍa. Raju Kalidos

A notable iconographic feature of these early medieval images is that Caṇḍikeśvara is seated, two-armed, and carries either a staff (*daṇḍa*) (Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi and Malaiyaṭippaṭṭi) or an axe (*paraśu*) (Kāñci and Bhairavakoṇḍa). The Kāñci image is the forerunner of Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti of Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḷapuram,<sup>16</sup> an axe being fitted on top of the frame. The Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḷapuram masterpiece represents the final stage in the development of Caṇḍikeśvara iconography; miniature reliefs all round purport to illustrate events of the myth (Prentiss 1999: 109; Rajarajan 2012: fig. 1)<sup>17</sup>.

### Cōḷa Stereotypes and Narrative Panel

Most Cōḷa and post-Cōḷa Śiva temples accommodate a separate chapel for Caṇḍikeśvara to the north of the *garbhagrha*, facing south, as in the Rājarājeśvaram temples at Tañcāvūr, Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḷapuram and Tārācuram<sup>18</sup>. Another

---

told me he had to walk about five kms from Kottapaḷli in a country path, noted for its awful silence, and fear of wild animals (Kalidos 2006: I, x; II, viii; IV-II, pls. IV 1, V 1-2).

<sup>16</sup> Caṇḍeśānugrahamūrti is a canonical form mentioned in the *Śrītatvanidhi* (1.3.60), citing the *Kāraṇāgama*. One among the Pañcaviṃśati-līlāmūrti (25 Sportive Forms) of Śiva, Caṇḍikeśvara is present with Śiva and Umā. Caṇḍi is golden in colour; cf. *poṇṇār mēṇiyānē* “Thou [Śiva] of golden mien” (*Tēvāram* 7.24.1). He is decorated with *ābharāṇas* meant for a child. Śiva places his hand on the head of his *tonṭar*. Caṇḍi does not carry any weapon. The *Śrītatvanidhi* (3.7.6, p. 373) assigns him the axe, Tamil *kōṭari*. The Kaṅkaikoṇṭacōḷapuram masterpiece conforms with the above description (Rajarajan 2012: fig. 1). Rao (1999: 208-209) cites the *Uttarakāmikāgama* and *Aṃśumadbhedāgama*. Krishna Sastri (1916: 147), citing the Tañcāvūr inscriptions of Rājarāja I, calls the Lord Caṇḍeśavaraprāsādadeva.

<sup>17</sup> The Sapienza University of Rome and ISIAO organized an International Congress on ‘Indian History and Art’, Rome, April 2011. The brochure had the images printed on its front page. The Proceedings of the Congress are published with the image printed (Lorenzetti and Scialpi eds. 2012: outer cover). The main image relates to Umāsahita honoring Caṇḍi while mini-reliefs of cows, milking cow, *abhiṣeka*, and lifting an axe to admonish Eccatattaṅ (Fig. 14).

<sup>18</sup> The Murukaṅ temple, called Āviṇaṅkuṭi, Temple of the Cowman-Āviṇaṅ (Āputtiraṅ in *Maṇimēkalai* chaps. 12, 24, 25) at the foothill of Paḷaṅi is restructured. It includes a chapel for Caṇḍikeśvara in its northeast corner exactly, and a small chapel for Nakkīrar, author of *Murukāṅruppaṭai*. The venue is noted in the *Kantaṣaṣṭikavacam* (eighteenth century), authored by Pālatēvarāyan/Bāla-Devarāya. This work notes both Paḷaṅi and Āviṇaṅkuṭi: *Paḷanippativāl Pālakumāra Āviṇaṅkuṭivāl aḷakiyavēla*.



example is the unreported Rājendracōḷīśvaram at Periyakuḷam (Fig. 13).

In mythological terms, Caṇḍikeśvara, as a fanatic *brāhmaṇa*, is the Tamil or Śaivite counterpart of Paraśurāma. Paraśurāma chopped off the head of his mother (Kalidos 1988a: 425); the violent “slave” of our study chopped off the leg of his father. However, the link between Caṇḍi and Paraśurāma is lost in historical mist; cf. Vṛṣabha in Jain (Rajarajan 2006: II, pl. 235) and Māl-viṭai “Viṣṇu-bull” in Śaivite traditions. The Caṇḍikeśvara-Paraśurāma link is relevant because the Toṇṭīśvaram where the narrative panel appears is associated with Malaiyāḷi/Kēraḷaputra (see below) for benefaction in its early stage.

A few words about Nāvalūr, the site of the stone relief under study, may help to understand the historical context. Nāvalūr is believed to be the birth-place of Saint Cuntarar. The Toṇṭīśvaram (Tamil Toṇṭīcuvaram “Temple of Toṇṭar”), also known as Rājādittīśvaram, was a donation of the servant-maid of the mother of Rājāditya c. 949 (ARE 1902: no. 335), son of Parāntaka I (907-955 CE). Rājāditya was the crown-prince, who died in a war with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He is known as ‘Yāṇaimerruñciya-tēvar’, a “fragile dew drop” that died on an elephant, presumably during battle. The temple seems to have existed since the Pallava period, extolled in the hymns of Cuntarar (*Tēvāram* 7.17.1-11). S.R. Balasubrahmanian (1971) has left a note mainly based on epigraphical sources. Nāvalūr comes under the Naṭunāṭu (middle country) subdivision of the Tamil country. It stands on the banks of the river Keṭilam, a tributary of south-Peṇṇāru. In view of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa menace, the early Cōḷas seem to have maintained a military outpost at Nāvalūr, commanded by Rājāditya. The rebuilding and expansion of the temple was mainly due to the royal encampment. Many of the inscriptions in the Toṇṭīśvaram record gifts for maintenance of the temple. These are dated from Parāntaka I to the Vijayanagara period (Mahalingam 1988: nos. 387-408). The Cōḷa prince Rājāditya and his retinue were the early donors. The Cōḷa regiment largely consisted of *malaiyāḷa* cavaliers and footsoldiers, called *parivāram* (ARE 1902: no.

326). The gifts of lamps are known as *malaiyāḷa* or the Kēraḷa type of *nontāviḷakku* “perpetual lamp” (ARE 1902: no. 354). One of the donors is called *Malaiyāḷaṅ Māṇavallavaṅ Kaṇṇaṅ* (ARE 1902: no. 329). It is inferred that the temple at Nāvalūr of the time of Cuntarar was built of perishable materials such as mud and bricks. Many such temples in the Kāviri delta were converted to stone during and after the time of Parāntaka I, e.g. Puḷḷamaṅkai and Nāgeśvara in Kuṃbhakoṇam (see Harle 1958: 96-108, Kalidos 1996: 141-53, Rajarajan 2008: 405-14). The rebuilding at Nāvalūr was the work of Rājāditya. Early Cōḷa kings offered rich endowments for *nityapūjās*, *utsavas*, food offerings and gift of precious jewels (ARE 1902: nos. 238, 347, 369). More than 100 inscriptions are on record, indicating the flourishing status of the temple.

Caṇḍikeśvara is accommodated in a south-facing chapel that is located close to the *praṇāla* of the Śiva temple<sup>19</sup>. The south-facing *mūlabera* is seated with the right leg pendant. The face is smiling and illuminated by a halo. He carries a *paraśu* in *prayoga* mode in the right hand, and is decorated with *patrakuṇḍalas*, *yajñopavita*, *udarabandha* and necklaces of beads or pearls; the stance is upright (Fig. 3). The *mūlabera* seems to be a later addition to the original Cōḷa temple, indicating increasing emphasis on the cult of Caṇḍikeśvara through the ages. From Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi (Early Pāṇḍya) to Nāvalūr (with Vijayanagara fittings) the cult persisted. Its status seems to have increased since the time of Rājārāja I (as shown by his inscriptions in SII, II, I-II). The āgamic mandate elaborated in Edholm 1984 and Goodall 2009 is a twelfth-century overgrowth.

A narrative panel (cf. Alamelu 2006) in stone relief appears on the wall of the shrine, datable to the tenth century CE. Presumably, it illustrates a version of the story of Caṇḍikeśvara that was in oral circulation or based on the *Tēvāram* hymns (see note 1), before Cēkkiḷār composed the *Periya Purāṇam* in the twelfth century. Three episodes are illustrated (Fig. 4).

---

<sup>19</sup> Caṇḍikeśvara is west-facing in Ariṭṭāpaṭṭi and east-facing in Bhairavakoṇḍa.

1. A cow is yielding milk and another cow appears behind. A lad, presumably Caṇḍikeśvara, is milking the cow, holding a pot (Fig. 5). The milk-giving cow turns her head towards him and licks fondly. It generates a similar sense of realism to the Govardhanadhāri relief in Māmallapuram (Kalidos 2006: I, pl. LXV).
2. The second relief shows a Liṅga below a tree (Fig. 6). The lad pours milk on the *śirovartana* of the Liṅga. A man, presumably Eccatattan, stands on the other side with a long staff in his hand. He knocks down three pots filled with milk.
3. The boy lifts an axe and the old man falls, lifting his injured right leg (Fig.7). The wound is clearly shown.
4. The upper part of the relief seems to illustrate Mūvar “the trio” – Nāvukkaracar, Nānacampantar and Cuntarar – and others (Fig. 4).

This sculpture is anterior to the one in the Tārācuram temple of Rājarāja II 1146-73 CE (Sivaramamurti 1984: 41, Poongodi 2006: 38) by which time the *Periya Purāṇam* existed. The Tārācuram miniature-relief, in the *adhiṣṭhāna* part of the temple, repeats the three scenes enumerated above (Rajarajan 2009: pl. V), and includes Umāsaḥita blessing the boy-saint.

The Nāvalūr relief (Fig. 4) illustrates the important events connected with the Liṅga-*pūjā* of Caṇḍi and its aftermath. During the high Cōḷa period several episodes from the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam* were carved in stone on the plinth sections of the Rājarājeśvaram/ Airāvateśvara at Tārācuram (Sivaramamurti 1984: 40-46);<sup>20</sup> Professor John R. Marr (1979)<sup>21</sup> made a brief pioneering report. Such an array of sculptures or paintings is rare (cf. those reported by L’Hernault 2006). Images

<sup>20</sup> Not less than 42 episodes are illustrated; cf. Rajarajan (2009: pl. V) that pertains to Nānacampantar releasing a child from the clutches of a crocodile, which relates to the *sthalamāhātmya* of Avināci. The same theme appears on a stone slab in the huge *teppakkuḷam* (Tank for Festival of the Raft) of Vaṇṭiyūr in Maturai of the Nāyaka period (Rajarajan 2006: pl 295).

<sup>21</sup> Raju Kalidos nostalgically tells me Prof. Marr was the referee for his paper published in the JRAS (1988) and that he shared the Chair with the doyen in a session of the International Conference of Tamil Studies (World Tamil Conference) in Kulala Lumpur (1988).

of the Aṛupattumūvar (the 63 Nāyaṇmārs) were installed in Śiva temples during the Nāyaka period in stone or bronze; e.g. the Rājēndracōlīśvaram in Periyakuḷam in stone (Fig. 11), and Sundareśvara enclave in the Mīnākṣī temple at Maturai in bronze<sup>22</sup>. The bronze images are prohibited for photography; and no-entry for non-Hindus.

### The Caṇḍikeśvara-Lakulīśa Link

We now consider why Caṇḍikeśvara is identified with Lakulīśa (Edholm 1998, Choubey 1997), or Lakulīśa with Caṇḍikeśvara (Kalidos 1988, Goodall 2009). The identification of Lakulīśa with Caṇḍikeśvara or vice versa is a problem in religious and art history. He is said to be “an amalgam of more than one personality” (Goodall 2009: 5). Iconographically, Lakulīśa is mostly seated (Figs. 2, 10) or *sthānaka*, and *ūrdhvaretas* with two or more hands; in rare cases two phalluses (Choubey 1997: pl. 36 [Bhopāl Museum, Gujarat, fifth century]). Early medieval images mostly appear in the temples of Mahākūṭa, Paṭṭadakkal and Ellora, dated in the Western Calukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa period (Soundararajan 1986: pl. LVI.B; Rajasekhara 1985, Meister & Dhaky 1986: fig. 164; Kalidos 2006: pl. XLV). Choubey (1997: pls. 7, 11) has systematically catalogued the images. The images were meant for *sādhakas* of the Pāśupata-Lakulīśa cult; e.g. the Virupākṣa temple in Paṭṭadakkal, and Cave XX in a ravine and Ḍumārleṇa on a cliff in Ellora.

Scholars consider the Pāśupata-Lakulīśa cult to date from the Gupta period (Choubey 1997: 50, cf. Filliozat 2001), citing the Mathurā inscription of Candragupta II (c. 381 CE). Kreisel (1986) and Choubey (1997: 115) provide early examples of images of Lakulīśa of the Kuṣāṇa period from the Mathurā museum<sup>23</sup>. Around that period, the religious history of

<sup>22</sup> The *prākāra* is prohibited for non-Hindus. For a detailed examination of sculptures in the sacred zone see Rajarajan (2016: 139-51, 145 figs).

<sup>23</sup> Kreisel (1986: pls. 104-106) shows a few examples of Kuṣāṇa and Gupta images.

Tamilnadu is mainly based on literature that offers no hint of a cult centered on Caṇṭi (Rajarajan 2013). The silence continues down to the time of the *Cilappatikāram* (which mentions ‘Pācaṇṭan’) and *Maṇimēkalai*, c. 450-550 CE. From Ṇānacampantar to Cēkkiḷār via Cuntarar we do not get any clue to Pāśupata or Lakulīśa in Tamil literary tradition<sup>24</sup>. D.N. Lorenzen (1991: 106-109; Lorenzetti 1996) finds Pāśupatas in the writings of Rāmānujācārya (c. twelfth century CE). The images of Caṇḍikeśvara examined in the present study are anterior to the time of Rāmānuja. The indices of A.L. Basham (1971) and K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (1984) do not find a place for either Lakulīśa or Pāśupata. However, the Pāśupatas appear in the *Mattavilāsaprahasana* of Mahēndravaramaṇ, c. 610-30 (Minakshi 1977: 18; Barnett 1928-30: 697-717; Kalidos 2006: III, 33-35). The Kāpālikas and Pāśupatas, and also Buddhists, were degenerate and despicable in the eyes of *bhakti* revivalists, the Nāyaṇmār and the Ālvārs (Minakshi 1977: 168, 194; Kalidos 2006: II, 61). Sastri (1984: 648) says Kālāmukhas and their *maṭhas* were widespread in South India during the ninth-eleventh centuries CE. Brockington (1996: 121-22) finds the Pāśupatas’ “rapid decline” in north India, and “sudden appearance of the name Lakulīśa” in inscriptions of Karnāṭaka during the eleventh century. The references to Pacupati in the *Tēvāram*, and its affinity with the Pāśupata cult, need to be further examined. One may find the *ūrdhvaretas* Paśupati (Doniger 2011: fig. 2) in the Indic culture c. 2750 BCE (Dhyansky 1987: 89-108, cf. Clark 2003: 304-23). The ithyphallic feature was totally unapproved in Tamil tradition from Pallava to Nāyaka. Ilakulīcaṇ and Ilakulīcamūrttam (Lakulīśamūrti) occur in Tamil tradition only in the eighteenth century (*Peruñcollakarāti*, II, 539; *Kāñci Purāṇam*, *Tiruvāṇaikkā Purāṇam*, Zvelebil 1974: 191). During a recent visit to Koṭuṅkallūr/Vaṅcaikaḷam in Kēraḷa, we found a shrine

<sup>24</sup> Pacupati/Paśupati is an epithet of Śiva (*Tēvāram* 1.22.5, 4.51.10, 7.92.1). Pācupataṇ is the Lord that carries the *pāśupatāstra* (Kalidos 2006: II, 65). Pacupati is the Lord that eradicates the accumulated evils, *karma-viṇai* of human birth; ‘Pacupati pāvanācaṇ’ (*Tēvāram* 4.51.10). He is the Eternal Śiva; ‘Pacupati paramēṭṭiyē’ (ibid. 7.92.1), i.e. Sadāśiva (Jeyapriya 2013).

dedicated to Paśupati in the Śiva Temple (Fig. 16) extolled in the hymns of Cuntarar (*Tēvāram* 7.4.1-10). Under such circumstances, the identification of Caṇḍikeśvara with Lakulīśa and vice-versa could not be justified unless we have solid evidences in Tamil literature and art.

We have several mythic parallels of interacting Sanskrit and Tamil mythologies (Shulman 1980, Hardy 1983), e.g.: Skanda with Kantaṅ/Murukaṅ (*Kumārasambhava* and *Tirumuru-kārrppaṭai* or *Paripāṭal*); Mahiśasuramardinī with Korravai (*Devīmāhātmya* and ‘Vēṭṭuvavari’ in *Cilappatikāram*); Vedic Varuṇa and Indra with Tamil-Caṅkam Varuṇaṅ and Vēntaṅ/Intiraṅ; and the Tamil Piñṇai/Piṇṇai (‘Āycciyarkuravai’ in *Cilappatikāram*)<sup>25</sup> was the model for Rādhā in Jayadeva’s *Gītagovinda*.

The identification of northern Pāśupata-Lakulīśa with the Tamil Caṇḍikeśvara remains under the historical mist.

Raju Kalidos (2006: II, 235-36, 253) suggests that *ūrdhvaretas* and multi-armed images may be treated as Lakulīśa, and those without an erect penis, mostly seated and two-armed, are Caṇḍikeśvara. The Tamil Caṇḍi never exposes his *liṅga* whether flaccid (e.g. Bhairava or Bhikṣāṭana) or ithyphallic; he is not *digambara* as in Jain images of the Tīrthāṅkaras (Settar 1986: pls. XXXIII).

When status is taken into consideration, Caṇḍikeśvara was a “slave” of the Lord. Lakulīśa in Pāśupata tradition is the Lord Himself. In other words Lakulīśa was a manifestation of Śiva whereas Caṇḍi was a *toṅṭar*. Logically a “slave” could not be the “Lord”. Maybe the slave was considered a divinity by the lapse of time; e.g. Caṇḍikeśvara brought under the Pañcamūrtis, and the Ālvārs during the Vijayanagara-Nāyaka period. We may recall the chapels for Caṇḍikeśvara and his images appearing as *mūlaberas* (Figs. 3, 13) in Tamil tradition. The Tamil Pañcamūrti concept adds further support to the *āṅṭāṅ-aṭimai* “master-slave” notion (see *Tēvāram* 3.326.10 in note 1,

<sup>25</sup> The *Cilappatikāram* in ‘Vēṭṭuvavari’ finds Devī-[Korravai] appropriate several idioms of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa; e.g. Śakaṭāsurabhañjana/Kṛṣṇā? (*Vēru* 22 ‘Vañca uruluṅ cakaṭam utai’), and decorated with a garland of *koṅrai* (Cassia fistula) and *tuḷavam* (*Oscimum sanctum*) She-Harihara? (*Vēru* 10 ‘Koṅraiṅ tuḷavamūṅ kuḷumat toṭutta’).

Rajarajan 2016a). Lakulīśa in the early medieval art of the Calukyas, in the core Aihole zone and Upper Deccan (e.g. Ellora) is a *koṣṭhadevatā* and not a cult-mūrti appearing in the *garbhagr̥ha*. Most images, totaling 40 in Choubey (1997: pl. 13), appear to be *koṣṭhadevatās*. In hierarchical order the *koṣṭhadevatā* is less-privileged, as Āvaraṇamūrti, when compared with the cult-Mūrti housed in the *garbhagr̥ha*.

A systematic survey of the *Tiruttoṅṭar Purāṇam* as amplified in the art of the Cōlas and the Vijayanagara-Nāyakas is warranted. The departed and dedicated scholar L'Hernault (2006: 123-38) has reported the narrative images dealing with Nāṇacampantar in the Puṭaimarutūr and Āvuṭaiyākōyil Śiva temples. Rajarajan (2006: pls. 296-97) has reported rare images of Cīruttoṅṭar cutting the neck of his own son and the mother holding the head of the child (cf. Jeyapriya 2009). The narrative panel of Caṇḍikeśvara may help us to comprehend the representation of saints in visual media, based on ideas rooted in literature (cf. Marr 1979; Monius 2004a).

The myth of Caṇḍikeśvara in literary form has been reported time and again by scholars of Śaivite religious history. The narrative panel reported here is crucial in linking mythic imagery with sculptural evidence; when compared with mythological narratives in literature visual evidence provides a definitive clue to the cult status of a god-man. The Caṇḍikeśvara-Lakulīśa link remains to be further explored. Though semblances have been reported in myth and art, the historical channels of communication are hazy, especially when we talk with reference to *nirmālyam* (for a discussion on this topic see Jayashanker 1997: 309).

## Conclusion

*Bhakti* to begin with is total surrender, e.g. Prahlāda. It may be meek or domineering in case of Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāma respectively. When one's *bhakti* is hampered by extraneous elements, it turns out to be violent (violence runs naked in the mythology of Vīrabhadra, another manifestation of Śiva, cf.

Jeyapriya 2019: 60-64). The Caṇḍikeśvara theme in myth and art demonstrates, Caṇḍikeśvara to begin with was a pacified benevolent devotee of Śiva. When his mode of approach to God is endangered even if that be his father, he resorts to violence. At the intervention of divine grace both benevolence and violence are conciliated finally. R.K. Parthiban brought to my attention the essay by Stieterncron at the final stage of rewriting this article. Orthodoxy and *bhakti* seem to have been at loggerheads since the Vedic period. I am not well versed in Vedic theology. This early conflict between Vedic orthodoxy and the later *bhakti* ideology may be an important factor behind the mythology of Caṇḍikeśvara vis-à-vis his father. It will have to be investigated deeply by scholars proficient in both Tamil and Sanskrit. As a specialist in iconography, I am of the view the most significant contribution of the present communication is the narrative panel in sculptural relief from the Toṅṭīśvaram at Nāvalūr. The Tamil litterateurs and sculptors were innovators in the context of the present study.



### Abbreviations

ARE	Annual Reports on Epigraphy
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
CNP	<i>Caṅḍēcura Nāyaṅār Purāṇam</i>
SII	<i>South-Indian inscriptions.</i>

### References

- Akanānūru*, See Cuppiramaṇiyaṅ 2006: 211-304.
- Alamelu Nacchiappan. 2006. *Narrative Sculptures in Nāyaka Art*. Ph.D. diss. Thanjavur: The Tamil University.
- Apte, V.S. 1976. *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Mitilal.
- ARE: *Annual Reports on Epigraphy* 1888, 1902, 1904, 1908, 1912, 1921, 1922, 1939-40.
- Balasubrahmanian, 1971. S.R. *Early Chola Temples*. Delhi: Orient Longman.
- Barnett, L.D. 1928-30. 'Mattavilāsa: A Farce by Mahēndravikramavarman'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* V. 697-717. London, 1928-30.
- Basham, A.L. 1971. *The Wonder that was India*. Calcutta: Rupa & Co.
- Bhide, V.V. 1926/1990. *A Concise Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. New Delhi: Gian Publishing House.
- Bischof, Peter C. 2006. *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa. Sects and Centers*. Groningen Oriental Series XXI. Groningen: Egbert Forsten.
- Boner, Georgette, Eberhard Fischer & B.N. Goswamy. 1994. *Sammlung Alice Boner-Geschenk an das Museum Rietberg Zürich*. Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich.
- Brockington, A.L. 1981/1996. *The Sacred Thread*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Choubey, M.C. 1997. *Lakulīśa in Indian Art and Culture*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Cilappatikāram*. Na. Mu. 2011. Vēṅkaṭacāmi Nāṭṭār ed. Rāmayya Patippakam, Chennai.
- CNP: 'Caṅḍēcura Nāyaṅār Purāṇam' in *Tiruttōṅṭar Purāṇam*.

- Cox, Whitney. 2005. 'The Transformation of Tiṅṅaṅ the Archer' (Studies in Cēkkiḷār's Periyapurāṇam I). *Indo-Iranian Journal* 48: 223-52.
- Clark, Sharri R. 2003. 'Representing the Indus Body: Sex, Gender, Sexuality, and the Anthropomorphic Terracotta Figurines from Harappa'. *Asian Perspectives* 42.2: 304-28.
- Craddock, Elaine. 2010. *Siva Demon Devotee: Karaikkal Ammaiyar*. New York: New York State University Press.
- Cuppiramaṇiyaṅ, Ca.Vē. *Caṅka Ilakkiyam*. Chennai: Maṇivācakaṁ Patippakam. 2006.
- . *Paṇṇiru Tirumuṟai* in Tamil. Chennai: Maṇivācakaṁ Patippakam. 2007.
- Dehejia, Vidya. 1986. *Yoginī Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition*. New Delhi: National Museum.
- . 1998. *Slaves of the Lord: The Path of the Tamil Saints*. New Delhi: Mushiram Manoharlal.
- . 1990. *Poems of a Woman Saint from South India*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- . 1992. *Āṅṅāl and her Path of Love*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- Doniger, Wendy. 2011. 'God's Body, or, The Lingam Made Flesh. Conflicts over Representation of the Sexual Body of the Hindu God Shiva'. *Social Research* 78.2: 485-508.
- Dowson, John. 1986. *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology & Religion. Geography-History-Religion*. Calcutta: Rupa & Co. Reprint.
- Dumont, Louis. 1986. *A South Indian Subcaste: Social Organization and Religion of the Pramalai Kallar*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- EI: *Epigraphia Indica* III.
- Edholm, Erik af. 1984. 'Caṅḍa and the Sacrificial Remnants. A Contribution to Indian Gastrotheology'. *Indologica Taurinensia* XII: 75-91.
- . 1998. The 'Lakuliśa of Arittāpaṭṭi'. In Peter Schalk ed. *Being Religious and Living through the Eyes*. *Studies in Religious Iconography and Iconology. A Celebratory Publication in Honour of Professor Jan Bergman. Faculty of Theology, Uppsala*

- University, Published on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday, June 2, 1998.* Upsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum.
- Ferro-Luzzi, Gabriella Eichinger. 1981. Abhiṣeka, the Indian Rite That Defies Definition. *Anthropos* 76.5/6: 707-742.
- Filliozat, Vasundhara. 2001. *Kālāmukhas and Pāśupata Temples in Dharwar*. Chennai: The Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute.
- Goodall, Dominic. 2009. 'Who is Caṇḍeśa?'. In Shingo Einoo ed. *Genesis and Development of Tantricism*, 351-423. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.
- Hardy, Friedhelm. 1983. *Viraha-Bhakti: the Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India*. Delhi: Mushiram Manoharlal.
- Hart, G.L. 1980. 'The Little Devotee: Cēkkiḷār's Story of Cīṛuttōṅṭar'. In *Sanskrit and Indian Studies* (Studies in Classical India II) eds. M. Nagatomi, J.M. Masson & E. Dimock. Dordrecht.
- Hudson, Dennis. 1980. 'Bathing in Kṛṣṇa: A Study of Vaiṣṇava Hindu Theology'. *Harvard Theological Review* 73.3/4: 539-66.
- IPS: *Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*. Pudukkottai. 1929.
- Jayashanker, S. 1927. *Temples of Kerala*. New Delhi: Directorate of Census Operations, Kerala.
- Jeyapriya Rajarajan. 2009. 'Rare Images in the Iconographic Profile of Nāyaka Art'. *Annali Università Degli Studi Di Napoli "L'Orientale"*, 69: 157-65.
- , 2014. Stucco Images of the Kāñcīpuram Region. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 105.1: 41-52.
- , 2016. 'Stucco Images of the Kāñcīpuram Region'. *South Asian Studies* (communicated). London.
- , 2019. 'Visible Traditions, Invisible Śāstras: More about [Aṣṭa]-Vīrabhadra', *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 110:2, 60-64.
- Kalidos, Raju. 1988. 'The Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi Cave Temples'. *South Asian Studies* IV: 57-69.
- , 1988. 'Tamil Interaction with Ellora'. In Parimoo et al. eds. 1988: 416-37.
- , 1989. *Temple Cars of Medieval Tamiḷaham*. Madurai: Vijay Publications.
- , 1996. 'Puḷḷamaṅkai in its Historical Context'. *Journal of the Institute of Asian Studies* XIII (2) 141-53. Institute of Asian Studies, Chemmanjeri/Chennai.

- 1996-97. 'Stucco Images of the Vijayanagara Age'. *The Indian Historical Review* XXIII.1/2: 19-40.
- 2006. *Encyclopaedia of Hindu Iconography: Early Medieval* Vol. I Viṣṇu. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Idem. Vol. II Śiva.
- Idem. Vol. III Śakti Goddesses.
- Idem. Vol. IV, Pt. II Brahmā and Other Deities.
- 2010. 'Historical Setting of Caste and Communalism in India'. In R.K.K. Rajarajan ed. *Studies in Art History of India*, 49-80. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Kalittokai*, See Cuppiramaṇiyaṅ 2006: 316-82.
- Kamparāmāyaṅam/Īrāmāvātāram*. Chennai: Kampan Kaḷakam. 1977.
- Kāñci Purāṅam*. Madras: Madras Diamond Press. 1920.
- Kane, P.V. 1930-62. *History of Dharmasāstra*, 6 vols. Pune: University of Pune.
- Kreisel, Gerd. 1986. *Die Śiva-bildwerke der Mathurā-Kunst. Ein Beitrag zur frühhinduistischen Ikonographie*. Stuttgart: Monographien zur indischen Archäologie Kunst und Philologie.
- Lalitāsahasranāma*. ed. C. Suryanarayana Murthy, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. 1975.
- L'Hernalut, François. 2006. 'L'enfants qui fait impaler les ennemis de Śiva. La narration figurée d'un épisode de la vie de Campantar à Tirupputaimarutur et à Avutaiyarkovil (Tamilnadu)'. *Annali Università Degli Studi Di Napoli "L'Orientale"*, 66: 123-38.
- Liebert, Gösta. 1986. *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions. Hinduism-Buddhism-Jainism*. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- Lorenzen, David N. 1991. *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers.
- Lorenzetti, Tiziana. 1996. *The Iconography of Śiva Paśupati*. Ph.D. diss. University of Genoa.
- Lorenzetti, T. & Fabio Scialpi. 2012. *Glimpses of Indian History and Art. Reflections on the Past Perspectives for the Future*. Rome: Sapienza University of Rome.
- Mahalingam, T.V. 1988. *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Tamil Nadu and Kerala States*. Volume Two South Arcot District & Volume Seven Thanjavur District. New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research/S. Chand & Company.

- Mani, Vettam. 1996. *Purāṇic Encyclopaedia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. Reprint.
- Maṇimēkalai*, Chennai: Kaḷakam ed. 1973.
- Marr, John R. 1979. 'The 'Periya Purāṇam' Frieze at Tārācuram: Episodes in the lives of the Tamil Śaiva Saints'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42.2: 268-89.
- Meister, M.W. & M.A. Dhaky. 1986. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture South India Upper Drāviḍadeśa Early Phase A.D. 550-1075*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Minakshi, C. 1977. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*. Madras: University of Madras.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. 2005. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- Monius, Anne E. 2004. 'Śiva as Heroic Father: Theology and Hagiography in Medieval South India'. *The Harvard Theological Review* 97.2: 165-197.
- Monius, Anne E. 2005. 'Love, Violence, and the Aesthetics of Disgust: Śaivas and Jains in Medieval South India'. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 32: 113-72.
- Mookerji, Radhakumud. 1972. *Asoka*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. Reprint.
- Nācciyār Tirumoli* In 'Nālāyiram'.
- Nagaswamy, R. 1964. 'Some Contributions of the Pāṇḍya to South Indian Art'. *Artibus Asiae* 27: 265-74.
- 1982. *Tantric Cult of South India*. Delhi: Agam Kola.
- 'Nālāyiram': *Nālāyirativviyappirapantam*. Chennai: Little Flower Company. 2009.
- 'New Testament'. In *Holy Bible, New International Version*. Nairobi: International Bible Society. Mathew 1973/1984: 681-705.
- Parimoo, Ratan 1988. et al. *Ellora Caves Sculptures and Architecture*. New Delhi: Books & Books.
- Peruñcollakarāti* in Tamil (Greater Tamil Lexicon). Thanjavur: The Tamil University. 1989.
- Poongodi, G. 2006. *The Rajarajesvaram at Taracuram*. Thanjavur: Durai Publication.
- Prentiss, Karen Pechilis. 1999. *The Embodiment of Bhakti*. New York & Oxford: OUP.
- Purannānūru*, See *Cuppiramaṇiyaṅ* 2006: 428-508.

- Rajan, K. & V.P. Yatheeskumar. 2013. 'New Evidences on scientific dates for Brāhmī Script as revealed from Porunthai and Kodumanal Excavations'. *Prāgdhārā* 21-22: 179-295.
- Rajaraman, R.K.K. 1996. 'Vṛṣabhavāhanamūrti in Early Medieval Cult and Art'. *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale* 65.4: 305-10.
- 2006. *Art of the Vijayanagara-Nāyakas: Architecture and Iconography*, 2 vols. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2008. 'Identification of Portrait Sculptures on the *pāda* of the Nāgeśvara Temple at Kumbhakoṇam'. *East and West* 58.1/4: 405-14.
- 2009. 'Animal Motifs in the Iconography of Later Medieval Tamilnadu'. *Annali Università Degli Studi Di Napoli "L'Orientale"*, 69: 167-73.
- 2012. 'Chef d' oeuvre of Cōḷa Art'. *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 103.1:62-72.
- 2012a. *Rock-cut Model Shrines in Early Medieval Indian Art*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2013. 'Drāviḍian/Tamil Concept of Religion. Is *sanātanadharmā* a Religion?' Hyderabad: Conference Paper, University of Hyderabad.
- 2015. 'Pallava Vestiges in South Penṇāru Basin'. *Annali - Università Degli Studi Di Napoli "L'Orientale"*, 75.1/4: 101-118.
- 2015a. 'Vañcaikkaḷam Past and Present: Rāmāyaṇa Panels in a Kēraḷa-Mahādeva Temple', *Acta Orientalia*, 76, 127-58.
- 2015-16. 'The Iconography of the Kailāsanātha Temple Seeing Beyond the Replastered Images and Yoginīs', *Indologica Taurinensia*, XLI-XLII, 99-148.
- 2016. *Masterpieces of Indian Literature and Art: Tears of Kaṇṇaki. Annals and Iconography of Cilappatikāram*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.
- 2016a. 'Master-Slave Ambivalence in the Hagiography of the Āḷvārs', *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 107.1: 44-60.
- Rajaraman, R.K.K. & Jeyapriya Rajaraman. 2013. *Mīnākṣī-Sundareśvara 'Tiruvīlaiyāṭar Purāṇam in Letters, Design and Art*. Delhi: Sharada Publishing House.

- Rajarajan, R.K.K., R.K. Parthiban & Raju Kalidos (Principal Investigator), *Concise Dictionary of Viṣṇuism based on Nālāyirativviyappirapantam* (circa 2200 pages). New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University MS).
- Rajasekhara, S. 1985. *Early Chālukya Art at Aihole*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.
- Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki, 2 vols. Gita Press, Gorakhpur. 1969/2001.
- Rao, T.A. Gopinatha. 1989. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 2 vols in 4 parts. Delhi: Low Price Publications. Reprint.
- ‘Romeo and Juliet’. In Peter Alexander ed. *Shakespeare Complete Works*. London: ELBS. Reprint. 1965.
- Samuel, G. John. 2013. *Tamiḷum Nāṇum* “Tamil and Myself” in Tamil. Chennai: Homeland Patippatkam.
- Sarkar, H. 1973. *An Architectural Survey of Temples of Kerala*. New Delhi.
- Sastri, H. Krishna. 1916. *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddess*. Madras: Madras Government Press.
- Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta. 1984. *The Cōḷas*. Madras: University of Madras.
- Sathyanathaier, R. 1988. *A Political and Cultural History of India*, 3 vols. Madras: S. Visvanathan Printers & Publishers. Reprint.
- Settar, S. 1986, *Inviting Death Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill*. Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History.
- Shulman, David Dean. 1980. *Tamil Temple Myths. Sacrifice and Divine Marriage in South Indian Śaiva Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Shulman, David & Guy G. Stroumsa. 1999. *Dream Cultures Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming*. New York/Oxford: OUP.
- Sivaramamurti, C. 1984. *Chola Temples*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India. Reprint.
- Soundararajan, K.V. 1981. *Cave Temples of the Deccan*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- South-Indian inscriptions*. Madras: Government Press, 1890-1999.
- Śrītattvanidhi*, Tamil transl. K.S. Subrahmanya Sastri. Thanjavur: Sarasvatī Mahal Library. 2007.
- Srinivasan, K.R. 1964. *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

- 1975. *Dharmarājaratha and its Sculptures*. New Delhi.
- 1999. 'Pallavas of Kāñci: Phase I'. In M.W. Meister & M.A. Dhaky eds. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture South India Lower Drāviḍadeśa 200 B.C. – A.D. 1324*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies/Manohar Publishers & Distributors.
- Stietencron, Herinrich von 1977. 'Orthodox Attitudes towards Temple Service and Image Worship in Ancient India', *Central Asiatic Journal*, 20.2: 126-38.
- Taddei, Maurizio. 1986. 'Bhikṣāṭana or Harihara'. *East and West* 46.3/4: 453-56.
- Tamiḷaṇṇal. *Tamiḷar Camayamum Camaskirutamum: Varalāru Tarum Unmaikaḷ. Āyvuṇōkkil Kaṇṭa Ariya Ceytikaḷ\** in Tamil. Madurai: Minatci Puttaka Nilaiyam. 2011.
- \* 'Religion of the Tamils and Sanskrit. Truth Revealed by History. Rare Information Found from Research Point of View'.
- Tamil Lexicon*, 6 vols. Madras: University of Madras. Reprint. 1982.
- Tartakov, Gary Michael. 1997. *The Durgā Temple at Aihole. A Historiographical Study*. Delhi: OUP.
- Tēvāram*, 2 vols. ed. P. Sadasiva Ceṭṭiyār. Chennai: Kaḷakam ed. Reprint. 1973.
- Tēvāram*. See Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ ed. 2007: 33-579.
- Thurston, Edgar & V. Rangachari. 1909. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III. Madras: Government Press.
- Tiruppāvai*, In 'Nālāyiram'.
- Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇam*, In Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ ed. 2007: 1073-1299.
- Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*, In Cuppiramaṇiyaṇ ed. 2007: 1033-37.
- Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, In 'Tēvāram' 7.39.
- Tiruvāṇaikkā*. Chennai: Palaniyappa Brothers. 2005.
- van Dhyanski, Y. 1987. 'The Indus Valley Origin of Yoga Practice'. *Artibus Asiae* XLVIII: 89-108.
- Varadachari, K.C. 1987. *Āḷvārs of South India*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- Zvelebil, Kamil V. 1974. *Tamil Literature*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.





Figure 1: Caṇḍikeśvara, Rock-cut Temple, Aritṭāpaṭṭi.



Figure 2: Lakulīṣa (Caṇḍikeśvara?), Ḍumārleṇa (Cave XXIX), Ellora.



Figure 3: Caṇḍikeśvara, Cult Image, Toṇṭīśvaram, Nāvalūr.



Figure 4: Narrative panel of 'Caṅṭēcura Nāyaṅār Purāṇam', Nāvalūr.



Figure 5: Detail of Fig. 4: Caṅḍikeśvara, milking the Cow.



Figure 6: Detail of Fig. 4: Caṇḍikeśvara offering milk *abhiṣeka*.



Figure 7: Detail of Fig. 4: Caṇḍikeśvara cutting his father's leg.



Figure 8: Mud temple, Highway Periyakuḷan-Tēṇi, Lakṣmīpuram.



Figure 9: Colossal image of Kālī, Highway Tirumaṅkalam-Rājapālayam.



Figure 10: Lakulīśa, Mathurā Museum (courtesy AIIS).



Figure 11: Nāyaṅmār in row, Rājendracōḷīśvaram, Periyakuḷam.



Figure 12: Detail of Fig. 11, Caṅḍikeśvara.





Figure 13: Chapel for Caṇḍikeśvara, Rājendracōlīśvaram, Periyakuḷam.

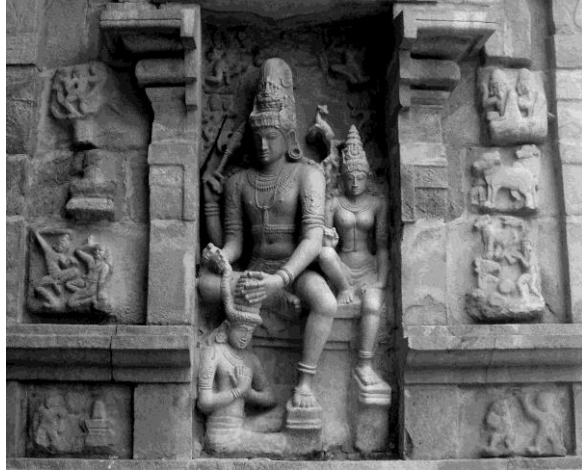


Figure 14: Caṇḍeśānugrahāmūrti, Rājarājesvaram, Kaṅkaikoṅṭacōlapuram



Figure 15: Petty-shop selling *citti-mutti*, Māriyamankōyil Street, Periyakulam.



Figure 16: Paśupati shrine in the Śiva Temple, Vañcaikaḷam (Koṭuñkalūr) in Kēraḷa (Rajarajan 2015a).



## LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

John BROCKINGTON	Fellow, Oxford Centre for Hindu Studies Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit, University of Edinburgh Honorary Vice President, International Association of Sanskrit Studies
Oscar FIGUEROA	Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, UNAM
Arun Vinayak JATEGAONKAR	Professor Emeritus, Department of mathematics, Fordham University, Bronx, N. Y. U. S. A. Retired in 2001.
Vasanti Arun JATEGAONKAR	Associate Professor, Department of Computer Science, School of Business, Seton Hall University, South Orange, N. J. U. S. A. Retired in 2001
Chiara POLICARDI	Università degli Studi di Milano
R.K.K. RAJARAJAN	School of Tamil, Indian Languages and Rural Arts, Gandhigram Rural Institute - Deemed University, Gandhigram



**THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OF SANSKRIT STUDIES  
(I.A.S.S.)**

MEETINGS OF THE I.A.S.S.  
DURING THE 17<sup>th</sup> WORLD SANSKRIT CONFERENCE  
HELD IN VANCOUVER

Edited by Jayandra Soni, Secretary General of the I.A.S.S





MEETING OF THE I.A.S.S.  
BOARD AND REGIONAL DIRECTORS:  
VANCOUVER, SUNDAY, JULY 8, 2018

MINUTES OF THE I.A.S.S. BOARD MEETING  
VANCOUVER, SUNDAY, JULY 8, 2018

*Present (5):* Professors Vempaty Kutumba Sastry (President), John Brockington (Vice President), Georges Pinault (Treasurer), Natalia Lidova (Regional Director for Eastern Europe) and Dr J. Soni (Secretary General).

1. The President opened the meeting with a brief report in which he welcomed everyone and spoke about the team spirit of the IASS office bearers. He thanked the senior members of the Board for their constant guidance and help. He concluded by speaking about the great achievements of the local organisers of the 17th WSC in Vancouver. He then requested the SG to proceed with the agenda which was previously circulated and accepted.
2. Approval of the Minutes of the Board and other meetings held in Bangkok June–July 2015, prepared by J. Soni (previously circulated and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Volume XLI–XLII, 2016, pp. 279–291). This was approved by all present.
3. Secretary General’s brief report. The SG suggested leaving his report for the meeting with the CC so as not to have to repeat the main points. There were no special points to discuss at this meeting.
4. Treasurer’s brief report, auditor’s report and appointment of new auditors. The Treasurer, Professor Pinault, briefly presented his cumulative report for the period 2015–2018, copies of which he distributed to all of us present. This included the treasurer’s report and the financial report. He also gave us all a copy of the signed approval by the auditors of his financial report. The auditors were

Professors Nalini Balbir, Oskar von Hinüber and Bruno Dagens. The auditors also expressed their approval to audit the IASS finances again in 3 years when the next WSC will take place in 2021 in Canberra, Australia.

5. Commemoration of 42 scholars who passed away between 2015–2017, plus five who had passed away in 2018. This point was only mentioned, leaving the details for the General Assembly Meeting, the full list having been circulated earlier.
6. Election, re-election of the IASS Board, RDs and CC.
- 6a. At the 2015 WSC in Bangkok Professors Natalia Lidova and Ute Hüsken were appointed as RDs respectively for Eastern Europe and for the German speaking countries and N. Europe. They were formally welcomed heartily and were thanked for accepting the posts (Professor Ute Hüsken in absentia). They were appointed to replace Professors Oskar von Hinüber (for German speaking countries and N. Europe), Yaroslav Vassilkov (for Eastern Europe), whose long-term association with the IASS is greatly appreciated.
- 6b. In July 2018 Professor Joel P. Brereton expressed his desire to step down as the RD for the USA and Canada. In expressing our regret and appreciating his decision, the IASS thanked him too for his long and expert association. Professor Don Davis proposed the name of Professor Timothy Lubin to take his place, seconded by Professor Brockington and others. A final decision about his nomination was postponed till the CC meeting.
- 6c. Earlier, Professors Rukmani and Gyula Wojtilla indicated their wishes to step down from the CC (their emails dated 26.10.2015 and 07.03.2016 were circulated to the Board and CC Members respectively on 30.10.2015 and 08.03.16). We thanked them for their long association with and expert contribution to the IASS. The Board, RDs and CC approved two nominations before the WSC in Vancouver to replace them:  
Professors Kashinath Nyaupane, Nepal Sanskrit University and Adheesh Sathaye, University of British Columbia

accepted the invitation to be in the CC (both proposed by J. Soni, seconded by Kutumba V. Sastry, John Brockington and others [email to Board dated 16 March 2018; RDs and CC Members 18 March 2018]).

- 6d. The IASS is now constituted of the Board made up of the President, 4 Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer and the Secretary General and 5 RDs. The Consultative Committee is constituted of 17 members who work closely with the IASS Board members.
7. WSC Matters: 18th WSC in 2021 will be held in Canberra, Australia, as decided at the Bangkok 2015 WSC. For the 19th WSC, the Board and RDs accepted the proposal by Professor Kashinath Nyaupane of the Nepal Sanskrit University in Kathmandu to host the WSC in 2024. His letter dated July 19, 2017 was previously circulated. For the 20th WSC in 2027 two proposals were received during the Vancouver WSC in July 2018 for hosting it: 1) email dated 13 July from Professor P.N. Shastry, Vice Chancellor of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, and 2) email dated 14 July from Professor Malhar Kulkarni, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Bombay. These proposals will be considered in the next months for a decision to be arrived at before the Canberra WSC in 2021.
8. 2018 DK Award. Details were circulated previously about the 5 adjudicators and the seven theses. Dr Andrew Ollett was declared the winner of the award for his outstanding thesis.
9. Conferment of the status of Honorary Research Fellow. It was decided to defer the matter to the CC meeting two days later.
10. The SG announced that a list of all publications of WSC proceedings till the 16th WSC in Bangkok in 2015 had been uploaded to the IASS website in October 2017 and updated in July 2018:

<http://www.sanskritassociation.org/images/pdf/publications.pdf>

- 10a. Publication of WSC Proceedings as of 2018. This point was also deferred to the CC meeting.
11. Miscellanea: The 17th WSC in Vancouver in 2018 implemented for the first time the suggestion made in Bangkok in 2015 for a minimum of 21 Sections of a WSC. This was announced in the Minutes of the Bangkok WSC in 2015 and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Volume XLI–XLII, 2015–2016, pp. 279–291. In Vancouver three additional sections and 15 panels were added to cover the wide range of topics in this WSC. IASS one-year membership was coupled with the registration, with the added option for a three-year membership.
- 11a. Suggestions for a bonus for members with 3-year membership. It was decided to not to have any special bonus. The 3-year membership was seen as a support for the subject and the role of the IASS.
- 11b. Letter of withdrawal of affiliation by the Indology and South Asian Studies Section of the DMG (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, German Oriental Society) was circulated on 11 January 2018. This point was also deferred to the CC meeting
- 11c. There were no additional points to be added.

The meeting which began at 4 pm was formally closed 5.45 pm.

Abbreviations:

CC: Consultative Committee

RD(s): Regional Director(s)

WSC: World Sanskrit Conference

MEETING OF THE IASS BOARD, REGIONAL  
DIRECTORS AND CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE:  
VANCOUVER, 10 JULY 2018.

*Present (13):* Professors Vempaty Kutumba Sastry, John Brockington, Georges Pinault, Natalia Lidova, Donald Davis, Mislav Ježić, Amarjiva Lochan, Kashinath

Nyaupane, Wendy J. Phillips-Rodriguez, Adheesh Sathaye, Hari Dutt Sharma, McComas Taylor and Dr J. Soni.

1. The President opened the meeting with a brief report in which he welcomed everyone and again spoke about the team spirit of the IASS office bearers. He thanked the senior members of the Board for their constant guidance and help. He concluded by speaking about the great achievements of the local organisers of the 17th WSC in Vancouver. He then requested the SG to proceed with the agenda which was previously circulated and accepted.
2. Approval of the Minutes of the Board and other meetings held in Bangkok June–July 2015, prepared by J. Soni (previously circulated and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Volume XLI–XLII, 2016, pp. 279–291). This was approved by all present.
3. Secretary General’s brief report. The SG suggested leaving his report for the meeting with the CC so as not to have to repeat the main points. There were no special points to discuss at this meeting.
4. Treasurer’s brief report, auditor’s report and appointment of new auditors. The Treasurer, Professor Pinault, briefly presented his cumulative report for the period 2015–2018, copies of which he distributed to all of us present. This included the treasurer’s report and the financial report. He also gave us all a copy of the signed approval by the auditors of his financial report. The auditors were Professors Nalini Balbir, Oskar von Hinüber and Bruno Dagens. The auditors also expressed their approval to audit the IASS finances again in 3 years when the next WSC will take place in 2021 in Canberra, Australia.
5. Commemoration of 42 scholars who passed away between 2015–2017 plus five who had passed away in 2018. This point was only mentioned, leaving the details for the General Assembly Meeting, the full list having been circulated earlier.
6. Election, re-election of the IASS Board, RDs and CC.

- 6a. At the 2015 WSC in Bangkok Professors Natalia Lidova and Ute Hüsken were appointed as RDs respectively for Eastern Europe and for the German speaking countries and N. Europe. They were formally welcomed heartily and were thanked for accepting the posts (Professor Ute Hüsken in absentia). They were appointed to replace Professors Oskar von Hinüber (for German speaking countries and N. Europe), Yaroslav Vassilkov (for Eastern Europe), whose long-term association with the IASS is greatly appreciated.
- 6b. In July 2018 Professor Joel P. Brereton expressed his desire to step down as the RD for the USA and Canada. In expressing our regret and appreciating his decision, the IASS thanked him too for his long and expert association. Professor Don Davis proposed the name of Professor Timothy Lubin to take his place, seconded by Professor Brockington and others. A final decision about his nomination was postponed till the CC meeting. At the CC meeting his nomination was unanimously accepted.
- 6c. Earlier, Professors Rukmani and Gyula Wojtilla indicated their wishes to step down from the CC (their emails dated 26.10.2015 and 07.03.2016 were circulated to the Board and CC Members respectively on 30.10.2015 and 08.03.16). We thanked them for their long association with and expert contribution to the IASS. The Board, RDs and CC approved 2 nominations before the WSC in Vancouver to replace them: Professors Kashinath Nyaupane, Nepal Sanskrit University and Adheesh Sathaye, University of British Columbia accepted the invitation to be in the CC (both proposed by J. Soni, seconded by Kutumba V. Sastry, John Brockington and others [email to Board dated 16 March 2018; RDs and CC Members 18 March 2018]).
- 6d. The IASS is now constituted of the Board made up of the President, 4 Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer and the Secretary General and 5 RDs. The Consultative Committee is constituted of 17 members who work closely with the IASS Board members.

7. WSC Matters: 18th WSC in 2021 will be held in Canberra, Australia, as decided at the Bangkok 2015 WSC. For the 19th WSC, the Board and RDs accepted the proposal by Professor Kashinath Nyaupane of the Nepal Sanskrit University in Kathmandu to host the WSC in 2024. His letter dated July 19, 2017 was previously circulated.  
For the 20th WSC in 2027 two proposals were received during the Vancouver WSC in July 2018 for hosting it: 1) email dated 13 July from Professor P.N. Shastry, Vice Chancellor of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, and 2) email dated 14 July from Professor Malhar Kulkarni, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Bombay.  
These proposals will be considered in the next months for a decision to be arrived at before the Canberra WSC in 2021.
8. 2018 DK Award. Details were circulated previously about the 5 adjudicators and the seven theses. Dr Andrew Ollett was declared the winner of the award for his outstanding thesis.
9. Conferment of the status of Honorary Research Fellow. It was decided not to confer such a status but rather to offer some kind of remuneration for a research fellowship. Professor McComas Taylor expressed his willingness to draw up the details for such an honorary fellowship.
10. The SG announced that a list of all publications of WSC proceedings till the 16th WSC in Bangkok in 2015 had been uploaded to the IASS website in October 2017 and updated in July 2018:  
<http://www.sanskritassociation.org/images/pdf/publications.pdf>
- 10a. Publication of WSC Proceedings as of 2018. It was pointed out by Professor Adheesh Sathaye that the facilities of UBC library repository will be available for the publication of Vancouver WSC proceedings. The respective conveners of the different sections and panels will be the editors and are to select and prepare the articles to be passed on to the UBC library for open, online publication. The option of

publishing the articles in a special volume of a journal or a book was also open to the conveners.

11. Miscellanea: The 17th WSC in Vancouver in 2018 implemented for the first time the suggestion made in Bangkok in 2015 for a minimum of 21 Sections of a WSC. This was announced in the Minutes of the Bangkok WSC in 2015 and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Volume XLI–XLII, 2015–2016, pp. 279–291. In Vancouver three additional sections and 15 panels were added to cover the wide range of topics in this WSC. IASS one-year membership was coupled with the registration, with the added option for a three-year membership.
    - 11a. Suggestions for a bonus for members with 3-year membership. It was decided to not to have any special bonus. The 3-year membership was seen as a support for the subject and the role of the IASS.
    - 11b. Letter of withdrawal of affiliation by the Indology and South Asian Studies Section of the DMG (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, German Oriental Society) was circulated on 11 January 2018 after having immediately acknowledged its receipt. It was decided that the acknowledgement of the letter of withdrawal, made immediately after receiving the letter, was sufficient and that the matter should be laid to rest.
    - 11c. There were no additional points to be added.
- The meeting which began at 2 pm was formally closed 4 pm.

Abbreviations:

CC: Consultative Committee

RD(s): Regional Director(s)

WSC: World Sanskrit Conference

IASS GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING IN VANCOUVER  
FRIDAY, JULY 13, 2018

[This was a meeting of Members of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies. Observers and participants who



are not members of the IASS were warmly welcomed to attend, but in case of such a case, could NOT vote.]

1. The President opened the meeting with a brief report in which he welcomed all the members of the IASS to its final meeting. He spoke about the achievements of the local organisers of the 17th WSC in Vancouver and the stimulating discussions it provoked. He also highlighted the fact that it was the first time that a one-year IASS membership was coupled with the registration fees, with the option to add on two further years of membership, until the the next WSC. He then requested the SG to proceed with the agenda of the meeting which was projected on to a screen for the benefit of those present.
2. Approval of the Minutes of the Board and other meetings held in Bangkok June–July 2015 prepared by J. Soni (previous circulated and published in *Indologica Taurinensia*, Volume XLI–XLII, 2015–2016, pp. 279–291). The members acknowledged their publication and approved them without any further questions or clarification.
3. Secretary General’s brief report. In his report the SG briefly mentioned the tasks of the SG before and after a WSC, for example: 1) drawing up the agendas for the three IASS business meetings and then preparing their minutes for circulation to the Board etc. before publication; 2) preparing the final version for publication in the next issue of the *Indologica Taurinensia*, the official organ of the IASS; 3) communicating with the organisers of the next WSC, as had be done for the previous year and a half for the Vancouver WSC.
4. Treasurer’s brief report, auditor’s report and appointment of new auditors. The Treasurer, Professor Pinault, briefly presented his cumulative report for the period 2015–2018, offering to show it to anyone interested. The report included the treasurer’s report and the financial report. The auditors of the Treasurers report were Professors Nalini Balbir, Oskar von Hinüber and Bruno Dagens, who also

- expressed their approval to audit the IASS finances again in 3 years when the next WSC will take place 18–22 January 2021 in Canberra, Australia.
5. Commemoration of 42 scholars who passed away between 2015–2017 plus five who had passed away in 2018. It was thought appropriate for all present who could and liked to, to stand out of respect as their names were projected and read out. A few moments of silence were then observed before everyone sat again. The entire list is appended to these minutes as Appendix 1.
  6. Election, re-election of the IASS Board, RDs and CC.
    - 6a. At the 2015 WSC in Bangkok Professors Natalia Lidova and Ute Hüsken were appointed as RDs respectively for Eastern Europe and for the German speaking countries and N. Europe. They were formally welcomed heartily and were thanked for accepting the posts (Professor Ute Hüsken in absentia). They were appointed to replace Professors Oskar von Hinüber (for German speaking countries and N. Europe), Yaroslav Vassilkov (for Eastern Europe), whose long-term association with the IASS is greatly appreciated.
    - 6b. In July 2018 Professor Joel P. Brereton expressed his desire to step down as the RD for the USA and Canada. In expressing our regret and appreciating his decision, the IASS thanked him too for his long and expert association. Professor Don Davis proposed the name of Professor Timothy Lubin to take his place, seconded by Professor Brockington and others. A final decision about his nomination was postponed till the CC meeting. At the CC meeting his nomination was unanimously accepted.
    - 6c. Earlier, Professors Rukmani and Gyula Wojtilla indicated their wishes to step down from the CC (their emails dated 26.10.2015 and 07.03.2016 were circulated to the Board and CC Members respectively on 30.10.2015 and 08.03.16). We thanked them for their long association with and expert contribution to the IASS. The Board, RDs and CC approved 2 nominations before the WSC in Vancouver to replace them:

Professors Kashinath Nyaupane, Nepal Sanskrit University and Adheesh Sathaye, University of British Columbia accepted the invitation to be in the CC (both proposed by J. Soni, seconded by Kutumba V. Sastry, John Brockington and others [email to Board dated 16 March 2018; RDs and CC Members 18 March 2018]).

6d. The IASS is now constituted of the Board made up of the President, 4 Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer and the Secretary General and 5 RDs. The Consultative Committee is constituted of 17 members who work closely with the IASS Board members.

7. WSC Matters: 18th WSC in 2021 will be held in Canberra, Australia, as decided at the Bangkok 2015 WSC.

For the 19th WSC, the Board, RDs and CC accepted the proposal by Professor Kashinath Nyaupane of the Nepal Sanskrit University in Kathmandu to host the WSC in 2024.

For the 20th WSC in 2027 two proposals were received during the Vancouver WSC in July 2018 for hosting it: 1) email dated 13 July from Professor P.N. Shastri, Vice Chancellor of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi, and 2) email dated 14 July 2018 from Professor Malhar Kulkarni, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Bombay.

These proposals will be considered in the next months for a decision to be arrived at before the Canberra WSC in 2021.

8. 2018 DK Award for the outstanding thesis related to Sanskrit. The following details were announced at the GA Meeting:

Seven applications for the award were received:

a. Vitus Angermeier, 2017: “Regenzeiten, Feuchtgebiete, Körpersäfte. Das Wasser in der klassischen indischen Medizin” (= Rainy seasons, wetlands, bodily fluids. Water in classical Indian Medicine). University of Vienna, Indology, Austria.

b. Raj Balkaran, 2015: “Mother of Power, Mother of Kings: Reading Royal Ideology in the *Devī Māhātmya*”. University of Calgary, Canada.

c. Finnian McKean Moore Gerety, 2015. “This Whole World Is OM: Song, Soteriology, and the Emergence of the Sacred Syllable”. Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, USA.

d. Andrew Ollett, 2016: “Language of the Snakes. Prakrit, Sanskrit, and the Language Order of Premodern India”. Columbia University, USA.

e. Chiara Policardi, 2016/2017: “Of deities and Animals. Therianthropic Yoginīs in Pre-Modern Śaiva Traditions”. Sapienza, University of Rome, Italy.

f. Amy Hyne-Sutherland, 2015: “Speaking of Madness: A Comparative Analysis of Discourses on Pathologized Deviance in Contemporary and Classical India”. University of Texas at Austin, USA.

g. Marc Tiefenauer, 2016: “Les enfers indiens: histoire multiple d'un lieu commun” (= The Indian Hells: the Manifold History of a Commonplace). University of Lausanne, Switzerland.

A Panel of five adjudicators for the 2018 DK AWARD was set up consisting of:

1. Nalini Balbir, University of Paris-3 Sorbonne-Nouvelle, France., 2. Diwakar Acharya, All Souls College, Oxford, UK. 3. David Buchta, Department of Classics, Brown University, USA. 4. McComas Taylor, Australian National University, College of Asia and the Pacific. 5. Steven Vose, Florida International University, USA.

The panel came to the unanimous decision that the thesis by Andrew Ollett, on the “Language of the Snakes. Prakrit, Sanskrit, and the Language Order of Premodern India”, submitted to the Columbia University, USA, in 2016 be declared as the winner.

At the same time, the adjudicators expressly placed on record that the theses by Finnian McKean Moore Gerety and Vitus Angermeier were also outstanding and that they should be mentioned honourably for their research work in the field of Sanskrit studies. The winner and the honourable mention of the two scholar was announced at the meeting. On behalf of DK Agencies the senior

colleague, Mr Kayarat Baby, presented the printed Award to Dr Ollett who expressed his profound thanks.

- 9a. It was announced that a full list of all publications of WSC proceedings till the 2015 WSC on Bangkok has been uploaded to our website in October 2017:  
<http://www.sanskritassociation.org/images/pdf/publications.pdf>  
The tables of contents in each volume have yet to be compiled.
- 9b. Publication of WSC Proceedings as of 2018. It was pointed out by Professor Adheesh Sathaye that the facilities of UBC library repository will be available for the publication of Vancouver WSC proceedings. The respective conveners of the different sections and panels will be the editors and are to select and prepare the articles to be passed on to the UBC library for open, online publication. The option of publishing the articles in a special volume of a journal or a book was also open to the conveners.
10. Implementation for the first time a minimum of 21 Sections of a WSC suggested in Bangkok in 2015. IASS one-year membership was coupled with the registration, with the added option for a three-year membership. These matters were into cognisance, suggesting the possibility of this becoming the practice for all future WSCs.
11. Questions and/or comments from IASS members and WSC participants. There were several comments about the well-ordered organisation of the Vancouver WSC by the local organisers, led by Professor Adheesh Sathaye. Professor Hari Dutt Sharma proposed a resolution expressing concern and anxiety with regard to the closure of Sanskrit centres and Sanskrit chairs in different countries around the world, including those funded by the Government of India. This resolution is appended to these minutes as Appendix 2.
12. Vote of thanks for holding the WSC. The organising committee of the 17th World Sanskrit Conference, in Vancouver led by Professor Adheesh Sathaye of the University of British Columbia, Asian Studies, were explicitly thanked for the exemplary manner in which the

conference was organised, accommodating about 500 presenters in parallel sessions.

The meeting which began at 2 pm was formally closed at 3.45 pm.

The Frederic Wood Theatre where the General Assembly Meeting was held, accommodates 400 people and it is estimated that there were about 300 IASS members and participants present.

**Abbreviations:**

CC: Consultative Committee

GA: General Assembly

RD(s): Regional Director(s)

WSC: World Sanskrit Conference

APPENDIX 1

42 SCHOLARS WHO PASSED AWAY BETWEEN 2015-2017

Juan Miguel de Mora of the IASS	Gerrit Jan Meulenbeld
Muneo Tokunaga of the IASS	Rajendra Nanavati
Vishwanath Mishra Acharya	Pt. Narayan (Nanaji)
Manabendu Banerjee	André Padoux
Satya Ranjan Banerjee	K.T. Pandurangi
Bansidhar Bhatt	Anna Maria Quagliotti
Klaus Bruhn	Ludo Rocher
R. Varada Desikan	Susanne Hoerber Rudolph and
Ramanuja Devanathan	Lloyd Rudolph
Madhusudan Amilal Dhaky	J.A.F. Roodbergen
R. C. Dhery	Hanns Peter Schmidt
Kathleen Erndl	Sunanda Shastri
Pandhareenathachar Galagali	Max Sparreboom
Luis Gomez	Prakya Srisaila Subrahmanyam
August Teun Goudrian	Mahamahopadhyaya N.S.
Albrecht Hanisch	Ramanuja Tatacharya
N.T. Srinivasa Iyengar	Toshiya Unebe
Govind Kale	Jaroslav Vacek
Noboru Karashima	Sridhar Vashishtha
Śivarāja Ācārya	K.K.A. Venkatachari
Kauṇḍinyāyayana	Andrey Zaliznyak
Johannes Mehlig	
Roque Mesquita	

To this list five scholars who had passed away in 2018 were added:

Jagbans Kishore Balbir  
Luise Anna Hercus (née Schwarzschild) (1926-2018)  
Vera Kochergina  
Jacques May  
Heinrich von Stietencron  
47 in all.

## APPENDIX 2

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SANSKRIT  
STUDIES-IASS

Resolution passed at its General Assembly Meeting at the end of the World Sanskrit Conference (WSC) in Vancouver, Canada, 13 July 2018.

Formulated and proposed by Professor Hari Dutt Sharma, seconded by several IASS members and unanimously accepted by those present at the Meeting.

## To Whom It May Concern

At the above-mentioned meeting all the members of the IASS and other delegates of the WSC expressed their deep concern and anxiety with regard to the closure of Sanskrit centres and Sanskrit chairs in different countries around the world, including those funded by the Government of India.

All those present at the meeting urge the governments of different countries and especially the Government of India, to initiate steps so that no harm at all will accrue to Sanskrit studies through the closures of such Sanskrit chairs and institutions.

It is suggested that the President of the IASS, Professor Vempaty Kutumba Sastry, please pass on this resolution to the concerned authorities, like the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, so that immediate action may be taken to protect Sanskrit studies.



## REVIEWS



PRADIP BHATTACHARYA and SEKHAR KUMAR SEN (trans.), *The Jaiminīya Mahābhārata: Mairāvaṇacaritam & Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritam, A Critical Edition with English Translation from the Grantha Script*, Vol. I & II, published by National Mission for Manuscripts and New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 2017

Sītā is popularly viewed as rather docile and domestic particularly in contrast to the other heroine of the other *Mahākāvya*, Draupadī of Mahābhārata; and Rāma is the central character of Rāmāyana. Nothing can be far from truth as one enters the rich, intricate and interconnected traditions of *Folk Narratives* and lesser known texts, the so-called “300 Rāmāyanas” (a phrase now popularized courtesy A. K. Ramanujam: *The Collected Essays of A. K. Ramanujam*) or texts and traditions outside and beyond the mainstream Vālmīki’s Rāmāyana that transcends boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa and India. Dr. Pradip Bhattacharya and Sekhar Kumar Sen’s translation of *Mairāvaṇacaritam* and *Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritam* alias *Sītāvijaya* takes the readers to another unexplored domain of Rāmāyana tradition, and this time, Jaimini Rāmāyana within Jaimini Bhārata. The prospect is interesting and startling at the onset, because Jaimini, Vyāsa’s disciple, is supposed to belong to the Mahābhārata tradition. However, when we realize that there is Mārkaṇḍeya’s Rāmāyana within Mahābhārata, we realize, therefore, Rāmāyana belongs to Mahābhārata tradition too. So, Vyāsa is also a Rāmāyana poet, and thus, Jaimini too belongs to the Rāmāyana tradition, and therefore, Jaimini Rāmāyana within Jaimini Bhārata is only logical. We can only wonder how compartmentalization of the *Mahākāvyas* is absurd, and how they spill over into each other and merge into a synthetic vision. Bhattacharya and Sen’s translation bring that reality to the fore as a reminder to the uniqueness of *Bhāratīya* and Indian tradition and the unsurpassable glory inherent to it.

Traditionally, as evident in the Mahābhārata and *Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (3.4) in particular, there should have been five primary versions or editions of Mahābhārata – of each of Vyāsa’s five disciples – Śuka, Sumantu, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini, and

Paila. And Mahābhārata informs there were two other versions too – of Nārada, for recitation to Devas, and Devala's, for recitation to the Pitṛs (1.1.64; 18.5.42). Significantly, there are Ṛṣi composers of ṚgVeda with the name Nārada (RV: 8.13, 9.104, 105) and Devala (RV: 9.5-24).

Mahābhārata, which is generally known as *the* Mahābhārata, is the one extant with 18 *parvans*, the Vaiśampāyana Mahābhārata, in which Vaiśampāyana narrates the Mahābhārata to Janamejaya Pāriksita, and this narration is narrated further by Ugraśravā Sauti, and finally by an anonymous narrator. The other editions of Vyāsa's disciples are lost, except (arguably) that Jaimini's *Aśvamedha Parvan* and "pieces of text claiming to be from various *Parvans*" do exist.

Bhattacharya is one of the leading Mahābhārata scholars today. His significant works include translation of *Mokṣadharmaparvan* of *Śānti-Parvan*, a seminal work. Sen has many translation works and books to his credit, and his most significant work is the first ever English translation of Jaiminīya *Aśvamedha-Parvan*.

Printed on quality paper, as "Prakashika 29" of the National Mission for Manuscripts' project for publishing rare and unpublished manuscripts, Bhattacharya and Sen's translation is in two volumes. Volume-I contains the Devanagari script of *Mairāvaṇacaritam* with English translation, and Volume-II, of *Sahasramukharāvanacaritam*. In both, the Devanagari has been transliterated from the original Grantha script in which the palm-leaf manuscripts were written. This had to be a painstaking work, as the translators inform us, because they "faced considerable difficulties in resolving meaning of words which appear to have been wrongly transcribed from the original *Grantha* script to Devanagari" (*Note on the Text and Translation*).

The translated texts are unique in many ways: the translators inform that while the former appears to be an independent work included in Jaimini Bhārata though not part of any *parvan*, the latter claims to be part of the *Āśramavāsa Parvan*. In other words, the texts are outside the Jaiminīya *Aśvamedha-Parvan* and therefore, bolster the authenticity of the Vaiśampāyana Mahābhārata's mention and *Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* statement

that the *Jaiminīya Mahābhārata* tradition is indeed historic. The possibility of ‘Lost Mahābhārata’ is thus quite viable. Bhattacharya and Sen further inform that there are other manuscripts – *Hanumadvijaya* (No. D 12215), *Sītāvijaya* (No. R 994 and R 148, part of the *Vāsiṣṭhottara Rāmāyana*), and *Śatamukharāvaṇacharitam* (R 647), which have same or similar themes to *Mairāvaṇacaritam* and *Sahashramukharāvaṇacharitam*, however, which are outside the Jaimini Bhārata. This suggests that the Hanumān and Sītā-centric Rāmāyana tradition have a wider domain and are not confined to the Jaimini tradition only. The translators inform of another *Śatamukharāvaṇacharitam* (MD. 2098) assigned to Jaimini Bhārata, which is awaiting rediscovery.

The antiquity of Bhattacharya and Sen’s translated work, and whether they could be really as old as Vyāsa’s disciple Jaimini, is good subject of scholarly debates, and Bhattacharya and Sen address *that* Jaimini “enigma” in their Introduction mentioning different “Jaiminis” down the ages. According to Monier-Williams, Jaimini’s other name is Kautsa. Given that Kutsa is both Ṛṣi and deity in *ṚgVeda*, and even epithet of *Vajra*, Bhattacharya and Sen’s discussions are good opening for exploring the possible *ṚgVedic* Jaimini, further given the fact that Kutsa has the epithet Arjuneya (*RV*: 1.112.23; 6.26.1; 7.19.2; 8.1.11), definitely striking on the name – Arjuna.

The 41 page Introduction complete with endnotes provides valuable information, research and insight on parallels and regional variations of Rāmāyana in general and these episodes in particular in different languages and tradition, both within India and beyond in “Greater India” (Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam etc). The Introduction deals with each variation and parallel through comparative analysis in lucid style, under sub-headings like “The Identity of Jaimini”, “Parallels and Variations”, “Parallels in Sanskrit Texts”, “Tribal and Regional Variations”, and “Greater India”, and though brief, has an encyclopedic appeal, and the clarity offers pleasant reading. The Introduction would be invaluable even for anyone taking interest for the first time in the spectrum of Rāmāyana and its deep impact on the tradition and culture of India and beyond. The

introduction also offers synopses of *Mairāvaṇaca-ritam* and *Sahasramukharāvaṇacaritam*. Bhattacharya and Sen give details of the palm-leaf and paper manuscripts dealt with and consulted, and their library accession numbers, script language, and status – whether complete or incomplete. The information is invaluable for any future researcher. The parallels and variations mentioned by the translators are simply astounding, and the common Indian reader would surely be left with the disturbing feeling: how little an Indian knows about India and her tradition and culture and her *Mahākāvya*!

Bhattacharya and Sen inform that similarities in narrative and parallels of the translated works are found in as diverse texts as the tales of Birhors of Chhotanagpur, Ālu Kurumbha tribe in Nilgiri Hills of South India, Agarias (an ironsmith tribe of Madhya Pradesh), the 19<sup>th</sup> century Marathi *Śatamukharāvaṇa Vadha* of Amritarao Oak, Tamil, Telugu, Oriya works of Saralā Das and Bārānidhi Das, or 17<sup>th</sup> century Oriya Bilamkā Rāmāyana by Siddheśvara, Assamese and Bengali Rāmāyanas like Jagatrāmarāya's *Adbhuta Rāmāyana* (18<sup>th</sup> century) etc.

What emerge from the churning of this Rāmāyana-ocean are interesting narratives that jolt conventional and orthodox ideas about Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān. For example, in the Assamese *Śataskandharāvaṇa Vadha*, we find Sītā mocking a boastful Rāma; in Rāmadāsa's *Ānanda Rāmāyana* (15<sup>th</sup> century), Rāma embracing and caressing Sītā, and Sītā later assuming a terrible shape with “large teeth, terrifying eyes, hair like yellow lightning, thighs like palm trees, feet like winnowing baskets etc”; in Brahmānanda's *Tattvasaṃgraha Rāmāyana* (17<sup>th</sup> century), Sītā assuming a terrible form with 18 arms; in a tale in Braja literature, Sītā becoming *Kālī-Mā* in Calcutta. In most of the Rāmāyanas, Sītā has greater prowess than Rāma, not only mentally and spiritually, but also physically, and such narratives cannot be ignored if one pursues serious study on Feminism in India. In many of the narratives, Sītā kills the other superior Rāvaṇas—Ahirāvaṇa and Mairāvaṇa, and her fusion with *Śakti* is complete.

In Vālmīki's Rāmāyana, there are faint traces in the narrative that Rāmāyana could actually be *Sītāyana*; for example, Vālmīki

says, *kāvyaṃ rāmāyaṇaṃ kṛtsnaṃ sītāyāścaritaṃ mahat* (1.4.6a), or that Rāma himself says, "... whatever enterprise of ours is there, that is founded in her- *yantrito rakṣamaithilīm*." (3.41.44c) And, indeed, the folk and regional narratives establish Sītā as central.

The common aspect in most of these narratives is Sītā and Hanumān's glorification over even Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and their assuming at par status with Kṛṣṇa. For example, Kṛṣṇa's *Viśvarūpa* in Mahābhārata (in *Udyoga Parvan*, during his emissary in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's court, and in *Bhīṣma Parvan*, in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*) is the dominant cultural imagination and religious ascription of Kṛṣṇa's supreme godhead (*kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam*) in Hinduism. Here in the *Adbhuta Rāmāyana* (c. 15<sup>th</sup> century), narrated by Vālmīki to Bharadvāja, Sītā slices off *Sahasravādāna* Rāvaṇa's thousand heads, throws all creation into turmoil, has to be appeased by none other than Śiva lying under her feet in the form of corpse (as he has done with Kālī), finally pranamed by Rāma; and then Rāma with Śiva's favour gains divine vision to see Sītā in her true *Viśvarūpa* form. Bhattacharya and Sen have compared Sītā's *Viśvarūpa* with Kṛṣṇa's. Parallel to this is, in Bikram Narendra's version of Hanumān's adventures in Oriya, Hanumān assuming thousand armed *Viśvarūpa*. The narratives are surprising and thought-provoking not only because of Sītā and Hanumān's *Viśvarūpa* like Kṛṣṇa, but also how the *ṚgVedic* vision of *Viśvarūpa* of Viśvadevās (*tripājasyo vṛṣabho viśvarūpa uta tryudhā purudha prajāvān*, *ṚV*: 3.56.3 by Prajāpati Ṛṣi), that is, *Viśvarūpa* of all deities, flow into them and is re-discovered to drive home the traditional wisdom that *Viśvarūpa* is no *Vaiṣṇava* monopoly. Pertinent to mention, the *ṚgVeda* also eulogizes Rudra's (*ṚV*: 2.33.10), Tvaṣṭā Savitā's (*ṚV*: 1.13.10; 3.55.19; 10.10.5), Bṛhaspati's (*ṚV*: 3.62.6, containing the famous Gāyatrī *Mantra* at *Ṛk* 10; 10.67.10), Indra's (*ṚV*: 6.41.3), and *sukimśuka śalmali* tree's (*ṚV*: 10.85.20) *Viśvarūpa*. In a way, thus, Sītā and Hanumān's *Viśvarūpa* is not only rediscovery of *ekaṃ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti* (*ṚV*: 1.164.46), but also establishes parallel and folk traditions in the mainstream.

Even between Sītā and Hanumān, the *Sītāvijaya* sings greater glory of Sītā over Hanumān. For example, in the final battle, when Sahasramukharāvaṇa cannot be killed with normal weapons, Sītā slays him with a grass-missile; whereas, in *Mairāvaṇacaritam*, Hanumān's use of *mantra*-infused blazing grass against Mairāvaṇa is ineffectual. The supremacy of the female and feminine aspect of *Śakti* is thus re-emphasized.

Hanumān's character has undoubtedly been much reinvented in the parallel Rāmāyanas. He is celebrated as a celibate in the mainstream, but not so here. In *Mairāvaṇacaritam*, Hanumān has a son unknown to him. Hanumān's son is the king of fishes and was born of Timiṅgilā who swallowed his sweat as he was en route Laṅkā. Hanumān's son, even after his identity is known, helps him only to the extent of guiding him to a lake in front of Mairāvaṇa's city, and then leaves him on his own, refusing to rebel against Mairāvaṇa. In Rāmadāsa's *Ānanda Rāmāyana* (c. 15<sup>th</sup> century), Hanumān has a son named Makaradhvaja born of his phlegm. This is also found in Advaita's *Rāmaliṅgāmṛta* (1608). Significantly, this narrative of non-celibate Hanumān has wider appeal in the Rāmāyana imagination of Greater India too. The translators inform us that in the Thai *Rāmākien*, Hanumān marries Rāvaṇa's mermaid daughter Suvannamachchā. That Rāvaṇa could be Hanumān's father-in-law is indeed an interesting twist. In the Malayasian *Hikayat Seri Rāma*, a fish swallows Hanumān's sperm to produce a son named Tugangguh who is raised by Rāvaṇa's son Gangga Mahāsura. In the Indonesian *Hikayat Cheritera Maharaja Rāvaṇa*, Hanumān's son Tugangga is born of his dropped sperm.

Coming to Jaimini's identity, Bhattacharya and Sen deal in elaborate detail. Identity of an ancient sage, needless to say, can be quite confusing and frustrating, given the Indian tradition of naming *Schools of Thoughts* after sages, so that the same sage appears to be existing in different eras and with different specialty. Thus, we have Jaimini as one of five Vyāsa's disciples and also as author of *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā*. Though eyes of belief would see Jaimini as one person, obviously there have been several Jaiminis. Bhattacharya and Sen rationally analyze the identity and period of each Jaimini from traditional sources, and



comparatively analyze the style, tone, poetic devices and *Rasa*-content of each work to conclude that Jaimini, the author of *Aśvamedha Parvan* of *Jaimini Bhārata*, and Jaimini, the author of *Mairāvaṇacaritam* and *Saḥashramukharāvaṇa-charitam* cannot be the same person, rather ‘might belong to the same “Jaimini” school’. One wishes Bhattacharya and Sen had thrown some light on the possible connection of Kutsa Ārjuneya of *Ṛgveda* and Kautsa-Jaimini.

Bhattacharya and Sen’s research conclusions deserve special mention for their provocative appeal. For example: “Therefore, (*Sītāvijaya*) must have been part of Jaimini’s retelling of the Rāma story, not during the forest exile as in Vaiśampāyana’s version (where the narrator is Mārkaṇḍeya), but in the period when Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Gāndhārī, and Kuntī were living in the forest before their death” (p- xxv). The information that manuscript No. R. 3814, though with two incomplete *Sargas*, is entitled *Jaimini Rāmāyana* is indeed interesting because it fuses the Vālmīki and Vyāsa tradition, a unique fact, already commented upon above, that keeps us wondering about the interfusion of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. It is pertinent to remember here again that Mārkaṇḍeya’s Rāmāyana is indeed part of Vaiśampāyana Mahābhārata, and in Vaiśampāyana Mahābhārata narrative, Rāma’s descendant Bṛhadbala is killed by Arjuna’s son and Kṛṣṇa’s nephew Abhimanyu. Given the connection of the two foremost Viṣṇu *avatāras* – Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, it is therefore, a matter of natural expectation that there should be connection of the poets too.

Another interesting fact that Bhattacharya and Sen highlight is the underlying current of Śhaivism in *Saḥashramukharāvaṇacaritam*: “...here Hanumān is a product of Śiva’s sperm and has five faces like him. However, the heads of lion, horse and boar represent those avatars of Viṣṇu, along with that of his vehicle Garuḍa. This is, therefore, a Hari-Hara image, a fusion of Viṣṇu and Śiva. Parallel to the pair of Vīrabhadra and Kālī, we have here the pair of Hanumān and the shadow-Sītā.” The parallel synthesis, as has been noted, is in *Adbhuta Rāmāyana*, where Śiva lies as a corpse under Sītā’s feet to appease her. The synthesis of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava tradition is also evident in

*Sahashramukharāvaṇacaritam*, where Sītā's birth owes to Durvāsā's curse. Durvāsā is traditionally hailed as Śiva's incarnation and *bhakta*.

Such fusion and oneness is in fact the core spirit of what Hinduism stands for and renders the likes of so-called Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava conflict or Hinduism-Buddhism conflict nonsensical. This is observed in temple iconography too. For example, in the oldest temple of India (c. 5<sup>th</sup> century CE), the Deogarh Daśavatāra Temple in Uttar Pradesh, Śiva-Pārvatī and Ganeśa feature in the reliefs of Viṣṇu *Anantāśāyīn*; in the oldest temple of South India, Cave-3 of Badami (c. 6<sup>th</sup> century CE), there is Hari-Hara; in the Udayagiri Caves of Vidiṣā in Madhya Pradesh (c. 6<sup>th</sup> century CE), depiction of Śiva, Ganeśa, Viṣṇu and Maḥiṣāsūramardinī are found together – implying coexistence of Śhaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaktism and Gāṇapatyism. Again, in one of the subsidiary temples of Śrīmukhalingam in Andhra Pradesh (c. 8<sup>th</sup> century CE), there is Nṛsiṃha on the *Lalātabimba* of a Śiva temple. There is also depiction of Viṣṇu's *avatāras* on the outer walls of the main Śiva temple. The Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata traditions of Greater India (Cambodia, Thailand, Indonesia etc) clearly fuse Śiva and Buddha. One example is the eight-handed Buddha in Angkor Wat, Cambodia. Again, in Indonesian Kakawin (poetry) including Mpu Sedah and Mpu Panuluh's *Bhāratayuddha* (the 11<sup>th</sup> century Indonesian Mahābhārata), one common refrain is “the Seers, the Shaivites and the Buddhists.”

True to the fact that a valuable research work should inform and enlighten not only on the subject matter, but also on the background of the research and methodology, Bhattacharya and Sen take care to inform as such and on the contributory help of personalities like T. S. Sridhar IAS (Principal Secretary and Commissioner Archeology, Govt. of Tamil Nadu), Shri R. Chandramohan (Curator-in-charge, Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library & Research Centre, Chennai), Dr. S. Vasanthi (Commissioner-in-charge, GOML), Dr. P. P. Sridhara Upadhyaya (Assistant Professor of Nyaya, Sanskrit College, Chennai), Dr. R. Kannan IAS (Additional Chief Secretary, Tourism & Culture Dept.), Thiru S. Ramakrishnan IAS (former Chief Information Commissioner, Tamil Nadu), Shri B. C.

Khulbe IAS (Secretary in Prime Minister's Office), Mr. N. Sitlhou (first secretary at the Indian Embassy, Cambodia), Dr. Satya Vrat Shastri, Captain (retd.) Deepam Chatterjee, Smt. Ranjana Chakrabarti (Deputy Librarian, IGNC), Shri Himangshu Nandi (Programme Assistant) and Shri Arup Mukherjee (Librarian) of Administrative Training Institute, Govt. of West Bengal. Evidently, other than the painstaking research and critical translation, Bhattacharya and Sen's work involved successfully coordinating motivated teamwork.

One already acquainted with Bhattacharya's translating style knows, how he, developing further Prof. P. Lal's poetic transcreating style in his translation of the *Mokṣadharmā-parvan*, uses Sanskrit words accepted by Oxford in English vocabulary to form compounds with English words, for effect and emphasis. Sanskrit in any case is untranslatable into English or any other language; therefore, what we get as translation is at best an approximation. Bhattacharya's style, other than giving a perspective of what is translated, infuses the rendered work with an archaic charm with authentic flavor. In this work too, Bhattacharya and Sen retain that style. For example, "pranam" is retained; and "maha" is used [e.g. "Maha-might and prowess indeed I obtained", p 118]. Such style pioneers a new direction in the much misdirected translation-game of rendering culturally significant and sensitive Sanskrit words into arbitrary English.

The translators inform readers about the very process of their creative translation. They have rendered into free verse in alternate lines of ten and four-to-six syllables. Rather humbly, the translators inform that their effort to maintain the Sanskrit syntax to facilitate comparison with the original, might occasionally appear awkward particularly because of enjambment. However, on reading the English rendering, one finds their poetic license with syntax, mostly justified. Their rendered syntax does not obscure the sense and spirit of the source text. Bhattacharya and Sen's translation would no doubt act as guidelines to future enterprisers.

The translators offer a critique of the translated works. One would agree with their observation that the appeal of *Alaṃkāra*, multiple *Rasas* and poetic conceits that characterize Jaiminiya

*Aśvamedha-Parvan* are somehow missing in *Mairāvaṇa* and *Sītāvijaya*. In a way, this is redeeming too. Occasional exaggerations in Jaiminiya *Aśvamedha-Parvan* like people growing on trees, horses turning into mares or *Rākṣasī* having eight-mile long breasts are absent here. Such exaggerations sound ludicrous. One would agree with the translators that *Vīra*, *Adbhuta* and *Bhayānaka Rasas* dominate *Mairāvaṇa* and *Sītāvijaya*. With constrained poetry with limited *Rasas* in the source text, the translators' work is really challenging.

The charm of the translation is enhanced by the image-plates which also serve to enrich how the Rāmāyana narratives flow and interact with other genres; painting in this case. Volume-I contains several interesting plates: Pañcamukhi Hanumān (Mandi, Himachal, early 18<sup>th</sup> cent.), Hanuman's tail rampart enclosing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and Hanumān fighting with Mairāvaṇa as Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa watch (Bundeli, Bundelkhand, 18<sup>th</sup> cent.). The frescos from the Royal Palace, Phnom Penh, Cambodia further point to the influence of Rāmāyana on South-East Asia: full fresco of Mairāvaṇa abducting Rāma, and Hanumān breaking into the temple, killing him and rescuing Rāma; Mairāvaṇa shooting a bright globe into the sky to create illusion of dawn and Rāma asleep within Hanumān's mouth; Detail of Mairāvaṇa abducting sleeping Rāma; Hanumān rescuing sleeping Rāma; Gods and Hanumān watching sleeping Rāma. Volume-II has Sītā in Kālī form killing thousand headed Rāvaṇa and photo-print of the first pages of the original manuscript. One interesting element in the Cambodian frescoes is that, they feature only Rāma being abducted, and not Lakṣmaṇa, and Rāma remains asleep throughout so that Hanumān's exploit apparently remain unknown to him. One is left wondering how Rāma could be excluded from the very Rāmāyana scheme. Whether the frescos want to convey some modern socialist message should be matter of serious reflection. That however, does not diminish Rāma's glory and influence. Reamker is the Cambodian Rāmāyana version, meaning "Glory of Rama", and adapting the Hindu ideas to Buddhist themes. The paintings show how Rāmāyana is an integral part of Cambodian culture, also evident in bas reliefs of Angkor Wat. Similarly, in

neighbouring Thailand, the fascination with Rāmāyana is evident in that, the kings, despite adopting Buddhism, have retained the honorary title Rāma even to this day. One wishes the translators had given a brief historical background of the images in Volume-I. One also hopes that the translators will consider introducing temple iconography in their next edition.

Bhattacharya and Sen provide “Key of Transliteration” at the beginning with illustrated pronunciations of transliterated alphabets. The Contents give chapter-wise page numbers of both Devanagari text and its translation. Bibliography and Glossary are at the end of Volume-II.

While, why the folk narratives on Rāmāyana have a rather obscured status in the so-called mainstream and why the “lesser known” texts are lesser known, could well be topics of serious and essential research, particularly in perspective of identity crisis in our present times and perceived politicized national identity, with culture often taking backstage to political narratives, any research on these are laudable. When such research re-discovers traditional texts obscured not only in public memory but also in academic memory, its dissemination through a global communication language, English, already carries a historic value. Dr. Pradip Bhattacharya and Major General Sekhar Kumar Sen’s critical edition and English translation of *Mairāvaṇacaritam* and *Sahasramukharāvaṇa-caritam* (or, *Sītāvijaya*) of the Jaiminīya Mahābhārata surely qualifies as such a work.

In the Foreword, Dr. V. Venkataramana Reddy, Director of the NMM, rightly regards Bhattacharya and Sen’s work of transcribing and translating as “gigantic task”; and a reader would definitely agree with him that “No one else could possibly have handled this difficult task in a better way.”

Indrajit Bandyopadhyay  
Associate Professor  
Department of English  
Kalyani Mahavidyalaya  
West Bengal  
India



KĀLIDĀSA, *La storia di Śiva e Pārvatī (Kumārasambhava)*, a cura di Giuliano Boccali, Marsilio, Venezia, 2018, 296 pp.

Dalla prima traduzione in latino di A.F. Stenzler, pubblicata nel 1838, fino a quella del 2005 di David Smith per la Clay Sanskrit Library, il *Kumārasambhava* è stato reso in una lingua europea meno di una decina di volte, in nessun caso in italiano; di conseguenza, in Italia il grande capolavoro di Kālidāsa non è mai stato disponibile per un pubblico generale. Il lavoro curato da Giuliano Boccali va tuttavia ben oltre il proposito di un'accessibilità più diffusa, né, d'altra parte, vuole rivolgersi esclusivamente al mondo degli specialisti. Il volume appare infatti il frutto di un progetto, a mio parere felicissimo, nel quale il rigore accademico si associa con equilibrio – un risultato mai facile – al desiderio di raggiungere un ambito di destinatari più vasto.

Su questi piani intrecciati si articolano sia la traduzione vera e propria, sia, maggiori o meno estesi, gli apparati che la accompagnano. Questi ultimi comprendono un saggio introduttivo (“Eros e asceti nel *Kumārasambhava*”, pp. 9-36), che inquadra nell'essenziale le caratteristiche del *kāvya* sanscrito e della sua varietà “lunga”, *mahakāvya*, quindi legge con sensibilità il dipanarsi del poema, costruendo per il lettore una sorta di accompagnamento generale; particolari più informativi o tecnici sono trattati a parte (“L'autore e l'opera”, pp. 41-44). Contro la vecchia e ancora molto diffusa idea che i poemi epici d'arte dell'India antica costituiscano in realtà “antologie contenenti numerose e diverse sezioni, tenute insieme da un esile filo conduttore narrativo che ha la consistenza di un pretesto o poco più”, Boccali è da tempo fermo sostenitore della presenza, nei poemi classici, di “una struttura profonda individuabile con chiarezza, anche nei suoi confini e nei suoi obiettivi, pur se si manifesta alla superficie in modi differenti dall'uno all'altro poema” (p. 17). Oltre a illustrare l'interpretazione che l'opera offre dello svolgersi della vicenda mitica, l'innamoramento e le nozze delle due grandiose divinità e le risonanze cosmiche degli eventi, l'introduzione si sofferma sui tratti qui più rilevanti della poetica di Kālidāsa, e in

particolare sulle immagini della natura; concludendosi con osservazioni su quell'aspetto, peculiare al poeta, che Boccali propone di definire "umanistico", cioè la sua attenzione per "particolari concreti dei rapporti" fra i personaggi (p. 32), e sul ben noto bonario umorismo che con discrezione introduce nella sua opera. Si tratta, verrebbe da aggiungere, della resa in poesia di uno dei filoni dominanti della cultura Gupta: di fatto, è la stessa amichevole, confidenziale attitudine che si osserva nelle arti figurative del periodo nel mettere in scena il mondo degli dèi.

La traduzione segue, salvo rarissime e segnalate eccezioni, l'edizione critica di M.S. Narayana Murti in collaborazione con Klaus L. Janert (1980), fondata sul commento nella versione *śāradā* di Vallabhadeva, il quale è il più antico (X secolo) dei maggiori commentatori del poema. Boccali ha un'esperienza molto lunga di traduzione di poesia *kāvya* – di Kālidāsa ha da tempo tradotto il *Meghadūta* – durante la quale ha elaborato e via via affinato un modo personalissimo e di estrema efficacia di renderne i testi, in termini di vocabolario, di andamento ritmico, di assonanze, e in generale per quanto concerne l'insieme degli aspetti formali e concettuali implicati. Si tratta di un programma di fedeltà all'originale che si esprime da una parte nell'attenzione puntuale, parola per parola, al dettato del testo antico, dall'altra nell'impegno per ricrearne il fascino, sfruttando modi possibili in altra lingua e in altra dimensione culturale che mai però si presentino incongruenti o contraddittori rispetto all'ambito di partenza. Il risultato rende d'altronde pienamente godibile il poema, come si accennava, da parte di un pubblico non certo limitato ai soli specialisti, e che potrebbe comprendere tutti gli appassionati di poesia.

In questa molteplice direzione va anche il corredo delle note alla traduzione ("Commento", pp. 211-290), impostato per sciogliere incertezze sui miti e sulle concezioni cui il testo fa riferimento, offrire scorci sui vocaboli sanscriti sottesi e sulle loro valenze, chiarire immagini allusive, e così via. Citiamo un paio di esempi significativi sulle scelte testuali operate, che trovano appunto chiara esplicazione nelle note.

La traduzione di IV.20 recita:



Questa donna, giungendo per il sentiero della falena,  
 ... ancora mi accoccolerò nel tuo grembo,  
 prima che dalle scaltre donne degli dèi,  
 amore mio, tu non sia sedotto in cielo.

La strofe è parte del celebre lamento di Rati, la sposa di Kāma dio dell'eros, straziata perché Śiva ha incenerito il suo amato che incautamente aveva accettato l'incarico di distrarre il grande dio dall'asceti. Quella qui tradotta, commentata da Vallabhadeva, è palesemente *lectio difficilior*, dal momento che implica un cambiamento di soggetto nel corso della strofe: in luogo di *iyam*, "questa [donna]", nei testi degli altri commentatori si trova in generale *aham*, "io", e quest'ultima lezione appare privilegiata da altri traduttori. Oltre a ricordare che lo stilema dell'uso della terza persona per parlare di sé ricorre in altri due passi del poema, Boccali commenta la sua scelta di aderire a Vallabhadeva ritenendo il cambio di soggetto "poeticamente geniale: travolta dal dolore Rati parla di se stessa in terza persona e, confusa, coniuga il verbo alla prima. Mi sembra un modo straordinario da parte di Kālidāsa per esprimere la condizione della protagonista, che in quel momento si sente annichilita, come priva di un'individualità e di una volontà" (p. 246).

A VIII.52 leggiamo:

Il corpo, amore mio dal bel corpo, che fu un tempo  
 abbandonato  
 da Brahmā, il Nato da Sé, una volta creati i Padri,  
 quello si immerge nel tramontare e nel sorgere del sole:  
 da qui, donna sdegnosa, la mia reverenza per lei.

Il contesto è l'atto di omaggio di Śiva a Saṃdhyā, la dea "Crepuscolo" del mattino e della sera, gesto che suscita la gelosia di Pārvatī; Saṃdhyā è evocata accennando al mito che ne fa in sostanza una figlia di Brahmā. Boccali opta, anche qui, per la *lectio difficilior* di Vallabhadeva, cioè *gāhate*, "si immerge nel", contro altre lezioni documentate quali *sevate* ("si prende cura del"), o *sevyate* ("è venerata al"), commentando,

anche alla luce del verso successivo: “il senso è che dopo le sue manifestazioni mattutina e serale, la già divina Saṃdhyā si intride nel sole, a sua volta divino, proprio nei momenti più sacri del suo quotidiano apparire: da qui dunque l’obbligo di venerarla” (p. 285). La preferenza per questa lezione intende dunque privilegiare l’immagine più articolata e densa di sfumature.

Non sono forse queste – ma è solo il mio parere – le strofe con le quali nel poema Kālidāsa raggiunge il vertice della sua magia, però senz’altro da simili esempi di analisi e di scelte affiora con chiarezza il ruolo di quello che l’India classica chiama *sahṛdaya*, “dotato di cuore”, cioè l’intenditore di poesia e di arti, nel far sì che altri possano a loro volta diventarlo; e, naturalmente, la strepitosa bellezza del *Kumārasambhava* ben meritava un lavoro nuovo che la rappresentasse in questo modo.

Cinzia Pieruccini  
Professore Ordinario di Indologia e Storia dell’arte dell’India  
e dell’Asia Centrale  
Università degli Studi di Milano  
Dipartimento di Studi letterari, filologici e linguistici  
Milano

## ANNOUNCEMENTS



After gradually decreasing its activity, on December 2019 the CESMEO, International Institute of Advanced Asian Studies, has been definitely closed. It was founded by the local authorities (Region, Municipality and Province) along with the University of Turin in 1982 both following the long tradition of Sanskrit and Indological studies in Turin, and answering to a renewed interest in this field of studies. The chairmanship was entrusted to Oscar Botto. The Library of the CESMEO (40.000 volumes) named “Biblioteca Orientale Oscar Botto” after his demise in 2008 now belongs to the University of Turin.

Part of the Cesmeo’s activity is pursued by the AIT-Asia Institute Torino, a non profit institution founded in 2004 with the aim to organise scientific research, editorial projects and cultural activities. AIT is the editor of *Indologica Taurinensia* and also of the renewed project of the *Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum et Fontes Iuris Asiae Meridianae et Centralis*.





**Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum  
et Fontes Iuris Asiae Meridianae et Centralis**

---

A Series on Social and Religious Law of India, South-East and  
Central Asia  
founded by Oscar Botto

Juridical treatises constitute one of the most representative literary genres of Indian thought and have propagated far beyond the boundaries of the Subcontinent, exerting their influence on the cultures of Central Asia and chiefly of South-East Asia. The knowledge of this outstanding cultural, social and religious heritage is absolutely essential in order to go into the ancient traditions and the contemporary reality of both India and Indianized Countries.

This literature, whose chronological development can be included between the IX-V cent. B.C. and the XVIII A.D., is really outstanding. P.V. Kane in his monumental *History of Dharmaśāstra* mentions about 1.500 authors and lists thousands of texts: some of them are already edited, some are still unpublished, and some others are only known from quotations. It is an impressive material – rooted in the most ancient religious and social beliefs – whose peculiar features characterise it more as a corpus of prescriptions than as a collection of rules related to the body of legislation of the Positive Law.

The work of the commentators who assumed a more exegetical than a theoretical position, not always serves to clear up the essence itself of the Law, nor to define exactly which role the body of coercive legislation and the customary precepts carried out on the laying down the Law, as both seem often to involve and overlap reciprocally. The modern

Bibliography, born as exegesis to the texts, or urged to set such a vast material and to suggest an organic settlement of the whole legal matter, is impressive.

It is a fact that the most of the minor Sanskrit texts on social and religious Law has been published as independent volumes with different editorial methods. This objective reality and the actual opportunity of proposing a new reading of these texts, on the basis of a more recent documentation, suggested the main lines for the Series of the *Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum*, in which the texts choice and the editing criteria are rigorously established according to strict principles of critical homogeneity. Since early stage the editing features of the Project were devised with Ludwik Sternbach according to K.V.Sarma's article "*Some new techniques in collating mss. and editing texts*". Such an exacting and arduous task has requested a long organizing phase during which invaluable was the collaboration of Prof. Colette Caillat and Siegfried Lienhard.

The Project has been honoured by the patronage of the Unione Accademica Nazionale, Roma (1980), of the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi (1987) and of the Union Académique Internationale, Bruxelles (61<sup>st</sup> Section, Barcelona, (14-20/6-1987), in consideration of the "nature internationale hautement scientifique du projet".

The Responsible Academy of the Project: Unione Accademica Nazionale, Roma; partner Academies: Union Académique Internationale, Bruxelles, Accademia delle Scienze, Torino, Sahitya Akademi, Delhi; other partners institutions: Università di Torino.

The Project was awarded the prize "Hikuo Hirayama" by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres de l'Institut de France in the years 2000 and 2016.

On the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the UAI (International Academic Union) the published volumes of the *Corpus Iuris* were made all available online.

The responsible Committee is the AIT-Asia Institute Torino, corso Trento, 13. 10129 Torino (Italy), chaired by Irma Piovano



(irmapiovano@hotmail.com). The web site of the Project is [www.asiainstitutetorino.it/corpusiuris.html](http://www.asiainstitutetorino.it/corpusiuris.html).

### Scientific Committee

PIERRE-SYLVAIN FILLIOZAT, President, membre de l'Institut de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres  
 NALINI BALBIR, Sorbonne Paris-III; Directeur d'études à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études  
 DOMENICO FRANCAVILLA, Vice Director of the Department of Law, University of Turin  
 AXEL MICHAELS, Vice President Heidelberger Academy of Science and Humanities, Heidelberg  
 PATRICK OLIVELLE, Professor Emeritus, Department of Asian Studies, The University of Texas  
 IRMA PIOVANO, President of AIT; Honorary Vice-President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies  
 SATYA VRAT SHASTRI, Professor Emeritus University of Delhi. Fellow Sahitya Akademi New Delhi, Ex-Chairman Second Sanskrit Commission, Govt. of India

### Volumes in preparation:

*Source of Dharma in South Asian tradition: a comparative analysis.* Edited by DOMENICO FRANCAVILLA (University of Turin), FLORINDA DE SIMINI (University of Naples "L'Orientale") and AXEL MICHAELS (University of Heidelberg).

*Texte, traduction, étude de la section dite Sāmācārī du Kalpasūtra* by NALINI BALBIR (Sorbonne, Paris 3).



Feuillet de la section Sāmācārī du Kalpasūtra: l'offrande d'aumônes au religieux jaïn. Manuscrit du 15<sup>ème</sup> siècle.  
Copyright: Wellcome Trust, Londres.

### Volumes Published:

1. *Dakṣa-smṛti*, Introduction, Critical edition, Translation and Appendices by IRMA PIOVANO; with a foreword on the "Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum" by OSCAR BOTTO, Torino, 2002, XVII, 143 pp.

*Dakṣa-smṛti*, although circumscribed to seven chapters only, consisting of 220 verses in all, proves a sufficiently exhaustive summa of the duties of the Brahman during the various stages of his life. The volume includes a Foreword by Oscar Botto and an Introduction by the editor, Irma Piovano, aiming at analysing the main characters of the juridical provisions collected in the Sanskrit work and at presenting, with full particulars, the characters of the manuscripts utilized.

2. *Le Code népalais (AIN) de 1853*, par JEAN FEZAS, Introduction et Texte, 2 Tomes, Torino, 2000, LXV, 842 pp.

The first two tomes of the Code Népalais, edited by Jean Fezas, include the critical edition of the text, realized on the basis of the manuscripts kept in the Nepalese National Archives, Kathmandu. Thanks to the adoption of specific typographic conventions and the recourse to polychromy,

the Author gives the proper prominence to the rearrangements of the original text.

3. *Samvarta Tradition (Samvarta-smṛti and Samvarta-dharmaśāstra)*, Critically edited with English Translation by K.V. SARMA and S.A.S. SARMA, Torino, 2002, XIV, 161 pp.

The volume includes two different texts, *Samvarta-smṛti* and *Samvarta-dharmaśāstra*, part of the same juridical tradition, whose edition and translation have been supervised by the distinguished Sanskritist K.V. Sarma, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit, Adyar Library, Madras, and by Dr. S.A.S. Sarma, Centre d'Indologie of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Pondicherry. *Samvarta-smṛti*, 233 verses, is one of the oldest Sanskrit juridical texts and describes both religious and civil laws. The second text, *Samvarta-dharmaśāstra*, 318 verses, follows very closely the style and content of *Samvartasmṛti*, adding passages from different sources.

4. *Śāṅkarasmṛti (Laghudharmaparakāśikā)*, Introduction, Critical edition, Translation and Appendix by N.P. UNNI, Torino, 2003, XI, 396 pp.

*Śāṅkarasmṛti* (also said *Laghudharmaparakāśikā*) is of great interest as it expounds, in a detailed and exhaustive way, the provisions adopted in Kerala, a toponym that in the ancient literature designated an area of the Indian Subcontinent by far wider than the current State with the same name. The work is organized in twelve chapters (*adhyaya*), each of which subdivided in four *pada*, altogether 1376 verses.

5. *The Boundaries of Hindu law. Tradition, custom and politics in medieval Kerala*, by DONALD R. DAVIS, Jr., Torino, 2004, 186 pp.

The traditional Hindu law has seldom been studied in specific historical contexts due to the lack of information about the judicial regulations in classical or medieval India. In this first monograph to be historically based on Hindu law, Davis researches into the history of Hindu law

following a well-balanced method, i.e. taking advantage of both the classical texts of *Dharmasastra* and the inscriptions and archives. The archives of the temples of Kerala represent the fundamental starting point between 14th and 18th century.

6. *The price of purity. The religious judge in 19<sup>th</sup> century Nepal. Containing the Edition and Translation of the Chapters on the Dharmadhikarin in Two (Muluki) Ains*, by AXEL MICHAELS, Torino, 2005, 162 pp.

The work by Axel Michaels, University of Heidelberg, virtually resuming the critical edition of the Nepalese Canon edited by J. Fezas (II volume of the Series), examines the role and purpose of Dharmadhikarin, the supreme religious judge of the court, in a close correlation with the expiation and conviction in use in 19th century Nepalese society. The research is carried out on a textual basis and presents the edition and translation of the sections focused on the Dharmadhikarin in AIN Code.

7. *The roots of Hindu Jurisprudence. Sources of dharma and interpretation in Mīmāṃsā and Dharmasāstra*, by DOMENICO FRANCAVILLA, Torino, 2006, 206 pp.

The work by Domenico Francavilla deals with the *theory* of the sources of *dharma* worked out in classic Indian thought and embraced by the authors of *dharmasāstras*. Francavilla's research aims at reconstructing the theory of the sources of *dharma* through the analysis of Medhatithi's commentary on Manu II.6-15 and of Smṛtipada with proper references to other *dharmasāstras* and works belonging to the *Purva Mīmāṃsā*. The work also analyzes the problem of antinomies and of the solution to the conflicts that may arise among the different sources through an extended discussion of *vikalpa*, the option among different patterns of behaviour of identical authoritativeness, where Kumarila, by discussing other authors' opinions, shows signs of a great originality.

8. *Kapilasmṛti*. Critically edited with introduction and notes by S.A.S. SARMA and translated in collaboration with H.N. BHAT, Torino, 2007, 316 pp.

The *Kapilasmṛti*, a medium-sized work about Hindu social religious law consisting of 1002 verses in the *anustubh* metre, belongs to the category of later texts in Hindu law. The various references found in this work lead us to conclude that this work is likely to have been composed between A.D. 800 to 1200 and its author probably hailed from the region of Andhra Pradesh in South India. It primarily deals with the social and domestic life which a Vedic Brahmin is instructed to lead in the Kali age while remaining unaffected by his surroundings to preserve his pristine brahminhood..

9. *Ritualisation and Segregation, The Untouchability Complex in Indian dharma literature with special reference to Parāśaramṛti and Parāśaramādhavīya*, by MIKAEL AKTOR, Torino 2008, ca. 241 p.

This book is the first monographic study of rules of Untouchability (*asprśyatva*) in the *dharmaśāstra*. From a limited number of rules in the oldest *dharmaśūtras* the complex gradually proliferated during the literary periods of the metrical *smṛti* works and the medieval commentaries and compendia to become a comprehensive system of precautionary measures against contact with a number of diverse groups and persons. The first part of the book traces this literary development but supplements the discussion with material from other literary genres such as the Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the Buddhist Pāli canon, *Ārthaśāstra*, the Epics and other narrative literature. The second part is a detailed study of Untouchability rules as recorded in Mādhavācārya's mid-14th century commentary on the *Parāśaramṛti*, the *Parāśaramādhavīya*. Finally, the last part of the book offers an analysis of the total complex, which is seen as an exclusive set of rules demarcating an

exclusive number of people and situations that cannot be explained by broader, inclusive notions of impurity alone.

The series is available on the AIT website at the address:  
[www.asiainstitutetorino.it/corpusiuris.html](http://www.asiainstitutetorino.it/corpusiuris.html).

## “PUBBLICAZIONI DI INDOLOGICA TAURINENSIA”

Collana di Letture fondata nel 1965 da Oscar Botto

Editor: Irma Piovano

1. JOHN BROUGH, *Il regno di Shan-Shan. Una tappa nel viaggio del Buddhismo dall'India alla Cina*, Torino, 1965.
2. GIUSEPPINA SCALABRINO BORSANI, *Le dottrine gnoseologiche della Mīmāṃsā*, Torino, 1967. (out of stock)
3. JEAN VARENNE, *Di alcuni miti cosmogonici del Ṛgveda*, Torino, 1969.
4. COLETTE CAILLAT, *Pour une nouvelle grammaire du pāli*, Torino, 1970.
5. MARIANGELA D'ONZA CHIODO, *A proposito del bhandāgārika nella letteratura buddhistica*, Torino, 1973.
6. FERRUCCIO DUCREY GIORDANO, *Jai Singh e i suoi giardini astronomici*, Torino, 1973.
7. FERRUCCIO DUCREY GIORDANO, *A proposito di alcuni Gupta imperiali*, Torino, 1974.
8. LAXMAN PRASAD MISHRA, *Di alcune divinità femminili minori della bhakti jaina*, Torino, 1974.
9. ROSA MARIA CIMINO, *Una statua in bronzo del dio Siva*, Torino, 1979.
10. PINUCCIA CARACCHI, *La presenza divina nella mūrti secondo i Purāṇa*, Torino, 1978.
11. LUDWIK STERNBACH, *On the influence of the Sanskrit gnostic literature on the gnostic literature of old Java and Bali*, Torino, 1979.
12. JAN GONDA, *The Āghāra ritual of the Vaikhānasas*, Torino, 1981. (out of stock)
13. GIUSEPPE SPERA, *Notes on ahimsā*, Torino, 1982.
14. JAN GONDA, *On the structure of multipartite formulae in Vedic rites and ceremonies*, Torino, 1983.

15. J.DUNCAN M.DERRETT, *A textbook for novices. Jayarākṣita's "Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana"*, Torino, 1983.
16. ANTHONY K.WARDER, *"Original" Buddhism and Mahāyāna*, Torino, 1983.
17. PAUL DUNDAS, *The Sattasai and its commentators*, Torino, 1985.
18. JAN GONDA, *Fatherhood in the Veda*, Torino, 1985.
19. GREG BAILEY, *Materials for the study of ancient Indian ideologies: pravṛtti and nivṛtti*, Torino, 1985.
20. IRMA PIOVANO, *Contributi per un Lessico Giuridico Sanscrito*, Torino (out of stock).
21. FABIO SCIALPI, *Le religioni tribali dell'India*, Torino, 1992.
22. J.DUNCAN M.DERRETT, *Studies in Hindu Law : Law and religion in ancient India; Family law in ancient India (with an account of modern developments)*, Torino, 1994.
23. HARTMUT SCHARFE, *A New Perspective on Pāṇini*, Torino, 2009.
24. VASUNDHARA KAVALI-FILLIOZAT, *Splendours of Indian iconography, A guide to the masterpieces of Lokeśvara Temple at Paṭṭadakal*, Torino-Roma, 2016.

#### COLLANA DI BIOGRAFIE E SAGGI

1. I. PIOVANO, *Gaspare Gorresio*, Torino, 1983.
2. G. BERTUCCIOLI, *Giuseppe Maria Calleri*, Torino, 1986.
3. F. DOVETTO, *Giacomo Lignana*, Torino, 2001.



## A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF INDIAN ASTRONOMICAL INSTRUMENTS

SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Indian Astronomical Instruments*, 2019, 4454 pages, accessible online at <http://srsarma.in/catalogue.php> and at CrossAsia-Repository <https://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de>.

*A Descriptive Catalogue of Indian Astronomical Instruments – Abridged Version*, consisting of Introductory Essays and Appendices, 2019, 656 pages, accessible online at <http://srsarma.in/catalogue.php>. “Print on demand” copies can be obtained from [www.tredition.de](http://www.tredition.de) or from Amazon.

The large masonry instruments designed by Sawai Jai Singh and erected in his five observatories in the early eighteenth century are the culmination of a long process of development in astronomical instrumentation in India. But what kind of astronomical instruments were used before Jai Singh’s time? In the early seventh century, Brahmagupta devoted an entire chapter of his *Brāhmasphuṭa-siddhānta* to instruments, where he described the construction and use of a large variety of instruments. Since then many astronomical texts of the genre *Siddhānta* discuss several types of instruments in exclusive chapters. The question then arises whether any of these instruments described in these Sanskrit texts were ever constructed and used in observation. If so, are there any specimens extant in museums? Such questions led me to the exploration of more than a hundred museums and private collections in India, Europe and USA for about a quarter century and to the identification of 555+ specimens which are extant or about which photographic and/ or other records are available.

This catalogue is the outcome of this exploration. The renowned historian of science Derek Price remarked once: “Each instrument is a valuable document in itself, yielding historical and scientific data often unobtainable elsewhere. ... however, the full significance of any one instrument cannot be

properly realized except by comparison with the corpus of all such instruments extant.”

This catalogue studies each instrument in the context of all the related extant specimens, while laying special emphasis on the interplay between Sanskrit and Islamic traditions of instrumentation. Therefore, each instrument type is organized in a separate section identified by the letters of the alphabet. Each section begins with an introductory essay on the history of the instrument type, its varieties and functions, followed by a full technical description of every specimen, with art historical notes on the decorations and ornamentation, accompanied by many photographs. Moreover, all the engraved data are reproduced and interpreted as far as possible.

A large part of the catalogue is devoted to the astrolabes and celestial globes, because their fabrication demands great skill in metalcraft, sound knowledge of astronomy and trigonometry, and fine aesthetic sense. Moreover, large quantities of astronomical, astrological and geographical data are engraved on the astrolabes. The astrolabes are described in five sections A (Indo-Persian astrolabes by the Lahore family), B (Indo-Persian Astrolabes by Others), C (Sanskrit Astrolabes with Multiple Plates), D (Sanskrit Astrolabes with Single Plates) and E (Arabic or Persian Astrolabes reworked in Sanskrit). Then follow celestial globes in three sections F (Indo-Persian Celestial Globes by the Lahore Family), G (Indo-Persian Celestial Globes by Others) and H (Sanskrit Celestial Globes). Thereafter are treated diverse kinds of instruments which exist in limited numbers. Finally, the last section Z is devoted to fake astrolabes which are circulating in the international market and explains how to detect them.

Besides the Bibliography, an Index of museums and their collections of Indian Astronomical Instruments, and an index of instrument makers, designers, and patrons, there are two special appendices at the end of the Catalogue. The first contains large extracts from Mahendra Sūri's *Yantrarāja*, the first Sanskrit manual on the astrolabe composed in 1370 at the court of Firoze Shah Tughluq, together with an English Translation. The second contains large extracts from Padmanābha's unpublished

work *Dhruvabhramaṇādhikāra* (c.1423) which describes a novel instrument called *Dhruvanbhrama-yantra*, also with an English translation.



**INDOLOGICA TAURINENSIA**  
THE JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
OF SANSKRIT STUDIES

*Founded by Oscar Botto*

*Edited by Comitato AIT*

*Submitting articles*

Indologica Taurinensia welcomes academic contributions in English, Italian, French or German that are suitable for the Journal aims and normally have 10000 words (maximum length) including notes and bibliography.

- The text has to be sent by e-mail, in both .pdf and .doc files to irmapiovano@hotmail.com or indologica@asiainstitutetorino.it
- The words in Indian languages and in languages other than the one used in the paper have to be italicized.
- Devanagari or Asiatic texts may be published as an image.

*Photographs and drawings*

- The quality of the line drawings, photographs, graphs, etc., should be suitable for the layout of the journal.

*Bibliographical references*

- Bibliographical references must be placed in the footnotes.
- References to books must be quoted in the following way: author, title (in italics), place and year of publication.
- Articles must be quoted in the following way: author, title (within double inverted commas), title of the journal (in italics), the number and year of publication, as well as the pages concerned.
- Titles of books and papers frequently referred to may be quoted in an abbreviated form.
- Abbreviations resorted to should be in capital letters, without any periods (*e.g.* JRAS) and be listed at the end of the article.



