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Vol I

1998

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G.K.Pai

A.P.Jamkhedka





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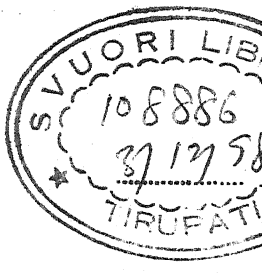
FOR FAVOUR OF EXCHANGE
Review

Edited by

G.K.Pai

A.P.Jamkhedkar





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कुम्भे स्वातीतारकजातमनन्तार्यसूरिमहमीडे ।
श्रीकृष्णार्यतनूजं वादिभयंकरकुलाब्धिचन्द्रमसम् ।।



Prativādibhayaṅkara ANANTHACHARYA

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PREFACE

The Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute was founded in 1974, the centenary year of *Prativadibhayankara Jagadguru* Ananthacharya.

The Institute, which enters the Silver Jubilee year of its useful existence, can look back with rightful pride and satisfaction at its achievements. The University of Mumbai has extended to the Institute permanent recognition as a centre for research leading to the degree of Ph.D in Sanskrit, Philosophy and Ancient Indian Culture. Twenty-six scholars registered through the Institute have so far been awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Mumbai.

The Institute has also organised several seminars of the national as well as the international level. It has to its credit twenty-four publications.

In course of pursuing research in Srivaisnavism, in the rituals as related in the Āgama texts and as reflected in present day practice, need was felt to express our studied views on the topics concerned. Further, as the Institute expanded its area of research to cover not only allied subjects such as temple architecture and sculpture, but also cultural studies based on the Inscriptions scattered through different regions of India as well as South-East Asia, the lack of a periodical was acutely felt to have an organ through which the scholarly views could be expressed and disseminated from time to time.

This strong desire of the dedicated band of scholars engaged in the various projects of the Institute got a definite boost with its approval by the Academic Council. Further, the encouragement and support extended by the Governing Council has now led to its fructification, and we are glad to bring forth the first volume of the journal to mark the beginning of the 125th year of the advent of *Prativadibhayankara Jagadguru* Ananthacharya.

G.K.Pai
Director,
Ananthacharya I. R. Institute

Mumbai,
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Reviews	Pages
Śilparatnakośa : A Glossary of Orissan Temple Architecture by STHAPAKA NIRANJAN MAHAPATRA; Pub : Indira Gandhi National Centre for The Arts, & Motilal Banarasidass, reviewed by P.P.Apte.	155 - 156
Temples of Space Science by GANAPATI STHAPATI. English version of Tamil Text by S.P.SABHARATHNAM. Pub. Vastu Vedic Research Foundation, reviewed by R.N.Aralikatti.	157 - 159
Vāstu Shāstra : A Scientific Treatise. by GANAPATI STHAPATI. Pub. Vastu Vedic Research Foundation, Madras, reviewed by R.N.Aralikatti.	160 - 163
Vedic Heritage of India (A Brief Survey) By B. R. Sharma. Pub. Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupati, reviewed by R.N.Aralikatti.	163 - 165
Buddhism In India And Abroad :An Integrating Influence in Vedic and Post-Vedic Perspective, Eds : KALPAKAM SANKARANARAYAN, MOTOHIRO YORITOMI, SHUBHADA A. JOSHI. Pub: Somaiya Publications Pvt.Ltd. reviewed by S.R. Bongale.	165 - 169
The Concept of Upāsanā : Worship in Sanskrit Literature by RAJANI. S. PATKI. Pub : Sri Satguru Publications, reviewed by J.V. Joshi.	169 - 171
Advaitasiddhi Vs Nyāyāmṛta (An up to date critical Re-Appraisal) Part - I B.N.K. SHARMA., reviewed by S.G.Mudgal.	172 - 175
The Life of Rāmānujācārya - the exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy by A.Govindacharya. Edited and Re-published by T.N. Santhanam and T.D. Muralidharan. Pub. Shri Visishtadvaita Research Centre, Madras, reviewed by S.G.Mudgal.	175 - 176
" ताटी उघडा ज्ञानेश्वरा " " Open The Door Jñāneśvara " : Translated into English. VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY. Pub Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, reviewed by M.D.Paradkar.	176 - 177
Gujarāt Ke Santa Kaviyoṅmeṅ Sāṁājik Samvāditā (Hindi) Ed. GOVARDHAN SHARMA. Pub : AARSH, reviewed by N.B.Patil.	177 - 179
Poetry, Creativity and Aesthetic Experience : by NATVARLAL JOSHI. Pub :Eastern Book Linkers, reviewed by N.B.Patil.	179 - 181

Journal of the
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Research Institute

Vol I 1998

PRATIVĀDIBHAYAṄKARA JAGADGURU ANANTHACHARYA

G. K. Pai

Parentage

The great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Rāmānuja, desirous of establishing Vaiṣṇavism on a firm footing, founded seventy-four Pīṭhas and commissioned seventy-four pontiffs on these seats hereditarily to continue his work of propagating the tenets of the Religion of the Vaiṣṇava Saints. Sri Mudumbai Nambi was installed on the 36th seat. His descendant was Mudumbai Anna, who in a Sastric disquisition defeated Sarvajna Misra, a great scholar and follower of Māyāvāda. This proficiency of Mudumbai Anna was well appreciated by Varadācārya, son of the great scholar Vedāntadeśika. He conferred upon Mudumbai Anna the title of 'Prativādibhayaṅkara' meaning 'Terror to the Adversary'. Since then the descendants of this family are glorified by this title. Mudumbai Anna is also credited with the authorship of the *Suprabhātam* (which is chanted in the Tirumalai temple before dawn every-day), *Prapatti* and *Maṅgalāśāsanam* of Lord Veṅkaṭeśa.

The spread of Vaiṣṇavism in the North is mainly due to the efforts put in by the Pontiffs of this family.

Ananthacarya, a direct descendant of Prativādibhayaṅkara Mudumbai Anna was born in Tirupati under the constellation Svāti in Caitra V.S.1930 i.e. March 1874, at the place of his maternal uncle Srirangacharya, who was a learned man and also the sthalācārya at Tirupati. His parents took him to Kāñcī where he spent his early childhood.

Early life & Education

When he was five years old, his mother taught him the *Śabdarūpāvali*, *Dhāturūpāvali* and several ślokas which he grasped very quickly. In a few days he learnt the *Raghuvaṁśa* also. For some time he studied in a school run by a Śaiva saint.

In his eighth year his upanayana was performed and he was initiated into Vedic studies. But as his father had to visit a few places in the North, he accompanied his father. At first they visited the Śrīraṅga temple at Puṣkara wherein his father formally gave him dīkṣā and initiated him into Vaiṣṇavism. Thereafter they proceeded to Jaipur, Lakshmangarh and other holy places and returned to Kāñcī.

Here he was admitted into the Sathakopanilaya school where he studied poems like *Naiṣadha*, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and all kāvyas in the Draviḍa language. In a short while he mastered all the instruction that was imparted in the school.

At the age of eleven he entered the Ubhayavedantavardhini school wherein he studied the campus, nāṭakas (plays), works on rhetorics, metrics and grammar. Along with these subjects, he also studied a little of Nyāya, Veda Saṁhitas and *Divyaprabandha*. In a few days he gained mastery over Grammar and Literature so much so that he could compose verses. Though he was not very good at sports, he was proficient in debates (disquisition).

At the age of fourteen he was married to Lakshmi, daughter of Gopalacharya of Tirupati. But he continued his studies at Ubhayavedanta-vardhini school. Later he approached his maternal uncle Rangacharya and his brother Venkatacharya for higher studies. It was under their tutelage that he mastered Sanskrit Grammar and systems of Philosophy and also attained proficiency in the Viśiṣṭadvaita Philosophy. Along with these Śāstric studies he also took to learning different languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Telugu, Bengali and English.

When he was sixteen, he lost his father; two years later his mother too expired. But he had the strength of mind to carry on discharging his duties as a householder, meet the pious obligations as a son and simultaneously to pursue his Śāstric studies.

Beginning from V.S. 1951 he undertook a number of extensive tours throughout the length and breadth of the country to continue the mission of Rāmānuja, to spread the message of Sanātana dharma in general and the Viśiṣṭadvaita Philosophy in particular.

In spite of severe handicaps prevailing for want of modern means of conveyance, he undertook the journey which was arduous by riding on bullock-carts, on camel-back, in palanquins and finally by motor car when it appeared on the roads; at times he was in poor health and yet he visited a number of places, for, he had devoted his life to the upliftment of people.

Propagation of Sanātana Dharma

In keeping with his mission of religious propagation, he delivered a number of public talks on a variety of topics. He spoke on Bhakti, Vidyā, Vaiṣṇava sampradāya, Viśiṣṭādvaita siddhānta, Gāyatrī, Ahiṁsā, Pañcasaṁskāra, Śaraṇāgati, purpose of temples, tenets of Vedic religion, purpose of avatāra, what is dharma and so on. He also spoke on philosophical subjects such as Jīva, nature of Ātman, Māyā, Brahman, Jagat, Bhakti-yoga, Jñānayoga and Karmayoga, Advaitavāda, Vedānta, Detachment, true happiness, means of liberation, etc. Similarly he gave moral discourses on topics such as duties of women, man's ingratitude towards Almighty, performance of one's duty, duties of a human being, etc.

In one such discourse delivered in Tamil at the Vaiṣṇava Sammelan, held at Tirunelvelly (21.9.1919), he referred to the antiquity of the Vaiṣṇava faith which in early times was known as Bhāgavata Dharma. He also criticised the prevalent, view that Rāmānuja was the founder of Vaiṣṇavism and added that all that Rāmānuja did was only to reform and reconstruct the ancient creed of Bhāgavata Dharma.

The vast number and variety of subjects that he could handle with mastery and fluency were indeed amazing particularly in the case of a person without any formal schooling.

Besides his mother tongue Tamil, he knew several other languages such as Telugu, English, Marathi and Gujarati. In addition to his mastery over Sanskrit, he had also mastered Hindi. He gave public discourses in

all these languages. He attended successive sessions of the Vaiṣṇava Sammelans, founded the Vaiṣṇava Mahāsabhā and also attended its different sessions held in places such as Prayag, Hyderabad, Mumbai, etc. He was an orator and as such presided over the Sanātana Sabhā founded by Madan Mohan Malaviya. Wherever he went he was honoured by people. Distinguished Sanskrit scholars and chiefs of Indian states were highly impressed by his learning and simplicity. On listening to his discourse, the assembly of the learned at Calcutta conferred upon him the title of Vedāntavārinidhi. Sir Rabindranath Tagore invited him and accorded a rousing reception in his honour at Shantiniketan. Although he possessed strong conviction towards his own faith, he was all along liberal in his views in relation to other sects and earnestly desired for their thriving and for enduring prosperity of the entire humanity.

The British Government treated him as a V.I.P. as the collectors of different districts were instructed in advance to see that he and his followers were not subjected to interruption in the course of their tour.

Divyadeśas

Whereas the public lectures and discourses he delivered during the tours formed an important aspect of his mission, he also established a number of divyadeśas in furtherance of the same objective.

The erection of Sri Ram Mandir at Amjhera (M.P.), Sri Ranganath Divyadeśa (Rola), Sri Satyanarayan Mandir at Maulasar (Rajasthan), Sri Venkatesh Mandir at Mundwa are the result of the constructive energy of His Holiness. Sri Venkatesh Mandir of Jaora (M.P.) and Bhūvaikuṇṭha at Nanded are his great achievements.

The Venkatesha temple at Fanaswadi, Mumbai is one such divyadeśa and a great monument of his munificence. The icon of Lord Veṅkaṭeśa was installed in this temple following the traditional rites on Friday Jyeṣṭha Śukla Daśamī of V.S.1984, i.e.1927 A.D.

Love for Sanskrit

He was a great lover of Sanskrit. His love for Sanskrit language knew no bounds. He calls it a divine, ancient, undying language like Brahman.

He observes that it has been reduced to a pitiable position because of Kali. He also notes that certain translations of Sanskrit works are found in Tibet, but the original Sanskrit texts are not traced in India. His contribution to the revival of Sanskrit language was in no measure small. One of the suggestions he made to the Maharaja of Travancore (in whose Padmavilas Palace, he stayed as guest) was that arrangement for teaching Sanskrit be made in every Agraharam. He collected all Sanskrit works available which formed his Library called Hayavadanalilāsadanam housed in Kāñcī which collection later formed, the nucleus of the library of the Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute in Mumbai - an institution founded in 1974 in order to perpetuate his sacred memory.

A Scholar and Writer

He was a deep scholar and a prolific writer. He wrote his works and articles in Sanskrit, Hindi and Tamil. Among his original works are (1) *Puruṣasūkta-bhāṣya*, a commentary on the Puruṣasūkta (Ṛgveda X.90) wherein he proves that Puruṣa stands for Viṣṇu. (2) *Vālmīkibhāvadīpa* a work in 20 verses, with his own gloss in Sanskrit, wherein he tells us how Rāma, Viṣṇu and Brahman are identical in Vālmīkī's view. (3) *Vaiṣṇavamatadūṣaṇoddhāraḥ* - a rejoinder to Pandit Sivasankar's article attacking Rāmānujasaṁpradāya which was published in the *Aryavarta* of Ranchi. (4) *Sanmārgasammārjanī* - in reply to *Rāmānuja-mata-khaṇḍanam* of Svami Gangadharasrama published by Rama Pandita. (5) *Baḍavānala* (Siddhāntasiddhāpagākhaṇḍanarūpa). (6) Aikyaśāstrya- mīmāṁsā to show that there is actually no difference between the Pūrva and Uttara mīmāṁsā (7) *Dvandvayuddhasamīkṣā* - in reply to *Dvandvayuddha* of Madhavatirtha, the Sankaracharya of Dvaraka who tried to prove that the practice of Taptamudrādhāraṇam is not supported by Śruti or by any other authority. (8) Taptamudrādhāraṇa - in support of the practice of branding the body with red-hot śaṅkha, cakra, etc, which they have in common with Mādhvas (For list of works see infra).

In all the above works, he quotes profusely from the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, Epics, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, Dharmaśāstra and smṛti literature and classical works like *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava*. In his Puruṣasūkta-bhāṣya he had quoted at least eighty authorities or authoritative texts. All

his works not only point out to his deep scholarship but also evince the convincing manner in which he has put forth his arguments.

In order to keep the torch in the form of Sanskrit language always burning, he edited and published a number of Sanskrit works pertaining to the Veda, Vedānta, Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya, Pāñcarātra, Purāṇa, etc., through the Sudarsana Press which he established for this purpose at Kanchi in 1898 A.D. He edited the *Sātvata Saṁhitā* with the help of four manuscripts and published it for the first time in Devanāgarī script. Similarly he brought out in Devanāgarī, the *Īśvara Saṁhitā* and Nyāya works of Gadādhara.

He started the Sanskrit News magazine *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* in 1900 and two series viz., *Śāstramuktāvali* and *Nyāyaratnamālā*. Whereas through the former he brought out hitherto unpublished Sanskrit texts, through the latter he brought out Nyāya works. He has also brought out several miscellaneous works.

He translated into Sanskrit the original Tamil Maṇipravāḷa works by Lokācārya viz., *Tattvatrayam, Mumukṣuppaḍirahasya, Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇam*, etc.

He brought out in the South, the first magazine in Hindi *"Vaidika-sarvasva"* and a journal *"Brahmavidyā"* in Tamil.

Editor and Publisher of Mañjubhāṣiṇī

As the editor of the Sanskrit Patrikā *Mañjubhāṣinī*, his contribution to the Hindu society, and Religion in general, to Vaiṣṇavism and Sanskrit language in particular, was by no means small. From 1900 onwards, he edited the *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* which though began as a monthly, came out later as a fort-nightly, and was subsequently converted into a weekly issue of four pages. *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* was published until the year 1932.

What prompted him to bring out a Sanskrit magazine *"Mañjubhāṣiṇī"* has been made clear by him in the very first issue in the following words : ' Sanskrit language is passing through a very lean period; effort must be made to make it thrive again'. On another occasion, he states that the paper is mainly published for developing in our readers proficiency in Sanskrit.

He also hoped that the pieces of news that are published in the *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* would interest the readers not due so much to their being pieces of news as to their being couched in Sanskrit language. As the editor and publisher, he realised that people are of different tastes and endeavoured to satisfy all readers. He was also careful to see that his prejudice did not interfere with views of any particular school of Vedānta published in Mañjubhāṣiṇī. He also encouraged other magazines by reviewing them in the *Mañjubhāṣiṇī*.

Humility

As a pontiff he was extremely humble and modest. Though the British Government treated him as a V.I.P. he never used the facilities provided to him.

End

Having lived such a full and fruitful life, he departed to his heavenly abode in 1936 A.D.

Such was the multifaceted genius of H.H.Ananthacharya -- a scholar, orator, writer, editor, publisher and Pontiff. Much has been told about him, but it has not been possible to bring out all the facets of his genius. On this solemn occasion of the 125th year of his birth, we humbly re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of Sanātanadharma which he cherished and the propagation of its sublime tenets which he strove for throughout his life.

LIST OF WORKS OF H. H. ANANTHACHARYA

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1. *Śrīpuruṣasūktabhāṣyam*	*Śāstramuktāvali (SM)*, No. 9 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1901.
2. *Sanmārgasammārjanī*	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1932.
3. *Śrīvaiṣṇavamatadūṣaṇoddhāra*	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1930.
4. Vālmīkibhāvadīpa	*SM* , No.21 Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1904.
5. *Baḍavānala* (Siddhāntasiddhāpagākhaṇḍanarūpaḥ) Part - I	Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1915.
6. *Aikyaśāstramīmāṁsā*	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1926.
7. Cakradhāraṇa-Pramāṇa-Saṅgraha (Compilation with Hindi Commentary)	Srivaisnava Sampradaya Pramana Saṅgraha. Granthavali, No.1 Triveni Printing Press, Allahabad.
8. *Taptamudrādhāraṇ par Nirṇaya-sindhukār kā Phaisalā.* (Hindi)	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1922.
9. *Tattvabodhana* (Hindi)	Kanci, 1921.
10. Satyārtha Prakāśa Aur Śrīvaiṣṇava Sampradāya (Hindi)	*Vaidikasarvasva, (VS)* Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1928.
11. *Dvandvayuddha Samīkṣā* (Hindi)	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1929.

12. *Vedānta Rahasya* (Three articles in Hindi)	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1930.

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1. Śrīvacana - Bhūṣaṇa - Rahasyam (From Tamil) of Lokācārya.	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kancipuram, 1926.
2. Mumukṣuppaḍi - Rahasyam of Lokācārya.	Vaidikasarvasva *(VS)* Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1926.
3. Tattvatraya - Rahasyam of Lokācārya.	*(VS)*, Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1928.
4. Saṁsāra Cakram, Akhyayikā (From Hindi) of Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi, Parts I & II	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1930, 1934.

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2. Gitārthasaṅgraha - Dīpīkā, Sri Varavaramuni's Com. On Sri Bhagavadgītā	*SM*, No.25 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1906.
3. Sātvata Saṁhitā According To Pañcarātra Śāstra	*SM*, No.15 Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1902.
4. Pāñcarātra Īśvara - Saṁhitā	*SM*, No.45 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1923.

5. Rāmānujasiddhāntasāra of Varadācārya	*SM*, No.61 Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1934.
6. Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣyam	*SM*, No.24 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1905.
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8. Kriyākairavacandrikā of Varāhaguru (Tamil Script)	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1927.
9. Tattvanirṇaya of Varadācārya	*SM*, No.12 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1902.
10. Lakshmīsahasranāmastotram (Sanatkumārasaṁhitoktam)	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci,
11. Mokṣakāraṇatāvāda & Dṛśyatvānumānanirāsa	*SM*, No. 31,32 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1909.
12. Kāñcī-Māhātmyam of Bramhāṇḍapurāṇa	*SM*, No.26 Sri Sudarṣana Press, Conjeeverem, 1906.
13. Mallapuri Māhātmyam of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Telugu Script)	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1934.
14. Prasanna Pārijāta of Vatsyaśrī Varadaguru	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1912.

15. Sandhyāvandana - Mantrabhāṣyam of Śrīsudarśanasūri	*SM*, No.27 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1906.
16. Sarvadarśanaśiromaṇi of Kañcī Rāmānujācārya	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci,
17. Siddhānta - Cintāmaṇi of Sreenivasacharya (A Work On Vedanta Philosophy)	*SM*, No.13 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1902.
18. Liṅganirṇayabhūṣaṇam of Thopuri Ramasuri	Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1907.
19. Ekādaśiśrāddhamīmāṁsā	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kancipuram, 1925.
20. Pārāśaryavijaya of Ramanuja or Mahacharya (Brahmasūtravyākhyāna).	*SM*, No.43 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1912.
21. Sudarśana-Mīmāṁsā of Lakṣmaṇācārya	Sri Sudarsana Press, Kanci, 1926.
22. Seśvara - Mīmāṁsā (Com. on Jaiminisūtra) of Sri Vedantacharya	Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1902.
23. Kāryādhikaraṇa - Vāda of Srirangacharya T.A.P., Parts I,II & III	*SM*, No.7,18 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1901, 1903.
24. Kāryādhikaraṇa - Tattvam of Kastūri Rangacariar	*SM*, No.17 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1903.
25. Mīmāṁsā - Pādukā of Vedāntadeśika	*SM*, No.3 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1900.

26. Bhāṭṭarahasyam of Khaṇḍadeva	*SM*, No.2 Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1900.
27. Avacchedakatā-Nirukti of Gadadhara Bhattacharya with Didhiti	Sri Sudarsana Press, Conjeeverem, 1901.
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ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF VEDIC RITUALS

B. B. CHAUBEY

Vedic religion is essentially, a religion of sacrifice[1] accompanied with varied rituals. But these rituals are not the inventions of one day or one period. They are rather result of constant process of evolution. We have reasons to believe that in the beginning the rituals were very few and simple, but with the passage of time they became large in number and complicated in their performance. The ritual in the *sūtras* shows alterations as compared with the texts on which it is based. In the ancient *Brāhmaṇa* literature several individuals are mentioned as objecting or rejecting or modifying a prevalent ritual. The reasons of modifications or alterations or new inventions of the rituals seem to be that firstly, the climate and the life under new conditions; all these elements might have opposed the stereotyped rituals with more or less success;[2] secondly, the clash of clans, the welding of different traditions might account for such changes;[3] thirdly, the advancing ethical sense or a more intelligent mind also might have been the factor bringing modifications in old rituals;[4] fourthly, the priests were restless personages, far from content with merely following out a traditional ritual; they were given to reflection on the ritual and to discussions of its meaning;[5] fifthly, the social expansion amalgamates rituals or brings in new ritual. Any ritual, sometimes, instead of becoming vague, may be diverted into the expansion of a new idea; a later ethos may interpret the old rite in modern terms.[6]

In the beginning when man became conscious of his contact with nature he personified the phenomena of nature. He attributed the qualities of living beings to them. He endowed them with desire and feeling including the propensities to take offence and to be pleased, the characteristics of human species. Creation, sustenance and destruction were also assigned to them. They were elevated to the rank of gods. They became supernatural.[7] As long as man thinks himself powerful he does his work himself. But as soon as he comes to realize that how meagre his power is in contrast with the supernatural powers, he bows down before the larger to get it done for himself. He establishes various relations to the supernatural powers. He calls them father, mother, brother and friend. He begins to worship them with a view to getting their blessings in forms of good progeny, wealth, sound health and so on. They were called *devas*. In order to get their blessings it was an imperative to pacify their wrath first and express

his thankfulness to them in form of prayers, laudations and propitiations.[8] For this, he might have started giving some portion of his possessions in the same way as a man gives something to the man whom he wants to please. This was the beginning of a ritual. A prayer or worship now became associated with offerings of things to the powers. Now the question was where that thing was to be placed that the deity might devour it. In the beginning people would be placing the thing at a considerable distance. With this might have arisen the notion of not getting that thing back. This can be conjectured from the spoken formula, viz. इदं न मम 'this is not mine' at the ritual of offering oblations to the gods. Had it not been the case the prose formula इदं न मम, whose mention is made nowhere, might not have been in vogue at all offerings. This ritual was called *hautra* ritual, for the gods were invoked by this rite.[9] But whether the deity had accepted that oblation or not, it was open to doubt. If perchance he happened to see the oblation sometimes being eaten up by an animal or a bird or a man other than him, it must have created doubt in his mind about the acceptance of the oblation by the deity. Now he must have indulged himself in finding out some solutions about how the oblations could be accepted by the deity. At this stage *Agni* the fire-god appeared to him to solve this problem. He saw that it is *Agni* which devours everything thrown into it. This was the beginning of giving offereings to *Agni* which was preserved at a common place with due care, for, it was difficult to find *Agni* if it was once extinguished. When the Bhṛgus first invented *Agni* [10] by churning of two fire sticks, the problem was solved and now it became a ritual to produce *Agni* by churning of two fire-sticks on all religious occasions. At this time the idea might have developed in the minds of the worshippers that *Agni* could bring the oblations to the other deities too. With this idea, he might have named *Agni* as *'vahni'* [11] 'the bearer'. Now there remained no doubt as to whether the deities had accepted the oblations or not. Now a new formula 'अमुक - देवाय स्वाहा इदं न मम' began to be employed at the time of offering to all gods. With the introduction of *svāhā*, the ritual which was once called *hautra karma*, was now begun to be called *svāhākāra*.[12]

In the beginning the process was not very complicated. The offerer himself used to give offerings in the fire calling the name of different deities. Seldom did he get it done by the assistance of others. But gradually due to complication of ritualistic performances, it became difficult for a performer of the rite to perform

it himself. Now he began to patronise a seer who might help him in performance of the rites and in return the *Yajamāna* suitably rewarded the seer with wealth and cattle. The *Ṛgveda* is full of such references where the patrons have been commended by the seers. As time passed on, the descendants of the seers became priests of the descendants of the patrons of their fathers. They helped the *Yajamānas* in performance of all their religious activities. But when the Vedic sacrifices took a large shape the family priest alone was not able to perform the entire rituals. So on the occasion of performing the sacrifices, other priests were invited and chosen. These occasional priests were called Ṛtviks. They were given fees or largesse. Thus there became two groups of the performers, the first group being represented by the *yajamāna* and his family members, and the other group by the officiant priests. The former met the expenses incurred in performing the rites. When the work was done by oneself, there was no need of giving fees or largesse to anybody. But when it began to be got done by the officiant priests the *yajamāna* had to pay them *Dakṣiṇā*. Thus, the ritual of giving largesse called *dakṣiṇā* came into vogue. In the beginning *Dakṣiṇā* was a kind of reward which *yajamāna* used to give to his priest who prayed for his well-being and prosperity. But with the establishment of a priestly class, gradually *Dakṣiṇā* became a source of livelihood. The *Brāhmaṇas* were supposed to earn their livelihood through *Dakṣiṇā*. It was the duty of the sacrificer to give *Dakṣiṇā* in full. Nobody could escape from *Dakṣiṇā*, so it became an imperative. If the sacrificer wanted to obtain the fruit of sacrifice in full, he must give *Dakṣiṇā*. Now *Dakṣiṇā* began to be given not with a view to making it a means of livelihood to the priest, but with a view to making himself prosperous, and removing away the sins caused by imperfections in the performance of the sacrifices, because it was thought that *Dakṣiṇā* alone could accomplish all sorts of imperfections.[13] If *Dakṣiṇā* was not given to the priests, it was thought that the sacrifice would render no fruit.

With the passage of time, the rituals gradually developed to a considerable extent. Everyone performed it oneself or with the help of others thinking it as a religious and the most sacred deed. These rituals were once performed in a very simple and unsophisticated way. But gradually they began to be performed with great pomp and show. The officiants were instructed by the *yajamāna* to perform the rituals with great pomp and show. This tendency is still in vogue

today in performance of certain rituals in Hindu society. The main reason of celebrating the rituals with great pomp and show was that people might witness them well, and the fame of the sacrificer and the officiants be spread around. The officiant priests, too, wanted to display their deep knowledge and efficacy in the rituals so that their glory as the best officiants be spread in the society and also outside it. Moreover, the *yajamāna* by giving good things in plenty to the officiant priests wanted them to eulogise him and spread his glory by praising him eveywhere. In the *Ṛgveda* there is a considerable number of verses in which the bountiful patrons have been eulogised.

With a view to getting their different desires fulfilled people began to please the gods by offering many things in a most regulated manner. At this stage, they had developed this notion that in order to get a particular desired thing, an offering of that very thing should be made to the deity. If a man wanted to become rich in cattle he should offer an animal. This was the beginning of animal offerings in the sacrifices. However, the offering of animals in the fire was thought of as an act of killing. This is evident from the fact that the word *adhvara* etymologically meaning 'not killing' [14] (*a* + *V dhvṛ* ' to kill') was used exclusively for the animal sacrifice. When the word *adhvara* became a conventional term for the sacrifice, the performer of the latter began to be called *adhvaryu*. Preparing the altars, bringing the fuel (*samidh*), placing of sacrificial utensils at Vedi, producing Agni by churning of two fire-sticks (*araṇis*), bringing of animals, killing and making offerings of them into Agni -- all these rituals were to be performed by the *adhvaryu* priest. In this way, gradually the offerings of many other things, such as milk, butter, grain and *puroḍāśa* came into vogue aiming at fulfilling the various desires.

In the beginning there was no strict rule regarding the order and sequence of the performance of the rituals. But gradually the rules regarding the order and sequence of the rites became strict. In order to observe the sequence it was necessary to repeat the rites again and again. And to remember the sequence some sentences expressing the feeling of the sacrificer and glorifying the gods who were to enjoy the offerings were to be recited. These sentences known as *Nivids* were the first mantras to be employed in the early Vedic sacrifices. But gradually, a large number of verses were composed and employed in the sacrifices to accompany the varied rituals. At a later stage, many hymns or the

mantras, which were not originally composed for the purpose of ritual, began to be employed in the rituals. Consequently *mantra* became one of the essential requirements of the sacrifice. With a very few exceptions each and every act was to be accompanied with certain mantras. The yajus mantras collected in the *saṁhitās* of the *Yajurveda* in its both -Kṛṣṇa and Śukla - recensions bear this fact out. A mantra became so closely associated with a ritual that its *mantratva* verily depended on its being used in the ritual. A large number of stanzas of the *Ṛgveda* are not employed in any of the ritual but to retain their *mantratva Sāyaṇa* had to accept that they were mantra because they were employed in the *Brahmayajña* i.e., *Svādhyāya,* daily study of one's own *Śākhā.*

Beginning of the use of Darbha :

In the performance of Vedic rituals a sacred grass known as *darbha* is invariably used. Apparently there is no connection of the *darbhas* with the rituals. They were used neither in enkindling of the fire nor in making offerings into Agni. But their importance was so great that no religious act could be performed without the help of the *darbhas.* How the *darbha* took the place of honour in vedic rituals is very interesting to note. Previously the Gangetic Pradesh was covered with *darbhas.* No agriculture was possible without digging them out. But how could they be dug out ? The *Brāhmaṇas* who were well-known for their intelligence spread the news that when Indra killed *Vṛtra* the latter was drowned in waters, making them polluted. The sacred and divine element of the waters came out from the waters in the form of *darbha.*[15] Since they had sprung out from the sacred and divine element of the waters, they began to be regarded as the most sacred and divine, and hence their use in all religious rituals. While performing the religious deeds it was necessary to sit upon a mat of *darbha* (*darbh-āsana*); *yajamāna* had to bear a ring of *darbha* (*pavitra*) on his finger; *darbhas* were spread around the altar; gods, invited to the sacrifices, were given seats of *darbhas;* the sacrificial utensils were placed on the *darbhas;* the *kurci* ' the cleanser' used for cleansing the altar was made of the *darbhas.* When the use of *darbha* increased in the performance of all religious acts, the land covered with the *darbhas* was cleansed and became fit for cultivation.[16] Ultimately, it so happened that *darbhas* became rare and then it began to be brought and preserved by the priests for a year. Now it became a ritual to dig out *darbhas* on an *amāvasyā* day which is called *kuśotpāṭinī amāvasyā.*

The origin of the Ritual of Soma-kraya :

The use of Soma as a drink was known to the Aryan people. It was a very invigorating drink. With the idea coming into their minds, that if a man wanted to attain vigour he should offer the oblation of Soma, soma-sacrifices began. The *soma-valli* from which the *soma-rasa* was eschewed was found at *Mūjavat* mountain. But when they became far away from the *Mūjavat*, it became very difficult to get soma-valli; and when it became very rare its importance increased. Now it was bought from the lower class people who used to bring and sell it for their livelihood. The dialogue between the purchaser and the seller of the Soma has been recorded in *Śrautasūtras* as a ritual in the soma-rites. After buying, the soma was brought with great honour to the house of the sacrificer. It was pressed and its juice was kept in a wooden pot called *droṇa-kalaśa*, and therefrom it was offered to the deities. With the introduction of the soma-rites a new class of *Ṛtviks*, known as *Udgātṛ*, came into being who used to chant mantras addressed to the deities to whom soma-offering was to be made. Songs known as *sāmans* were also chanted at the time of preparation of soma-juice.

Beginning of the rituals of Bath and sprinkling and touching of waters.

In Vedic rituals, nay, throughout the entire range of Hindu rituals, waters play very important role. From beginning to the end of the sacrifices and in all sorts of religious activities waters are employed. Before entering into any sort of religious activity a Hindu has to take bath first. How the ritual of bath started can be surmised by seeing the stanzas addressed to waters [17] in the *Ṛgveda* itself. Waters are pure and they wash and purify everything. In a hot country like India taking bath was pleasant to cool one's body. Due to excessive sweating in a hot country the body smells which may give birth to many diseases also. By taking bath one becomes fresh. When people wish to worship their deities or enter into any religious act they thought that they should do this with washed and fresh body. For purity sake they often used to wash their hands during the performance of such acts. At the end of the soma-sacrifice a ceremony called *Avabhṛtha* was performed. In this ceremony the various things, which were to be disposed of after the offering was over, were carried down to the waters and cast into them. The sacrificer with his wife took bath which was thought to cause removal of sin. 'But these forms', says A.B.KEITH, are obviously mere cloaks for the fact that the washing is the chief thing, and that it concerns itself with the removal

of the mysterious potency, which has clung since the Dīkṣā to the sacrificer and his wife, rendering them unfit for normal human life. That this was realized by the priests is, clearly proved by the language used for the rite :'the waters are distinctly said to remove the consecration and the *Tapas*, and it is stated that the sacrificer takes the consecration with him into the bath'.[18] In support of this justification, A.B.KEITH, refers to the rite of the under-taking of vow of study by a Brahmacārin who assumes a girdle, an antelope skin, and a staff. At the end of the vow all these things are solemnly laid aside and the Brahmacārin takes a bath.[19] Thus there is no least shadow of doubt that the ritual of bath certainly have started with the idea of purifying the body.

Gradually it also began to be thought that waters purify not only the body but the mind also. In the beginning taking bath was sufficient for both purposes, that is, outer and inner purifications. But gradually the sprinkling of waters on the body and also at the place where worship was to be performed began in addition to bath. Subsequently, sprinkling, touching and sipping of water became a sort of ritual, symbolising the outer and inner purifications. The ŚB bears this fact out when it says:' Standing in between Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fires he sips the waters; he sips the waters because man is not fit for sacrifice, for he speaks lie. By this sipping of waters he puts purity in him because waters are fit for sacrifice. He does this, so that he may undergo the Vrata after having become fit for sacrifice'.[20]

From the above observations we come to the conclusion that all Vedic rituals were in the beginning very simple bereft of any complicated injunction or commandment and sophisticated rigidity in their performance. With the passage of time they became more and more complicated and rigid in the hands of priestly class which had become ignorant of the original meaning and urge of the ritual. If one explains the correct meaning and significance of the Vedic rituals they may prove fruitful even today.

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3. *Ibid.*
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5. KEITH. A.B., 1925, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads* London, Vol I, p.252.
6. HOPKINS, *op.cit.*, p.189.
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8. *Ibid.*, pp.128-32.
9. Vide, H.D. DIVEKAR., *Ṛgveda-sūkta-vikāsa,* pp. 30-34
10. यमेरिरे भृगवो विश्ववेदसं नाभा पृथिव्या भुवनस्य मज्मना । RV. I. 143.4
11. H. D. DIVEKAR., *op.cit.*, p.30.
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14. अध्वर इति यज्ञनाम । ध्वरतिर्हिंसाकर्म तत्प्रतिषेधः । Nirukta I. 9.
15. स (वृत्रः) हतः पूतिः सर्वत एवापोऽभि प्र सुस्राव सर्वतश्च ह्यपः समुद्रस्तस्मादु हैका आपो बीभत्साञ्चक्रिरे ता उपर्युपर्यतिपुप्लुविरेऽत इमे दर्भास्ता हैता अनापूयिता आपो वा इतरासु संसृष्टमिव यदेना वृत्रः पूतिरभिप्रास्रुवत्तदेवासामेनाभ्यां पवित्राभ्यामपहन्त्यथ मेध्याभिरेवाद्भिः प्रोक्षति । तस्माद्वा एताभ्यामुत्पुनाति । *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I.1.3.3-5 :
16. Vide, H.D. DIVEKAR., op.cit., p.36.
17. RV, X. 9. 1-9.
18. A.B.KEITH, *op.cit.*, p.252.
19. After taking this bath the student was designated as *snātaka*, a term which has now become a conventional term for a modern graduate.
20. अन्तरेणाहवनीयं च गार्हपत्यं च प्राङ् तिष्ठन्नप उपस्पृशति तद्यदप उपस्पृशत्यमेध्यो वै पुरुषो यदनृतं वदति । तेन पूतिरन्तरतो, मेध्या वा आपो मेध्यो भूत्वा व्रतमुपायानीति । पवित्रं वा आपः पवित्रपूतो व्रतमुपायानीति तस्माद्वा अप उपस्पृशति । *ŚB*, I. 1. 1. 1.

THE ṚGVEDA - IS IT MERE MYTHOLOGY ?

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Yes, the *Ṛgveda* is largely a collection of songs - mystic and poetic. It is amazing and distressing that great scholars like MAX MÜLLER and scores of others should have discerned neither. MÜLLER's remark,'what can be more tedious than the *Veda*?', therefore, is the most uncharitable. To WILSON, the verses of the Veda except in a few rare passages, appear singularly prosaic. For COWELL, the poetry of the *Ṛgveda* is singularly deficient in that simplicity and natural pathos. GRIFFITH begs his European readers not to expect to find in these hymns *Isaiah* or *Job* or the *Psalms of David.* The authors of *Brāhmaṇas* were blinded by theology according to MAX MÜLLER. Was he not triply blinded by mythology and an unholy intention of imposing Christianity on the Indian populace ? And yet he had the cheek to declare himself an 'unprejudiced' scholar. COWELL, in his sheer magnanimity, admits that *Sāyaṇa*'s mistakes are often interesting ! It never occurs to him that western scholars' mistakes, mischievous misunderstandings and deliberate distortions are not interesting but exasperating. (All these 'precious' opinions of western scholars are taken from GRIFFITH's Preface to the First Edition of the *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*). Western scholars and their Eastern (Indian) disciples, armed with scalpels and scissors of their half-cooked sciences -- comparative linguistics, mythology, religion etc. vivisected the *Ṛgvedic* songs and found nothing of value, of vitality. Rightly has SRI AUROBINDO castigated such scholars [1],'to take the myriad-stringed harp of Saraswati to pieces for the purpose of scientific analysis must always be a narrow and rather barren amusement'. They indulged in the minutest grammatical details, accentual nuances, mythological 'inconsistencies', what they termed as theological twaddle and roundly missed the 'soul'of the *Ṛgveda.*

Unfortunately, the "orthodox" Indian scholars (meaning 'products of University Education' and direct or indirect disciples of the Western gurus) fare no better. R.N. DANDEKAR [2] avers that the concept of *Agni* must have originally developed in COMPLETE ISOLATION from the natural elemental fire (emphasis added). "The basic concept underlying that mythology is the notion of a priest, of an efficient and ever active intermediary between gods and men, of a *dūta,* of a *purohita, ṛtvij* and *hotṛ*" adds DANDEKAR.[3] For unravelling the mystery of *Agni* mythology, DANDEKAR leans heavily on the close relationship between *Agni* and *Aṅgirases* styling it as one of the MOST SIGNIFICANT mythological

motifs. However, the most significant mythological feat of *Aṅgirases* is recovery of the cows of gods and singers, forgetting for the time being its obvious psycho spiritual implications, and in that 'feat' *Agni* is conspicuous by his absence whereas the centre-stage is occupied by *Indra* and *Brahmaṇaspati*. Unfortunately, DANDEKAR[4] resorts to falsification of facts. He states, 'He (i.e. *Agni*) is also the ancient *Aṅgiras* (10. 92.15)'. Now, 10.92.15 does not mention *Agni* at all. The words are : '*rebhat atra januṣā pūrvaḥ aṅgirāḥ* ', 'First (or ancient) by birth, *Aṅgiras* sang here'. For BERGAIGNE[5] ancient *Aṅgiras* here MAY BE REGARDED as a recognizable designation of *Agni*. DANDEKAR has no such hesitation. Even if it were so, *Agni* does not take on his characteristic 'messengership' because of his relationship with *Aṅgirases* whom DANDEKAR ' proves to be postman par excellence, through his vast knowledge of Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtish, German, Swedish, Dutch, French not to speak of English and corresponding (so-called) Indo-European mythology. According to him the Greek word AGGEROS meaning messenger, is related from very early times, to the Aryan words, Vedic *Aṅgiras* and Persian-Greek *aggaros*. From there to angel (and other cognate words of European tongues) is an easy linguistic leap. So, the upshot is,'The angels are the messengers of gods--they are the intermediaries between gods and men'.[6] DANDEKAR has facilely borrowed the concept of 'angels' from the semitic religions. Indian religions do not have this concept at all. Even in Buddhism, the term *Cātumahārājika*, translated as angels in the *Sacred Books of the East* are not angels; they are the attendants. The word *devadūta* occurs exactly ONCE (or twice if we count *Paippalāda Atharva-veda* occurrence at 19.38.16) in the entire range of Vedic literature, *Tai.Sam* 1.7.3.2 - '*devadūtāḥ vai ete ye ṛtvijaḥ, yat anvāhāryam āharati devadūtāneva prīṇāti.*' i.e. Now, the priests are the messengers of gods, in that he brings the *anvāhārya* mess, he delights the messengers of gods.' This hardly answers to DANDEKAR's borrowed concept of an'angel'. Even in the medieval Christianity angels were the lowest in the nine orders of spiritual beings. The *Ṛgveda* does not regard *Agni* as so low nor does it speak of *Aṅgiras* as anything that can be translated as 'angels'. Nor are *Aṅgirases* ever described as 'intermediaries' between God and man. Indra breaks open the cowpen (gāḥ, gotra,vraja) for *Aṅgirases* (1.51.3: 1.132.4; 8.14.8; 8.63.3;), and so does Soma (9.86.23)

Agni gave a dhenu to *Aṅgirases* (1.139.7); sweetest Indu (Soma) flows for *Aṅgirases* (9.62.9).

Indra is praised by *Aṅgirases* (1.62.5, 2.15.8, 4.16.8, 6.18.5, 10.111.4).

Aṅgirases are *ṛṣis* of different forms, deeply quivering with inspiration, *gambhīra vepasaḥ* (10.62.5 cf. 3.53.7). They had the visionary insight, they created the inspired sage, they thought out the first form of *yajña*. (10.67.2 cf. also 1.31.17; 1.71.3; 1.72.6; 3.53.7; 10.62.6); they reconstructed the world (10.68.11). NODHAS says, *Aṅgirases* were the ancient forefathers, who know The Abode (*padajñāḥ*) and found the cows (1.62.2). They burst the rock and found the light (1.71.2). (Incidentally, cows are the rays of *Uṣas*, herds of *Uṣas* and then the beams of inspiration; not bovine quadrupeds.) Even GRIFFITH, whom DANDEKAR invokes in support[7] elsewhere has to note, while commenting on 4.2.15 that the wealth-containing mountain which *Aṅgirases* burst was the cave in which cows of RAYS of light were imprisoned (cf. also 4.3.11). What they discovered lying hidden in the cave is expressly stated to be *Agni* (5.11.6);*Aṅgirases* sang and *Saramā* found the cows (5.45.8 cf. 6.65.5; 7.42.1;). They obtained the 'gem' of *Savitṛ* (7.52.3). *Saramā*, at the behest of *Indra* and *Aṅgirases*, proceeded to find the 'cows' (1.62.3). Gods are praised by the songs of *Aṅgirases*, and they - *Indra, Maruts, Ādityas* - come (1.107.2, cf. 1.121.1). Do we find here even a faint hint of *Aṅgirases* being 'angels' of any God or postmen par excellence ? They are the founders of Vedic religion; they are the seven lustres of *Agni*.

This brings us to the relationship between *Agni* and *Aṅgirases*. They occur together in 32 hymns (mentioned 36 times). But Indra and *Aṅgirases* also occur together in 21 hymns (mentioned 28 times) and Indra is not known to be any 'angel' or messenger. If *Agni* is most *Aṅgiras* (*Aṅgirastama*) seven times, *Indra* is four times, even *Uṣas* twice (*-tamā*) and *Soma* once. This statistical approach, however, which the Western and Westernized scholars are so fond, is not very significant. All --*Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu, . . Uṣas* -- are aspects of one Divinity; there is no one God sitting on his throne and ordering other gods about as in the other pantheons. So, no wonder that so exalted a group of seers as *Aṅgirases* is also connected with *Brahmaṇaspati, Aśvins, Yama*, gods (in general), *Savitṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ* and even with *Dadhikrās*.

Now, whatever the origin of the *Agni* - concept, he is *dūta* over 70 times ; of men over 30 times, of gods over 25 times. The *Ṛgveda* stresses this fact,' *Oh Agni* ! Gods (*devāsaḥ*) and men (*martāsaḥ*) have made you a *dūta*, the carrier of oblations' (6.15.8). Even if we shackle ourselves with mythology and ritual, *Agni* here is *dūta* because he is *amṛta* (immortal), a protector (*pāyu*), praiseworthy (*īḍya*), ever-vigilant (*jāgṛvi*), all-pervasive (*vibhu*) and lord of people (*viśpati*). Moreover, both gods and men sit down near him with obeisance (*namasā ni sedire*). Will it not be a sacrilege in semitic religions to say that their gods bow down before'angels' ?

The *Ṛgveda* has also made it clear that *Agni* is *dūta* as *havyavāṭ* - carrier of oblations from men to gods, and so *dūta* of both, angels are not emissaries of men to gods or God. The *Ṛgvedic ṛṣis* state emphatically,' *vīraḥ amṛtam dūtaṁ kṛṇvīta martyaḥ*', 'may the mortal hero make the immortal (*Agni*) his *dūta*'. So *dūta* can neither be translated as angel nor as messenger meaning that the latter is inferior, subordinate, subservient to the one who makes him *dūta*. *Dūta*, therefore, is harbinger, herald, forerunner, scout, guide, representative rather than just an errand-boy; and the sender-sent relationship between man and *Agni* is not that between master and servant. The *Ṛgvedic* religion rises far above these mythological concepts, and clamours for an explanation other than mythological. If *Agni* is the first stir of the Divine Will in us, an aspect of divinity that must be kept in front *(puraḥ hita)*, then alone can he be said to be a *dūta* showing the way to god-head; and being divine in the first place is the *dūta* of gods (other aspects of the Divine that become gradually manifest). The *Ṛgveda* has not kept this in doubt.

1.44.12 : *puraḥ hitaḥ devānāṁ dūtyaṁ yāsi*

i.e. Placed in front, you go on *dūta*-ship of gods.

The main, if not the only, task for which gods appointed *Agni* for the office of *dūta* was 'carrying the oblations', as *Sāyaṇa* comments on 1.60.1. So, even a ritualist's conception of *dūta* is a far cry from that of an angel.

As an introduction to his brilliant excursion into Indo-European philology from *Aggeros* to angel, DANDEKAR[8] asserts,'they (i.e. *Aṅgirases*) are also regarded as the MOST EFFICACIOUS *DŪTAS* or envoys'(emphasis added).

This statement is really astonishing. We cannot accuse DANDEKAR of gross oversight. Let alone being the MOST EFFICACIOUS; *Aṅgirases* are never even called *dūtas*. The word *Aṅgiras* and its derivatives and *dūta* and its derivatives occur over 100 times each and there is not a single place where *Aṅgirases* are regarded as *dūtas*. By whom are they regarded as *dūtas* ? And yet, for DANDEKAR[9] ,'. . . this latter aspect of their character which is stressed through their name'. It is not only not stressed it is not even remotely hinted at.

To substantiate this preposterous claim, DANDEKAR calls *Navagvas* as witnesses, 'who are in close proximity' with *Aṅgirases*. For the enlightenment of the ignorant, DANDEKAR alludes to their most important characteristics - that they are called our old fathers *naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ* (6. 22.2) and that they play a very prominent role in the winning of the cows held in confinement by *Paṇis* (1.62., 3-4; 5. 45.7; 10.108.8). Being 'ancient fathers' and 'winning cows' (even if we stick to mythology, forgetting the not-so-veiled spiritual significance) are hardly part of a messenger's job. So, DANDEKAR takes us on a philological, semasiological excursion and comes out with a meaning of *navagva* - 'a new-comer','one who arrives newly and as such brings in FRESH TIDINGS and REPORTS','a messenger' or 'an envoy'. In this novel way, *Navagvas* are not just members of the family of *Aṅgirases*, but that the words *Navagva*, like *Aṅgirases*, means messenger. This is really preposterous. The *Ṛgveda* knows nothing of what fresh TIDINGS and REPORTS that DANDEKAR wishes them to bring. The *Ṛgvedic Navagvas* are the companions of *Indra*, comrades in arms (*sakhībhiḥ satvabhiḥ*) 3.39.5 (cf.1.62.4, 5.29.12, 5.45.7, perhaps 10.61.10). They praise *Indra* (5.29.12; 6.22.2). They are flames of fire (6.6.3). They spring from fire (10.62.6). They are the fathers along with *Aṅgirases*, *Atharvans*, *Bhṛgus* (10.14.6). *Saramā* threatens *Paṇis* that *Navagvas*, *Aṅgirases* would come and would divide among themselves the multitudes of cows held captive by them. (10.108.8). This is all that the *Ṛgveda* knows about *Navagvas*. They bring no tidings from anywhere, it is rather *Saramā* who brings the terrible tidings of their arrival to *Paṇis*, even if we stick to mere mythology. How could DANDEKAR not see the absurdity in the same persons being 'ancient fathers ' and ' new-comers ' ? But these westernized scholars are so pleased with their constructions of ingenious mythological theories that they show scant respect to the intentions of the *Ṛgvedic* seers. For DANDEKAR,[10] 'It is, indeed, significant that the *Navagvas* are closely associated

with *Agni* (cf. in this context 6.3.6).' Is this a deliberate distortion or opportune oblivion? If *Navagvas'* close association with *Agni* is, indeed, significant (mentioned twice, 6.6.3 and possibly 5.45.7) how much more so will it be with *Indra* (mentioned six times 1.33.6, 1.62.4, 3.39.5, 5.29.12, 6.22.22, 1.108.8) ? And in his very important exploit ! But DANDEKAR chooses to ignore this, for *Indra* does not yield to any interpretation leading up to 'messenger-ship', and is inconvenient. If the Western scholars and their Indian disciples had, at least, been true to what they do find in the *Veda*, whatever ritual or mythological fabric emerged would at least be true (though only as a garb for a hidden truth). But they, with their 'gigantic' learning, have prefabricated theories and if the *Ṛṣis* do not seem to conform to them, these scholars, like DANDEKAR, are prepared to invent, if non-existent, ignore and distort and substitute,'facts' if existent. How, otherwise, could he have made such a statement when the bare, statistical *Ṛgvedic*-textual facts are absolutely to the contrary ?

This is the jugglery with regard to *Agni's* connection with *Angirases* and *Navagvas* because the latter are essentially 'messengers'! What about the *Ṛgvedic Agni* ?

As we have seen above, DANDEKAR avers that 'the concept of *Agni* must have originally developed in complete isolation from the natural element of fire'. And so must it have. But he restricts the original *Agni* to the double duty of a *purohita* and *dūta*. The *Ṛgvedic purohita* (the *padapāṭha* does not know of one word *purohita*, it is ALWAYS puraḥ hita) is not a 'priest' at all.[11]

After putting forth the theories of earlier scholars identifying *Agni* with *Apām Napāt*, (as lightning), DANDEKAR[12] begins refuting them by saying that *Agni* and *Apām Napāt* are hardly anywhere properly identified. Two pages before (p.301) he has stated that *Agni* is sometimes directly referred to as *Apām Napāt* (1.143.1, VS, 8.24) and *Apām Napāt* is invoked as *Agni*. This, however, is not ' proper' identification, according to him! But the only hymn to *Apām Napāt* mentions *Agni* (2.35.15). So what does DANDEKAR do with this ? He pronounces his judgement,' it has apparently NOTHING to do with the rest of the hymn and is OBVIOUSLY a later addition made for the sake of refrain.'[13] He just passes this sweeping judgement without offering a

single reason. Why should the verse, even apparently, not have anything to do with the rest of the hymn ? As is shown by Prof. H.D.VELANKAR,[13A] "In this hymn, *Apām Napāt* is praised in his double role, namely, as the fire of the mid-region feeding on waters and the sacrificial fire feeding on ghee, here, on the earth. vv.1-8 ab describe the former, v.8 cd, vv 9 & 10 form the transition, vv 11-15 describe the latter, v 13 particularly stressing their identity. So, even on the mytho-ritual level the hymn is so well-knit". VELANKAR so lucidly brings out the identity as envisaged in 2.35.13. *Apām Napāt* himself becomes his own son, when he puts his seed (through the rain-water) in the plants . . . The golden complexion of *Apām Napāt* is fully inherited by the sacrificial fire ... The two look different; but are not really so. DANDEKAR's insinuation that the last verse of this hymn is OBVIOUSLY a later addition is also baseless. Is the addition made just for the sake of the refrain, which in *Maṇḍala II* is fourth part of the last verse (occurring in 22 hymns), viz. *'bṛhat vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ'* ? The first three lines of the last verse are in continuation of the theme or the deity of every such hymn, e.g.-

2. 1 - 2. Hymns to *Agni*, *Agni* is in the vocative.

2. 11; 13-20 Hymns to *Indra*, *Indra* is invariably addressed.

2. 23; 24; Hymns to *Brahmaṇaspati*, who is directly addressed.

2. 27. Hymn to *Ādityas* ; *Varuṇa*, an *Āditya*, is addressed.

2. 28. Hymn to *Varuṇa*, *Varuṇa* is addressed.

2. 29. Hymn, though addressed to *Viśvedevāḥ*, *Ādityas* (and *Varuṇa*, *Mitra*, *Indra*) predominate and *Varuṇa* is addressed.

2. 33 Hymn to *Rudra*, *Rudra* is addressed.

2. 39. Hymn to *Aśvins*, *Aśvins* in the vocative.

2. 40. Hymn to *Soma* and *Pūṣan*, both are mentioned.

2. 42. Hymn to *Kapiñjala*, addressed as Bird of good omen (*Śakunti*), even as in the opening verse *Śakuni*.

2. 43. Hymn to *Kapiñjala*, addressed as *Śakuni* in the concluding verse as also in the previous one.

So, the seer *Gṛtsamada* INVARIABLY mentions or addresses the deity of the hymn in EVERY concluding verse. Why should one hymn (2.35) be singled out, as DANDEKAR does, as an OBVIOUS later addition ? As, therefore, is Gṛtsamada's wont, after having mentioned *Apām Napāt* nine times in the hymn, if he addresses him as '*Agni*' in the concluding verse, at least he has no doubt in his mind as to whom he is addressing, viz. *Apām Napāt* who is *Agni.*

Apart from this, there is overwhelming evidence for the identification of *Agni* and *Apām Napāt* (whatever their original conception and ' natural' basis be).

Apām Napāt is *āśuheman*, quick-mettled (2.31.6; 2.35.1), so is *Agni* (2.1.5) and no other god. *Dīdivāṁs* (one who has shone) is a participle applied to *Agni* (2.2.11; 3.13.5; 3.27.12; 4.4.9; 4.39.2; 5.43.13, (*Bṛhaspati* or *Agni* 6.1.3; 6.1.6; 10.88.14). It is so exclusive to *Agni* that *Aśvins* are described as shining like *Agni* (10.106.3). But *Apām Napāt* alone shares this epithet with *Agni*, simply because he IS *Agni. Ghṛtanirṇik* (singular), robed in ghee or bright-robed is *Agni* (3.17.1; 3.27.5) and *Apām Napāt* (2.35.4) and none else. *Agni* is *apramṛṣya*, inviolable (4.2.5) and so is *Apām Napāt* (2.35.6) and none else. *Agni* is *Hiraṇyarūpa*, golden-formed (4.3.1; 10.20.9) and so is *Apām Napāt* (2.35.10) and no other god. *Agni* is *Hiraṇyasaṁdṛk* glittering like gold (6.16.38) and so is *Apām Napāt* (2.35.10) and none else. *Agni* is uplifted in the lap (*upasthe*) of waving (*jihmānām*) waters (1.95.5), and *Apām Napāt* rises upto lap of waving waters. No other deity shares this characteristic and this phraseology. *Agni* increases in (1.1.8); is kindled in (1.71.6, 1.94.14;) is sent to (1.143.4); is held in (2.2.4); shines in (2.2.11; 3.10.2;) his own home (*sve dame*). *Bṛhaspati* as *Agni* does so (4.50.8, 5.43.12) and once *Indra's* hundred (rays) are said to wander in his own home (5.48.3) and once *Soma* decks himself in his own home. Thus *Agni* is more frequently connected with *'sve dame'*, and *Apām Napāt* dwells in and develops his free will in his own home (2.35.7). *Agni* is *śiśu* (Babe, Infant) 17 times and so is *Apām Napāt* (2.35.13). Nobody can accuse DANDEKAR of not knowing these elementary facts about the *Gṛtsamada* hymns. And yet, he chooses to assert that *Agni* and *Apām Napāt*

We may pose, here, a very inconvenient question to DANDEKAR. In the very midst of a very much *Agni* hymn, *Sobhari Kāṇva* addresses *Agni* as '*Oh Indra* !' (8.19.6) '*Oh Indra* ! helped by you, we may worship that splendour (*dyumna*).' The *padapāṭha indratvā-ūtāḥ*, obviously shows bafflement. This strange *padapāṭha* occurs also at 1.132.1. At (8.19.16 *indratvā-ūtāḥ* is *indreṇa tvayā ūtāḥ*), simply because (even) *Sāyaṇa* did not know what to do when *Agni* is addressed as Indra. At 1.8.3 the wording is *' indra tvā ūtāsaḥ'* and neither the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* nor the *padapāṭha* thinks of treating it as one compound word. Wherever *tvā-ūtāsaḥ* etc. occur, there is invariably a vocative ('*agne*' 6 times, '*indra*' 9 times). There is a counter example where, in an *Indra*-hymn, *Indra* is suddenly addressed '*agne*' (5.34.9). *Sāyaṇa* explains '*aṅganādiguṇa-viśiṣṭa indra*' and WILSON remarks, '*Agni* - Indra is intended as identical with *Agni*.' Of course *Sāyaṇa* has stated very clearly in his introduction to the commentary that, though names differ, the same *Parameśvara* appears as *Indra* etc. But, unfortunately, *Sāyaṇa* does not stick to this position. Western and Indian mythologists cannot, because, what then will happen to their 'neat, elegant' mythological theories ?

But, what is all this in aid of ? *Apām Napāt* does not fit in with DANDEKAR's conception of *Agni*-mythology. So, against all the Ṛgvedic evidence, '*Agni* and *Apām Napāt* are not identical and that the latter is a divinity related to water'.[14] But, he throws one suggestion,' *Apām Napāt* was basically a divinity of an ancient water-cult, and, at some stage in the evolution of the Vedic mythology, this water-cult was brought into relationship, on the one hand with the cult of *Agni* (as the result of a confusion of symbolisms) and, on the other, with the cult of Soma (by way of a religio-mythological extension).' That *Apām Napāt* is a divinity related to water is no great discovery, the very name tells us that. DANDEKAR's amazing invention, however, is that there was an ancient WATER-CULT. What that water-cult was nobody knows, not, apparently, even DANDEKAR. In his two volumes referred to in this study, there is no hint, except here, of a water-cult. That non-existent water-cult was somehow brought into relationship with the *Agni*-cult. How ? As THE result, not even A result, of a confusion of symbolisms. Again DANDEKAR keeps us confounded as to what the confusion was.

Whether cult or not, the *Ṛgveda* has brought waters and *Agni* together very vitally connected, without standing in need of any confusion of symbolisms.

Agni is born from waters, he is the embryo of waters, he waxes great from waters, waters increase him (1.65.2, 3.1.11), they surround him (8.39.10), they establish his place (10.2.7), they give birth to him (10.46.9). Soma declares that *Agni* is in waters (1.23.20 = 10.9.6). The wise ones or the envisioned ones followed the track of *Agni* and found him in waters. Whatever the natural basis or mythology, *Agni* is connected with waters, so explicitly and so vitally. Inspite of this, DANDEKAR pronounces a judgment,[15] "Indeed, if *Apām Napāt* was at all to be regarded as being close to any other single mythological concept in Veda, it would CERTAINLY not be *Agni*; it would be Soma ! And why would it be so ? Only because DANDEKAR says it. The *Ṛgveda* does not know of any connection whatsoever between *Apām Napāt* and Soma, not even once have they even been, so much as, juxtaposed. As we have seen, *Apām Napāt* and *Agni* are identified; but they should have nothing to do with each other ! Soma and *Apām Napāt* never come together, and yet they must be (pronounced to be) linked, for the only reason that DANDEKAR says so. *Apām Napāt* is invoked together with Tvaṣṭṛ, Dyaus, Pṛthivī, All-gods, Aja-Ekapād, Ahirbudhnya, Pṛśni, Indra, Vasus, Varuṇa, Pūṣan, Vāyu, Aśvins, Savitṛ, Sindhu, Tṛta; but never with Soma !

DANDEKAR avers that the concept of *Agni* must have originally developed in COMPLETE isolation from the natural element of fire. It was only secondarily and as an after-thought that it was brought in relationship with fire symbolism.[16] DANDEKAR has not given any chronology for *Agni*'s original conception and the secondary after-thought. We shall ignore, for the time being, his preposterous theory of ancient Varuṇa-cult and the upstart Indra-cult and Vasiṣṭha's mediatory role averting a great schism in DANDEKAR's conception of Aryandom. He[17] describes how Vasiṣṭha had a vision of his pet god - Varuṇa and how, whenever he 'later' worshipped *Agni*, he looked upon the face of *Agni* as the face of Varuṇa. DANDEKAR assumes the prior-posterior relationship between his 'seeing' of Varuṇa and 'later' worship of *Agni*. Is such a time-scheme possible ? Moreover, he avers, '*Agni*, who was always easily visible, served as the medium through which Vasiṣṭha could visualise Varuṇa and meditate upon him.[18] ' Easily visible 'fire must be the element of fire which, according to DANDEKAR was absolutely absent in the original conception of *Agni*, and a secondary after-thought. DANDEKAR will have to fix internal chronology of Vasiṣṭha - hymns, an impossible task. Moreover, can we isolate

Vāsiṣṭha-hymns from the Saṁhitā of the *Ṛgveda* ? What do we understand when Vāmadeva identifies *Agni* and Varuṇa, addressing *Agni* as 'Oh Varuṇa'(4.1.18), or when Gṛtsamada calls him 'rājā varuṇaḥ' (2.1.4), or when Viśvāmitra avers that, when kindled, *Agni* becomes (or is) Mitra, Varuṇa (3.5.4). Vasuśruta Ātreya repeats,'when born (i.e. manifest) you are Varuṇa.' Sobhari Kāṇva credits *Agni* with that splendour (dyuman) whereby Varuṇa, among others, sees (8.19.15). Again Triśiras Tvāṣṭra says that *Agni* is Varuṇa, inter alia (10.8.5). Vāmadeva requests *Agni* to bring brother Varuṇa (4.1.2). All this would upset DANDEKAR's tidy mythology. Will it not be more straightforward to consider all gods (i.e. names of the same god) as aspects of the same divinity, in the Ṛgvedic Saṁhitā (whatever their origins) for which there is ample evidence. Mythological stories, parables, may be used to garb some aspect of that Divinity, Tat, Ekam, Ṛtam, Aditi, etc.

DANDEKAR has chosen to concentrate on *Agni*'s Purohita-ship and ṛtvij-ship and hotṛ-ship. *Agni* is called Hotṛ many times, but Hotṛ is just an invoker, hardly a ' priest' with specific duties of later times. As for purohita, it is not one single word but always a compound puraḥ hita, not meaning 'priest' at all. Ṛtvij is a 'punctual worshipper' more than a 'priest' of later times. *Agni* is ṛtvij, anyway, just 13 times including 2 occurrences along with Indra (8.38.1) and perhaps Āditya (10.70.7). So *Agni*, derivable from a root or a word meaning 'conveying message' or 'a messenger', to justify his name, according to DANDEKAR, is purohita and ṛtvij. Granting for the time being that these two signify 'priests' and nothing more, is it not wonderful that DANDEKAR has nothing to say about *Agni* being 'kavi' fifty-plus times in the *Ṛgveda* ? *Agni* is kavi as the god of light and enlightenment and inspiration, possessed of special knowledge (1.71.10), he is kavi and so viśvavit (omniscient) (10.91.3, 1.128.8; 3.19.1; 5.4.3; 4.2.12;). He is the knower (vidvāṁs) and kavi. He is kavi and *dūta* (2.6.7; 5.21.3; 10.110.1, 8.39.1; 1.188.1; 8.102.8). He is Brahmaṇas-kavi (6.16.30) i.e. a saviour of his devotees owing to his supra-human knowledge of a fundamental power or principle. He is entreated to protect his singer, kavi that he is by his kāvyā (i.e. by his seer-wisdom). He is kavi and śūra (6.15.11 cf. 10.114.9). As a kavi, he is wise and observant, (pracetas,) a most desirable intermediary (vareṇya *dūta*), as the bearer of a sādhaka's earnest invocations (havyavāṭ) (8.102.18 cf. 7.4.4). He is a kavi,

quivering with inspiration (vipraḥ 8.44.21); a kavi full of wisdom and intelligence (medhira 10.100.6). He is a kavi of perfect will (sukratu 6.7.7). It is for this reason that *Agni* is requested to grant abundant thought (4.11.2). Kāvyā- qualities of an inspired poet or an inspired person of extraordinary wisdom and insight - and Manīṣāḥ - inspired and directed thoughts emanate from *Agni* (4.11.3). *Agni* is an accomplisher of wonderful deeds, in that he gives 'dhīḥ', visions of which he is the first inventor (prathamaḥ manotā) (6.1.1). When noble folk choose *Agni* as their invoker (Hotṛ) and conjurer of divine powers, (then) is 'vision', dhīḥ born (10.11.4). *Agni* stimulates eager visionary thoughts (7.10.1). Addressing *Agni* as Vipra, a Ṛṣi praises his very own dhiyaḥ, visions. Even if we do not take the meaning of dhī as 'vision' following GONDA (as we have done so far) and take the more humdrum intellect, *Agni* being the possessor and dispenser of it hardly stops at being a super postman, as DANDEKAR makes him out to be. *Agni* is requested not to disregard the luminous paths *(jyotiṣmataḥ pathaḥ)* made by dhīḥ. What can be paths made by dhīḥ, whatever be the meaning of dhīḥ ? No mere messenger accomplishes such a task. *Agni* is entreated, *'ava naḥ viśvāsu dhīṣu'* help us in receiving the proper visionary thoughts (1.79.7). *Agni* is connected with kratu often enough, but he is called kratu (1.77.3, 3.11.6) and kratu is effective mental power of intelligence, mental energy and determination, an internal psychical and intellectual power such as inventiveness or resourcefulness enabling one to proceed to successful creative action. DANDEKAR chooses not to mention this fact at all.

Agni is called Rājā - king - about 11 times. And this is not a general eulogy. He is so because he is the Lord of treasures (Vasupati). Even if we take the very mundane meaning of Vasu - material wealth, a messenger can hardly be a 'Lord of Wealth',(5.4.1). As a king he possesses many riches (vasūni), many blessings (puruvāra) and to his worshipper, he grants many treasures (purūṇi vasu) (6.1.13 cf 6.7.3; 6.8.5) kills sinners (6.8.5), is like a fountain in the desert (10.4.1). A messenger can hardly measure up to such high eulogies. Is it not strange that *Agni*, ostensibly a *dūta* and a purohita according to DANDEKAR, should have been addressed as 'O King' eleven times, as against Indra whom DANDEKAR has taken great pains to prove to be the national hero of the Vedic Indians and so a king. DANDEKAR pronounces, " A warring people would naturally glorify

to the utmost a warlike god."[19] And very inconveniently enough, for DANDEKAR, these very Vedic Indians describe a mere *dūta* to be a King more often than their national Hero. Moreover, these recalcitrant Vedic Indians describe a mere *dūta* of DANDEKAR's neat mythology to be a Samrāṭ--a high imperial ruler (7.6.1; 3.10.1; 8.19.32). A Bharadvāja upsets the entire applecart of DANDEKAR's mythology - The gods have brought forth (i.e. made manifest) *Agni* Vaiśvānara, the traveller (or messenger) of the earth, Head of Heaven, a Seer (kavi), an Imperial Ruler (Samrāṭ), a guest of people (Atithi).

This brings us to an almost exclusive trait of *Agni*'s character given a complete go-by by DANDEKAR. The term Atithi occurs over forty times in the *Ṛgveda* and not even once does it speak of a human guest. It is *Agni* only all along with four exceptions. The only reference to Indra's atithi-hood is indirect and oblique. Again it is *Agni* who is requested to bring Indra so that guest-worthy honour (ātithyam) would be accorded to him. And one more verse (4.33.7) speaks of ' Ṛbhus' sojourn as Atithis in the home of agohya-Āditya. And Āditya himself is Atithi (10.124.3) or all-gods are (5.50.3). *Agni* is a dear atithi, well-fed (with oblations) (1.44.4). He is to be propitiated like a guest (1.73.1). He is the guest of humans (1.127.8; 2.2.8; 2.4.1; 3.2.2; 4.1.20; 5.3.5; 6.7.1; 8.2.3.25; 8.74.1; 10.1.5;). He is the dearest (preṣṭha) guest of gods (1.186.3; 8.84.1; 8.103.10). He is a pleasant guest (5.1.8;9; cf. 2.2.8; 5.4.5; 6.2.7; 6.15.6; 6.16.42.1;). He is a divine guest (7.9.3). He is a guest that reclines at ease in the house of a man of wealth (7.42.4). Does this Atithi-hood of *Agni* not fit in with DANDEKAR's mythology - I should rather think it would ! Sāyaṇa explains the term Atithi at least thrice as a constant 'goer' (*satatam gantāram* 1.58.6, 6.15.1; *satatagāminam*, 1.122.1 cf. 8.84.1) which would accord well with DANDEKAR's super errand boy (postman) concept of *Agni*. Atithinīs are 'constantly moving' cows or rays that are released by Bṛhaspati (10.68.3). No scholar seems to have given sufficient attention to *Agni*'s Atithi-hood. A.A.MACDONELL[20] guesses that this epithet may allude to *Agni* being brought by Mātariśvan and being a gift from gods. At two places Sāyaṇa paraphrases Atithi as abhyāgata (8.103.10) and *yadṛcchayā prāpta* (3.26.2). I suggest that being 'constantly on the move' and 'arriving unexpectedly' are the traits that made an Atithi in the Vedic society. Those who refuse to admit anything more, different, deeper, subtler than some silly, crazy, muddleheaded mythology

in the *Ṛgveda* naturally are reluctant to take into account the fact that *Agni* afterall, is called Atithi over 35 times in the *Ṛgveda*. Atithis and Adhvaryus[21] were originally wayfarers, peripatetic teachers. It must have been an occasion to celebrate when such a one arrived at one's place.

It is now accepted on all hands that adhvara derives from adhvan 'path' and adhvaryu from adhvara. In keeping with *Agni*'s nature, he comes to be called Adhvaryu. *Agni* as Adhvaryu appears in a hymn of Gṛtsamada (2.5.6), in a very strange, complex metaphor. The whole hymn is dismissed by most scholars as mentioning the seven 'sacrifical priests' whose role *Agni* assumes. We shall first deal with the others and then endeavour to explicate *Agni* as Adhvaryu in v.6.

Verse 1 describes *Agni* as Hotṛ who is cetanaḥ and pitā. Whatever the interpretation of these terms they accord ill with a mere 'priest' of later ritual. VELANKAR's comment that '*Agni* is now considered as the father of the worshipper (2.1.9a) and now as his son' sheds no light on *Agni*'s character as Hotṛ here. *'Śakema vājinaḥ vayam'* has given birth to wild controversy. No interpretation, however, explicates *Agni* being Hotṛ (a mere priest). Verse 2 refers to the daivya aṣṭama, 'The Divine eighth.' VELANKAR comments that *Agni* is the eighth ṛtvij as gṛhapati along with other seven traditional ones. Again, though *Agni* is Potṛ here, he does nothing that the Potṛ in the ritual does. Potṛ's job is to pour the libation into fire, being an assistant of Brahman. Even Sāyaṇa, the ritualist, gives just pāvaka (purifier) as the alternative meaning of Potṛ. Verse 3 does not mention the word Brahman (masculine) but describes *Agni* as one who utters the brahmans (neuter) i.e. prayers, sacred words etc. and is, therefore, identified with the Brahman-priest. It is not absolutely certain that such a priest was known in the *Ṛgveda*. But we may liken *Agni* to someone who recites the sacred word, not yet, however, charged with the whole supervision of ritual. GRIFFITH asserts that Brahmā means ' any pious worshipper, not one of the regular professional priests, i.e. a yajamāna himself. The process of assigning specific ritual duties to various 'priests' might have started, as evidenced by some portions of the *Ṛgveda*, the derivative meanings (such as Brahmā, singer of Brahman) were current in the language and were used symbolically by the seers. In v.4 *Agni*, the pure, becomes Praśāstṛ owing to his pure wisdom or effective will. At 1.94.6 also *Agni* is called Praśāstṛ, directing others. The office

(praśāstram) also belongs to *Agni* only (2.1.2 = 10.91.10). Human Praśāstṛ is indirectly referred to through his cup (2.36.6) from which Mitrā-Varuṇā are invited to drink. In v.5 the milch-cows are said to cling to the hue of *Agni*, the Neṣṭṛ. In later ritual Neṣṭṛ leads the wife of yajamāna. At 1.15.3 Tvaṣṭṛ is called Neṣṭṛ. The office of Neṣṭṛ is mentioned at 2.1.2 = 10.91.10 and Neṣṭṛ's cup at 1.15.9, 2.37.3;4 and it is *Agni* who drinks from it. Again, of the ritual we know nothing. At v.7 the general term ṛtvij is mentioned, taken to denote Agnidh, and he is said to bring ṛtvij, *Agni*. It is in this milieu that we have to understand *Agni*'s Adhvaryu-ness in v.6.

Plain translation of the verse is :

" When the sister approached him, bringing with her the ghee of the mother, the Adhvaryu (i.e. *Agni*) has rejoiced at the approach of these (i.e. sister and mother) as (a grain of) corn does owing to the rain " (H.D.VELANKAR).

Sister is said to be the ladle (VELANKAR, SPOON-OLDENBERG) and mother cow. Or sister is Uṣas and mother northern altar representing the earth. Whatever the ritual explication, why should the terms sister and mother be used here, at whose approach the Adhvaryu should rejoice ? Moreover, is there any ritual where sister (say, of the Yajamāna or of the Adhvaryu) brings ghee of (or from) the mother and Adhvaryu becomes delighted ? Will it not be more cogent if we stick to the derivative meaning of adhvaryu - one who travels, the peripatetic learned man whose faint memory is retained by the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (1.3.15.7 cd) where the perfected ones (siddhāḥ) are said to be roaming about the earth in the form of vipras. As said earlier, the arrival of such a person was an occasion to celebrate. Mothers and sisters would get busy for honouring such a guest, (atithi) which *Agni* eminently was. To the list of Brahmans, Atithis, Adhvaryus, the *Atharvaveda* adds Vrātya and advises how a king should honour a Vrātya as a guest (15.10). A whole hymn of the *Atharva-veda* (9.6) is in honour of 'guest', and a very useful hint is given in verse 30, 'the fire of the guests is Āhavanīya. It is recognised that, out of the three ritual fires, Āhavanīya is the most important. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (5.24) declares, 'Āhavanīya is sacrifice, is the world of Heaven.' *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* avers twice (2.3.2.2; 2.6.1.38.) that Āhavanīya and Indra are identical. DANDEKAR [22] avers that these (i.e. gārhapatya, āhavanīya, dakṣiṇa) fires are never referred to as devatās. If DANDEKAR insists on the literal

sense, he is right, but what is the meaning of the identity between Āhavanīya and Indra, the latter undoubtedly being a devatā ? But we need not depend upon this indirectly established devatā-ness of these fires. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* belonging to the *Ṛgveda* mentions *Agni* as Gārhapatya four times in two passages (3.36; 37). This *Agni* Gārhapatya is the Dragon of the deep (ahirbudhnyaḥ); through this *Agni* Gārhapatya, brilliance is bestowed mysteriously. *Agni* Gārhapatya places seed in the wives. Dakṣiṇāgni is a compound word mentioned by *Kāṭhaka agnyādheya* and *Malimluc Brāhmaṇas*, the *Ṣaḍvimśa* and *Gopath Brāhmaṇas* at least fifteen times. DANDEKAR[23] asserts that it is EVIDENT that *Agni*.... as a Vedic god is to be CLEARLY distinguished from the sacrificial fires, such as, the āhavanīya, the gārhapatya and the dakṣiṇa. Of course, no oblation is prescribed to be offered to these Fires i.e. *Agnis*. But, is it as EVIDENT as DANDEKAR wishes that they are to be CLEARLY distinguished from *Agni*? DANDEKAR's assumption is based on suppression of glaring facts; his beautiful theory, therefore comes crumbling down.

What is important for our purpose, here, is that Āhavanīya is the fire of guests and *Agni* is the Guest par excellence, in the *Ṛgveda*, and not just an errand-boy. It is significant therefore, that six hymns[24] call *Agni* as atithi and invite him to sit on the sacred grass (as actual guests were invited to sit on mats or couches made of grass (kuśa, kūrca, darbha etc.) and ten[25] hymns describe *Agni* as *dūta* and invite him to sit on barhis. The beauty and poetry in calling our own inner divine urge as guest (because it requires rousing, invoking, āhavana) for ṛṣi-sādhakas and our very personal favourite God (iṣṭa-devatā) as guest for the bhakta-sādhakas is completely lost on those who seek, superciliously, a little amusement and indulgence towards our 'primitive' and, therefore, ' half-childish (!)',' half-barbarous (!)' ancestors, to find what mythology the poor dears could weave! As WENDY O' FLAHERTY [26] perceptively avers ". . . the *Ṛgveda* has no true mythology", and warns, " it is written out of a mythology that we can only try to reconstruct from the Ṛgvedic jumble of paradoxes heaped upon paradoxes, tropes heaped upon tropes", i.e.a fore-doomed task. Then, why has the 'enlightened' scholarship of BERGAIGNES and MUIRS and HILLEBRANDTS and OLDENBERGS and (our very own) DANDEKARS spent so much time, energy, ingenuity and erudition on the search for a black cat in a dark room when it

is not there ? Because of their stout and stubborn denial to see that whatever bits of mythology were employed by the Ṛgvedic mystics (i.e.Ṛṣis) as symbols and metaphors were not for the entertainment of their primitive, imbecile minds but as an endeavour to put into human language, imperfect as it is, their direct, immediate, luminous, holistic visions of truth. But the Western prejudice (and its Indian avatāra) is not yet discarded by us ! When the Ṛgvedic mystics employ paradoxes, it is a 'jumble', when Zen Masters use them, it is high, esoteric 'realisation'!

My intention, here, is to show that there is more to the *Ṛgveda* than mere mythology or rustic ritual. In selecting DANDEKAR's[27] article for scrutiny, the intention is not to attack AN aspect of the Vedic mythology, nor to "set up a pyrogenous mysticism" to borrow a telling phrase from DAVID M.KNIPE,[28] because 'Fire and heat expressions . . . are part of a complex and multifaceted whole', but to insist on establishing this 'multifaceted whole'. The Ṛṣis' mystic living, vibrant experiences and their expressions in the Ṛgvedic 'poetry' are not dead specimens of living tissues preserved in mythological formalin.

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SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ATHARVAVEDA

HUKAM CHAND PATYAL

1.0. An attempt is made in this paper to point out the importance and significance of the Atharvaveda. It will not be possible for us to discuss all aspects of this Veda, but we would like to focus our attention only on those aspects which are closely associated with this Veda.

1.1. Originally the AV. is supposed to have existed in nine recensions : Paippalāda, Tauda, Śaunaka, Jājala, Jalada, Brahmavada, Devadarśa, Mauda and Cāraṇavaidya (AV Pari. 49(4).1; also see BLOOMFIELD, Introdn, to Kauśi Sū., JAOS.14 (1889), xxxiii ff.; 1899: II, sec, II; BHATTACHARYYA 1968:13; PATYAL 1969: i-ii). But now only two recensions have come down to us, viz. Śaunaka and Paippalāda. The Śaunaka recension is available to us with recent marks. The Paippalāda recension is full of all sorts of textual blunders; it is not accented, it is less correctly preserved, and contains more portions in prose. Even the Śaunaka tradition is not as authentic as that of the Ṛgveda. Adherents of the Śaunaka tradition are found in Gujarat and Maharashtra whereas that of the Paippalāda in Orissa.

1.2. The Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, and Sāmveda are mentioned together as the 'triple veda'(*vedatrayī*). Vedic religion is first and foremost a liturgy, and only secondarily a mythological or speculative system. These three Vedas conform to ancient hieraticism, whereas AV. is not entirely acceptable to this hierocracy. Even the present day brahmins regard these Atharvavedins inferior to themselves; they do not dine with them. Under the Trayī only the Ṛk, Yajus and Sāmans are included (see, e.g. ṚV.10.90.9; AVŚ.19.6.13; Śat Br. 4.6.7.1). There are many late works which are inclined to include even AV. under the Trayī. The Brahman priest, who is an all round theologian, is closely associated with AV. (GB.1.2.18; Śat Br.11.5.8.7); therefore AV. embodies all the three other Vedas also. At AVŚ.11.6.14 the expressions, *ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, bheṣajā(ni)*, and *yájūṁṣi*, refer to the four mantra categories. At AVŚ.10.7.20 four Vedic categories are enumerated, viz. *ṛcah, yajuḥ, sāmāni*, and *atharvāṅgirasaḥ*. The fourth Veda is also called kṣatram (Śat Br. 14.8.14. 1-4 = Bṛ Āra U. 5.13.1-4; also cf. Śat Br. 10.5.2.20; see BLOOMFIELD, SBE 42.xxi, xxxi). Jayantabhaṭṭa (Nyāy Mañ. i.235.21) includes AV. in the Trayī, as its ritual is performed or supervised by the Brahman priest *(atharvavedasya tryātmakatvam)*

atharvavedas tu tryātmaka eva tatra hi ṛco yajūṁṣi sāmānīti trīṇyapi santi tena brahmatvaṁ kriyamāṇaṁ trayyā kṛtaṁ bhavati). The Sītopaniṣad (5) also includes AV. in the Trayī. This clearly indicates that there were some people who had equal regard for AV. The Atharvanic ritual or ancillary works enumerate their own Veda among other sacred texts. The Atharvavedins lay more stress on the number four (see, e.g. GB.1.2.16; 1.3.1.f.). The followers of the triple Veda, will reach the highest heaven, whereas the Atharvans and Aṅgirases go beyond the great world of the Brahman. The AV. provides fruit in this world and also in the other world *(aihikāmuṣmikaphala),* whereas the other three Vedas provide fruit only in the other world *(āmuṣmikaphala)* (see e.g. GB. 1.5.25; 1.2.18 etc.; see GONDA 1975:271; BHATTACHARYYA 1968:4).

1.3. The oldest name of this Veda is Atharvāṅgirasaḥ (pl.), the Atharvans and Aṅgirases (see e.g. AVŚ.10.7.20; 11.6.13; cf. Mahā.Bhā. 12.322.37). The GB. (1.2.21; 1.5.10) mentions two aspects of this Veda, viz. 'auspicious' (*śānta*) and 'terrible' (*ghora*) (see BLOOMFIELD 1899:9, sec.8). Atharvan is associated with śānta and *bheṣaja* aspect, whereas Aṅgiras with that of the 'terrible' or 'sinister' aspect. There is another name Bhṛgvaṅgirasaḥ of this Veda, the Bhṛgus -- belonging to an ancient family of sages -- are sometimes magnified above others (see e.g. GB. 1.1.3; 1.2.22; Kauśi Sū. 139.6; also see ṚV. 8.43.13; 8.104.6 etc.; see GONDA 1975: 267 f.). This Veda is also popularly known as the Brahmaveda (see e.g. GB. 1.1.22; 1.2.16; 1.2.19; 1.5.15; 2.2.6; Vait Sū. 1.17). The word *brahman* also meant originally the magical power of which one could exert influence over others. AV. is called Brahma-veda because it teaches Brahmavidyā (*brahmaṇo vedanād vedo brahmavedo' yam ucyate,* Āṅgirasakalpa cited in BHATTACHARYYA 1968:52). The Brahmaveda is a fourth Veda, it embraces all and it includes the 'triple Veda' as well. The Brahman (priest) is a theologian *par excellence* who knows everything (GB.1.2.18 says : *eṣa ha vai vidvān sarvavid brahmā yad bhṛgvāṅgirovid* (cf. GB. 1.5.11; 1.5.15 and 19); see BLOOMFIELD 1899:30 ff., sec.33).

2.0. The Atharvaveda, primarily a collection meant for domestic use and for the performance of magical rites, and as a hymnary with an esoteric cosmogony, either minimizes the importance of gods or leaves them altogether out of form (RENOU 1953:23). The divinities have become merely decorative in function and are non- entities; the part they play is sometimes ludicrous. The

AV. is quite distinct from the other Vedas, and its contents are basically meant for esoteric purposes in the rites of *śāntika, pauṣṭika* and *abhicāra* practices, and not for hieratic employment in the Śrauta rituals.

2.1. We have magical and sacrificial rites side by side in AV. (SHENDE 1952:12). The sacrifice is possessed of magical power which is the *brahman.* Finally *brahman* is the sacrifice and everything in the universe. There is religious magic or magical religion depending upon the portions of the religious and magical ideas in the rites. According to the Āṅgirasakalpa we can have tenfold division of Atharvanic rites, viz. rites to appease or avert evil *(śāntika)*, those that are to promote welfare *(pauṣṭika)*, those that are to bring others into subjection through charms *(vaśa)*, those that are to hinder or paralyse *(stambhana)*, those that are to be wilder *(mohana)*, those that are to bring about hatred *(dveṣaṇa)*, those that are to eradicate *(uccāṭana)*, those that are to kill *(māraṇa)*, those that are to seduce *(ākarṣaṇa)*, those that are to scare away *(vidrāvaṇa)*. These magical rites give fruit in this world and also in the other world.

The religion of AV. is aimed at securing full, prosperous and happy life in this world and also in the other world. Mere verbal similarity is enough to connect the magical object with the desired effect or result. In AVŚ. (13.1.4-5) verbal form *rohati (<ruh-)* is employed in a charm to bring sovereignty to the king. The plant *apāmārga* (*apa* + *ā* + *mṛj*-) 'off wiper' is employed for warding off evil effects and beings (AVŚ.4.17.6-7; cf. AVP. 5.23.8). (For such cases of verbal similarity see SHENDE 1952:2 ff.). The Atharvanic magic religion can be practised with or without a priest. e.g. love-charms can be practised without a priest (AVŚ.4.5). Atharvanic priest's entry into a village would ward off all evil spirits (AVŚ. 5.36.7-8). By terminating the witchcrafts (*kṛtyās* or *yātus*) of the opponents one could attain a full span of life (AVŚ. 19.67). Atharvanic magic is both offensive and defensive in nature, depending upon the employment. There is not much of rigid division between Ātharvaṇa and Āṅgirasa spells. Through *sava* - offerings enjoyment of sexual pleasure with women can be attained here and also in the heaven (AVŚ. 4.34.). The Vrātyas were originally outside the fold of the Āryans; but in AV. they were not only admitted into the main fold but were also made righteous and were given the status of highest divinity (AVŚ.15.1-8). In AV. magic and religion existed side by side.

2.2. We do find some distinct mythological traits in AV. According to GB. (1.1.1-10) the sages Bhṛgu, Atharvan and Aṅgiras were produced by Brahman through penance. Then there were born ten Atharvans, ten Ātharvaṇas, ten Aṅgirases and ten Āṅgirasas. Thus this Veda produced by Brahman through penance became superior to the other Vedas. The Ṛgvedic deities such as Indra, Agni, the Sun, the Moon, the waters, and Atharvanic deities such as plants, herbs, amulets etc. possess tremendous power for the benefit of mankind. The Atharvanic sages practised their religion in villages where Aryan population inhabited (see SHENDE 1944:2 ff.) . The Atharvanic priests carried on their rites in the *śāntapana* or *gṛhya* fire, as against three fires of the Ṛgvedic rites. The Atharvanic priest combined in himself the office of a priest, a physician or medicineman, and a magician. These priests also popularised the Pitṛ-worship in the Brahmanised form. According to GB.(1.5.25) the Ātharvaṇas and Āṅgirasas go to the *brahmalokas* after their departure from this world. The two distinguished paths are *devayāna* 'path of gods', and *pitṛyāna* 'path of *pitṛs*'.

Plants are to the Vedic mind the offspring and the essence of waters, the embodiment of their curative properties (cf. AVŚ. 6.96; 8.7 etc.). The AVŚ (6.136.1) refers to a mechanical plant *(nitatnī)* as : *devī devyắm ádhi jātắ pṛthivyắm asy oṣadhe* ' As a goddess you are born on the goddess earth, O herb'.

3.0. It can be said that AV. has the nucleus or basis of the Āyurveda, Kāmaśāstra and Daṇḍanīti Cara S.(1.30.19-20) says that a physician should devote himself to the study of AV. Sūśru S.(1.6) points out that Āyurveda is a part of AV. The spells regarding love formed the basis of Kāmaśāstra. Kām Sū. in its *aupaniṣadic* chapter (Adhi.7) describes various charms similar to AV. Kām Sū.(7.1.11) refers to Ātharvaṇa practices of some erotic rites. Kām Sū (7.1.49) refers to AV. for strengthening the virile power of a man suffering from sexual debility.

3.1. The so-called medicinal charms *(bheṣaja, bheṣajyāni)* are to cure diseases and exorcise demons. There are many charms against fever and related diseases ; they are against jaundice, headache, cough, excessive discharges from the body, constipation and retention of urine, dropsy, leprosy, scrofulous sores, wounds, poison, ophthalmic diseases, sexual incapacity, poisoning and insanity (see e.g. AVŚ. 9.8; 5.22.2; 6.20.3; 6.44; 6.105; 7.83;

6.136, 6.137; AVP. 1.44-46). Medicinal plants are also invoked to destroy the disease (AVŚ.1.2; 2.8; 5.4; 6.96; 19.39 etc.; see GONDA 1975:278). As a source of primitive medicine these texts are unique. There are striking similarities between ancient German medicinal charms and those Atharvan practices for the treatment of jaundice and fractures (see GONDA 1975:279). We have AVŚ. (4.12) which is used to cure external lesions and the fractures of bones. The waters also appear as the main medicine (AVŚ. 1.4.1-4; 1.5.4 etc.). The waters by themselves have curative powers (AVŚ. 19.2); they remove all diseases (AVŚ. 19.2.5; see SHENDE 1952:12 f.).

AV. possesses a definite knowledge of anatomy. In AVŚ,(1.17) *dhamani* ought to mean 'blood vessel'(FILLIOZAT 1964: 160.f.). In AV. *dhamanis* are 'vessels', but might have also the general sense of 'canal' which it has in the Āyurveda (FILLIOZAT 1964:162). The bile is known as *pitta* in the Veda and Āyurveda (see e.g. AVŚ.18.3.5; Vāja S.17.6; Kāṭh S.17.17). Vedic physiology is essentially based on the belief that multiple breaths circulate inside the organism. The concept of *tridoṣa* 'three elements of trouble', viz. the wind, the phlegm and the bile was not known in the AV. proper, but AV Pari.(68(1). 4;5;7) mentions it.

It is true that by and large Vedic therapeutics has got mystical nature, and it is difficult to pursue examination of them on the basis of scientific medicine of the classical period. Several hymns enumerate body parts of man or of the cow or bull (see e.g ṚV. 10.90; 10.163; AVŚ. 2.33(almost identical to ṚV. 10.163); 9.7-8; 10.2; 10.9; 11.3; 11.8 etc.). For a detailed list of Vedic anatomy (see FILLIOZAT 1964: 144 ff.). The *prāṇa* and *apāna* in AVŚ (11.4.13) are understood as respiratory breaths. The other three breaths of classical texts are also mentioned, e.g. AVŚ.(11.5.24) mentions *vyāna* along with *prāṇa* and *apāna; samāna* (AVŚ.10.2); *udāna*(AVŚ. 11.8.4 and 26). On these breaths in Vedas (see Filliozat 1964: 182-3) the hymn (AVŚ. 6.16) is employed for curing eye-diseases (Kauśi Sū. 30.1-6). This hymn is addressed to the plant *ābayu* whose juice and gruel are consumed (AVŚ. 6.16.1). For curing *jāyānyas* (tumours or soars, but BLOOMFIELD *syphilis*) (AVŚ. 7.76. 3-6), Kauśi Sū 32.11 prescribes amulet of lute.

3.2. The AV. considers Kāma as the Creator and mighty Lord (AVŚ.

9.2; 19.52). The ideal marriage results in mutual love between husband and wife (AVŚ.14.2.71). For commanding or arousing woman's love magical charm is applied (AVŚ.3.25). For winning the bride the priest employs certain charms (AVŚ. 2.36). The AVŚ(6.72.2-3) forms the basis of classification of men as hare, bull and horse (cf. Kām Sū.2.1.1). The basis of Kām Sū is found in AV.

3.3. The Atharvaveda provides a good deal of information on statecraft and kingship. The king is vested with sovereignty, and thus he becomes worthy of respect (AVŚ. 3.4.1). The exiled king is restored as a king through the application of AVŚ. 3.3. The priest recites mantras and performs Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice to bring back the king (AVŚ.3.3.1-2; see BLOOMFIELD SBE 42.329). The coronation of a king is done through AVŚ.4.8(see Kauśi Sū.17). Through the recitation of AVŚ. 4.22 the chaplain bestows special power on a king which becomes armour round the king's person. In order to increase royalty the *abhivartamaṇi* is to be tied to the king (AVŚ. 1.29.1-6).

3.4. In AV. we do come across many types of Savayajñas. According to the Atharvaveda these *savas* are even superior to the Vedic sacrifices like the Vājapeya, Agniṣṭoma etc. These are employed for securing results in this world and also in the heaven. AV. enumerates 22 *savas*. These magical charms replaced the earlier Śrauta sacrifices. The more prominent ones are : Brahmaudanasava (AVŚ.11.1); Svargaudanasava (AVŚ. 12.3); Gosava (AVŚ. 9.7); Bṛhaspatisava etc.(see SHENDE 1952: 190 ff.; GONDA 1965). The hymn (AVŚ. 12.3) is connected with Svargaudanasava "rice-mess text leading to heaven"; GONDA (1975: 290) thinks that the mantras of this hymn are meant for securing continuance of life in the heavenly regions. AVŚ. 4.34 (AVP.6.22); AVŚ.4.35 are employed by Kauśi Sū.60-68 for escaping death. These *savas* can be performed by any person and they are believed to be very effective.

4.0. Among the existing two recensions of AV., the Śaunaka is more systematically arranged whereas the Paippalāda does not have a very clear and systematic order of the subject-matter. The Paippalāda recension is less rigorous. In the Kāṇḍas I-XIX of AVŚ one-fifth of contents are derived from the Ṛgveda. Kāṇḍas 1-7 contain magical prayers for gaining various purposes. Kāṇḍas 8-12 contain similar texts, but also contain cosmological hymn of Upaniṣadic nature. Kāṇḍas 13-20 are of varied nature. Kāṇḍa 13

discusses cosmic principle, Kāṇḍa 14 deals with marriage prayers, Kāṇḍa 18 deals with funeral and other magical and ritual formulas. There are more than a hundred instances wherein material occurring in AV. and ṚV. is ascribed to different sages. In AV. the material is mostly ascribed to Atharvan and also to other sages. Interestingly enough in Kāṇḍa 20 the deities ,and *ṛṣis* are the same in both these texts. About one-sixth of AVŚ. consists of prose which is of *brāhmaṇa* type. Kāṇḍas 15 and 16 contain many prose passages. A typical specimen of AV.prose is:'ōjōsy ōjo me dāḥ' (AVŚ.2.17.1) "(invigorative) power are you, give me(this) power". Kāṇḍa 15 is like the *brāhmaṇa* in style and contents. In comparison with *brāhmaṇas* it (the prose) is stiff, more uniform and morphologically poorer (GONDA 1975:305).

5.0. The AV. is a very important ancient Indian work which has a root of encyclopaedic comprehensiveness. Prayers for wisdom, spiritual elevation, communion with the knowers of *brahman* (cf. AVŚ. 19.43; 19.64); purification (AVŚ. 6.19; 6.51; 6.62); success in the study of the Veda (AVŚ. 7.54); prestige (AVŚ. 6.58; 6.69) and other advantages do give us fair idea of life which was considered by Ātharvaṇic circles as ideal one.

5.1. The Atharvaveda is quite comprehensive in nature. This Veda is the basis of many later classical sciences like the Āyurveda, Kāmaśāstra, Daṇḍanīti (Arthaśāstra) etc. In AV. there is a renewed appeal to domestic forces and rites, whose power is restricted in the Ṛgveda. This Veda represents religion of the masses as against that of the highly institutionalised classes. It is true that magic like private cult-practice finds its way into the public ceremonial. In AV. Vedism has become debased to the level of popular magico-religious beliefs and crude witchcraft. In this Veda we also get some traces of the arbitrary linguistic signs and 'secret or veiled language' of the Tantra. The AV. is rightly called the fourth Veda. For the knowledge of practical religion and magic AV. is of great importance, and it complements the one-sided picture of the Ṛgveda. Many of the Atharvanic mantras could be very efficacious if employed properly by the proper person. Atharvan priest was a physician *par excellence.*

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THE ŚRAUTA RITUAL - ITS RELEVANCE TODAY

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Examining the relevance of the Vedic/Hindu ritual in the twentieth century life is a fascinating subject. Attempts have so far been made to trace the modifications in the rituals which took place during the last three thousand years.[1] These mainly involved academic interest. The topic under discussion at present is, on the other hand, a social and cultural one. The answer to the question of relevance cannot be given directly. The problem needs to be studied in a historical perspective. Such a study will help us in finding a correct answer to the question. The relevance will have to be considered with reference to the followers of the Vedic/Hindu religion. Buddhism and Jainism have reacted to certain tenets of the Vedic religion. Here we are not concerned with those reactions.

In order to find out the relevance it is essential to define the character of the present-day Hindu. For the convenience of discussion, I keep before me a Hindu who has faith in the Almighty, who respects the Veda, who, inspite of his means of livelihood, honours the true religion, and who aspires to lead a moral life.

The First Stage

Obviously the Śrauta ritual was fully relevant in the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* period. Man believed in numerous divinities, offered prayers to them and tried to get his desires fulfilled through Śrauta and domestic performances as prescribed in the scriptures. His life was mainly a religious life which was almost in concurrence with the scriptural injunctions. Even then it cannot be presumed that each and every house-holder of the first three social orders was maintaining the sacred fires or even the Aupāsana fire. It also cannot be that every member of a brāhmaṇa family was capable of officiating as a priest. It is really difficult to draw a complete picture of the life of the society in the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* period. Even then there is no harm in presuming the full relevance of the Śrauta ritual in that society.

The Second Stage

The next period which marks a transition in the religious and philosophical life pertains to the composition of the *Upaniṣads*. The teachers

of the Upaniṣads believed in the Ultimate Reality designated by the word Brahman. This conviction automatically placed the Vedic deities like Agni, Indra, Varuṇa in a subordinate position. As a matter of fact, the belief in numerous divinities had begun to shake in the later *Ṛgvedic* period and the *Yajurveda* period. Consequent upon the subordinate position of the divinities, the Śrauta rituals lost their prominence. The references to the rituals simply exhibit the respect shown towards the things of the past. The terms and items related to the rituals were interpreted on a different plane. This aspect is already met with in the *Āraṇyakas*. Consequently the relevance of the Śrauta ritual to the life of the society in the *Upaniṣadic* period must have been reduced to a certain extent.

The Third Stage

The next stage to be considered pertains to the period in which the Kalpasūtras were composed. It is rather difficult to consider this stage in terms of definite chronology, because the chronology of the *Kalpasūtras* including the *Śrautasūtras* cannot be said to have been fixed. The gross upper and lower limits can however be mentioned. The *Śrautasūtras* of *Baudhāyana* and *Vādhūla* belonging to the *Taittirīya* recension of *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* mark the upper limit, namely, sixth century B.C., and the *Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra* belonging to the same recension may be said to belong to the fourth century A.D. Thus a span of one thousand years will have to be taken into account. While the degree of relevance in the period of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* would be comparatively higher, that in the period of the *Vaikhānasa Śrautasūtra* would be a lower one. It would, however, be feasible to contemplate such a period in consideration of the character of *Kalpasūtras*.

The deviation in the ritual in the *Śrautasūtra* period in certain respects has already been pointed out.[2] A few instances may be given. There was a tendency to make the ritual simpler. In the Full-moon and New-moon sacrifices paddy was optionally allowed to be poured out of a basket instead of from a bullock-cart standing near the Gārhapatya fire-place. A twig of a Śami tree instead of a Palāśa tree began to be procured for driving away calves in the New-moon sacrifice. In the Pravargya rite the earth required for preparing the Mahāvīra was allowed to be collected previously near the Āhavanīya

fire for convenience. If a milch-cow and a she-goat could not become available for milking for a gharma, ready milk was allowed.

The *Śrautasūtras* are expected to prescribe rites to be performed by an Āhitāgni. Sometimes, however, they refer also to an Anāhitāgni. The authors of the *Śrautasūtras* had begun to say that by performing a simple sacrifice one could acquire the same credit which is acquired by performing a complicated and extensive ritual. The *Brāhmaṇas* have prescribed certain expiatory rites in respect of deficiencies occurred in a ritual. On comparison one finds that the *Śrautasūtras* have mentioned many more contingencies in which expiations are to be gone through. All these facts go to show that in the period of the *Śrautasūtras* circumstances had changed, as a result of which certain modifications had to be resorted to. The practice of ritualistic religion had lowered down, and the relevance of Śrauta ritual was further reduced.

There was also another point --perhaps more important, which speaks of the reduced relevance of the Śrauta ritual. A *Kalpasūtra* comprises, besides the *Śrautasūtra*, the *Gṛhya, Dharma, Prāyaścitta, Śulba* and *Pravara Sūtras*. There are four *Kalpasūtras : Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāṣādha* and *Vaikhānasa*; all these belong to the *Taittirīya* recension. Whether each of these was composed by one and the same person is a question. There are opposite views in this regard. Here we are not concerned with this problem. It may be agreed that the component parts of each of these *Kalpasūtras* were composed within the range of the period under discussion. *Dharmasūtras* have attached importance to the moral life. They profess that nothing is greater than the knowledge of soul. They also say that people belonging to all castes attain the highest Bliss, heaven, by performing their religious duties.[3] Thus the Dharmasūtras are clearly under the influence of the Upaniṣadic philosophy. It may, therefore, be said that people belonging to the *Kalpasūtra*- period believed in the Supreme Reality and primarily respected the ritualistic religion because it had reached them traditionally, not necessarily because they believed in the Vedic divinities and the ritualistic religion. This leads to the conclusion that the relevance of the Śrauta ritual was still more reduced in the period of the *Kalpasūtras*.[4]

The Fourth Stage

The next period of ritual activity comprises a wide range beginning with the post-*Kalpasūtra* period, that is to say from the fifth century A.D. Even though the ritualism cannot be said to have held a fixed proportion throughout this long period, it would be convenient to compare the ritual-practices of this period with those prescribed in the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa*. Persons belonging to the first three social orders were entitled to study the Veda and observe the ritualistic religion. It might, however, be said that brāhmaṇas and a few ruling princes resorted to the Śrauta ritual practices during this period. This period is marked by the composition of Bhāṣyas and Paddhatis on the *Kalpasūtras*, digests like *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana, Yajñapārśva, Karmapradīpa* and also the *Kalivarjya*. Bhāṣyas and Paddhatis restrict their explanations to the Sūtras; they can hardly be expected to refer to the modifications. Works like *Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana* composed roundabout the eleventh century A.D., record and, in a way, sanction the modifications. When the *Kalivarjya* prohibits the performance of certain Śrauta and Gṛhya rites, it really transgresses the higher authority of the Śruti. That it does so indicates that those rituals had gone out of practice, each one perhaps for a different reason. It further went to the length of assuming the religious authority and prohibit their performance. That the *Kalivarjya* prohibits the offering of Agnihotra, the basic Śrauta rite, shows that it had practically gone out of general practice, and was not relevant to the religious life in those days. In Kaliyuga only one-fourth religion remained in practice, thus restricting the relevance of the Śrauta ritual.

Works like *Yajñapārśva* eulogize the performance of Śrauta rites in such a way that one should be tempted to set up the sacred fires and perform Śrauta rites. Thus the *Yajñapārśva* (II.226-227) says that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa, Indra and other gods reside in the residence of an Agnihotrin. It further says that centres of pilgrimage, the Tarpaṇa rite, Tapas, Japa do not stand comparison with Agnihotra. One may compare here the attitude of the Purāṇas, which, while describing the various Tīrthas, go to the length of saying that by having a dip in such and such a Tīrtha, one would obtain the credit of having performed a thousand Aśvamedha sacrifices. All this points to the conclusion that not only big sacrifices but also ordinary Śrauta rites had

gone out of practice in the days of the Purāṇas. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (11.27.7) points out three types of sacrifices Vaidika, Tāntrika and combined.

Attention may be drawn to the so called Hinduization of Śrauta ritual. Certain rituals imitating the character of Śrauta rites were incorporated into the Hindu religion. Concrete examples of the Hindu rites are the various types of Caṇḍīhoma, Viṣṇuyāga and the worship of Rudra (Laghurudra, Mahārudra, Atirudra etc.). Such religious practices mixed with Tāntric elements formed the substitutes for the Śrauta rites; they clearly indicate that the number of Āhitāgnis was fast decreasing, that big Śrauta sacrifices were almost extinct and that primary Śrauta rites and a few Soma-sacrifices were all that could be performed by a limited number of Āhitāgnis. Temple-worship which was a popular form of religion took the place of Śrauta and Smārta practices.

Prayoga-manuals of different types were composed during this period from time to time. They indicate minor modifications in the rites here and there. They are however, not useful in finding out the relevance of the Śrauta ritual.

The Fifth Stage

The fifth and last stage begins with the nineteenth century A.D. and continues even today. The relevance of the Śrauta ritual to the life of the Hindu society which was reduced at every stage, continued to do so even more vividly in this stage. The reasons for the reduction in the relevance during the periods represented by the earlier stages were of the same nature, and became more and more vivid in course of time. The nineteenth century brought in a new revolution -- political, social and cultural. The British entered India in the seventeenth century A.D, initially for trade-purposes, and gradually expanded their activities which took a political turn and ultimately brought the whole of India under their control in the nineteenth century A.D. A new wave of thought representing the western culture came over here along with them,and introduced a totally new outlook to the Indian people both in the external and internal behaviour. It gave a blow to the faith in religion. The new liberal education system moulded a new society breaking the barriers of social inequality. The economic revolution agitated the society particularly in urban areas. Consequently the religious practices

suffered a great shock. At present there are only a few hundred Āhitāgnis who are somehow trying to keep alive their Śrauta practices. The tradition of learning the Veda by rote is fast disappearing. As a result, the priestly class essential for the conduct of ritual practices is becoming obsolete. The social and economic pattern of society which formed the base of the ritualistic religion is shattered making it difficult for an Āhitāgni to pursue his activity. The animal - offering which is a part of the sacrificial procedure is being opposed by the conscious public.

The conclusion

The question of the relevance of the Śrauta ritual today requires to be answered in the light of the review of Śrauta ritual practices in India during the last three thousand years. The review was based on the literature produced in the different stages. There is very little historical evidence to ascertain the position of Śrauta ritual-practices in the past.[5] On the other hand, the present position is quite clear to us. As stated at the beginning, the relevance is to be considered for those who have a respect for India's past and wish to preserve it as far as possible, aspire to lead a moral life, but who cannot observe the religious practices and perhaps have lost faith in them. A materialist will totally protest the tradition. One who has full faith in the Veda would say, following the scriptural injunctions like *'agnihotram juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ'*, *'vasante vasante jyotiṣṭomena yajeta'* etc. that a twice-born should follow the Śrauta ritualistic religion. We should honour the belief of such persons. However, in consideration of the present Hindu life in general, it may be concluded that in the twentieth century the Śrauta ritual practice has no relevance at all. It is enough if one believes in God, holds respect for the Vedic lore and leads a moral life.

There is, however, the danger of the Veda and Vedic tradition -- a treasure not only of India but of the whole world, being lost for ever. The Veda came down intact without the loss of a syllable or accent for thousands of years by oral tradition. This is regarded as a wonder. Side by side, the ritualistic religion grew which gave birth to the Upaniṣadic philosophy. The fruit of the sacrifical performance apart, a careful witnessing of such a performance renders valuable help in understanding the Vedic texts. It is therefore

essential to see that the tradition of Śrauta ritual is preserved. At present there are some Āhitāgnis in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra, who are somehow trying to maintain the tradition. There is the risk that the next generation may not be able to continue the same. The sure way to preserve the tradition is to bring into existence a centre somewhere in South India where the Vedic Pandits would stay together, preserve the Vedic recitation and Vedic ritual and at the same time impart instructions to their sons in those subjects. The centre would serve as a model of Vedic life as far as possible, and also as a medium which would provide information to scholars in the subject.[6] It is the duty of the lovers of Vedic lore to point out the urgency of this matter to the Government and philanthropic Trusts. Now is time to take immediate steps towards this end because there are a few Vedic Pandits even now whose collaboration may become available.

References :

1. cf. C.G.KASHIKAR, "Present-day Vedic Ritual in India", *Shastri Revashankar Becharbhai Trivedi Abhinandana Grantha*, Madras 1958, pp. 56-64; C.G.KASHIKAR. "The Vedic Sacrificial Rituals through the Ages, "*Indian Antiquary (Third series)* Vol.I. No.2 p.p. 77-89, Bombay 1964; C.G.KASHIKAR and ASKO PARPOLA, "Śrauta Traditions in Recent Times", *'Agni'* edited by F. STAAL, Part III p.p. 199-251, Berkeley 1983; F. SMITH, *The Vedic Sacrifice in Transition*, Bhandarkar Oriental Series No.22, Pune 1987; C.G.KASHIKAR, "Yajñapārśve : an unpublished Pariśiṣṭa of the Śukla Yajurveda School " *Sternbach Felicitation Volume*, Lucknow, 1979.
2. cf. C.G.KASHIKAR, 1964 p.p. 77-89.
3. cf. ĀpDS, I. 8.22,2-8; 23. 1-2; II 1.2.2 etc.
4. cf. C.G.KASHIKAR, "Idea of Ultimate Reality and Meaning according to the Kalpasūtras" *Ultimate Reality and Meaning* , Vol.II, No.3, Toronto 1979, pp. 172-187.
5. In historical times the Veda gradually lost association with Hindu life; cf. L.RENOU, *Destiny of Veda in India*, translated by Devaraj Chanana, Delhi.

6. "It is true that changes in the mode of life have led to the introduction of certain practical conveniences. Nevertheless the study of modern Śrauta tradition renders invaluable help in understanding Vedic texts. The history of religions is about to lose this important primary source and it is to be hoped that the scholarly world will not cease in its efforts to preserve as much of it as possible.". C. G. KASHIKAR and ASKO PARPOLA, 1983, pp.199-251

THE POET, POETIC ACTIVITY AND SAHṚDAYA

NATAVAR JOSHI

The Poet, Poetic activity and Sahṛdaya form the three aspects of one universe, the world of artistic creation (Kāvya-saṁsāra). Abhinavagupta describes the poet and the Sahṛdaya as the twin aspects of the goddess of learning.[1] At one end of creative activity is the poet and at the other is the appreciator. The poet creates the world of poetry and the Sahṛdaya enjoys it. Ānandavardhana describes the poet as the sole creator. The world of poetry changes as he likes.[2] The creator creates a lotus lake and swan enjoys moving in it, enjoying the beauty of lotus-lake *(ambhojini vana-vihāra-vilāsa)*. The tree blooms into flowers and the wind carries its fragrance.[3] The poet writes poetry and the Sahṛdaya appreciates it. Thus these three, the poet, his poetic activity and its appreciation by the appreciator form the three aspects of one universe, the world of poetry.

The poet has two factors to depend upon for his creation i) Vision and ii) expression, which make him a poet. The poet has a vision like a sage. Like a seer he is the seeker of the truth. The vision makes a sage. The expression in addition to the vision makes a poet.[4] The sage was moved by the piteous cries of the krauñca bird, separated from the mate, but the expression of the grief made him the poet.[5] It is not enough that the poet has a vision. He must transform his vision into poetic composition. 'What is the use of such a poem which remains in the mind and not taken to different directions by the appreciative readers ' asks Rājaśekhara.[6]

Vāmana classified poets into two types : I) the disapproving *(arocakinaḥ)* and II) the all approving *(satṛṇābhyavahāriṇaḥ)*. The first type of poets is endowed with the power of discretion and is capable of being corrected. The other type is of poets who are indiscreet and cannot be corrected.[7]

According to Vāmana the poet is expected to be the observer of the ways of the world. Knowledge of science of language, lexicons, metrics, fine arts, erotics and political science is expected from a poet. Poetic intuition is inevitable. It is like a seed to poetry. He seems to hold the view that poet is born. Practice and learning are ancillary to creative faculty. They may make the poet more perfect or effective.

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Rājaśekhara admits three types of poets on the basis of his concept of creative faculty, namely,

I) a poet favourite of the goddess of learning *(sārasvatakavi),*

II) a poet by practice *(ābhyāsikakavi)* and

III) a poet by instruction *(aupadeśikakavi).*[8]

Abhinavagupta observes that the speciality of a great poet's imagination consists in the ability to produce poetry that is endowed with beauty and clarity.[9]

In the opinion of Kṣemendra two factors contribute to the making of a poet, viz. i) divine favour and ii) human effort.[10] An intending poet should contemplate upon the unfailing supreme mystic power.[11] He classifies the students of poetics into i) those who can learn the poetic art without much effort, ii) those who can be trained with some difficulty and iii) those who cannot be trained. In his opinion, the poet is not born. He is made. The most important cause of poetry is practice.[12]

Ruyyaka thinks that four factors contribute to the making of a poet : i) perseverance, ii) application, iii) effort and iv) poetic talent.[13] He classifies poets into four kinds :

i) *Satkavi* like Vālmīki or Kālidāsa employing vaidarbhi style;

ii) *Vidagdhakavi* employing vakrokti like Vyāsa and Bhāsa;

iii) *Arocakikavi* like Māgha and Bhāravi employing figures of sense;

iv) *Satṛṇābhyavahārakavi* - writers of Gauḍi style introducing kavi samayas and figures of sound like śleṣa, yamaka etc.[14]

Poetic activity consists of poet's transforming his experience into expression. The Vedic seer describes his poetic activity. He says, 'I fashion my hymns with all my heart just as an artisan chisels his chariot.'[15] or ' The wife lovingly touches her husband, so the hymns touch you.'[16]or 'Just as a well dressed loving wife Vāk reveals her form.'[17] A creative process is not simply the expression of the experience. It is an artistic expression. An artisan needs raw material to work upon his instruments and his skill to create an object

of beauty. The poet needs experience, culture and imagination to create poetic work. The feeling, emotion, thought and imagination constitute his instruments and skill. But experience constitutes his raw material. He receives impressions from his experience which transforms into poetic expression. The dawn and the dusk, the sunrise and the sea, the starry firmament and the white road that runs through it, the crowd and solitude and the craving for the unknown, all this is received, recorded and recreated in the poet's mind and communicated to the connoisseur.

The expression is not simple expression; it needs to be artistic in order to be poetic.[18] Kuntaka believes that poet's imagination works upon his basic material to produce a work of poetic art.[19] Bhāmaha believes that the poetic expression should excel the ordinary expression.[20]

The four stages of artistic expression are hinted at in the Veda namely, i) revelation, ii) vision, iii) formulation of ideas and iv) expression.

Speech hath been measured out in four divisions, the Brāhmans who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment cause no motion; of speech, men speak only the fourth division [21] (Tr.RALPH.T.H. & GRIFFITH). All the objects seen before assume new form in poetry due to emotive mood, just as the trees appear new in the spring season.[22] The ideas must come to the poet as naturally as the leaves sprout on the tree.

There are two aspects of the creative process namely, creation of new poetry *(kavivāṅ-nirmiti)* and appreciation *(kāvya-āsvādana).* If the poet is concerned with creation, Sahṛdaya is concerned with its appreciation. If the poet has to practise composition of poetry, the Sahṛdaya has to practise its study and discover the niceties. As Abhinavagupta observes, the appreciative reader alone is able to acquire poetic sensibility by constant study. When his mind becomes pure like mirror, the object of description is reflected in it.[23]

Poetry originates in poet's experience, takes shape in his mind and is communicated to the connoisseur. Poeticians declare that only the person with a degree of culture and poetic sensibility is able to relish Rasa, just as the tree blooms into flowers but the wind carries the fragrance. Abhinavagupta pays a glorious tribute to the twin aspects of creative activity, namely, the poet and the Sahṛdaya.[24]

Rājaśekhara recognises two types of creative faculty, namely, i) the creative talent of the poet and ii) the appreciative talent of the connoisseur of poetic art.[25]

Composition of Poetry is a special process. Appreciation of it is equally special. Both are related, in a way. Creation of poetry has appreciation as its end. Poetry not meant for appreciation has no meaning. A poet would not normally like to be a lone enjoyer of his poetic instincts. He is bound to invite some to share them. Thus the creative process is a meeting point for creative artist and the appreciative connoisseur. Although the poet wishes to give the gift of aesthetic delight equally to all, everyone does not receive it in the same degree. A teacher imparts knowledge equally to all his students. Every student does not receive it in the same measure. In some it shines forth. In others it does not. In the same way, poetic delight is received by an appreciator according to his poetic sensibility. If creative faculty is essential for the poet, appreciative faculty is equally essential for the Sahṛdaya. Rājaśekhara has distinguished between these two aspects of the same faculty. An appreciator relives in the poetic instincts experienced originally by the poet.

A poet is original creative artist. An appreciator reproduces in his mind, the world the poet has created. A Sahṛdaya recreates in his mind what the poet has created. In the opinion of Abhinavagupta a listener of a poem must put himself on the same plane as the poet or his character in order to enjoy it aesthetically. An appreciative reader or Sahṛdaya must cultivate the same degree of culture and imagination as the poet.[26]

The appreciative faculty does good to the Sahṛdaya. Thereby,' the tree of poet's creation bears fruit, otherwise it would be barren.' [27]

Thus it could be said that poetry originates from the poet's experience. His culture and imagination work upon it and a new world of poetry is created. The Sahṛdaya with the help of his culture and imagination recreates the world of poetry in his mind and enjoys its aiceties. The poet, his poetic activity and Sahṛdaya form the three aspects of one universe *(kāvyasaṁsāra).*

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1. *Locana* on Dhvanyāloka (Dhv) p.1

अपूर्वं यद् वस्तु प्रथयति विना कारणकलां
जगद्ग्रावप्रख्यं निजरसभरात् सारयति च ।
क्रमात् प्रख्योपाख्याप्रसरसुभगं भासयति त
त्सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयताम् ॥

2. *Agnipurāṇa* 339.10 (quoted by Ānandavardhana) :

अपारे काव्यसंसारे कविरेकः प्रजापतिः ।
यथास्मै रोचते विश्वं तथा वै परिवर्तते ॥
शृङ्गारी चेत् कविः काव्ये जातं रसमयं जगत् ।
स एव वीतरागश्चेत् नीरसं सर्वमेव तत् ॥

3. तरुः सृजति पुष्पाणि मरुद् वहति सौरभम् ।

4. Bhaṭṭa Tauta quoted in *Kāvyānuśāsana* by Hemachandra, p. 379 :

नानृषिः कविरित्युक्तमृषिश्च किल दर्शनात् ।
विचित्रभावधर्मांशतत्त्वप्रख्या च दर्शनम् ॥
स दर्शनादेव शास्त्रेषु प्रथितः कविः ।
दर्शनाद्वर्णनाच्चाथ रूढा लोके कविश्रुतिः ॥
तथा हि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः ।
नोदिता कविता लोके यावज्जाता न वर्णना ॥

5. *Dhv.*, I.5 :

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्वियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥

6. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p.15 :

काव्येन किं कवेस्तस्य तन्मनोमात्रवृत्तिना ।
नीयन्ते भावकैर्यस्य न निबन्धा दिशो दश ॥

7. *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, II.1-4 :

अधिकारिनिरूपणार्थमाह - अरोचकिनः सतृणाभ्यवहारिणश्च कवयः ।
... पूर्वे शिष्याः विवेकित्वात् । ...नेतरे तद्विपर्ययात् ।

8. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p.13 :

त इमे त्रयोऽपि कवयः सारस्वत, आभ्यासिक औपदेशिकश्चेति ।

9. Locana on *Dhv.*, p. 169 :

वस्तुशब्देनार्थशब्दं तत्त्वशब्देन च वस्तुशब्दं व्याचष्टे ।

10. *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ed. Lele.V.K., Varanasi, 1967, p.45 :

अथेदानीमकवेः कवित्वशक्तिरुपदिश्यते । प्रथमं तावद् दिव्यः प्रयत्नः ततः पौरुषः ।

11. *Ibid.*, p.47 :

एतां नमः सरस्वत्यै यः क्रियामातृकां जपेत् ।
क्षेममैन्द्रं स लभते भव्योऽभिनववाग्भवम् ॥

12. *Ibid.*, p.50 :

तत्र त्रयः शिष्याः काव्यक्रियायामुपदेश्याः अल्पप्रयत्नसाध्याः कृच्छ्रसाध्याः असाध्याश्चेति ।

Ibid., I.21 :

अभ्यासहेतोः पदसंनिवेशैः वाक्यार्थशून्यैः विदधीत वृत्तम् ।
श्लोकं परावृत्तिपदैः पुराणं यथास्थितार्थं परिपूरयेच्च ॥

Ibid., I.22 :

यस्तु प्रकृत्याश्मसमान एव कष्टेन वा व्याकरणेन नष्टः ।
तर्केण दग्धोऽनलधूमिना वाऽप्यविद्धकर्णः सुकविप्रबन्धैः ॥
न तस्य वक्तृत्वसमुद्भवः स्यात् शिक्षाविशेषैरपि सुप्रयुक्तः ।
न गर्दभो गायति शिक्षितोऽपि संदर्शितं पश्यति नार्कमन्धः ॥

13. *Sāhityamīmāṁsā* , VII :

श्रमः सर्वकलावीक्षा नियोगस्तस्य शीलनम् ।
स क्लेशकरणोद्योगः प्रतिभा भास्वती मतिः ॥
प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभेति वा ।

14. *Ibid.*,

सत्कविः प्रथमस्तत्र विदग्धस्तदनन्तरः । अरोचकी ततः पश्चात् सतृणाभ्यवहारकः ॥

15. *Ṛgveda*, X. 119.5 :

अहं तष्टेव वन्धुरं पर्यचामि हृदा मतिम् ।

16. *Ibid.*, I.62.11 :

पतिं न पत्नीरुशतीरुशन्तं स्पृशन्ति त्वा शवसावन्मनीषाः ।

17. *Ibid.*, X. 71.4 :

जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ।

18. *Kāvyaprakāśa* , I :

लोकोत्तरवर्णना निपुणकविकर्म ।

19. *Vakroktijīvita* , I.7 :

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनि । बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ।

20. *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II.81 :

निमित्ततो वचो यत्तु लोकातिक्रान्तगोचरम् ।

21. *Ṛgveda* , I.164.45 :

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहा त्रीणि निहिता नेङ्गयन्ति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्या वदन्ति ॥

22. *Dhv.*, IV.4 :

दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।
सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥

23. *Locana* on *Dhv.*, p.11 :

अधिकारी चात्र विमलप्रतिभानशाली सहृदयः । येषां काव्यानुशीलनाभ्यासवशाद् विशदीभूते मनोमुकुरे वर्णनीयतन्मयीभवनयोग्यता ते हृदयसंवादभाजः सहृदयाः ।

24. *Ibid.*, p.1 :

सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयतात् ।

25. *Kāvyamimamsā* , IV.p.13.

सा (प्रतिभा)द्विधा कारयित्री भावयित्री च ।
कवेरुपकुर्वाणा कारयित्री । भावकस्योपकुर्वाणा भावयित्री ।

26. *Locana* on *Dhv.*, p.34 :

नायकस्य कवेः श्रोतुः समानोऽनुभवस्ततः ।

27. *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p.13 :

भावकस्योपकुर्वाणा भावयित्री । सा हि कवेः श्रममभिप्रायं च भावयति । तया खलु फलितः कवेः व्यापारतरुः । अन्यथा सोऽवकेशी स्यात् ।

NĀLĀYIRA TIVVIYA PIRAPANTAM THROUGH INSCRIPTIONS

A. PANDURANGAN

0. The hymns of Āḻvārs are now available in a single volume, *Nālāyira Tivviya Pirapantam* (NTP), the sacred Four-thousand Hymns. 'Four-thousand' in the title is indicative of the approximate number of verses included in the text. Though it appears to be a single work, actually it is an anthology of twenty-four works of the twelve Āḻvārs , steeped in devotion. The inscriptions from the early Cōḻas demonstrate that the names of Āḻvārs were already popular and were used as personal names. Further, they refer to the works of Āḻvārs also by their individual names. The Vaiṣṇavite traditions ascribe Nātamuṉi as the accredited anthologist of NTP. The paper attempts to re-examine the traditional hagiological story of Nātamuṉi's compilation in the light of inscriptions.

0.1 The *Guru Paramparai Prabhāvam*, the literature of the lives and legends of the Preceptors, narrate that some devotees from Tirukkurukūr, the birth place of Nammāḻvār, recited ten songs from the latter's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, when Nātamuṉi was in the service of the Viṣṇu temple at Vīranārāyaṇapuram. The message and melody of the songs captivated the heart of Nātamuṉi who at once enquired whether they could recite the whole thousand inferring from the colophon that the ten comprise only a part of a thousand. Though they admitted their inability to recite the whole work, they informed him that the whole thousand can be collected from Tirukkurukūr. Thereupon, Nātamuṉi undertook a journey to Nammāḻvār's birth place and enquired for the reciters who knew the whole. He was greatly disappointed when he learnt that none knew the whole thousand. He came into contact with one Parāṅkuca Tācar in the *Guru-Śiṣya* tradition, the Preceptor and the Disciple tradition of Nammāḻvār. Parāṅkuca Tācar taught him Maturakavi Āḻvār's *Kaṇṇiṇuṇ Ciṟuttāmpu*, a small slender rope with knots, which is in praise of Nammāḻvār, and instructed him to meditate on Nammāḻvār by reciting *Kaṇṇiṇuṇ Ciṟuttāmpu* twelve-thousand times. Nātamuṉi invoked Nammāḻvār through the recitation. Nammāḻvār appeared before Nātamuṉi and gave him not only the whole thousand but also his other three works. In addition, he also handed over to him the works of other Āḻvārs in toto. On having received the entire NTP, Nātamuṉi spent sometime in Tirukkurukūr in the company of Śrīvaiṣṇavas until he was summoned by the Lord at Vīranārāyaṇapuram to come back to take up His

service. At Vīranārāyaṇapuram, Nātamuṉi codified the various works of twelve Āḻvārs into a four-fold division on the Vedic model of four Vedas and settled the tunes for the songs. Through his disciples the sacred hymns were propagated.[1]

1. This traditional story gives a supernatural bias for the canonisation of NTP. It also implies that all the texts except *Ārāvamutē* in *Tiruvāymoḻi* and *Kaṇṇiṇuṇ Ciṟuttāmpu* in *Mutalāyiram*, the First Thousand, were lost. But such assumptions appear contrary to historical facts. It is to be pointed out that as far as Vaiṣṇava literature is concerned "the stress is on literature and philosophy rather than on history".[2] A brief survey of the inscriptions demonstrate the popularity of Āḻvārs. Also endowments were created for the recitation of the sacred hymns in temples upto the period of Rajendra I in whose period Nātamuṉi appears to have lived.[3] The inscriptional evidences also point out to the existence of some more shrines which are not included in Nūṟṟiyeṭṭu Tiruppatikaḷ, the sacred one hundred and eight centres of Viṣṇu.

1.1. The names of Āḻvārs were well-known to the people long before the canonisation of NTP. The names of some Āḻvārs occur as personal names in earlier inscriptions. Such occurrences lead us to suggest that Āḻvārs and their hymns might have spread among the people so that their names could be adopted as personal names.

An inscription comes from the northern most part of the then Toṇṭaimaṇṭalam. A detached stone inscription in Tiruccukanūr, now known as Tiruccāṉūr at the foot of the Tiruppati hills is fragmentary and its date is lost. It records the gift of two officials of the Cōḻa king, Matirai Koṇṭa Parakēcarivarman Parāntaka I (905-947 A.D.), Nammāḻvāraṭikaḷ and Pūtūruṭaiyār. This inscription is of singular value as it proves that the name Nammāḻvār was already well-known around 910 A.D.[4]

1.2. The name Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi occurs as a personal name in an inscription at Tiruviṭaimarutūr, Tañjāvūr district. On the wall of the central shrine in the Mahāliṅgeśvarasvāmy temple, we find a record in the 37th regnal year of the Cōḻa king, Matirai Koṇṭa Parakēcarivarman Parāntaka I which mentions certain Kavārāmoḻi Tēvaṉ Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi Āḻvār; it shows beyond doubt that the name of the Āḻvār had attained much popularity then.[5]

1.3. VARADARAJA AYYAR quotes an inscription dated 908 A.D. on the outer walls of the Viṣṇu shrine at Tirukkaṇṇapuram, Tañjāvūr district; it mentions a personal name Caṭakōpan.[6] It is to be noted that Caṭakōpan is one of the names [7] used by Nammāḻvār himself as his personal name in *Tiruvāymoḻi.* This is also a clear evidence to show the popularity of Nammāḻvār then. Agnihotram RAMANUJA TATACARYA observes on the authority of inscriptional evidence that the Viṣṇu shrine at Varakuṇamaṅkai, Tirunelvēli district, was known as Caṭakōpa Viṇṇakaram. He remarks that this is the first reference to Nammāḻvār in a historical record.[8]

2. We have already stated that Nātamuṉi received the hymns of all Āḻvārs from the vision of Nammāḻvār at Tirukkurukūr. According to *Guru Paramparai Prabhāva* stories Nātamuṉi visited Gaṅgaikoṇṭa Cōḻapuram, the capital of Rajendra I (1012 -1045 A.D.).[9] NILAKANTA SASTRI assigns the period of Nātamuṉi between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century A.D.,on the basis of the Anpil plates which mention one Śrī Nātha. He is inclined to quote Śri Nātha who was very much devoted to Śrīraṅgam with Nātamuṉi.[10] If this equation is accepted, we may conclude that Nātamuṉi lived in the beginning of the 10th century. Vīranārāyaṇapuram, the village in which Nātamuṉi lived and edited *NTP*, is named after Parāntaka I, Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇan. RAGAVA AYYANGAR also arrives at the same conclusion on the basis of Kōiloḻugu, the activities of Śrīraṅgam temple, and other Vaiṣṇava traditions and fixes his period between 825 and 918 A.D.[11]

2.1 Now let us turn to the recitation of the hymns of the Āḻvārs. We come across inscriptional evidences for the recitation even before its codification into *NTP.* It is to be noted that Tēvāram was also recited in Śiva temples long before its canonisation by Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi.

2.2 We notice an inscription on the west wall of the ruined temple in the village Tirumālpuram, Cheṅgalpaṭṭu district. It records an endowment for the recitation of *Tiruvāymoḻi* of Nammāḻvār. The date of the inscription could not be satisfactorily settled because the beginning of the inscription is damaged. According to RANGACHARYA it is an old document on the basis of paleography.[12] During Rajaraja I's reign we notice a reference to Tiruvāymoḻi Tēvar in a dilapidated temple at Ukkal, North Ārcōṭ district. The inscrip-

tion claims the name of the deity Tiruvāymoḻi Tēvar, *emmur Tiruvāymoḻi Tēvarkku. . .* The Viṣṇu temple at Ukkal is referred as *Bhuvanimāṇikka Viṣṇugraham.*[13] RANGACHARYA opines that the term *Bhuvanimāṇikkam* refers to a Pallava connection, earlier than the Cōḻa. This record shows beyond any doubt that Nammāḻvār and his major work *Tiruvāymoḻi* had attained such high esteem among the people to name the presiding deity on the basis of Nammāḻvār's major work *Tiruvāymoḻi* at the time of Rajaraja I.

2.3. *Tiruvāymoḻi* not only received high reverence among the people but also induced people to compose songs in its imitation. One such attempt has been noticed in an inscription from Tirumālpuram, Cheṅgalpaṭṭu district. On the west wall of the ruined Viṣṇu temple at that place, we come across an inscription recording the gift of gold as an endowment by one Kuḻakuṭaiyāṉ Aruṇilai Śrī Kṛṣṇaṉ alias Mūvēnta Piṭavūr Vēlāṉ for reciting the *Tiruppatiyam* the Sacred ten Hymns * beginning with Kōla Naṟkuḻal composed by the donor's father in praise of Gōvindapāṭi Āḻvār during the occasion of a festival in the temple.[14] This inscription is dated as 995 A.D. Unfortunately, the full *Tiruppatiyam* beginning with Kōla Naṟkuḻal is not available from the inscription. We can surmise that in those days the recitation of the sacred hymns of Āḻvārs had come to stay and it had become a daily ritual in the temple activities. People accorded great reverence to *Tiruppatiyams*; this reverence to the sacred hymns would have persuaded some contemporary compositions in imitation of the sacred hymns; however, this is very rare.

2.4 Two inscriptions of the reign of Rajendra I from Uttiramērūr, Cheṅgalpaṭṭu district refer to the recitation of *Tirupattiyams.* The first inscription records the creation of an endowment of land for the maintenance of three Śṟīvaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas who were to recite *Tiruvāymoḻi* regularly in the temple.[15] The second inscription records the decision of the assembly of Uttiramērūr which decides to provide for three daily offerings to the Lord Rāghavadeva in the temple of Veḷḷaimuttu Āḻvār and for a flower garden

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Patikam/Patiyam is usually a string of ten verses, centring around a sacred temple/god. Many Patiyams have the eleventh verse also which usually gives the authorship and benefits of its recitation. The honorific "Tiru" is added to insist on the sacred nature of Patikam and hence it is Tiruppatikam/ Tiruppatiyam.

with the stipulation that the food offered at the services should be distributed to the Śṟīvaiṣṇavas who recite the *Tirupattiyam.*[16]

2.6 There are also references to Śṟīvaiṣṇavas in the inscriptions. One of them which belongs to Rajaraja I mentions that Śṟīvaiṣṇavas had spread over in eighteen *Nāṭus*, revenue districts in Cōḻa administration. It records the gift of land to Śṟīvaiṣṇavas.[17] The spread of Śrīvaiṣṇavas in the early Cōḻa period may indicate that the hymnist traditions would have continued at least in some important centres without break and not completely lost as suggested by *Guru Paramparai* stories.

3. The Vaiṣṇava traditions account for hundred and eight *Tiruppatikal* which are sung by Āḻvārs. Among them thirteen are just mentioned by one or two words; they do not have a full *Tiruppatiyam.*[18] Such sacred places are known in Śaiva traditions as Vaipputtalam, noted sacred place which are not elaborated. A close scrutiny of the NTP as well as the relevant inscriptions point out the possibility of some such *Vaipputtalams* in Vaiṣṇava traditions also which are not included in the hundred and eight *Tiruppatikal.* Another fact which comes to our notice is that there is no sacred shrine in *Koṅku* country sung by Āḻvārs, though there are some Viṣṇu shrines from the early period.

3.1. Periyāḻvār refers to a contemporary Pāṇḍyan king by Kō Neṭumāṟaṉ.[19] K.V.RAMAN identifies Kō Neṭumāṟaṉ as Arikēcari Paraṅkuca Māṟavarmaṉ alias Rajasimha I (730-38 A.D.).[20] Periyāḻvār also lived during the reign of his son Neḍuñcaṭaiya Parāntakaṉ alias Varakuṇaṉ I (758-815 A.D) [21]. Śrīvaramaṅgalam copper plates of Neḍuñcaṭaiya Parāntakan alias Varakuṇan I narrate that the Pāṇḍyaṉ king is a devout *Vaiṣṇava Parama Vaiṣṇavan tānāki* . . . and constructed a big temple at Kāñcivāyppērur in *Koṅku* country.[22] The temple referred to in the copper plates is not in existence now. But Periyāḻvār refers to one place name Koṅku in his song commencing with *Koṅkum Kuṭantaiyum Kōṭṭiyūrum* . . .[23] This may be a reference to the temple built by the Pāṇḍyaṉ king referred to in Śṟīvaramaṅgalam copper plates. Vaiṣṇava commentators interpret *Koṅku* in the above hymn as an adjunct of *Kuṭantai*; according to them *Koṅku* is honey and the suffix-um in *Koṅkum* is *virital vikāram* an empty marker. Such an interpretation is not

in consonance with Tamil syntactical traditions. Therefore, we may be persuaded to conclude that *Koṅku* is a place name. Kañcivāyppērūr or modern Pērūr in Coimbatōre district is perhaps the *Koṅku* referred to in the Śṟīvaramaṅgalam copper plates where the Pāṇḍyaṉ king built a temple for Viṣṇu. Perhaps, the Koṅku referred by Periyāḻvār may be the shrine built by Varakuṇan I.

3.2. Now the question arises whether Āḻvārs had sung hymns in praise of Viṣṇu shrines built during their period. It is very clear from the available sources that they have sung and glorified temples built in their own times. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār sings *Nantipura Viṇṇakar* near Kumbakōṇam and *Paramēśvara Viṇṇakar* at Kāñcipuram; both were built by Nantivarma Pallavamallaṉ (731-796 A.D) a contemporary of Tirumaṅkai.[24]

3.3. Āḻvārs have sung some of the cave temples also which were earlier than the kaṟṟaḷis, the stone-built temples; again it was Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār who had sung the cave temples at Tirumeyyam in Putukkōṭṭai district and Ātivarāha temple at Mahābalipuram.[25] Two cave temples near Nāmakkal, Ādiyēndra Viṣṇugṛha and Ādiyaṉavāya Viṣṇugṛha come to our notice. They are excellent cave temples carved by Atiyamāṉs of Takaṭūr. It is also to be remarked that these two cave temples are also in *Koṅku* country and are not included in the hundred and eight Tiruppatikal. We may be tempted to ask why the shrines in Koṅku country are not listed in the hundred and eight *Tiruppatikal.* A close study of *Guru Paramparai* traditions reveal that the activities of Nātamuṉi for rediscovering the sacred hymns of Āḻvārs were mainly confined to Pāṇḍya, Cōḻa and Kēraḷa countries, but not to *Koṅku* region. As there was no Āḻvār from Koṅku country Nātamuṉi could not have taken serious efforts to discover *NTP* manuscripts from there. Further, the *Koṅku* country was the bone of contention between the warring dynasties, and the situation would not have permitted Nātamuṉi to undertake a journey in the war-torn region for his sacred mission.

4. Thus a close scrutiny of *NTP* through the light of the inscriptions lead us to some insights. The study and recitation of the sacred hymns were continuously carried out at various important centres and not completely lost as suggested by the *Guru Paramparai* accounts. We have to reinterpret them. Every religion needs 'revelation' for its acknowledgement among the masses.

Unless it is revealed, the believing community cannot accept a religion. It is believed that Vēdas are given by God. The community of Śr̲īvaiṣṇavas requires that their sacred hymns are to be 'revealed' to Nātamun̲i, their first Ācārya, the preceptor and then only *NTP* can be treated on par with Vedas. A study of the relevant historical materials may help us to rewrite the history of *NTP* texts.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEṆKALAI UNDERSTANDING OF THE ĀCĀRYA : TEACHER, MEDIATOR AND SAVIOUR.

PATRICIA Y. MUMME

The Śrivaiṣṇava tradition is well known for teaching salvation by the grace of the Lord Viṣṇu through surrender to Him *(prapatti)*. It is equally well known for the schism between the Teṉkalai and Vaṭakalai factions over doctrinal differences concerning the nature of *prapatti*, well known from most introductory texts on Hinduism as the dispute between the "cat and monkey schools." The Teṉkalai teaches that in *prapatti*, surrender to God, the individual soul is totally passive and is saved solely by divine grace, much as a mother cat carries a kittten. The Vaṭakalai, on the other hand, claims that as a baby monkey must hold on to its mother's fur to be carried, the individual soul in surrendering to God is not totally passive, but must co-operate with the Lord's saving grace in order to be rescued from saṁsāra. This dispute begins to be articulated in theological works from around the turn of the fourteenth century, and culminates in fierce sectarian rivalry between the two groups in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[1]

With all the ink that has been spilled by Śrīvaiṣṇavas over the centuries arguing the 'cat' and 'monkey' interpretation of *prapatti*, one might be surprised to find that among modern Teṉkalai Śrīvaiṣṇavas, technically speaking, no one advocates or practises *prapatti*. The theological understanding of *prapatti* is still important to the Teṉkalai school, but only in theory, not in practice. The method of salvation that is relied on by virtually all Teṉkalai adherents today is *ācāryābhimāna*, the love of the ācārya for the disciple. As the Teṉkalai now understands it, Rāmānuja, the foremost theologian and ācārya of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, recorded his own surrender to God in his prose hymn, the *Śaraṇāgati Gadya*. Rāmānjua's *prapatti* was not just for his own salvation, but for the salvation of the entire lineage of Śrīvaiṣṇavas claiming allegiance to him through his *guruparamparā* or succession of ācāryas. Therefore, all that is necessary to be assured of mokṣa and the attainment of Vaikuṇṭha at the end of life is to establish a connection with an authorized ācārya in Rāmānuja lineage. Teṉkalai followers perform *śaraṇāgati*, taking refuge with the ācārya, as a matter of course in the Pañcasaṁskāra initiation rite for all Śrīvaiṣṇavas, male or female.[2] Though in the popular understanding, this initiation ritual is equated with *prapatti* or *śaraṇāgati* to the Lord, Teṉkalai theological literature is quite explicit that surrendering to the Lord Himself

and taking refuge with an ācārya in Rāmānuja's lineage are separate means (*upāyas*) to mokṣa.

How did this doctrine develop ? How did salvation by Rāmānuja through the lineage of ācāryas *(guruparamparā)* come to eclipse salvation by the Lord through *prapatti* in the Teṉkalai tradition ? In the theological literature of the Śrīvaiṣṇava ācāryas we can trace four loosely historical stages in the development of the ācārya doctrine. First, through the twelfth century and the first two generations of Rāmānuja's disciples, the ācārya is seen by Śrīvaiṣṇavas chiefly as a revered teacher and example of piety and devotion. This understanding of the ācārya is an accord with authoritative Hindu scripture and tradition. In the second stage, around the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, the ācārya is viewed as an absolutely essential mediator for salvation via *prapatti* to the Lord (as seen in the works of Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumāṉār and Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai). In the third stage, around the end of the thirteenth century (about the same time that Teṉkalai doctrine breaks with the Vaṭakalai school), *ācāryābhimāna,* the love of the ācārya for the disciple, is declared by Piḷḷai Lokācārya to be a separate upāya, distinct from salvation by surrender to the Lord Himself. Finally, in the fourth stage, developing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Rāmānuja comes to be seen by the Teṉkalai school as the *caramopāya* or ultimate means of salvation -- the saviour for all Śrīvaiṣṇavas by virtue of the *prapatti* he performed to the Lord.

First Stage : The Ācārya as Teacher and Example.

In the doctrinal works of the earliest Śrīvaiṣṇava ācāryas, Yāmuna and Rāmānuja, we do not find any passages explicating their view of the ācārya's role or importance in the attainment of the highest spiritual aim. This omission itself is significant. However, both Yāmuna and Rāmānuja wrote poetic works -- either separate stotras or laudatory stanzas attached to their doctrinal works --expressing their attitudes toward their own ācāryas. In these verses, two main themes stand out. First we note the extreme loyalty, reverence and high praise each gives his ācārya--as teacher and scholar, as exemplary devotee of the Lord, and as compassionate saviour (by virtue of his inspirational teaching and example). Secondly, we find hyperbolic expressions of self-deprecation and humility in view of the ācārya's greatness, sometimes with a plea for intercession, requesting the Lord to look mercifully on the disciple's sinfulness

or lowliness by virtue of the ācārya's perfect devotion and wisdom. In the first three verses of his *Stotraratna*, Yāmuna praises his guru and grandfather, Nāthamuni, for his exemplary devotion to Nārāyaṇa, his knowledge and dispassion, and his prowess in bhaktiyoga (SR1-3). His closing verses praise his ancestral lineage while apologizing for his own lowliness:

> I have been born in a great lineage of those of world-renown fame, purity and self-control, who know the true nature of matter and spirit, who, by their nature have minds devoted solely to your lotus feet; But alas, sinner that I am, O giver of refuge, I am mired in dark ignorance *(tamas).*
>
> I have been a transgressor, vile, fickle-minded, the breeding ground of envy, ungrateful, arrogant, lascivious, deceitful, cruel and most wicked. How shall I, crossing this boundless sea of misery, serve Thy lotus-feet ?" (*SR*.61-62)

After recalling that Rāma not only saved the crow who bowed before him, but promised to accept all who request shelter, in his last verse Yāmuna asks the Lord to "have mercy, not in accord with my own activities, but in consideration of my grandfather, Nāthamuni, one who is both self-possessed and possesses the most excellent and genuine love for your lotus-feet" (*SR* 65).

Rāmānuja, in the introductory stanzas of his *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, praises Yāmuna for dispelling the delusive darkness that had filled the world in the form of that most heretical māyā doctrine of the Advaitins (VS p. 1). In the invocation to his *Bhagavad Gītā Bhāṣya,* Rāmānuja says, "I bow to that most renowned Yāmunācārya, for all my sins were completely destroyed through contemplation of his lotus feet, and I was led to the realization of Ultimate Reality *(vastutā).*"[3]

The view of the ācārya in the minds of these Śrīvaṣṇava founders seems fully in line with the traditional understanding of the guru as outlined in the Upaniṣads, in Dharmasūtra, and in Pāñcarātra; this is probably why Yāmuna and Rāmānuja felt no special need to reiterate that view in their doctrinal works. The guidance of a teacher knowledgeable in the Śāstras and in Vedāntic doctrine--who has a genuine love of the Lord and who can inspire that love in his disciples--is declared in many authoritative sources to be absolutely nece-

ssary for salvation. Extreme gratitude and reverence for the pious, erudite, and godlike ācārya--coupled with an attitude of humble self-deprecation-are expected by the disciple. Nevertheless, it is clear that for Yāmuna and Rāmānuja, the work and example of the ācārya is the impetus--not the substitute--for their own knowledge of and devotion to the Lord. Both have written devotional works where they seek refuge with the Lord themselves and express their devotion to the Lord and his consort--Yāmuna in his *Stotraratna* and Rāmānuja in his *Śaraṇāgati Gadya*.[4]

We find more elaborate and emphatic articulation of these same themes in the poetic works of Rāmānuja's disciples. These include several stanzas in the stotras of Kūrattāḻvāṉ and his son Parāśara Bhaṭṭar which refer to their ācāryas, along with two independent stotras in praise of Rāmānuja: the Sanskrit *Yatirāja Vaibhava* attributed to Āndhra Pūrṇa, and the Tamil Rāmānuja Nurṟāntāti of Tiruvaraṅkatta-mutaṉār. All these authors repeatedly praise Rāmānuja for his devotion to the Lord and to the Āḻvārs, for his brilliant defense of Vedānta which rescued the world from the dark ignorance of the Kaliyuga, and for his compassionate teaching of these truths to his disciples. For example, Kūrattāḻvāṉ lauds Rāmānuja for his exemplary devotion to the Lord, and for his compassion in accepting such an unworthy disciple as himself.[5] He claims to have sought refuge at the feet of the Lord, and to have obtained all his knowledge from Rāmānuja.[6] Kūrattāḻvāṉ's son Parāśara Bhaṭṭar credits Rāmānuja with driving away "the gory play of the demon of the Kali-yuga" through the device *(yantra)* called bhakti.[7]

In order to avoid reading the later Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrinal understanding back into these works, it is important to note what is absent in these early stotras. First of all, even when the ācārya or Rāmānuja is declared to be a saviour--of his disciple or the whole world--it is still clear that salvation depends on whether the disciple or follower learns the teaching and follows the ācārya's example in his own life. It is poetic hyperbole and the requisite attitude of humility and gratitude, rather than soteriological doctrine, which prompts them to declare that their ācārya has removed their sins and saved them. Secondly, these authors see no conflict between taking refuge with the ācārya and taking refuge with Śrī and with the Lord Himself--and all three can be called saviours or protectors without contradiction. For example, Kūrattāḻvāṉ takes

refuge in Rāmānuja *(Vaikuṇṭhastava* 1), in the Lord (*Varadarājastava* 2) and Śrī (*Śrīstava*).[8] There is some scholarly dispute as to whether bhaktiyoga and *prapatti* are fully distinguished in the minds of the twelfth century ācāryas; but it is apparent that these men make no such distinction between salvation through the grace of the Lord Himself and salvation through the ācārya.[9]

There is some foreshadowing in the stotras of the late twelfth century (the second generation after Rāmānuja) of future doctrinal developments in the Teṉkalai tradition. Parāśara Bhaṭṭar emphasizes the importance of the line of ācāryas, suggesting that they have some mediating or atoning influence in allowing him to be accepted by the Lord. He opens his *Śrīraṅgarājastava* with laudatory verses toward his entire line of ācāryas--Kūrattāḻvāṉ, Empār, Rāmānuja, Yāmuna and Nammāḻvār (1:1-7); he credits his teachers for making him fit to be a pure offering for the Lord (1:48), and his ancestors who "had the strength of *prapatti*" for his right to praise the Lord in his hymn (1:17).[10] Perhaps most significant is the following declaration in the *Śrīraṅgarājastava*:

> O Lord Raṅga ! I have been made your burden *(bhāra)* by my ācāryas who were steeped in dharma; I have also uttered the word "Śaraṇa" with my mouth. Realizing this, you have to make me your responsibility *(bhāra)* now ! (1:102).[11]

By the fourteenth century, both Teṉkalai and Vaṭakalai ācāryas could read this verse as evidence that either surrender to the Lord oneself, or surrender accomplished through the ācārya, is sufficient for salvation.[12] However, it is more likely that Bhaṭṭar's intent was to suggest that his being dedicated to the Lord by his ācāryas in the act of initiation was brought to fulfillment in his own act of taking refuge in the Lord.

In the independent stotras in praise of Rāmānuja from the late twelfth century, there are hints at Rāmānuja's special salving importance interspersed with the expected lavish praise for his devotion to the Lord and to the Āḻvārs, Vedic learning, and compassion for his disciples. This is evident in the Rāmānuja Nūṟṟāntati by Tiruvaraṅkattamutanār who, like Bhaṭṭar, was a grand-

disciple of Rāmānuja through Kūrattāḻvāṉ:

> O heart, let us declare the name of (Rāmānuja), the one who saved himself by serving the feet of Nammāḻvār whose hymns praised the one on whose chest dwells the lady of the [lotus] blossom, that we might forever live at the lotus feet of Rāmānuja, where those who know the śāstras have come to dwell.(*RN*.1)
>
> After taking refuge with our Kūrattāḻvāṉ, whose great fame is beyond words, who has crossed over the pitfalls of the three treacherous evils, and now singing the glory of Rāmānuja who released me from the penalty [of sin], there is no difficulty for me in avoiding wrong paths. (*RN* .7)
>
> I have no need to perform fierce austerities in deserts, rocky hills or seas in order to hasten my goal; now that the lofty Rāmānuja--who praises the feet of the great ones who sing the hymns of Kulaśekhara Āḻvār which are studded with words from the śāstras,--will not leave me. (*RN* .14)
>
> Rāmānuja is truly my help and refuge, for in order to save all souls, he provides the virtues of Maturakavi who had the excellence of keeping in his heart Nammāḻvār, who came into the world in order to render the rarest scriptures into one thousand sweet Tamil verses. (*RN* .18)

This last stanza seems to foreshadow the later view, promulgated by Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, that the path of Maturakavi, whose devotion was aimed solely at his ācārya Nammāḻvār rather than to the Lord, may be a path distinct from prappati or bhaktiyoga. It might also be taken to imply that Rāmānuja himself could be the object of devotion for others just as Nammāḻvār was the object of Maturakavi's devotion.[13] The full articulation of this doctrine, however, is at least two centuries away.

Another set of twelfth century works--the *Jñānasāra* and *Prameyasāra* of Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumāṉār--are transitional both in form and content between the first and second stage in the development of the Śrīvaiṣṇava understanding of the ācārya. In form, these works are Tamil poems which are doctrinal and didactic pieces, not stotras of praise. In content, they go far to heighten the salving importance of the ācārya in the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition. The

Prameyasāra, a treatise on the Tirumantra in ten stanzas, fixes the doctrinal importance of the ācārya by interpreting the u of the aum in the sacred Tirumantra as referring to the ācārya, the one who connects the souls signified by the m to the Lord signified by the a. "The one in the u (ācārya) proclaims that all those in the m (sentient souls) are servants to the one in the a (the Lord). Those who have realized they are the slaves of those who have learned this path-- I am sure they will go to the Land of no return !"(*PS*.1).[14] The final section of the *Jñānasāra* stresses the absolute necessity of the ācārya for salvation and implores the disciple to revere the ācārya as the veritable feet of the Lord (*JS*. 31). To look upon the ācārya as a mere man is declared to be as blasphemous as viewing the temple image of the Lord as a piece of metal--to do so will damn one to the lowest hell (*JS*. 32). The ācārya is the visible and attainable incarnation of the Lord Himself; the Lord has special anger for those who do not revere the ācārya, and special love for those who consider the ācārya their all in all (*JS*. 35-8). Later, Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi will cite the Jñānasāra's verses equating the ācārya to the Lord to support his doctrine that *ācāryābhimāna* is an upāya distinct from surrender to the Lord Himself. However, it is the *Jñāna-sāra*'s theme of the indispensibility of the ācārya for *prapatti* which Periya-vāccāṉ Piḷḷai elaborates in the next stage.

Second Stage : The Ācārya as Indispensible Mediator.

Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai (1167-1262), one of the most creative and prolific of all Śrīvaiṣṇava ācāryas, is the first to write a substantial prose work--the *Māṇikkamālai*--devoted specifically to articulating the complete Śrīvaiṣṇava understanding of the ācārya and integrating it with the rest of Śrīvaiṣṇava theology. It is important to note that by Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's time, many aspects of Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine which were still nebulous in the twelfth century had become more definitely articulated. *Prapatti* was now clearly defined as an upāya for salvation which is open to all and thus distinct from the more difficult bhaktiyoga which demands twice-born status. The salving importance of Śrī or Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu's eternal consort and the embodiment of his compassion, as mediator or puruṣakāra had been established.[15] It was understood that when the individual soul takes refuge with the Lord in *prapatti* or self-surrender, Śrī's mediation must be invoked first, as evidenced in

Rāmānuja's *Śaraṇāgati Gadya*, which was considered by this time to be a historical account of Rāmānuja's *prapatti* to Viṣṇu in Śrīraṅgam.

It is against this doctrinal background that Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai spells out the importance and absolute necessity of the ācārya for salvation. His work elaborates the qualifications, duites and responsibilities of both ācārya and śiṣya. Of course, the ācārya should be a learned teacher with exemplary devotion to the Lord. He should be without egoism or desire for wealth and power. He must have a thorough understanding of the correct meaning of the Tirumantra ("aum namo nārāyaṇāya"), the essence of all the Vedas and śāstras, whose essential meaning is surrender to the Lord--*prapatti* (*Māṇi.* pp.58-59). While the ācārya looks after the śiṣya's soul, the śiṣya should attend to the bodily needs of the ācārya, serving him with faultless diligence, and living a life of chastity and devotion, as exemplified by Sītā while imprisoned in Laṅkā. Above all, the disciple should be humble, devoid of any ego or selfishness, and blind to the faults of his ācārya and other devotees of the Lord. (*Māṇi.* pp. 60-61).[16]

While emphasizing, like the *Jñānasāra*, that the ācārya is absolutely necessary as teacher, guide and example for the śiṣya who seeks salvation, Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's most interesting contribution is to compare the ācārya's role in salvation to the mediator role of Śrī. Śrī's role as mediator or puruṣakāra between the Lord and the individual soul, according to Śrīvaiṣṇava doctrine, is based on her position as an embodiment of the Lord's compassionate aspect, his beloved wife, and the mother of all souls. She must be invoked before surrendering to the Lord, for only she has the persuasive power to convince the Lord to show mercy on the one seeking refuge with Him. Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai raises the question why the ācārya's mediation is necessary, if Śrī is invoked. He answers that the ācārya's mediation is needed to remove the obstructions to salvation on the part of the individual seeking refuge, while Śrī's job is to remove the obstructions to salvation on the part of the Lord Himself. The ācārya gets rid of the śiṣya's defects by teaching him to invoke the *guruparamparā* and making him become a "śaraṇāgata"--one who has taken refuge in the Lord. He sees to it that the egoism and selfishness which prevent the śiṣya from attaining the Lord are eradicated (*Māṇi.* pp. 61-2). Śrī removes the obstructions or defects on the part of the Lord by

convincing him to change his mind from wanting to punish the individual according to his karma, to a desire to save him from saṁsāra out of pity. The Lord's "defect" is one of unreasonable expectations--attempting to judge this sinful world by the standards of the heavenly realm. Śrī corrects this problem, convincing the Lord to have compassion and forgive or disregard the individual's sins (*Māṇi.* p.62). In short, Śrī deals with God and the ācārya deals with the individual; both mediators are absolutely necessary for *prapatti* to have fruition. One who approaches the Lord without their intercession, Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai says, is likely to be rejected on account of his sins (*Māṇi.* p.65).

It must be emphasized that Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai is clearly exhorting salvation by *prapatti*--surrendering all one's efforts to save oneself and depending on the omniscient and all-powerful Lord as saviour. In fact he defines the ācārya as "the one who teaches *prapatti* which is the cessation of all one's activities that obstruct attain-ment of the Lord--the one who reveals that one can become free of responsibility by having faith that the Lord and husband of Śrī is one's protector"(*Māṇi.* p.58). Thus there is no distinction for Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai between salvation by *prapatti* and salvation through the ācārya. Though recitation of the *guruparamparā*, as well as recitation of the Tirumantra and Caramaśloka, are mentioned as part of the rite of submission to the ācārya after being accepted by him, the *Māṇikkamālai* gives no inkling of any special salving importance of Rāmānuja and his surrender. Periyavāccān Piḷḷai has greatly enhanced the ācārya's role as teacher and example by equating his function with that of Śrī, and by declaring that without the mediation of both Śrī and the ācārya, surrender to the Lord will not succeed (p.65). But it is still true that the ācārya can only be called a saviour in a secondary or derived sense--as the one who facilitates or inspires the disciple to surrender to the Lord as the true saviour. The ācārya and his mediation is part of proper method of *prapatti*--not a different method. With the next stage, as we will see, this changes.

The Third Stage : Ācāryābhimāna as a Separate Upāya.

In the *Śrīvacana Bhūṣana* of Piḷḷai Lokācārya (d. 1311?) and its commentary by Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi (d. 1443) we find that ācāryābhimāna, love of the ācārya for his disciple, is declared to be a path of salvation quite

distinct from surrendering to the Lord Himself. Piḷḷai Lokācārya sees ācāryābhimāna as separate from *prapatti*, but equally effective--in fact even more effective--in attaining salvation. What doctrinal development has made for this need to supplement *prapatti* to the Lord with another, more effective means of salvation ? Recall how the *Māṇikkamālai* had mentioned the Lord's autonomy and anger at sins which may prompt him to reject the soul who surrenders to him without the mediation of both Śrī and the ācārya. The writings of Piḷḷai Lokācārya and his brother, Aḻakiyamaṇavāḷa Perumāl Nāyanār, emphasize that Lord's will is completely unconstrained and autonomous, such that he is not obligated to accept those who surrender to him. Piḷḷai Lokācārya is careful to point out that though we may speak of *prapatti* as an upāya or means of salvation, technically that is not correct. It is the all-powerful and sovereign Lord who effects salvation, not the individual's act of self-surrender.[17] Therefore, if the sovereign and autonomous Lord wants to save some individual, he has the right to do so without waiting for that individual to perform *prapatti*. By virtue of that same autonomy, Viṣṇu has the right to refuse to save one who surrenders to him and the power to keep him in saṁsāra if he wants. This means that salvation by *prapatti* is inherently uncertain, and as Piḷḷai Lokācārya points out, this is a very serious drawback for one who is seeking salvation (*ŚVB.* 406-7, 444-5, 462).

Piḷḷai Lokācārya claims, however, that this problem of fear and uncertainty can be avoided by choosing not the Lord Himself, but ācāryābhimāna, as one's upāya for salvation (*ŚVB.* 406-7). Unlike surrendering oneself to the Lord, when one resorts to the ācārya's love, there is no doubt as to the outcome. It is true, as the *Jñānasāra* says, that the ācārya is the very embodiment of the Lord, but without the Lord's autonomy and sovereignty. Like Śrī, the ācārya has the Lord's mercy, and furthermore has the power and right to save, but not the power or authority to keep anyone in saṁsāra. Therefore, the ācārya can't refuse (*ŚVB.* 407).

Appealing to the Jñānasāra's claim that the ācārya is the Lord's feet, Piḷḷai Lokācārya says that "Resorting to the Lord is like getting the result by grasping His hand. Resorting to the ācārya is like getting the result by grasping his foot" (ŚVB 427). Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary explains that this means two things : First, the ācārya is not different from the Lord, but a

manifestation of Himself, like a part of his body--the embodiment of the Lord's saving feet. At the same time the analogy shows why resorting to the ācārya is more reliable. No merciful person could deny the request of one who has fallen at his feet, even though he might refuse one who boldly walks up, looks him in the eye, and makes a request. In the same way, the merciful Lord cannot deny salvation for one who goes through the ācārya, though he may refuse one who requests salvation directly (*ŚVB.* 427). Thus while surrendering to the Lord Himself may not always be effective, relying on the ācārya's love (ācāryābhimāna) cannot fail.

To support ācāryābhimāna as a separate upāya, Piḷḷai Lokācārya appeals to the example of Maturakavi, the Āḻvār whose only hymn praises not Viṣṇu but Nammāḻvār, whom he calls his saviour and refuge (*ŚVB.* 408-9). Similarly, one of Rāmānuja's disciples, Vaṭuka Nampi, was said to be so devoted to Rāmānuja that he refused to pay any attention to the Lord Himself, criticizing other disciples of Rāmānuja for being two-faced--some-times worshipping the Lord and sometimes honouring Rāmānuja (*ŚVB.* 411). Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi argue that ācāryābhimāna can be used either as an accompaniment *(aṅga)* of *prapatti* or as a separate, independent upāya (*ŚVB.* 427); but one who chooses ācāryābhimāna as an independent means must see the ācārya both as means *(upāya)* and ends *(upēya)*, directing his devotion and service primarily to the ācārya and to other devotees of the Lord (*ŚVB.* 410, 425-6, 428).

Interlude : The Vaṭakalai View of the Ācārya.

It is at the beginning of this third stage, marked by the lifetimes of Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, that the Vaṭakalai view of the ācārya parted company with subsequent developments in the Teṉkalai view. Vedānta Deśika (1269-1370)--a younger contemporary of Piḷḷai Lokācārya who died just before Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi was born--would accept nearly all of Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's claims about the ācārya. Though his works criticize many of the doctrinal claims of Piḷḷai Lokācārya and other contemporary Teṅkalai thinkers, he does not single out for criticism their views regarding ācārya. Vedānta Deśika, like the Teṉkalai ācāryas in the second stage, makes it clear that an ācārya learned in the śāstras is essential for *prapatti*, though his

reasoning differs from that of Periyavāccān Piḷḷai and the Teṉkalai school. Deśika sees the Lord as in-herently merciful and ever eager to save any soul, but because he respects the soul's desires he waits for a sign or pretext (vyāja) indicating that the individual wants salvation. The Lord has revealed in scripture that this pretext must take the form of performance of one of scripturally enjoined upāyas--either bhaktiyoga or *prapatti*--according to the individual's qualification. *Prapatti* is simpler than bhaktiyoga and open to all, but it is still a performance or upāya declared in Pāñcarātra śāstra to have six aṅgas or accessory components (RTS 11 : p. 355). The guidance of an ācārya is necessary for the one seeking refuge--not because the Lord may arbitrarily refuse to accept the soul--but to make sure that *prapatti* is performed properly with all its aṅgas. Deśika recognizes two variations of *prapatti* : In *ācāryaniṣṭhā* prapatti, the ācārya performs *prapatti* on behalf of the disciple or includes his disciple's salvation in his own act of taking refuge. In *uktiniṣṭhā* prapatti, the śiṣya, under the tutelage of the ācārya, recites the words of surrender himself (*RTS.* 8 : pp. 283-287). There is no doubt that the ācārya is needed for both.

Though Deśika sees going through the ācārya as only a variation of *prapatti*, and not a separate upāya, he quotes with favour a statement attributed to Mutaliyāṇṭāṉ, one of Rāmānuja's disciples, who--speaking to his fellow śiṣyas--said that just as all the insects on the back of a lion go with him when he jumps accross a chasm, so too they have all been saved by Rāmānuja's conquest of saṁsāra (*RTS.*8 : p. 295). Thus it seems that Deśika would find little to criticize in Piḷḷai Lokācārya's view of ācāryābhimāna other than the premise that it is the Lord's unpredictable autonomy which makes going through the ācārya necessary. However, he does quote with favour a passage from the *Śāṇḍilya Smṛti* which comes close to making this claim: "Among those worshipping Acyuta (the Lord) there may be some doubt whether one will reach attainment. But there is no doubt in the case of those who delight solely in serving His devotees." Deśika explains that if salvation through devotion to Bhāgavatas is secure, then "by the principle of 'how much more', there is no doubt regarding those who have resorted to an ācārya" (*RTS.* 8 : pp. 294-5).

In spite of the Mutaliyāṇṭaṉ quote above, it is important to note that Deśika does not seem to be familiar with the idea that Rāmānuja's *śaraṇāgati-*

-or any ācārya's surrender--can have any significance beyond his immediate disciples. Deśika stresses that in order for salvation to be effected, *prapatti* indeed has to be performed by someone -- either by the individual under the guidance of the ācārya or by the ācārya himself--at some particular time (*RTS.* 8 : p. 297). For this reason, Deśika claims that living in the Lord's territory, singing praises to Him, and keeping company with other devotees of the Lord are not sufficient as upāyas for salvation unless they culminate in prapatti or bhaktiyoga.

The current Vaṭakalai practice seems to be in line with Vedānta Deśika's understanding of the role of the ācārya. The Vaṭakalai do not perform *śaraṇāgati* as a matter of course in the Pañcasaṁskāra ritual. Since *prapatti* signifies to the Lord one's own willingness to be saved, it is a separate, voluntary ritual--either performed by the ācārya with the prapanna present and participating, or performed strictly by the ācārya on behalf of the prapanna. In practice, few Vaṭakalais become prapannas, and then usually only at the end of their lives, since strict standards of purity and conduct, as well as close contact with the ācārya, are expected for the rest of one's life after one becomes a prapanna. This is because in Deśika's view the prapanna needs to perform another compensatory or atoning *prapatti* for every sin or transgression he commits after his original *prapatti*, in order to avoid punishment in this life and delay of mokṣa. Thus the guidance of a learned ācārya is crucial in the subsequent life of the prapanna.

Fourth Stage : Rāmānuja as Saviour.

The current Teṉkalai doctrine that Rāmānuja is the saviour for the entire Śrīvaiṣṇava lineage by virtue of his *prapatti* to Viṣṇu in the *Śaraṇāgati Gadya* seems to have developed only in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though the works of Rāmānuja's disciples praising their ācārya as saviour were interpreted in accord with ācāryābhimāna after the thirteenth century (as seen in Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentaries), the idea of Rāmānuja's salving importance for all Śrīvaiṣṇavas had not yet been fully articulated. Piḷḷai Lokācārya's exposition on ācāryābhimāna makes no special mention of Rāmānuja's *prapatti*. Not even Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentaries on *Śrīvacana Bhūṣaṇa, Jñānasāra*, or *Rāmānuja Nūṟṟāntāti* contain any

reference to the special salving importance of Rāmānuja and his surrender in the *Śaraṅāgati Gadya.*

This is surprising because the first clear evidence of Rāmānuja's status as saviour of the Śrīvaiṣṇava lineage is found in two poetic works by Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi himself--*Yatirāja Vimśati* and *Ārtiprabantam. Yatirāja Vimśati,* believed to be Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's first composition, is a brief Sanskrit stotra to Rāmānuja (Yatirāja, Yatīndra). Here, he declares that Rāmānuja's *prapatti* in the *Śaraṇāgati Gadya* has the power to save all those connected with his *guruparamparā*:

> For one who has committed untold sins by (word, mind, and deed) and in times (past, present, and future) there is no refuge but the Lord's forgiveness. That (same forgiveness) which you requested of the Lord of the Lotus Lady (a reference to Rāmānuja's *Śaraṇāgati Gadya*) is the protection for those connected with you. (*YV.* 18)

This idea is expressed even more clearly in Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's *Ārti Prabantam,* a long Tamil poem written at the end of his life, in which he pleads with Rāmānuja to have mercy and quickly release him from this world so that he may serve him in Vaikuṇṭha.

> When will I relinquish this bodily prison and pass on into eternal, supreme bliss ? Alas, have mercy, Yatirāja ! You must realize that from now on, saving me is your responsibility. (*ĀP* 4)

> Riding on the boat of Rāmānuja's love (*abhimāna*) which removes all sins, by the glorious grace of the unerringly wise Tiruvāymoḻi Piḷḷai (Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's own ācārya), I will cross the sea of saṁsāra and reach the edge of Mādhava's faultless realm. (*ĀP.* 22; cf. 12, 46, 57, 58, 26)

> Consider the boon that Lord Raṅganātha gave to our father Rāmānuja saying, "Stay here contentedly in Śrīraṅgam . . ." O heart ! Isn't this boon ours ? Don't the possessions of the father belong to the sons as an inheritance ? (*ĀP.* 60)

The last verse is a clear reference to the closing lines of Rāmānuja's Śaraṇāgati Gadya, where the Lord says :

> "Remain contentedly in Śrīraṅgam until the body falls away, without a trace of bodily, worldly, or divine sufferings or obstacles, ever uttering the Dvaya (mantra) and contemplating its meaning. Then when the body falls away, solely by my grace, . . . you will at that moment become my eternal servant."[18]

It is odd that though this idea is quite clearly expressed in his poetic works, no clear exposition of it is found in Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's doctrinal works. He repeatedly misses opportunitites to explicate this view of Rāmānuja in commenting on the sections of *Śrīvacana Bhūṣaṇa* dealing with ācāryābhimāna and in his *Rāmānuja Nūṟṟāntāti* commentary.

The first clear doctrinal declaration of the modern Teṉkalai position on Rāmānuja's salving importance for the entire Śrīvaiṣṇava lineage occurs in a semi-hagiographical work called the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*, attributed to Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai (1227-1327), Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai's nephew, adopted son, and most erudite disciple. But there is strong evidence that this work could not have been composed by younger Piḷḷai, and must be dated around the time of Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi or shortly thereafter, perhaps the sixteenth century. Its simple linguistic style does not match that of Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai's other scholarly works, and none of Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai's contemporaries--or even Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, a century later--seem to be familiar with its radical claims. For instance, Piḷḷai Lokācārya--the younger Āccāṉ Piḷḷai's contemporary--seems anxious to defend the legitimacy of ācāryābhimāna as an upāya separate from prapatti, thus belying that this was a somewhat new and not yet fully accepted teaching around the turn of the fourteenth century. But the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* (supposedly written around the same time) assumes the legitimacy of ācāryābhimāna as a separate upāya and builds its argument from there.

The most cogent evidence against the authenticity of this work is the fact that Vedānta Deśika, a contemporary of Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai, though sympathetic to the idea that the ācārya's prapatti can include the salvation of his disciples, shows no familiarity with the notion that Rāmā-

nuja's prapatti had any salving significance beyond his own immediate disciples (*RTS.* 8 : pp.295-7). Deśika took Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai to task for many of his doctrines concerning the nature of Śrī. Throughout his *Rahasya-trayasāra*, Deśika is very concerned to establish that "unless prapatti is performed in some manner or another, by someone or another, the Lord will not graciously grant the supreme goal" (*RTS.* ch.8: p. 297). Had he known about it, he most certainly would have objected to the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*'s claims that Rāmānuja has made performance of *prapatti* unnecessary for all subsequent generations.

In his commentaries Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi used the term *caramopāya*, literally "final or utlimate upāya," as a synonym for ācāryābhimāna, since he regards it as the ultimate means to salvation, superior to bhaktiyoga and *prapatti*. But to the author of the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*, the term "caramopāya" refers not to ācāryābhimāna in general but to Rāmānuja himself. He starts out by claiming that though currently all Śrīvaiṣṇavas declare that the love of their own ācāryas (ācāryābhimāna) is their saviour, evidence from scripture and from the secret teachings of their own prior ācāryas show that Rāmānuja is the refuge for all and is himself the caramopāya (CN pp. 500-1). Passages from the Āḻvār's hymns and some Pūrāṇic literature are cited and interpreted as prophesies of Rāmānuja's birth. Anecdotes involving Rāmānuja's disciples and teachers are related in which Rāmānuja is alternately declared to be a special incarnation of Viṣṇu, Viṣvaksena, Anantaśeṣa and Lakṣmaṇa, who came to earth to destroy the kaliyuga by saving all those who are connected with his lineage (*CN.* pp. 508, 511, 515, 520-3).

The *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*'s most unusual claim is that Rāmānuja is the saviour not only for the subsequent generations of Śrīvaiṣṇavas in his guruparamparā, but even for the prior ācāryas--Nāthamuni,Yāmuna and Rāmānuja's own teachers. The *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* explains that there are two kinds of ācāryas --benefactors (upakāra) and saviours (uttāraka). Rāmānuja's immediate ācāryas were only benefactors, not saviours; otherwise, they would not have had their sons take refuge in Rāmānuja. There are only three ācāryas who have the status of saviours : the Lord himself, Nammāḻvār (presumably for Maturakavi), and Rāmānuja. But the greatest of these, it says, is Rāmānuja ! The Lord himself failed to uplift the world, so he sent

Nammāḻvār, who lived only a short time and had only a small Vaiṣṇava following. But Rāmānuja lived some hundred and twenty years, with a huge number of disciples. When Lord Raṅganātha blessed Rāmānuja (at the end of the *Śaraṇāgati Gadya*) he gave him possession of the two realms of saṁsāra and Vaikuṇṭha. Therefore, it concludes, Rāmānuja alone is the *"sarvottāraka"*--the saviour of all, capable of rescuing all from saṁsāra and delivering them to the heavenly realm (*CN.* 512-513).[19] Rāmānuja is compared to the centre jewel on the necklace of the ācāryas, strung together with the Dvaya Mantra; the light of Rāmānuja's saving grace is reflected in both directions--past and future (*CN.* pp. 501-2)

The *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* further supports this thesis by appealing to dreams, hagiographical anecdotes and secret teachings put in the mouths of Rāmānuja's predecessors. For example, it claims that the idol of Rāmānuja at Śrīraṅgam was made long before Rāmānuja's birth by Nāthamuni, who received a revelation in a dream that a great ācārya would be born in his lineage who would be the saviour for all. Nāthamuni had the idol made based on the description of Rāmānuja the Lord revealed to him; he gave it to Yāmuna, who used it to recognize Rāmānuja as a youth in Kāñcī. Yāmuna, through his disciples, saw to it that the leadership of the Śrīvaiṣṇava sect passed to Rāmānuja after his death (CN p. 504-11). Other hagiographical anecdotes involving Rāmānuja's teachers and disciples show them confirming Rāmānuja's status as saviour of all *(sarvottāraka)* (*CN.* 514-19).

Though it is somewhat dangerous to use theological content to settle questions of a text's date and authenticity, one can't help but notice that the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* seems to be a deliberate attempt to integrate Piḷḷai Lokācārya's doctrine of ācāryābhimāna with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's poetic declarations of Rāmānuja as saviour for the Śrīvaiṣṇava lineage. Since it seems to presume the existence of both these doctrines, present evidence suggests it would have appeared shortly after Maṇavāḷamāmuni's time. It is hard to explain Vedānta Deśika's silence on the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*'s claims if this work was indeed written by Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai. The question remains why the author would identify himself as the younger Piḷḷai. The answer may lie in the text's unique claim that Rāmānuja was the saviour of even earlier ācāryas, supported with hagiographical anecdotes of dreams and secret teachings. In order to give this

evidence more historical credibility, it was penned in the name of Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai, contemporary of Vedānta Deśika and Piḷḷai Lokācārya. Since the *Periyatirumuṭi Aṭaivu* (probably datable to around the late sixteenth century) lists its title under the works of Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai, the mid-sixteenth century may be established as an upper limit for its appearance.

Whenever it was actually written, it is clear that the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* is at least the symptom--if not the basis--of modern Teṉkalai doctrine and practice which, by elevating Rāmānuja to saviour, has relegated prapatti to a doctrinal museum piece. The seeds of this development, planted in Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's poetic works on Rāmānuja, were brought to fruition in the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*, driving an even bigger wedge between the Teṉkalai and Vaṭakalai understanding and practice of prapatti.

Lyric Poetry and Doctrinal Prose : Some Theoretical Implications

What conclusions, if any, can we draw from this exercise in tracing the development of a single doctrinal issue through its various historical stages in Śrīvaiṣṇava thought ?

First, we can note here a pattern of theological development from poetic works of praise to doctrinal treatises in prose. The example of the understanding of the ācārya shows how themes that first appear in stotras are later articulated as doctrines and integrated into the Śrīvaiṣṇava theological system. The hyperbolic praises and creative embellishments found in poetic texts are interpreted and supported by later authors as doctrinal claims. As historical distance increases, and the reputation and mythical significance of earlier ācāryas grows loftier, there is a tendency to take their poetic works more literally and "doctrinally." This is how the *Śaraṇāgati Gadya* goes from a lyrical expression of devotion to a record of a historical event with doctrinal significance. Similarly, hyperbolic praises for one's ācāryas in general, and Rāmānuja in particular--such as metaphorical allusions to both as incarnations of the Lord and saviours--are eventually interpreted as soteriological truths. Thus poetic narrative becomes history while metaphor and hyperbole become doctrinal claims. This same process--so clearly evident in the development of the ācārya doctrine--could no doubt be traced in the development of the understanding *prapatti* or of Śrī's mediation.

In fact, this may be one of the main mechanisms by which theology evolves in nearly every literary religious tradition, particularly those like Śrīvaiṣṇavism which accept an ever-growing body of authoritative scripture.

Secondly, this example brings out how important it is to bear in mind the difference between the style and content of poetic stotras and prose doctrinal treaties when analyzing works by the same author. The difference between the view of the ācārya's role in salvation seen in Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's stotras to Rāmānuja, and that seen in his commentaries on *Śrīvacana Bhūṣaṇa, Jñānasāra* and *Rāmānuja Nūrrāntāti* is no less striking than the difference between the view of bhakti and *prapatti* seen in the *Gadyas* and that in Rāmānuja's Vedāntic works. It is comparable, for that matter, to the difference between the understanding of *prapatti* seen in the stotras of Vedānta Deśika and that seen in his doctrinal works. Even though statements in poetic works of praise are often later interpreted as doctrinal claims, we would be mistaken to ignore the difference in genre and suppose that the authors themselves intended their poetic verses to be taken that way.

Both traditional and western scholars have fallen into this fallacy of reading later doctrines--which were no doubt inspired by earlier poetic statements--back into the minds of the authors of the poetic works themselves. This had led to some unnecessary misunderstandings of the history of Śrīvaiṣṇava theology. For example, failure to appreciate the difference between the creative lyrics of the *Gadyas* and Rāmānuja's systematic doctrinal exposition in his Vedāntic works had led some traditional Śrīvaiṣṇava scholars to argue that *prapatti* was a "secret upāya" recognized and practised by Rāmānuja and Yāmuna and their forbears as the esoteric meaning of all the śāstras and encapsulated in the three Śrīvaiṣṇava mantras. Out of their respect for the secrecy of this truth--and out of their compassion for their followers--Yāmuna and Rāmānuja taught the secret doctrine of prapatti to their disciples and expressed it in their stotras and *Gadyas*, while they expounded only bhaktiyoga in their Vedāntic works addressed to those outside the Śrīvaiṣṇava communiy. (Even Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi and Vedānta Deśika use this basic strategy.) Other traditional scholars have suggested that Rāmānuja wrote the *Gadyas* only later in life, after he had come more under the influence of the temple devotionalism of the Āḻvārs and Pāñcarātra.[20] Robert Lester has used

this same discrepancy to argue against Rāmānuja's authorship of the *Gadyas* and to suggest that Rāmānuja's connection with Pāñcarātra and the entire Śrīvaiṣṇava lineage was a later fabrication. I would argue that the later Śrīvaiṣṇava understanding of prapatti (or Śrī, etc.) is presupposed by the Gadyas when in fact that later doctrine is in part based on them. It is more appropriate to claim that the later doctrine of *prapatti* is "in" the *Gadyas* as an oak tree is in the acorn. Watered and nurtured in the minds of later theologists, fertilized by similar texts in Pāñcarātra in the Āḻvārs' hymns, it grew to its lofty proportion in the doctrinal treatises of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. In the same manner, it is only the seed of the doctrine of *ācāryābhimāna*, and Rāmānuja's position of saviour, which is contained in the poetic works of Parāśara Bhaṭṭar and Tiruvaraṅkattamutanār. It is easy in retrospect to see the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya*'s view of Rāmānuja as saviour as fully present in Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's poetic works, but here, too, we should exercise caution. The genres of poetry and praise (gadya, stotra, nūṟṟāntāti) are not the same as those of doctrinal discourse (rahasya and tattvatraya interpretation). The same theologian will make statements in one that he would not dream of making in the other. But theology develops and changes in traditions like Śrīvaiṣṇavism when later generations use earlier poems of praise to inspire and support later doctrinal claims. As historians of religion we must be alert to this process and beware of its pitfalls.

Abbreviations for Primary Sources cited :

ĀP *Ārtiprapantam* of Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, in *Śrīmad Varavaramunīndra Granthamālā*, Vol 1, ed. and publ by P.B.Annangaracharya. Kanchi :1966.

CN *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* of Nāyaṉār Āccāṉ Piḷḷai [sic], ed. and pub. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar in his edition of *Ārāyirappaṭi Guruparamparā Prabhāvam*.Trichy : n.d.

JS *Jñānasāram*, in Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ Emperumānār's *Jñānasāram Prameyasāram*, with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary, ed. Vidvan Venkatacharya and Tiruvenkatacharya.Kanchi : Śrīvaiṣṇava Mudrāpaka Sabhā, 1916.

Māṇi *Māṇikkamālai* of Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, in Parantarahasya and Māṇikkamālai, ed. P. B. Annangaracharya (Kanchi : Granthamala Office, 1949).

Mumu *Mumukṣuppaṭi* of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary, ed. and publ. by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar. Trichy : n.d. See also translation by Patricia Y. Mumme (Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, Bombay 1987).

PS *Prameyasāram* of Aruḷāla Perumāḷ Emperumānār. See *JS.* above.

RN *Rāmānuja Nūṟṟāntāti* of Tiruvaraṅkattamutanār, with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary, ed. M. Ramanujacharya and S. Muttukrishnan. Śrīvaiṣṇava Mudrāpaka Sabhā, Madras : 1904.

RTS *Śrīmad Rahasyatrayasāra* of Vedānta Deśika, ed. and publ. with commentary by U.T. Viraraghavacharya, 2 vols., Madras : 1980

SR *Stotra Ratna* :The Hymn-Jewel of Sri Yāmunācārya, ed. and tr. Swami Adidevananda, Sri Ramakrishna Math,Madras : 1979.

ŚVB *Śrīvacana Bhūṣana Piḷḷai Lokācārya* with Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary, ed. P.Raghava Ramanuja Swami. R. Rajagopala Naidu, Madras :1936.

VS *Vedārtha Saṅgraha of Śrī Yāmunācārya*, ed. and tr. S. S. Raghavachar. Mysore : Sri Ramakrishna Asrama, 1978.

YV *Yatirājaviṁśati* of Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, in *Śrīmad Varavaramunīndra Granthamālā*, (See *ĀP*, above).

References :

1. For an account of the early theological dispute, see PATRICIA Y. MUMME, *The Śrīvaiṣṇava Theological Dispute : Maṇavāḷamāmuni and Vedānta Deśika* (Madras: New Era Press, 1988). For the later dispute over temple control, see ARJUN APPADURAI *Worship and Conflict Under Colonial Rule : A South Indian Case* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1981).

2. H. DANIEL SMITH has recorded the Teṉkalai Pañcasaṁskāra / Śaraṇāgati ceremony in a film titled *The Hindu Sacrament of Surrender*, included in his film series on Hindu ritual from Syracuse University.

3. *The Bhagavadgītā* with the commentary of Śrī Rāmānujācārya, tr. M.R. SAMPATKUMARAN (Madras : Prof. M. Rangacharya Memorial Trust, 1969) p. 1.

4. Rāmānuja's authorship of the *Śaraṇāgati gadya* has been a disputed issue among scholars of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. AGNIHOTRAM RAMANUJA TATACHARYA, ROBERT LESTER, and JULIUS LIPNER have rejected Ramanuja's

authorship, because they think the terminology and implicit doctrinal assumptions of the *Śaraṇāgati gadya* are at odds with those of Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya* and *Śrībhāṣya*. I side with J. A.B. VAN BUITENEN, JOHN CARMAN, and VASUDHA NARAYANAN in accepting the authenticity of the *Gadyas*. Indeed, as I will argue in this paper, the theological and stylistic differences between Rāmānuja's *Gadyas* and his Vedāntic works are similar in kind and degree to the differences between the devotional poems of Yāmuna, Vedānta-Deśika, and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi and their respective doctrinal works.

5."I take refuge at the feet of Rāmānuja who, through his passion for the golden hue of the lotus feet of the Lord, considers all else to be straw; that Rāmānuja, who is my teacher (guru) and my Lord, is an ocean of compassion" (*Vaikuṇṭhastava* 1).

"O Lord ! Though accepted by Rāmānuja, who has such love for your feet, I still have a passion for other (lowly) things. Is there anyone who has committed more evil deeds than I ? (*Vaikuṇṭhastava* 90)." Both translated and quoted by VASUDHA NARAYANAN in The way and the Goal : Expressions of Devotion in the *Early Śrī Vaiṣṇava Tradition* (Washington, DC : Institute for Vaishnava Studies, 1987) p. 102.

6. *Sundarabāhustava* 1, translated and quoted by Narayanan (1987) p. 102.
7. *Śrīraṅgarājastava*, tr. and quoted by Narayanan (1987), p. 132.
8. This point has been noted by Narayanan (1987) pp. 103, 124.
9. The question of when the distinction between bhaktiyoga and *prapatti* arose in the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition is a very complex issue of scholarly dispute since it involves the question of Rāmānuja's authorship of the *Gadyas* and Rāmānuja's connection with Śrīvaiṣṇavism tradition. ROBERT LESTER ("Rāmānuja and Śrīvaiṣṇavism": The Concept of Prapatti or Śaraṇāgati, *History of Religions* 5 [Winter 1966] : pp. 266-282) JOHN CARMAN (*The Theology of Ramanuja* [New Heaven : Princeton Univ. Press,1974]) and VASUDHA RAJAGOPALAN (now NARAYANAN, in her 1978 Ph. D. thesis, Univ. of Bombay) have discussed the issue. My reading of the arguments lead me to conclude that there was no unanimously held view of the relationship or distinction between *prapatti* to the Lord and bhaktiyoga in the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition through the twelfth century, though there was a growing sense that the devotional path of the non-twice born (including most of the Āḻvārs) was necessarily different from

the Vedic path of devotional meditation and ritual outlined by Rāmānuja and Yāmuna in their Vedāntic works. By the time of Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, in the mid-thirteenth century, the distinction between bhaktiyoga (for which only the twice-born were qualified) and *prapatti* (surrender to the Lord which is open to all) was well-established. A careful and thorough study of all the *Nālāyiradivya Prabantam* commentaries is needed to settle this issue.

10. NARAYANAN (1987) pp. 132-33.

11. Translation from NARAYANAN (1987) p. 139.

12. Vedānta Deśika quotes this very śloka and points out that by the word "also" *(api)*, meaning "in addition to that" [Bhaṭṭar] indicates that just one [either *bharanyāsa* performed by his ācārya or uttered by himself) would be sufficient (*RTS* 8 : pp. 292-3). Deśika's *Śaraṇāgati Dīpikā* 49 is modelled in his interpretation of Bhaṭṭar's śloka :

> So let my *prapatti* uttered faultlessly here today and witnessed by my ācārya, as you have requested, be fully accomplished. But O Mukunda, since I have already been entrusted to you by my previous ācāryas, this upāya is redundant!

13. However, Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi in his fifteenth century commentary on the *Rāmānuja Nūṟṟāntāti*, only takes this line to mean that Rāmānuja promoted the Āḻvārs, even though--as we will see--Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's poetic works indicate that he believed that Rāmānuja has special salving importance for the line of disciples following him.

14. Most later Śrīvaiṣṇavarahasya commentaries interpret the *u* as referring to the exclusive śeṣa-śeṣī relationship between the soul and the Lord, though Piḷḷai Lokācārya notes that some have interpreted it to refer to Śrī and her mediation *(puruṣakāra)* (*Mumu.* 60-61). Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi's commentary on *Prameyasāra* 1 says that to interpret the *u* to refer to the ācārya is legitimate since, like Śrī, the ācārya is a "ghaṭaka" or "joiner" who unites the soul with the Lord.

15. Though invoking Śrī before surrendering to the Lord goes as far back as Yāmuna, VASUDHA NARAYANAN says that it is Piḷḷāṉ in his commentary on the *Tiruvāymoḻi* who first calls her a mediator or *puruṣakāra* (1987, p. 124). Commentaries on the three rahasyas or mantras from the thirteenth century on clearly articulate the doctrine of Śrī's mediation in commenting upon the Dvaya Mantra : *"śrīman- nārāyaṇacaraṇau śaraṇam prapadye ; śrīmate nārāyaṇāya namaḥ."*

16. Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai goes so far as to declare that "The knowledge of the ācārya is not the concern of the śiṣya. The [ācārya's] bodily form alone is sufficient" (*Māṇi.* p.65). He does not mean that the ācārya can be ignorant but that the śiṣya should attend to the ācārya's physical needs with a reverential and nonjudgemental attitude. This emphasis on slavish devotion to the ācārya, regardless of his wisdom, contrasts with the stotras of the earlier Śrīvaiṣṇavas who praised their ācāryas largely for their knowledge and teaching, and no doubt contributed to the later Teṉkalai view that mere connection with an ācārya was sufficient for salvation.

17. The Lord's autonomy, say Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi, is unconstrained. This means he need not accept one who surrenders to him, and he is free to accept even one who has no desire to be saved. Thus Piḷḷai Lokācārya and Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi claim that it is not *svagatasvīkāra*, one's own acceptance of the Lord in the act of surrender to Him, which is the efficacious means *(upāya)* for salvation, but *paragatasvīkāra*, the acceptance on the part of the Lord (the "other") for the soul. (See MUMME [1988] ch. 4) Similarly, when speaking of ācāryābhimāna, they clearly point out that the ācārya's loving acceptance of the disciple is the means, not the disciple's surrender to the ācārya (*ŚVB.* 148, 447, 459).

18. *The Gadya-traya of Śrī Rāmānujācārya,* pub. M.R. RAJAGOPALA AYYANGAR, (Madras, n. d.), pp. 7-14.

19. It is curious that the *Caramopāya Nirṇaya* does not really emphasize the salving importance of Rāmānuja's prapatti in *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, as does Maṇavāḷamāmuṉi. This is the only reference I found to the *Śaraṇāgatigadya*, and it is some-what eliptical.

20. See JOHN CARMAN (1974) p. 233. Another more recent example of this same strategy, as I am told, is the late P.B. Annangaracharya's claim that Vedānta Deśika was really a Teṉkalai ! Annangaracharya saw Deśika's stotras as expressing the same sentiments of salvation by surrender alone found in the teachings of the Teṉkalai ācāryas, and quite at odds with Deśika's claims in the *Rahasyatrayasāra.* Therefore, he concluded (with little or no historical basis) that Deśika "converted" to the Teṉkalai tradition later in life, after which he wrote his stotras. Annangaracharya's line of reasoning is refuted by the fact that Deśika quotes many of his own hyperbolic stotras in his *Rahasyatrayasāra* and gives them a careful and conservative "Vaṭakalai" interpretation.

JÑĀNĀNANDA'S RARE INTERPRETATION OF AMARUŚATAKA *

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Though belonging to the class of minor lyrics, the *Amaruśataka* occupies a major place in the Sanskrit literature. Its popularity is testified to by the fact that there are about a hundred manuscipts of this in different parts of the country as well as about twenty commentaries on it.[1] Later rhetoricians like Vāmana, Kṣemendra and others quote verses from *Amaruśataka* though some of them, like the former without naming the author. The greatest tribute, perhaps, is paid to it by no less a person than Ānandavardhana himself, who apart from quoting six verses from it, says,[2]

मुक्तकेषु प्रबन्धेष्विव रसबन्धाभिनिवेशिनः कवयो दृश्यन्ते । तथा ह्यमरुककवेर्मुक्तकाः शृङ्गाररसस्यन्दिनः प्रबन्धायमानाः प्रसिद्धा एव । reflecting the saying अमरुककवेरेकः श्लोकः प्रबन्धशतायते ।[3]

The earliest publication of the work in 1808 in Calcutta, incidentally has the rare commentary *Kāmadā*, which the present paper attempts to analyse. The author of *Kāmadā* is Jñānānanda Kalādhara[4], also known as Jñānānanda Kalādharasena, Ravicandra[5], and Vidyāvinodācārya. Apart from the Calcutta edition, this commentary has been published by Sri Khemaraja Srikrishnadas from Bombay in 1893.

Strangely this publication has not been mentioned in any of the works on the History of Sanskrit Literature like by A.B.KEITH[6], A. WINTERNITZ, M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR[7], nor even in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. The references made in this paper are to this particular publication. Ravicandra's commentary is said to represent the Bengal recension of *Amaruśataka*.[8]

The unique feature of Kāmadā is that it interprets the verses in the erotic sense as well as philosophical way which calls for great skill,as the author himself says[9],:

क्व चातिकर्कशः शान्तः क्व चातिललितः शुचिः ।
एकत्र वाक्ये व्याख्यातुस्तौ अहो कौशलं कवेः ॥[10]

The seeker of spiritual bliss as well as the seeker of the worldly pleasure can take recourse to this commentary, he claims -

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यदि स्यात् परमानन्दे कामानन्दे च वासना ।
तदा संसेव्यतां धीराः टीकेयं कामदा सदा ।।

The philosophical interpretation is warranted by the presumption that it was the great Advaita philosopher Śaṅkara who, it is said, entered into the body of the Kashmir King Amaru and later composed the *Śataka.* There are divergent and controversial views[11] on the identity of Amaru with Śaṅkarācārya which is not at all the subject for discussion in this paper. But, at the same time, I wish to point out the incongruity among the many biographies on Śrī Śaṅkara. There are, in fact, many works giving a detailed account of the life and achievements of Śaṅkara, like the *Śaṅkara vijaya of Vyāsācala*, of Ānandagiri, of Anantānandagiri, the *Bṛhat-Śaṅkaravijayam* of Citsuka, the *Keralīya Śaṅkaravijayam* of Govindanātha, *Śaṅkaravijayavilāsa* of Cidvilāsa, the *Śaṅkaradigvijayam* of Mādhava Vidyāraṇya, the *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* of Rājacūḍāmani Dīkṣita, of Tirumala Dīkṣita, the *Ācārya digvijaya* of Vādhūla Vallīsahāya, the *Śaṅkaravijayasaṅgraha* of Puruṣottama Bhāratī, the *Śaṅkaradigvijayasāra* of Śrī Vrajarāja, of Sadānanda and of Govindācārya, the *Śaṅkarācāryacarita* of Anantakavi and many such works in Sanskrit as well as other languages. Works like *Patañjalivijaya* of Rāmabhadrayajvan also contain brief account of Śaṅkara's life. While some of these works repeat, verbatim, verses from earlier biographies, their account of the परकायप्रवेश episode of Śaṅkara is not consistent. Of course, Vyāsācala admits [12], that his narration is based on aitihyam :

ऐतिह्यमेवात्र वदन्ति चैवं तदेव मूलं मम भाषणेऽपि ।

In his introduction to the translation of *Amaruśataka* into Maṇipravāḷam by Keralavarma, the editor Śrī Udayavarma Rājā of Mavelikkara says [13] that there is no reference in Mādhava's *Śaṅkaravijaya* to Amaruśataka and that apart from traditional views, it finds support in mention made by Ravicandra. But Mādhava does mention the episode in the tenth chapter of his work.[14] *cf.*,

वात्स्यायनप्रोदितसूत्रजातं तदीयभाष्यं च निरीक्ष्य सम्यक् ।
स्वयं व्यधत्ताभिनवार्थगर्भं निबन्धमेकं नृपवेशधारी ।।

On this, Dhanapatisūri, the commentator, observes in his *Diṇḍima* [15] -

निबन्धममरकाख्यनृपवेषधारी व्यधत्तेत्यर्थः ।

In fact, Mādhava gives verbatim, this verse which is found in the earlier work of Vyāsācala.[16]

Accoding to Mādhava[17] , when asked by Bhāratī, the wife of Maṇḍana-miśra, after their polemic discussion for seventeen days, Śaṅkara sought one month's time-

इति जल्पतोः सममनल्पधियोर्दिवसाश्च सप्तदश चात्यगमन् ।
यमिनं सदस्यमुमपृच्छदसौ कुसुमास्त्रशास्त्रहृदयं विदुषी ॥
कलाः कियत्यो वद पुष्पधन्वनः किमात्मिकाः किं च पदं समाश्रिताः ।
पूर्वे च पक्षे कथमन्यथा स्थितिः कथं युवत्यां कथमेव पूरुषे ॥

But in the *Vyāsācalīyam*,[18] this episode is not in the context of the argument between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana, but when Śaṅkara was about to ascend the sarvajñapīṭha.

According to Mādhava[19] and Cidvilāsa[20] , Śaṅkara sought one month's time whereas Ānandagiri[21] says Śaṅkara sought six months and later established the Goddess at Śṛṅgeri. Vyāsācala, however, speaks of only seven days [22] that too before ascending the sarvajñapiṭha.

Yet another version is given by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita who says [23] that Śaṅkara demonstrated the parakāyapraveśa in his pilgrimage near Mūkāmbikā -

अथानिशाखेटवशादटव्यां मूले तरोर्मोहवशात् गतासुम् ।
निरीक्ष्य मार्गे मरुगं नृपालं सनन्दनं प्राह स संयमीन्द्रः ॥

These inconsistencies are referred to here because the preface of the publisher of *Amaruśataka* with *Kāmadā* is not in consonance with the view of Ravicandra. The preface reads [24]

" यदाचेमे (शङ्कराचार्याः) पृथिवीतले सर्वनास्तिकजनमतखण्डितुकामाः व्यचरंस्तदा च पण्डितो मण्डनमिश्रो नाम कश्चन सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ...अभूत् ...तस्मिन् वादे मण्डनमिश्रमधिश्रिता तत्स्त्री सरस्वती तान् कामशास्त्रे पराजितवती तदा तस्या मासत्रयमवधिमादाय कस्यचिन्मृतस्यामरुनाम्नो राज्ञः शरीरे योगेन प्रविश्य तस्य स्त्रीशतमानन्दमुपभुज्य कामशास्त्रं कामतो विचार्य एनममरुशतकं नाम ग्रन्थमकुर्वन् तथा चोक्तं शङ्करदिग्विजये माधवाचार्यैः " -

मनसिजकलातत्त्वाभिज्ञो मनोज्ञविचेष्टितः
सकलविषयव्यावृत्ताक्षः सदानुसृतोत्तमः ।
कृतकुचगुरूपास्त्यात्यन्तं मुनिर्वृतमानसो
निधुवनपरब्रह्मानन्दं निरर्गलमन्वभूत् ॥

वात्स्यायनप्रोदितसूत्रजातं तदीयभाष्यं च निरीक्ष्य सम्यक् ।
स्वयं व्यधत्ताभिनवार्थगर्भं निबन्धमेकं नृपवेषधारी ॥

But Jñānānanda toeing, to some extent, the line of Vyāsācala and not of Mādhava says [25] :

भगवान् शङ्कराचार्यो दिग्विजयच्छलेन काश्मीरमगमत् । तत्र शृङ्गाररसवर्णनार्थं सभ्यैरभ्यर्थितः . . . अमरुनाम्नः राज्ञः मृतस्य परवपुःप्रवेशविद्यया शरीरे प्रवेशं कृत्वा स्त्रीशतेन सह केलिं विधाय प्रातः तथा कारयामास ।

Involving as it does a great sage, eyebrows are raised as to the purity and celebacy of Śaṅkara. In fact, in *Śaṅkaravijayavilāsa*, which is of the nature of a conversation between Cidvilāsa and his disciple Vijñānakanda, the latter asks [26] --

स्वामिन्नाद्याश्रमेऽपि व्यकलिकृतमुदानेन संन्यासिधर्मः
तादृक्षस्यास्य का वा नृपवरललनासङ्गता वास्ति वाञ्छा ।
किञ्चिज्जिह्रेत्यमुष्मिन् गुरुवरचरिते चित्तमाकर्णिते मे
तद् व्यक्तं वक्तुमर्हस्यपनय मनसः मेऽद्य सन्देहशल्यम् ॥

Cidvilāsa replies [27] to this --

भानोर्गाढतमोवृतिर्हुतभुजो यद्वा भवेच्छीतता
मालिन्यं सलिलस्य चेद्धिमरुजो सार्वत्रिकी पूर्णता ।
तस्यासीद्रतिलोलता त्रिपुरजित्पूर्णाकृतेरप्यहो
तद्वाणीं प्रविजित्य तां वशयितुं नेतुं पुरीं स्वामपि ॥

Ravicandra minces no words while expressing his standpoint and intention, when he says --

पिशुनैः कापटिकोऽयमाजन्मब्रह्मचारीत्युपहसितः शान्तिरसमत्र व्याचष्टे इति किंवदन्ती । अतः शान्तिरसमत्र व्याचक्ष्यते शान्तस्य मोक्षसाधनत्वात् । [28]

The co-existence of two Rasas, even two incompatible Rasas is possible when both are subservient to something else, says Ānandavardhana. And significantly, he gives an example from the *Amaruśataka* [29]. Of the hundred verses, Ravicandra gives philosophic interpretation for eighty-six verses [30]. Apart from taking the help of śleṣa, both the Khaṇḍa and Bhaṅga varieties, Jñānānanda interprets the significance and meaning of letters to suit his scheme. The verse क्षिप्तो हस्तावलग्नः has been interpreted by him as follows : [31]

अवधूतनामा भागवतः पुरुषः वः युष्माकं दुरितं दहतु किंभूतं काम्यभिलाषयुक्तं कीदृशः क्षिप्त उन्मत्तवेषः आत्मगोपनाय...अहस्ता दिवसत्वं प्रकाशः तत्रावलग्नः । किं वा अः विष्णुः तस्य हस्तेऽवलग्नः विष्णुना गृहीतः । किं वा हस्तं नक्षत्रं अवतीति हस्तावः चन्द्रः तत्र लग्नः । योगिनो शुक्ररक्षणपराभवन्तीति । किं वा हस्तावलग्नः करपात्रः । अभिहितः सम्यग्ज्ञानशाली । हन्तेर्गत्यर्थत्वात् ।..अंशुकान्तं कौपीनं गृह्णन् प्रशस्तोंशुरंशुक इति तस्यान्तं समीपं प्राप्नुवन् तत्तेजः पश्यन्निति वा । कामेन्द्रियं तस्य ईशा विषयास्तेषु रसगन्धादिषु अपास्तो वारितः चरणं वेदभागस्तत्र निपतितः प्रसन्नः वैदिकाचारभूषकः आलिङ्गन् रलयोरैक्यात् रिगिर्गत्यर्थः। सम्यक् भ्रमणशाली ज्ञानशाली...त्रिभुवनयुवतिभिर्भावोदयात् साश्रुभिरपि ईक्षितो...क इव शाम्भवः शराग्निरिव दुर्द्धर्षत्वात् कामीवार्द्रापराधः कानि इन्द्रियाणि तेषां अमीवं पापं तेनार्द्रां स्निग्धां अपरां शक्तिं धारयति । द्वे शक्ती भवतः परा चापरा च । अमीवशब्दो दुरितवचनो भारते ...

The letter अः means Viṣṇu.[32] Consequently, इः means Kāma as अस्य विष्णोः अपत्यं अत इञ् ।

The letter कः means Brahmā as well as the sense organs. Making use of these, Ravicandra explains the following verse (No.4)

अलसवलितैः प्रेमार्द्रार्द्रैर्मुहुर्मुकुलीकृतैः
क्षणमभिमुखैर्ल्लज्जालोलैर्निमेषपराङ्मुखैः ।
हृदयनिहितं भावाकूतं वमद्भिरिवेक्षणैः
कथय सुकृती कोऽयं मुग्धे त्वयाद्य विलोक्यते ।।

as below :

शान्तपक्षे कामिनमधिक्षिपति । हे मुग्ध हे मूढ ..इ : कामः तस्य भावः इत्वं तं याति गच्छति अद्य कोऽयं ब्रह्मा अयं सुकृती पुण्यवान् शान्तो विलोक्यते । किंभूतः ईक्षणैः चक्षुभिः उपलक्षितः किंभूतैः अरसवलितैः रसः शृङ्गारः मुख्यत्वात्तत्र न संसक्तैः । अथवा अः विष्णुस्तत्र रसेन वलितैः अन्यत्समानं एतादृग् नयनं अवधूतस्यापि भवतीति ।

The following verse (No.6)

लिखन्नास्ते भूमिं बहिरवनत: प्राणदयितो
निराहारास्सख्य: सततरुदितोच्छूननयना: ।
परित्यक्तं सर्वं हसितपठितं पञ्जरशुकै:
तवावस्था चेयं विसृज कठिने मानमधुना ॥

is explained as :

हे कठिन हे संसारनिस्पृह इमानं कामाहङ्कारं त्यज । कुतस्त्यक्तव्यमित्याह पञ्जरशुकै: सह तव सितपठितं हेति पादपूरणे । सितं वधस्तस्य साधितं पठितं पाठ: न केवलं पाठ: अवस्था दशा च किंभूतं परिभि: परज्ञानशीलै: त्यक्तं भर । कथं काम: त्याज्य: शान्तिरस आश्रयितव्य इत्याह आ: कष्टे । हे निराहार निरन्नपान निराकर्षण वा आ: सततरुदितोच्छूननयन पुमान् ईश्वर: आस्ते । नतो निषेधात् बहिर्निषेधशेषो यत्र तादृश इति । भागवत: प्राणदयित: अतिप्रेयान् सख्य: ख्यानं तेन सह वर्तते लिखन् अर्थात् शुभाशुभकर्मणि स साक्षी . . आस्ते तत: कामं परित्यज्य भूमिं उत्पत्तिं अव रक्ष मरणं मा गा: ।

In many verses, the letter इः is made use of to mean Kāma.[33] For instance, in the verse (No.27),

भवतु विदितं भव्यालापैरलं खलु गम्यतां
तनुरपि न ते दोषोऽस्माकं विधिस्तु पराङ्मुखः ।
तव यदि तथाभूतं प्रेम प्रपन्नमिमां दशां
प्रकृतितरले का नः पीडा गते हतजीवीते ॥,

the explanation is given as :

बान्धवमुपदिशति । हे प्रिय गम्यतां परिव्राजको भव भव्यालापैरलं सांसारिकालापै: अलं मौनं कुरु वाग्यतो भव भवाय कल्प्यते भव्यं कथमेवं कर्तव्यमित्याह वित् विज्ञानं इतं ज्ञातं भवतु . . अस्माकं नते नम्रे पुरुषे दोषो विधि: दोषजनकत्वात् दोषोपि तनुरपि अल्पोऽपि पराङ्मुख: किं पुन: महान् यदि तव प्रेम सांसारिकस्नेह इमां दशां परिव्राजकतां प्रतिपन्नं हे प्रकृतिचपल हे इहत कामहत जीविते इकान: पीडागता इकोऽविवेक: स एव अन: शकटं तस्य पीडा गता एतेन एतदुक्तं भवति ... परिव्राजके कामपीडा नास्ति ..

Similarly, the letter ठः [34] which means also शून्यं according to lexicons is made use of to explain expressions like मुक्तकण्ठ as मुक्तकंठंशून्यं and so on.[35] The letter मा meaning Lakṣmī,[36] has been frequently resorted to, to explain many a verse. She is referred to as worldly wealth or Māyā.[37]

Apart from this trend, Ravicandra's understanding of philosophy is reflected in his sayings and the apt quotations found in abundance. While

explaining the expression कान्तः केलिरुचिः (śl.7 नार्यस्तन्वि . . .), Ravicandra says जगदिदं ईश्वरलीलाविलसितम् । He refers to the determinate and indeterminate cognitions in the verse (No.9)

प्रहरविरतौ मध्येवाह्नस्ततोऽपि परेऽथवा
किमुत सकले जाते वाह्नि प्रिय त्वमिहेष्यसि ।
इति दिनशतप्राप्यं देशं प्रियस्य यियासतो
र्हरति गमनं बालालापैः सबाष्पगलज्जलैः ।।

as अवधूतः किञ्चिदुपदिशति इं कामं हन्ति इहानिः कामः पुरुषः प्रियस्य मित्रस्य गमनं ज्ञानं हरति आहरति कोमलालापैः किं भूतस्य इतिः ज्ञानं तदेव दिनशतं दूरत्वात्तेन गम्यं देशं उपदेशं ज्ञातुं इच्छतः सकले याते सकलं मूर्तिचिन्तनं ज्ञानं निरञ्जनध्यानं निष्कलं ज्ञानं तत्र सकलज्ञानध्वंसः विरतौ विरागे सति मध्ये...यज्ञवैराग्ये ... ततोऽपि परेऽथवा विरागाभावेपि वा । एतेन तिसृष्ववस्थासु च निरञ्जनध्यानमौपयिकं .. अहः प्रियत्वं तेजोमयत्वं एष्यसि ।

Elsewhere, quoting from the Mahābhārata, he says [38]

यद्येषोपरता देवी माया वैशारदी मतिः । ससम्पन्ना एव विदुर्म्महिम्नस्ते महीयते ॥ इति भारतवचनात् मायाव्यपगम एव मोक्षकारणं सूचितम् ।

Commenting on the verse (No.10)

याताः किन्न मिलन्ति सुन्दरि पुनश्चिन्ता त्वया मत्कृते

Jñānānanda takes it as an address to one's deed हे मत्कृते and says

त्वं अतितीक्ष्णासि कर्मक्षयादेव मुक्तिः ।

Explaining the verse (No.45) "अङ्गानां अतितानवं " he says

सर्वं विष्णुमयं जगदित्यादि भौतिकज्ञानात् मुक्तियोगो भवतीति भावः ।

Another aspect which Ravicandra has cashed on, to his advantage, is the occurrence of words like Bhrāntiḥ, Bhramaḥ, Rasaḥ, Prāṇaḥ, Prāṇeśvaraḥ, Ajñānam, Mānam, Sukham, Duḥkham and the like which are commonly used in the realms of Love as well as Philosophy. For instance, on the verse (No.47) ,

कठिनहृदये मुञ्च भ्रान्तिं व्यलीककथाश्रितां
पिशुनवचनैर्दुःखं नेतुं न युक्तमिमं जनम् ।
किमिदमथवा सत्यं मुग्धे त्वया सुविनिश्चितं
यदभिरुचितं तन्मे कृत्वा प्रिये सुखमास्यताम् ।

Ravicandra comments as

मनो मायां च सम्बोधयति हे हृत् हे मनः कठिन ... व्यलीककथाश्रितां भ्रान्तिं मुञ्च मिथ्याज्ञानं त्यज इदं जगत् किं सत्यं अपि तु अनित्यमेव अथवा इमं जनं मादृशं दुःखं नेतुं न युक्तं न शक्तं पिशुनवचनैः दुष्टालापैः । मायामाह अये मुग्धे माये अप्रिये अस्य विष्णोः प्रिया ... तस्याः सम्बोधने त्वया विनिश्चितं ... अभिरुचितं इच्छाविषयं मे कृत्वा अर्थात् अन्यत्र सुखमास्यताम् ।

Making use of the word तीर्थः in the verse (No.25)

कान्ते कत्यपि वासराणि गमय त्वं मीलयित्वा दृशौ
स्वस्ति स्वस्ति निमीलयामि नयने यावन्नशून्या दिशः ।
आयातावयमागमिष्यति सुहृद्वर्गस्य भाग्योदयैः
सन्देशो वद कस्तवाभिलषितः तीर्थेषु तोयाञ्जलिः ।।

he explains

हे सुहृत् हे मित्र कान्ते कमनीये स्त्रीपुत्रादौ वस्तुनि त्वं दृशौ मीलयित्वा तन्निष्टः कतिचिद्वासराणि गमय तव नयने निमीलयामि मुद्रयामि यावत् दिशः उत्कृष्टनायिकाः शून्या न भवन्ति विशिष्टास्त्रीशून्या इति ज्ञानं यावन्नोत्पद्यते . . . स्वस्ति स्वस्तीति प्रारम्भे ततः किं फलमित्याह । आयातौ सत्यां यस्य ज्ञाने सति अयं शुभावहं किं अयं आगमिष्यति लिप्सते वर्गस्य कुलस्य उदयैः भाक्भाजते: कर्तरि क्विप् एको ज्ञानी वंशमेव तारयति इति श्रुतेः । तीर्थेषु तोयाञ्जलिः वंशस्तारणीयः स स्नातः सर्वतीर्थेषु यः परं ब्रह्म विन्दति इति श्रुतेः संसारवासनादृष्टिं निरस्य तत्त्वज्ञानं जायते तस्मिंश्च सति वंशोद्धारणं सर्वतीर्थपर्यटनफलम् ।

Besides giving the definition of a devotee as सर्वभूतदयायुक्तः प्रियवाक् प्रियदर्शनः he speaks of Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi and Lakṣmī as friends of Māyā. Where there is not much scope for such interpretations, but where there is a description of a Kalahāntaritā type of Nāyikā or of ईर्ष्याविप्रलम्भः, Ravicandra presents it as between Māyā, the Nāyikā and an accomplished soul, the Nāyaka. e.g. (śl.56),

श्लिष्टः कण्ठे किमिति न मया मूढया प्राणनाथः
चुम्बत्यस्मिन् वदनविधुतिः किंकृता किन्न दृष्टः ।
नोक्तः कस्मादिति नववधूचेष्टितं चिन्तयन्ती
पश्चात्तापं वहति तरुणी प्रेम्णि जाते रसज्ञा ।।

On this, he says [39] : उत्पन्नात्मसाक्षात्कारं पुरुषं दृष्ट्वा माया विलपति ।
अन्यत्सर्वं समानम् ।

There are two instances of reference to holy places. On the verse (No.18)

काञ्च्या गाढतरावरुद्धवसनप्रान्ता किमर्थं पुन-
मुग्धाक्षी स्वपितीति तत्परिजनं स्वैरं प्रिये पृच्छति ।
मातः सुप्तमपीह वारयति मामित्याहितक्रोधया
पर्यस्य स्वपितिच्छलेन शयने दत्तोऽवकाशस्तया ॥

Ravicandra says :

अवकाशः प्रकाशः प्रबोध ...तया मायया दत्तः तत्परिजनं ब्रह्मोपासकं पृच्छति 'तत् सत् ' इति श्रुतिः तत् शब्देन ब्रह्मोक्तम् । काञ्ची नाम नगरी तया आगाढतया सम्यक् सेविता अवबद्धवसनस्य प्रान्ता च कृतनिवासैकदेशा च मुक्तिक्षेत्रत्वात् तस्याः तथा च अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका । पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैता मुक्तिदायिकाः ...सुमुक्तिक्षेत्रवासी निष्कामः निर्भोगः निष्पटश्च भवतीति ।

Similarly the verse (No.14)

अज्ञानेन पराङ्मुखीं परिभवादाश्लिष्य मां दुःखितां
किं लब्धं चटुल त्वयेह नयता सौभाग्यमेतां दशाम् ।
पश्यैतद्दयितारतिव्यतिकरोन्मृष्टाङ्गरागारुणं
वक्षस्ते मलतैलपङ्कशबलैर्वेणीपदैरङ्कितम् ॥

is interpreted as : **हे इन हे ईश्वर अज्ञान हे चटुल मां लक्ष्मीं आलिङ्ग्य किं त्वया लब्धं .. दुःखितां दुःखसंपृक्तां लक्ष्मीः दुःखदैव . . . यत्किञ्चित् परिभवं प्राप्य पराङ्मुखीं (हे प्रियाकुचालिङ्गनयुक्तशरीर निःकाम इति यावत्...) वेणीपदैः गङ्गायमुनादीनां सङ्गमः... तस्याः पदैः व्यवसायैश्चिह्नितं... इला पृथ्वी तत्र भवः ऐलः तेन शबलैश्चित्रितं...एतेन सांसारिकं सुखं त्यक्त्वा प्रयागवासी भवेति ध्वन्यते।**

Remarkably does Ravicandra take the help of Yogaśāstra in interpreting certain verses as in the following :

दृष्टैकासनसंस्थिते प्रियतमे पश्चादुपेत्यादरात्
एकस्या नयने पिधाय विहितक्रीडानुबन्धच्छलः ।
ईषद्वक्रिमकन्धरः सपुलकः प्रेमोल्लसन्मानसा-
मन्तर्हासलसत्कपोलफलकां धूर्तोऽपरां चुम्बति ॥ (śl.16)

धूर्त्तः संसारेणापरित्यक्तः अपरां शक्तिं चुम्बति ... लक्षणया संयोगार्थः । न विद्यते परा यस्याः सा तथा अः विष्णुस्तत्परां श्रेष्ठां आद्यां ... विहितक्रीडानुबन्धच्छलः . . विरोधवत् केलिप्रकारः ईषद्वक्रिमकन्धरः आसनविशेषेण तदुक्तं योगशास्त्रे हृदये न्यस्तचिकुरः पादौ चान्योन्यसंहतौ । नासासंचारिनयनो भवेद्योगी जितेन्द्रियः, सपुलकः प्राणायामविशेषे रोमाञ्चः संभवति प्रेम्णा उल्लसन्मानसं . .एकस्या मायाया नयने आलोचने जगतः मायामयत्वात्

माया एकत्वं एकाधारगते द्वे शक्ती प्रायस्तावदुष्टा 'अजामेकां ' इति श्रुतिः एतेन योऽवधूतो भवति स सांसारिकीं मायां त्यक्त्वा परां शक्तिमेव ध्यायतीति मुक्तिसोपानम् ।

The verse (No.24), given under is also noteworthy in this context.

भ्रूभङ्गे रचितेऽपि दृष्टिरधिकं सोत्कण्ठमुद्वीक्षते
कार्क्कश्यं गमितेऽपि चेतसि तनू रोमाञ्चमालम्बते ।
रुद्धायामपि वाचि सस्मितमिदं दग्धाननं जायते
दृष्टे निर्वहणं भविष्यति कथं मानस्य तस्मिन् जने ।।

It is interpreted as अहंकारिणमधिक्षिपति । तस्मिन् ब्रह्मणि दृष्टे साक्षात्कृते सति अहंकारस्य कथं निर्वाहो भविष्यति। यतः कामादयो विनश्यन्ति तस्मिन् दृष्टे परात्परे । हे दग्ध सा दृष्टिः भ्रूभंगे अधिकं वीक्षते । 'भ्रुवोरन्तर्गता दृष्टिर्भवत्यत्यन्तयोगिनां' इति ।...अचिते अन्वये घटपटादिवस्तुज्ञाने च उत्कण्ठा महती मुत् यस्याः सा तथा पुनः किमिह वाचि रुद्धायां मौने प्रारब्धे आननं जीवनं सस्मितं सहर्षं जायते । मोहात् मनो निबिडीकृत्य वाचं संयम्य भ्रुवोरन्तर्गतां दृष्टिं कृत्वा अहंकारं त्यक्त्वा ब्रह्म सेव्यमित्युपायः ।

In fact, Ravicandra's commentary on the Śṛṅgāra aspect of *Amaruśataka* is really enlightening. There, he points out to the Nāyakabhedas and Nāyikā-bhedas quoting profusely from Rudra's *Śṛṅgāratilaka* and Prabhākara's *Rasapra-dīpa*. That part has not been brought within the purview of this paper in which I have confined to the interpretation in the light of Śānta Rasa. It may not be an exaggeration to say that Jñānānanda's bold attempt deserves not just the notice but the admiration of learned scholars. Interpreting the same verse in the light of extremities of Rasas like Śṛṅgāra on one hand and Śānta on the other is no easy task, even given the structure and flexibility of the Sanskrit language. That he was able to succeed in this uphill task is my submission.

References :

1. *Cf. New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol.I, 1968, University of Madras,
2. *Cf. Dhvanyāloka*, III.7. (Ed. K.Krishnamoorthy, 1982) Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, p.130
3. *Cf.* also M.WINTERNITZ, *A History of Indian Literature*, 1977 Vol.III, Part I, (Pub. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi,) p.143.
4. *Cf. Kāmadā*, p.1: कुरुतेऽमरुशतटीकां ज्ञानानन्दः कलाधरः ।

5. *Ibid* ., : व्याचक्षेऽत्र रसद्वयं कविकुलालङ्कारचूडामणिः ।
श्रीलश्री रविचन्द्र एष पिशुनां मात्सर्यतामुत्सृजन् ॥

Cf. also RICHARD SIMON's Intro. to *Amaruśataka*, Kiel, pp.9,23

6. *Cf. A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, Oxford, pp. 183-87 on Amaru.

7. *Cf. History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1974, pp.348-50 on Amaru.

8. *Cf.* A.B.KEITH, (1928), p.183.

9. *Kāmadā*, p.1. Sl.5.

10. *Cf. Amarakośa*, 1.6.18 : शृङ्गारः शुचिरुज्ज्वलः ।

11. *Cf.* M.WINTERNITZ., *op.cit*, p.144;
cf. also SWAMI TAPASYANANDA's Edn. of Mādhava Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara Digvijaya* (English Translation), Madras, 1986, p.117.

12. *Cf. Śaṅkaravijaya*, VIII.76 (Ed. T. CHANDRASEKHARAN, Govt. Oriental Library, Madras, 1954)

13. See his Intro. to *Amaruśataka*, Calicut, 1893, p.4.

14. *Cf. Śaṅkaradigvijayam, (Mādhavīyam)* X.18. (Pub. Anandashrama Series No.22. Pune, 1891)

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Cf. Śaṅkaravijaya (Vyāsācalīyam)*, XII.71. *Mādhavīyam*, I.17:
यत्र विद्याक्षतिरपि फलं तस्य काव्यस्य कर्ता ।
धन्यो व्यासाचलकविवरः तत्कृतिज्ञश्च धन्यः ॥

17. *Cf. Mādhavīyam*, IX. 65,68,69.

18. *cf.*
सा सप्तमे दिन उपेत्य सरस्वती तौ संवीक्ष्य भिक्षितुमभूदुभयोरनेहा ।
उक्त्वेत्थमादरधिया वचनं स्वभर्तुः अन्तर्दधे सुवदना किल शापमुक्ता ॥ VI.102
काश्मीराख्यं मण्डलं तत्र शस्तं यत्रास्ते सा शारदा वागधीशा ॥ XII.30
द्वारैर्युक्तं मण्डपैस्सच्चतुर्भिः देंव्या गेहं यत्र सर्वज्ञपीठम् ।
यत्रारोहस्सर्वविद्वज्जनानां नान्ये सर्वे यत्प्रवेष्टुं क्षमन्ते ॥ XII.31
अथारुरुक्षौ मुनिपुङ्गवेऽस्मिन् सर्वज्ञपीठं बहुवेदिसेव्यम् ।
मास्मिन् प्रविक्षो मुनिपुङ्गव त्वं विद्यासु सर्वासु परीक्षणीयः ॥ XII.56

विद्याश्चतुष्षष्टिरिति प्रकाशाः परीक्ष्यमाणासु च तासु तत्क्रमात् ।
वात्स्यायनप्रोक्तमसौ न वेत्तीत्यालोच्य तत्प्रश्नमथाकरोत्सा ।। XII.61

19. *Cf. Mādhavīyam*, IX. 72 :
इह मासमात्रमवधिः क्रियताम् ।

20. *Cf.* Cidvilāsa's *Śaṅkaravijayavilāsa*, XIX.20 (Ed. W.R.ANTARKAR, Bombay, 1973) : आमासमवधिं देहि वक्ष्येऽतस्तत्र चोत्तरम् ।

21. Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijayam*, ch.58,p.244: (Bibliotheca Indica Series 46, Calcutta, 1868):
मातस्तत्रैव षण्मासं तिष्ठ पश्चात् कथासु च ।
सति सर्वविभेदासु करोम्यर्थविनिर्णयम् ।।

22. *Cf. Vyāsācalīyam*, XII.64:
देवीं ययाचे स दिनानि सप्त
देह्यम्ब पश्चाद्वदितास्मि सर्वम् ।।

23. *Cf.* Śrī *Śaṅkarābhyudayam*, IV.34:(Ed. S.V.RADHAKRISHNA SASTRI,1986, Srirangam.)

24. *Cf. Amaruśataka*, Preface, pp.1-2. (Pub. Khemraj Krishnadas, Bombay, 1893)

25. *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

26. See *Śaṅkaravijayavilāsa*, XIX.51.

27. *Ibid.*, XIX.52.

Śaṅkara himself is said to have convinced the Goddess, of his purity, when questioned by her; *cf. Vyāsācalīyam*, XII, 80-82 :
त्वं चाङ्गनास्समुपभुज्य कलारहस्यप्रावीण्यभाजनमभूर्यतिधर्मनिष्ठः ।
आरोढुमीदृशपदं कथमर्हसि त्वं सर्वज्ञतेव विमलत्वमपीह हेतु : ।।
नास्मिन् शरीरे कृतकिल्बिषोऽहं जन्मप्रभृत्यम्ब न संशयोऽत्र ।
व्यधासि देहान्तरसंश्रयाद्यत् न तेन लिप्येत हि कर्मणान्यत् ।।
एवं निरुत्तरपदां स विधाय देवीं सर्वज्ञपीठमधिरुह्य ननन्द सभ्यः ।

28. *Cf. Kāmadā*, pp.2-3.

29. *Cf. Dhvanyāloka*, II.5, p.44 :
क्षिप्तो हस्तावलग्नः प्रसभमभिहतोऽप्याददानोंशुकान्तं
गृह्णन् केशेष्वपास्तश्चरणनिपतितो नेक्षितः सम्भ्रमेण ।
आलिङ्गन् योऽवधूतस्त्रिपुरयुवतिभिः साश्रुनेत्रोत्पलाभिः
कामीवार्द्रापराधः स दहतु दुरितं शाम्भवो वः शरागिनः ॥
अत एव चेर्ष्याविप्रलम्भकरुणयोरङ्गत्वेन व्यवस्थानात् समावेशो न दोषः ॥

30. The verses that have no philosophic interpretation are, Nos. 40, 48, 54, 58, 78, 83, 85, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 97 & 99.

31. *Cf. Kāmadā*, p.5.

32. *Cf. Vācaspatyam* of Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1962, p.35 :
अकारो विष्णुरुद्दिष्टः उकारस्तु महेश्वरः ।
मकारस्तु स्मृतो ब्रह्मा प्रणवस्तु त्रयात्मकः ॥

In the Vaiṣṇava sampradāya, however, it is :
अकारेणोच्यते विष्णुः सर्वलोकेश्वरो हरिः ।
उकारेणोच्यते लक्ष्मीः उद्भूता विष्णुना पुरा ।
मकारस्तु तयोर्दासः इति प्रणवलक्षणम् ॥

cf. Bhagavadgītā, X.33 : अक्षराणामकारोऽस्मि ।

33. *Cf.* śls. 23,76.

34. *Cf. Vācaspatyam* :
तस्य एकत्रिंशत् नामानि 'ठः शून्यो मञ्जरी बीजः ग्रामणी शशी ' इति नानातन्त्रशास्त्रे।
ठः शिवः महाध्वनिः मण्डलः शून्यं इति मेदिनी ।

35. *Cf. Kāmadā* on *Amaruśataka*, śl.55, *cf.* also śl.39.

36. *Cf. Amaruśataka*, I.27 : इन्दिरा लोकमाता मा ।

37. *Cf. Amaruśataka*, śl. 3, 68 etc.

38. *Cf. Kāmadā*, pp.6-7.

39. *Cf. Kāmadā*, on śl.66.

KĀLIDĀSA'S VINAYA

G. U. THITE

We find that Kālidāsa uses the root vi + nī and its derivatives very frequently. In this paper it is intended to study these uses.

At times the root *vi + nī* means to reduce, to remove etc. In Meghadūta I.52 the word *adhvaśramavinayana* means removal of the fatigue on account of travel on the path. In *Kumārsaṁbhava* I.9 the expression *kapolakaṇḍūḥ vinetum* which means 'in order to remove the itch of the temples (of the elephant) is found. The soldiers of *Raghu* removed the fatigue in obtaining victory over the enemies by means of wines (*vinayante sma tadyodhāḥ madhubhirvijayaśramam / Raghu.*IV.65). In *Raghu* IV.67 the horses are described as vinītādhvaśramāḥ (those whose fatigue has been removed). Elsewhere in *Raghu* (II.49) the lion tells Dilīpa, You will be able to subdue the anger of him (Vasiṣṭha) by means of giving crores of cows having their bosom as big as a jar' *(śakyo' sya manyurbhavatā vinetuṁ gāḥ koṭiśaḥ sparśayatā ghaṭoghnīḥ).* In *Raghu.* V.72 elephants are described to be leaving their bed after they have removed their sleep on both sides *(śayyāṁ jahatyu-bhayapakṣavinītanidrāḥ).* In *Raghu.* XII.35 Rāma describes himself to be one whose fatigue was removed on account of the wind coming through the waves of the Godāvarī river *(taraṅgavātena vinītakhedaḥ).* The trees in the hermitage of the seer named Śarabhaṅga are said to be "those who have removed the fatigue on account of walking on the paths by means of their shade" *(chāyāvinītādhvapariśrameṣu / Raghu.* XIII.46). In *Meghadūta* I.52 also the cloud is mentioned to be sitting on the peak of the Himālaya mountain while removing his fatigue of going through the path *(adhvaśramavinayane tasya śṛṅge niṣaṇṇaḥ).* Rāma who was set to punish Śambūka is described as ". . . one who is going to subdue the defection in the Varṇa-(caste-) system"*(ityāptavacanādrāmo vineṣyan varṇavikriyām / Raghu.* XV.48).

Many a time the root *vi + nī* and its derivatives are used in the sense of training, education etc. In *Raghu.* III.29 the learned teachers are said to have trained Raghu *(athopanītaṁ vidhivad vipaścito vininyurenaṁ guravo gurupriyam).* In *Raghu.* V.10 Raghu asks Kautsa whether he was allowed to be married by his teacher after having been properly trained by him *(api prasannena maharṣiṇā tvaṁ samyagvinīyānumato gṛhāya).* Elsewhere Vasiṣṭha is called vinetṛ (teacher) *(sa tatheti vineturudāramateḥ pratigṛhya vaco visasarja munim / Raghu.*

VIII.91). Aja asked his son to look after the subjects. In this context the son viz. Daśaratha is described to be one who was 'properly trained' (samyagvinīta *Raghu.*VIII.94). In *Raghu.* X.79 also the word vinaya is used in the sense of training. It is said there that the natural discipline in the behaviour of Rāma etc was increased on account of the act of training just as the lustre of the fire increases on account of oblation *(svābhāvikaṁ vinītattvaṁ teṣāṁ vinayakarmaṇā / mumūrccha sahajaṁ tejo haviṣeva havirbhujām //).* In *Raghu.* VI.27 the king Aṅgarāja is said to have trained (or rather tamed) the elephants through the experts of the elephantlore *(vinītanāgaḥ kila sūtrakāraiḥ).* Sudarśana is said to be appearing beautiful when he was being trained in the matter of weapons *(vyarocatāstreṣu vinīyamānaḥ Raghu.* XVIII.51). In *Kumārasambhava.* I.34 'Pārvatī is said to have been trained in her gait by the swans *(sā rājahaṁsairiva saṁnatāṅgī gateṣu līlāñcitavikrameṣu / vyanīyata pratyupadeśalubdhairāditsubhir-nūpuraśiñjitāni /).* Elsewhere it is said that the trained (vinīta) servants skilled in the duties of harem brought Śiva who was wearing silk garments, towards the bride *(dukūlavāsāḥ sa vadhūsamīpaṁ ninye vinītairavarodhadakṣaiḥ/Kum.*VII.73). In *Vikramorvaśīya* V. p.419 Urvaśi says, "Will the king regard me unfortunate, that I am as one who has done her task, when I shall be gone to Svarga, now that I have got back my child who has received training ?" *(māmapi mandabhāginīṁ kṛtavinayasya putrasya lābhāntaraṁ svargārohaṇenavasitakāryāṁ viprayogamukhīṁ mahārājaḥ samarthayiṣyati).*

The word *vinetṛ* is used in the sense of one who trains or teaches. Rāma asks Kuśa and Lava who were singing his story,'Who is your teacher in singing ?' *(geye ko nu vinetā vām ? Raghu.* XV.69). In *Mālavikāgnimitra,* I. p.270 the king remarks, "Acceptance of an unworthy student itself indicates the narrowness of the intellect of the teacher." *(vineturadravyaparigrahopi buddhilāghavaṁ prakāśayati /).* Similarly in the same drama (VI.9) it is said that Mālavikā has exhibited the training in acting given by her teacher *(kāntāparādhakupiteṣvanayā vinetuḥ saṁdarśiteva lalitābhinayasya śikṣā /* p.310). In *Māla.* V the king asks the two female artists namely Madanikā and Jyotsnikā, "In which art are you trained ?"*(kasyāṁ kalāyāmabhivinīte bhavatyau*? p.326). Here the prefix 'abhi' is added. Similarly in Vikramorvaśīya the word abhivinīta (trained) is used. Thus there (Act V) Āyu, the son of

Purūravas is decribed to have been trained in the lore of archery *(dhanurvede abhivinītaḥ /* p.414).

Many times the word *vinaya* is used in the sense of discipline and the root *vi + nī* is used in the sense of 'to administer the discipline'. In *Raghu.* I.24, Dilīpa is said to have administered discipline among his subjects in addition to giving protection and maintenance to them *(prajānāṁ vinayādhānād rakṣaṇād bharaṇādapi / sa pitā pitarastāsaṁ kevalaṁ janmahetavaḥ /).* Similarly Rāma is also described to be an administrator of discipline and therefore a father of his subjects *(tenāsa lokaḥ pitṛmān vinetrā / Raghu.*XIV.23). In *Raghu* II.8 when Dilīpa was following the cow of Vasiṣṭha in order to protect her, he is described to be administering discipline to the forest animals under the disguise of the protection of the cow *(rakṣāpadeśān-munihomadhenorvanyān vineṣyanniva duṣṭasattvān /).* Further in *Raghu.* III.34 Raghu is described to be bending himself low on account of discipline before his father although he was bigger than his father in the size of his body *(vapuḥprakarṣādajayad guruṁ raghustathāpi nīcairvinayādadṛśyata /).* Moreover since *Raghu* was disciplined on account of his very nature and his training, his father made him Prince (yuvarāja) *(nisargasaṁskāravinīta ityasau nṛpeṇa cakre yuvarāja-śabdabhāk / Raghu.* III.35). When Aja became young his new youth was impressive on account of discipline *(vinayenāsya navaṁ ca yauvanam / Raghu.* VIII.6). Daśaratha is described to be desirous of administering discipline among his subjects *(vininīṣuriva prajāḥ Raghu.* IX.18). Proper education creates knowledge and discipline. This has been mentioned by Kālidāsa (*Raghu.*X.71) while describing Sumitrā, who gave birth to Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna just as proper education gives birth to knowledge and discipline *(sutau lakṣmaṇa śatrughnau sumitrā suṣuve yamau / samyagārādhitā vidyā prabodhavinayāviva /).* Elsewhere in *Raghu.* VI.39 the king Sahasrārjuna is described to be an administrator of discipline who removed the indiscipline of his subjects even from within their bodies *(antaḥśarīreṣvapi yaḥ prajānāṁ pratyādideśāvinayaṁ vinetā /).* In *Raghu.* XIII.50 the forest in which Atri was practising penance is described to be one where the animals were disciplined even though there was neither punishment or fear *(anigrahatrāsavinītasattvam).* In *Raghu* IX.62 the king Daśaratha is described to be one appointed for administering discipline among those (animals) which were arrogant *(dṛptavinayādhikṛtaḥ).* At the

sudden advent of spring season when all the animals became amorous, Nandī administered discipline among the followers of Lord Śiva by means of a sign in the form of putting one finger on his mouth *(mukhārpitaikāṅgulisaṁjñayaiva mā cāpalāyeti gaṇān vyanaiṣīt / Kum.* III.41).

The word vinaya and other similar derivatives are used at times in the sense of restraint etc. In *Abhijñānaśākuntala.* I p.442, Duṣyanta says that he was about to follow Śakuntalā but his act of advancing was checked by restraint *(anuyāsyan munitanayāṁ sahasā vinayena vāritaprasaraḥ /).* In *Ṛtusaṁhāra* VI.23 the heart of the housewives was made eager by the singing cuckoo and bees even though it (the heart) was full of modesty and restraint *(lajjānvitaṁ savinayaṁ hṛdayaṁ kṣaṇena paryākulaṁ kulagṛhe'pi kṛtaṁ vadhūnām /).* In *Abhi.* I p.433 the king says that one should enter into the hermitage with restrained decor *(vinītaveṣeṇa praveṣṭavyāni tapovanāni nāma).* He describes Śakuntalā to have neither expressed nor concealed her love, the manifestation of which was checked by her with restraint *(vinayavārita-vṛttiratastayā na madano vivṛto na ca saṁvṛtaḥ / Abhi.* II p. 453.). In Kum. VII.45 the lokapālas viz, Indra and others are descibed to be with restrained decor *(vinītaveṣāḥ).*

At times there is a referrence to absence of restraint, discipline etc. In *Abhi.* III.p.471 Śakuntalā warns Duṣyanta who drags her towards himself, 'O Paurava! protect yourself from lack of restraint' *(paurava ! rakṣāvinayam /).* In the same drama in Act VII king Duṣyanta hears the voice of two female ascetics who were trying to administer discipline to Sarvadamana, by asking him not to be naughty. The king did not know the persons concerned. So he says that the place of hermitage was not a place where there was any scope for absence of discipline *(abhūmiriyamavinayasya).* So he was eager to know who was being warned against any misbehaviour (p.547). Similarly in the same context one of the two female ascetics affectionately addresses Sarvadamana as, 'O unrestrained, why do you give trouble to animals which are no less than our children as it were ?' *(avinīta ! kiṁ naḥ apatyanirviśeṣāṇi sattvāni viprakaroṣi. Abhi.* VII. p.547).

In *Abhi.* I. p.437, when a bee disturbs Śakuntalā, she addresses her friends, "Protect me from being assaulted by this naughty (durvinīta) wicked bee." *(halā! paritrāyethāṁ mām anena durvinitena duṣṭamadhukareṇa*

abhibhūyamānām /). Then the king enters there saying, "Who is behaving in such an unrestrained manner with regard to the simple-minded daughters of ascetics while the king Paurava, who gives punishment to the indisciplined people, is ruling on the earth ?" *(kaḥ paurave vasumatīṁ śāsati śāsitari durvinītānām / ayamācaratyavinayaṁ mugdhāsu tapasvi kanyāsu / / Abhi.* I. 22). In a similar context, while the king looks at a picture of Śakuntalā, Vidūṣaka notices that there is a bee moving near the face of Śakuntalā in the picture. Then Vidūṣaka further says to the king, "You yourself are the giver of punishment to the unrestrained. So you are able to ward the bee off *(bhavāneva avinītānāṁ śāsitā asya vāraṇe prabhaviṣyati / Abhi.* VI.p.530). In Act VII. p. 547 of the same drama the king describes the hermitage of Mārīca as a place devoid of unrestrained behaviour *(abhūmiriya-mavinayasya).*

In *Mālavikāgnimitra* when the king hears the sound of music, he immediately expresses his desire to see the musical performance and thereby to see Mālavikā. Dhāriṇī understands the intention of the king and remarks, "How indecorum on the part of my Lord ?" *(aho avinaya āryaputrasya / Māl.* I. p.273). When Mālavikā kicks the Aśoka tree with her foot, Vidūṣaka in his jestful manner asks her friend Bakulāvalikā about why she did not prevent her (Mālavikā) from doing that immodest deed *(gṛhītārthayā tvayātra-bhavatī idṛśamavinayaṁ kurvantī kasmānna nivāritā / Māl.* III. p.296). When the queen Irāvatī comes to know how the king Agnimitra tries to win the love of Mālavikā, she feels angry on account of the unrestrained behaviour of the king and goes away. On this the Vidūṣaka happily remarks, 'Luckily because of your unrestrained behaviour, she having become angry, has left. So let us go quickly.' *(diṣṭyā anenāvinayena aprasannā gatāiṣā / tad vayaṁ śīghramapa-kramāmaḥ / Māl.* III. p.299). Similarly in the same drama in Act IV. p. 301 Vidūṣaka remarks, 'Then the queen importuned by her (Dhāriṇī), she (Irāvatī) informed the queen of your unrestrained behaviour.' *(tatastayānubandhya-mānā sā bhavataḥ avinayamantareṇa parigatārthākṛta devī /).*

From the above given details we can conclude that the root *vi + nī* is basically used in the sense of discipline, proper way of behaviour, trainedness, proper order etc. In many other Sanskrit works the expression has a similar meaning. In Pāli *Tipiṭaka*, there is a Piṭaka called *Vinayapiṭaka.* There also the word vinaya stands for disciplined behaviour. In the light of this discussion the

famous sentence '*vidyā vinayena śobhate*' should be interpreted. In this sentence also the word vinaya does not mean 'humility' as is generally believed, but 'discipline' or 'trainedness'. And thus the sentence '*vidyā dadāti vinayam*' also implies that the knowledge brings in discipline. The essential characteristic mark of a scholar is therefore not humility but discipline.

(N.B. The pages mentioned here refer to REWAPRASAD DVIVEDI's ed. *Kālidāsagranthāvali*, Varanasi, 1976.)

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE - NAMES

H. S. THOSAR

Place-names have now been universally accepted as an important source material for the study of socio-economic and cultural conditions of the past. Flora, fauna, topography, religion, tribes and castes, social products, historical background and economic factors are most common contents of place-names in India. The suffixes of place-names generally indicate the linguistic patterns. Some place-names, if properly analysed and interpreted, shed new light on their cultural significance, and reveal such historical and cultural secrets which are unrecorded. The present paper is based on some such inscriptional place-names from the Deccan which have preserved interesting secrets of historical and cultural significance through their name contents.

1. *NAVANAGARA AND JUNNINAGARA* : An inscription from Nasik, belonging to the 19th regnal year of the Sātavāhana king Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi describes him as *Navanagarasvāmī* [1] . It shows that *Navanagara* was the royal seat of this king. Some scholars had identified *Navanagara* with Kalyan near Mumbai; but this is not possible because, though Kalyan was definitely an important town during the early centuries of the Christian era, it had never been a royal seat. From the testimony of the Greek geographer Ptolemy it is certain that at least during the reign of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi, Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan in Aurangabad district) was the capital of the Sātavāhanas [2]. The late V.V. MIRASHI has rightly pointed out that Pulumāvi did not shift his capital from Paithan to any other place; and hence *Navanagara* should be regarded as a reference to Paithan [3]. It then follows that *Navanagara* was an epithet of *Pratiṣṭhāna.*

The question is why Paithan has been referred to by its epithet *Navanagara* instead of its real name. Some historical or cultural significance must be hidden behind this name. Literally *Navanagara* means a new city or a new royal seat. It indirectly suggests that prior to Paithan the royal seat of the *Sātavāhanas* was in a different city. Recently some scholars have expressed the possibility of another royal seat of the *Sātavāhanas* in Western Deccan besides *Pratiṣṭhāna.* According to K.G. KRISHNAN, *Govardhana* near Nasik, in Maharashtra, was the royal seat of this dynasty [4]. On the other hand, MIRASHI has suggested that Junnar, in Pune district of Maharashtra, was their pre-*Pratiṣṭhāna* capital; and, due to the occupation of western Maharashtra by the *Śaka Kṣatrapas,* they were forced to shift it to *Pratiṣṭhāna* [5].

These suggestions cannot be ignored, because according to the *Periplus* also the coastal region of Maharashtra was under the jurisdiction of the *Śakas* during the later half of the 1st century A.D.[6] An inscription from Junnar issued by the *Amātya* of Nahapāna, and the Karle and Nasik inscriptions of Ṛshabhadatta indicate that the *Śakas* had occupied even the region of Pune and Nasik [7].

On the basis of these evidences, MIRASHI has suggested that Junnar or *Jīrṇanagara* - meaning an old city - which is in contrast to *Navanagara,* must have been the earlier capital of the Sātavāhanas. This is also substantiated by the fact that most of the earliest inscriptions of the *Sātavāhanas* have been found at Naneghat which is on the outskirts of Junnar.

MIRASHI's suggestion is thus quite happy; but needs some corrections. The place name *Jīrṇanagara* taken by him as the original name of Junnar is not linguistically tenable. It is not mentioned in any inscription or such other reliable source. On the contrary, an inscription of the tenth century A.D. from the same area refers to Junnar as *Junninagara* [8], which also denotes the same meaning and has linguistic affinity; and, like *Navanagara, Junninagara* also appears to have been an epithet rather than a proper name, as it does not occur in any inscription prior to the tenth century. If it is so, the original name of Junnar must have been something else. What exactly was it ?

The present writer has shown with concrete evidence that the original name of Junnar was *Dhenukākaṭa* which occurs in 20 early Brāhmī inscriptions from Western Maharashtra. After the *Śaka* occupation, they renamed Junnar as Minnagara. As the Śaka occupation was short-lived, both the old names went out of vogue and the place came to be known by its epithet *Junninagara,* like Halebeed of the later period replacing the original name *Dvārasamudra* [9].

2. *SĀTAVĀHANIHĀRA* : This geographical name occurs in the Adoni inscription of *Sātavāhana* king Pulumāvī who was most probably the last ruler of this dynasty [10]. For a pretty long time this was the only known inscription of this king. But during the last two decades three more inscriptions of this ruler have been discovered and their findspots are in northern Karnataka only. The present writer has ascribed the Sangsi memorial inscription from Kolhapur district to the same king, and has also shown that he was ruling over a small territory

on the borders of Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra [11]. At that time the coastal region of western Deccan was occupied by the Chutus, northern Maharashtra was under the Ābhira rule, and in Andhra the Ikshvakus had come to power.

The question is 'what is the significance of this name'? No place or territory is known to have been named after this dynasty even during the heydays of its long rule. The name Sātavāhanihāra occurs in this inscription only because of two probable reasons. First reason may be the disintegration of the *Sātavāhana* empire and its balkanization. In order to distinguish one such kingdom ruled by a Sātavāhana king, from other kingdoms, it might have been designated as Sātavāhanihāra. Second possibility is that a territory is known after a dynasty as a result of its long rule or association. The Rashtrakuta kingdom came to be known as *Raṭṭapāḍi* only during the closing years of their rule and mainly figures in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Kalyana [12]. In the case of Sātavāhanihāra, the second possibility is more likely.

3. *LAṬṬANAŪRA* : *Laṭṭanaura* or *Laṭṭalūra* are the inscriptional variants of Latur, a district headquarter in the Marathwada division of Maharashtra. Its earliest mention is in the Sirur and Nilagund inscriptions of Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa dated 866 A.D.[13] Amoghavarṣa is described in these epigraphs as Laṭṭalūrapuravarādhīśvara, meaning the lord of *Laṭṭalūra* the best among the towns. On this basis ALTEKAR proposed that the Rashtrakutas orginally hailed from *Lattalūra* [14].

G.H.KHARE has rightly sought the etymology of the name of this town in the name *'Raṭṭa'*, i.e.Rashtrakuta,[15]. It shows that the town had close association with the Rashtrakuta dynasty. But it cannot be treated as the original hometown of the ancestors of Dantidurga because as many as four inscriptions of Dantidurga's ancestors have been reported from Aurangabad, Buldana and Jalgaon districts of Maharashtra. The places gifted through these grants are also located in the same area. Two inscriptions of Dantidurga come from Ellora which was the royal seat of the Rashtrakutas prior to *Mayūrakhaṇḍī* and *Mānyakheṭa*. Amoghavarṣa is the only king of this dynasty assuming the epithet *Laṭṭalūrapuravarādhīśvara*. It clearly shows that the latter was not the hometown of the Rashtrakutas.

Then what is the secret behind this epithet ? It is not difficult to trace. It has now been fully established that Ellora was the royal seat of the Rashtrakutas till the end of the 8th century A.D. Govinda III probably shifted it to *Mayūrkhaṇḍī* (Morkhandi in Bidar district of Karnataka) at the beginning of the 9th century. Amoghavarṣa again shifted it to *Mānyakheṭa* (Malkhed in Gulbarga district of Karnataka) which continued to be the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital till the end of their regime [17]. It is also a historical fact that after his accession Amoghavarṣa lost his royal status for a short interval [18]. It is therefore quite likely that during his exile Amoghavarṣa stayed at Latur, and that is why the epithet *Laṭṭalūrapuravarādhīśvara* is applied to him only. Latur owes its origin to the name Raṭṭa, and the descendents of the Rāshṭrakūṭas continued to live at this town till the 13th century A.D. as known from an inscription of the reign of Yadava king Kanhardeva [19]. Latur was thus the probable asylum of Amoghavarṣa, and hence a temporary royal seat of the Rashtrakutas after *Mayūrakhaṇḍī* and before *Mānyakheṭa*, but not their hometown.

These are a few instances of place-names which have preserved historical and cultural significance through their name contents. There are many place-names unfolding their socio-economic and cultural background. Let us see some of them also.

PLACE-NAMES WITH ECONOMIC SIGNIFCANCE :

4. *NAṆEGHAT* : It is the name of a pass in the Sahyadri range in the Junnar Taluka of Pune district in Maharashtra. This pass has played a significant role in the maritime trade of India during the early centuries of the Christians era. The ancient trade route connecting the prominent inland trade centres like *Pratiṣṭhāna* and *Tagara* with the West Coast ports like Kalyan and Sopara, passed through Naneghat. SHOBHANA GOKHALE has rightly pointed out that 'the ghat was actually a culture channel from which the Sātavāhanas had contacts with the western world. Mukherjee has shown how 'Nana' the important coin-device of the Kushanas, in the course of time became a general term *Naṇo, Naṇe* in India. Naneghat provides one more supporting evidence to this proposition. It was the place of money transactions. It still preserves a big stone-pot which was meant for toll collection' [20].

Naneghat which owes its name to *Nāṇe* or *Nāṇaka* meaning a coin, has preserved the memory of its prominent role of earning revenue during the early centuries of the Christian era, which was the peak period in the history of India's foreign trade. If the identification of 'Nanaguna', mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography, with Naneghat is accepted, it will be proved that the pass was known by the present name as early as the second century A.D. Sārthavāhas and traders passing through Naneghat used to enter the coastal region of Konkan at its foot.

At this place there is an old water reservior which is also known as *'Nāṇetaḷe'* meaing the tank of coins. It is obviously named after Naneghat which is on the top of Sahyadri. The first halting place of the traders in this area was Vaishakhre near Nanetale. According to local tradition it is a corrupt form of *'Vaiśyagṛha'* meaning the camping place for traders. From Vaishakhre the traders marched towards Kalyan via Murbad. [21]

5. *AMBĀLIKĀ VIHĀRA* AND *GĀNDHĀRIKA BHŪMI* :

Ambālikā Vihāra is mentioned in one of the early Brāhmī inscriptions from Kanheri in Thane district of Maharashtra [22]. It has been described as associated with Kalyan. On the basis of this evidence, SHOBHANA GOKHALE has identified it with the Ambivale Buddhist Vihara caves situated a few kilometers north of Kalyan on the bank of the Ulhas river. She has further stated that this *Ambālikā Vihāra* was also used as a camping resort by traders and monks on their way from Naneghat to Kalyan. It was patronised by traders from Kalyan as well as outsiders. The name Ambālikā reminds us of Āmrapāli, the famous courtesan from Vaishali who later on became Buddha's disciple and found a respectable position in the Buddhist order. The Sanjeli plates of Huna Toramana record the visit of traders from the region of Magadha and Vaishali to the trade centres in western Deccan [23]. It is quite possible that the *Ambālikā Vihāra* might have been caused to be constructed by traders from Vaishali. Inscriptions from Konkan have recorded the patronage to Buddhist caves by traders coming from distant parts of India such as Sindh and Gandhara, and foreigners like *Yavanas.* [24]

An inscription from Kanheri mentions the name of a suburb of Kalyan as *Gāndhārika Bhūmi* [25]. Scholars have stated it to be a settlement of people coming from *Gandhāra.* Another inscription from Mumbai mentions

Roshika Vihāra which was also near Kalyan and was established by traders coming from the Kushana Kingdom [26]. These place-names have recorded the frequent visits of traders from distant lands to Konkan which confirms the hectic commercial activity of this area, particularly during the early centuries of the Christian era.

6. *SAṀYĀNAPAṬṬAṆA* : It is the inscriptional name of Sanjan, a port-town in the Balsad district of Gujarat [27]. It was an important port on the West Coast throughout the ancient and medieval periods. In some inscriptions it is mentioned as *Sañjayantī* or *Sañjayapura* also [28]. The suffix *paṭṭaṇa* clearly shows that it was a port. But in the lexicons the meaning of the word *'Saṁyāna'* has been given as 'a place known for starting a sea voyage'. It shows that the content and the suffix of this place-name was connected with words related to commercial activity. In the Nagarjunakonda inscription of Abhira king *Vasuṣeṇa*, Sañjayapura has been described as the seat of a Yavana king [29]. Inscriptions from Konkan have recorded several names of visiting Yavana traders. There were also some settelments of the Greeks in this region [30]. One of them was Sanjan. The first group of the Parsis coming to India landed and settled at Sanjan [31]. It was thus a centre of maritime trade having settlements of foreign traders.

As a matter of fact quite a large number of place-names from Konkan have their origin in terms related to trade and industry such as *Maṇḍikalanigrāma, Hāṭavire, Māṇḍavali, Pānāḍa, Vaṭṭāra, Koparath, Vāpāravaṭagrāma, Vesaja Maṇigrāma, Supali* and *Lavaṇetaṭa*. It shows that inland and foreign trade was the main source of income in this area, and so many places were named after economic terms.

7. *NIDHIVĀSA or NIDHINIVĀSA* : These are the inscriptional variants of the name Nevasa, which is the headquarters of a Taluka division in the Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra. According to local tradition, Nevasa was the abode of Kubera, the treasurer of the gods, who had kept his treasure *(nidhi)* at this place [31]. From this background it received the name *Nidhinivāsa* or *Nidhivāsa*. In one of the inscriptions of the Yadavas it is mentioned as *Nidhivāsa* or *Nidvase* [32]. The phonetical affinity between the traditional name, inscriptional variants and the present name certainly shows that the tradition behind this name must have some historical background. The excavations at Nevase have confirmed that it was a flourishing centre of

trade and industry right from the Chalcolithic to the medieval period. Since Nevase was situated on half a day's march from Paithan, it seems to have been an important commercial centre on the trade route connecting, the Satavahana imperial city with the coastal ports of Maharashtra. As it was very near from Paithan it can be safely conjectured that the royal treasury, or at least the mint, might have been located at Nevase due to which the place came to be known as *Nidhivāsa*. It is further interesting to note that the largest coinhoard consisting the coins of Satavahanas and Śaka Kṣatrapas was recovered at Jogalttembi in Nasik district which is a few kilometers north of Nevase.

8. *BHOGAVARDHANA* : It is the ancient name of Bhokardan, which is the headquarters of a Taluka division in the Jalna district of Maharashtra. As the name occurs in inscriptions from distant places, such as Sanchi and Bharut in Madhya Pradesh, there is no doubt that it was an important commercial centre on the ancient trade route connecting Paithan with *Māhiṣmatī* on the Narmada.[33] The excavations at the place have established that it was a busy centre of trade and industry during the early centuries of the Christian era [34]. Among the interesting finds recovered from the excavations at Bhokardan is a clay seal of a lady named *Indrā* from Thane, near Mumbai, which speaks of the role of this town in maritime trade. The name Bhogavardhana means "Increaser of wealth" which no doubt shows that the place owes the origin of its name to economic activity in the past [35].

9. *KARAHĀṬAKA* : *Karahāṭaka* is the inscriptional name of the present town of Karhad, the seat of a taluka division in Satara district of Maharashtra. It is mentioned in at least a dozen of inscriptions from different parts of Maharashtra and India ranging from the Satavahana period to the Yadava rule [36]. Out of these, an inscription from Kuda, in the Raigad district of Konkan, is very significant from the viewpoint of its role in commercial activity of the past [37]. The inscription records the endowment of a cave by Mahika, an iron trader from *Karahāṭaka*. A trader from Karhad visiting the Kuda caves has got some commercial significance. Kuda caves are near the present port of Mandad representing the ancient port of 'Mandagora' occuring in Ptolemy's *Geography*. It shows that Karhad had commercial links with the western world through Mandad.

Karahāṭa is further mentioned in five inscriptions from Bharut. One of these epigraphs records the endowment made by a *nigama* from *Karahāṭaka*. Nigama was a guild of traders and craftsmen [38]. The name of *Karahāṭa* also occurs in inscriptions from Shravanabelgol in Karnataka [39]. These evidences clearly show that Karhad was one of the flourishing centres of trade and industry during the early centuries of the Christian era. The suffix *'hāṭaka'* itself means a market-town. Thus Karhad is one of those ancient cities from the Deccan which has preserved in its name the active role in economic life it played during the past.

10. *SUPPĀRAKA* :- It is the ancient name of the present town of Nala Sopara near Mumbai and was the chief port on the western coast of Maharashtra. The antiquity of this place has been established at least upto 300 B.C., as it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* [40]. Its contacts with the western world date back at least to 1000 B.C., as it is referred to in the Old Testament. Sopara became so important during the early historic period that one of the *Jātakas* in the Buddhist literature was named after it. Its role in India's flourishing foreign trade during the early centuries of the Christian era is proved by its mention in the Greek accounts as a principal port on the west coast of India along with Bharuch. It is one of the very few places from the Deccan where an Ashokan Edict was discovered along with a Buddhist stupa of the Mauryan period [41].

The Buddhist literature has preserved several stories of sailors starting their sea voyage from Sopara. This factor seems to be connected with the origin of this place name. Pāra in Sanskrit means to cross the shore. [42] *Supāraka* therefore would denote a good, or ideal place for crossing the sea, or starting the sea voyage. Sopara, which played a leading role in the economic history of ancient India, thus owes the origin of its name to maritime activity which is of utmost importance in external trade. [43]

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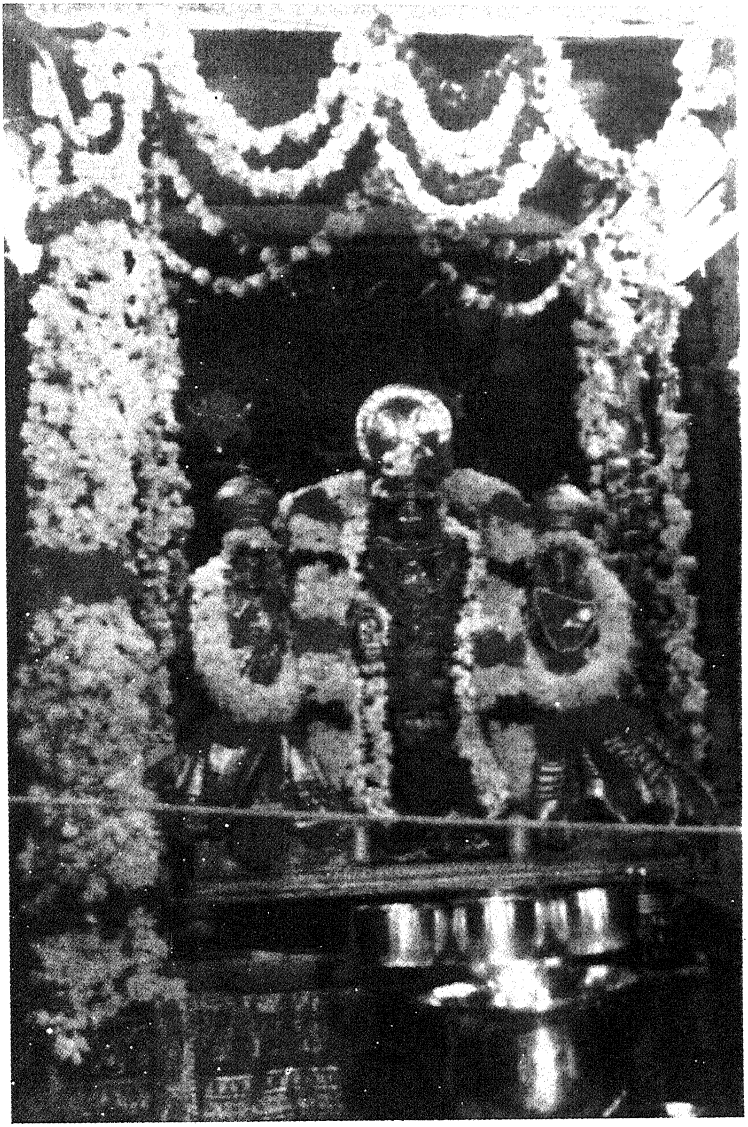
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UTSAVA MURTI AND HIS CONSORTS ON 'ŪÑCAL'.
VENKATESH DEVASTHAN, FANASVADI, MUMBAI-2.

ŪÑCAL - ITS IMPORTANCE IN TEMPLE RITUALS

VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY

The term *ūñcal* in Tamil denotes a swing. It features predominantly as a part of social rejoicing during certain festivals, and most important of all as an interesting aspect of worship. *Ūñcal tirunāl* (swing festival) also referred to as *dolotsava* is widely celebrated in temples all over India. The *bera* (image) bedecked, is placed on the ūñcal and swung to and fro gently to the acoompaniment of music. Devotees throng to witness this impressive ritual. It is believed that there is no rebirth when you behold Govinda swinging on the dolā as the saying goes "*Dolāyamānam Govindam . . . dṛṣṭvā punarjanma na vidyate*".[1]

The object of this paper is to examine ūñcal's importance among the temple rituals by :

a) Tracing its antiquity perceived from social and historical angles.

b) Appraising its place in the contemporary procedures in temples.

Some of the other terms that would connote a swing are as follows : *ūcal* and *tāmpu* in Tamil;[2] *uyyāla* in Telugu;[3] *ḍola / dola, hindolā, hindolaka, āndola, āndolaka, preṅkhā, pleṅkha,* in Sanskrit;[4] and jhūlā in Hindi. *Ūñcāl/ūcal* would indicate a swing-song too.[5] These two terms employed in verb form convey the to and fro movement of a swing and at times 'figuratively applied' to indicate wavering of mind, and the lingering of life. Similarly the Sanskrit term dolā can suggest 'fluctuation', 'incertitude' and 'doubt' in a figurative sense.[6]

Ūñcal(dolā) has always had a certain amount of sportive element ascribed to it. *Ūcar paruvam* mentioned in Tamil literary works is described as a stage of childhood when girls enjoyed being swung on the swing. Sometimes the traditional game *ammānal* is also played seated on the *ūñcal.*[7]

The improvised swing suspended from trees bring immense joy to women during certain festivals. At the time of Teej, celebrated in the month of Āṣaḍha (June-July) all over North India and Rajasthan, one can see large numbers swinging and singing in praise of Pārvatī. In Maharāshtra, during Nāgapañcami in the month of Śrāvana (August-September) young girls play on swings singing folk songs. During Tiruvātira festival in Kerala in the month of Dhanu (December-January) women after bath adorn themselves,

sing in praise of Kāmadeva (God of Love) and swing on the Ūñcal followed by dances known as kaikoṭṭikaḷi and tiruvātirakaḷi.

In addition to the above occasions the swing plays a significant role during marriage ceremonies among a large section of Tamil speaking people. The bride and bridegroom are made to sit on a decorated ūñcal and swung to and fro accompanied by appropriate *ūñcal* and *lāli* songs sung by ladies who have gathered. Certain rituals intended to ward off the evil eye are also performed by women while they are seated on it. In Kerala, new-weds swing on the ūñcal made of cocoanut palm leaves on the Ōṇam day, a celebration in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

Literary references indicate that, from ancient times, swings have been associated with certain seasons such as spring. Rājaśekhara in *Kāvyamīmāmsā* mentions that women worshipped Gaurī and Kandarpa (Kāmadeva) during Vasanta and also played on the swings.[8]

Siddharsi Suri (10th c. A.D) in *Upamitibhāvaprapañcakathā* refers to swing suspended in the gardens and that people prayed to Kāmadeva to fulfil their desires.[9]

While the improvised ones characterize festive occasions, the swing is also a permanent fixture in homes. Kālidāsa in *Māḷavikāgnimitram* mentions *dolāgṛham* (swing house) which perhaps was a part of the palace where royal members relaxed.[10] Primarily intended to provide relaxation, many Gujarati households are known to possess exquisitely designed dolas adding elegance to the interior.

Thus, perceived from the social angle the swing has remained a popular form of recreation and merriment. References from Vedic literature would indicate its religious significance too from very early times. The *preṅkhā* (swing) occurs in *Ṛgveda* in two contexts. In one, the golden sun is compared to the swing of the sky.[11] In other, Vasiṣṭha tells Varuṇa that they would ascend the ship and swing joyfully for "śubhakam" (auspiciousness / prosperity).[12] The *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* says *'mahovai plenkaḥ'* thereby indicating the significance of the swing.[13]

The *preṅkhā* has figured prominently in the mahāvrata ceremony which took place on the penultimate day of *gavāmayana* which was a sattra.[14] It was a celebration of winter solstice when the Sun was honoured. During the performance, the priest hotṛ ascended the preṅkhā and swung to and fro, the udgātṛ sat on the *āsandi* (seat on a stool) and adhvaryu on the *kūrca* (a seat made of grass).

Elaborate discussions and descriptions are found in texts such as *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* [15] and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* [16] pertaining to the preparation of *preṅkha phalaka* (planks of the swing) and other ritualistic details. Specifications were laid down for the chopping of the udumbara tree for the planks by the hotṛ. Two planks were used to signify the two worlds and the specific tree was chosen because it stood for sap and food. Darbha (the sacred grass) was used as ropes as it was believed to be free of evil. The two ropes represented the two kinds of paśu (animals) and hence served to win both. There are discussions as to how the hotṛ had to ascend the swing from the east to west like the Sun or from behind, as the swing was considered as a "heaven-faring ship".[17] The swing, the seat of hotṛ stood for food and the seat of udgātṛ for prosperity. So when they ascended together it meant they mounted to food and fortune.[18] The hotṛ had to descend also from the swing in a specific manner. The untying of phalaka was done after the recitation of mantras.

Typifying prosperity and auspiciousness, the preṅkhā seem to have been the special privilege accorded to hotṛ. Its import in respect of Mahāvrata ceremony is apparent from the elaborate treatment it receives in the matter of its preparation and procedure of ritual of ascending and descending from it.

The tradition of associating swing with religious ceremonies has continued. It has become an integral part of worship too. Placing the image on a dolā and swinging it gently to the accompaniment of music is regarded as one of the rājopacāras.[19]

The Purāṇas and Āgamas deal extensively about dolārohaṇa (ascending the swing) and utsava at length.

Skanda Purāṇa prescribes dolārohaṇa for Govinda in the month of Phālguṇa (February-March).[20]

It instructs that in front of the palace of Viṣṇu a maṇṭapa (pavilion) with sixteen pillars has to be erected. The *phalgu utsava* [21] (also known as the swing festival) is to be celebrated for three to five days. On the fourteenth bright half of the month a festival of fire is to be conducted to the east of the maṇṭapa. On the morning of the fourteenth day the image of Govinda is to be worshipped with the offerings of bath, waving of lights and procession. Then it is to be placed on the ḍolā and swung seven times and then twenty one times. This sight is considered to be auspicious. *Pādma Purāṇa* also contains details of ḍolotsava for Kṛṣṇa to be performed in the same month for three to five days [22] and in Caitra (April-May) in Śuklapakṣa (bright half) especially on ekādaśi (eleventh day).[23] Ḍolotsava for Śiva is also mentioned by *Skanda Purāṇa* at the time of damanakotsava [24] performed on the caturdaśi (fourteenth day) of the bright half of Caitra in conjunction with Hasta constellation.[25] The *Āgamas* which form the liturgical texts give elaborate instructions for the performance of ḍolotsava. It is laid down that it can be performed either as part of Mahotsava (Brahmotsava), as part of Kṛṣṇa-jayanti utsava [26] or as an independent one.

Ḍolā finds mention along with the vāhanas (processional vehicles) in *Marīci-Vimānārcanakalpa* [27] and *Bhṛgu Saṁhitā*, [28] both belonging to Vaikhānasa Āgamas. The former refers to raṅga ḍolam.[29]

Īśvara Saṁhitā [30] and *Śrīpraśna Saṁhitā* [31] belonging to the Pāñcarātra Āgamas also provide a variety of details for the performance of ḍolotsava. A brief extract of the ritualistic details prescribed by the above two texts is as follows :

The utsava is to be performed between Tulā (October-November) and Kumbha (February-March) months and can be celebrated for three, five, seven or nine days in the evenings.[32] Dhvajārohaṇa (raising a flag), an essential ritual in the performance of Brahmotsava, is omitted.[33] Other rituals such as mṛtsaṅgraha (collection of earth for germination rites), aṅkurārpaṇa (germination of seeds), rakṣābandhana (tying of cord on the wrists of images), kumbhasthāpana (installation of pots for the transfer of power of the deity in to them), homas (sacrifices) and avabhṛtha (concluding ritualistic bath for the images) on the prescribed days, are all to be carried out.

The details of the ḍolā maṇṭapa (swing-pavilion), its location, decorations, the shape of the ḍolā, the materials which are to be used for making it and the chains are given. Several deities are to be invoked in and around the ḍolā such as Ananta on the plank, Dharma on the legs, Garuḍa on the posts, the four Vedas in the chains, Itihāsas and Purāṇas in the eight directions of the plank, Sāvitrī in the flag, Vyāhṛtī in the parasol etc. Besides, the recitation of Puruṣasūkta, instrumental music and dance are included.

It would not be out of place to mention here that Mānasāram, a text on architecture (6th to 7th c. A.D) has a number of verses devoted to the preparation of ḍolā for deities giving precise measurements for the component parts. [34]

The significance of the swing is highlighted by looking at the number of material and spiritual benefits that are stated to be conferred on the individual as a result of the performance of the ritual and the utsava.

As for the material benefits *Śrīpraśṇa Saṁhitā* and *Ajitāgama* point out that the ḍolotsava is to be performed for the welfare of the king and his kingdom, in addition to the good health, prosperity, long life and increase of progeny. [35]

Apropos the spiritual merits, *Pādma Purāṇa* states that seeing Kṛṣṇa facing south on the ḍolā, people become absolved of their sins. [36] *Śrīpraśṇa Saṁhitā* asserts that the celebration of this utsava would bestow mokṣa. [37]

Skanda Purāṇa has an interesting anecdote sanctifying the ḍolā, wherein a monkey is stated to have reborn as a prince, on account of the merit of his having swung on the ḍolā along with Śiva during damanakotsava. [38]

The religious import of the swing is enhanced further by the symbolism that has been attributed to it. In the Vedic period its movement appears to have represented the orbit of the sun in the mahāvrata rite. The āgamic procedure of invoking the deities etc. in the parts of the swing is somewhat indicative of the representative element. It would not be out of place here to mention that the swing has been symbolically conceived even beyond the shores of India such as in Siam now known as Thailand. [39]

A thought provoking symbolic significance of the ūñcal is to be found in the taniyan [40] in Tamil preceding *Tirvarańkattūcal*, a Tamil work. [41] The gyst of it is as follows : The universe is conceived as a pavilion, the bonds and ties as the posts, intellectual perception as the cross-beam, the sense organs as the chains, the current birth as the plank, the past deeds as the persons rocking the ūñcal. The three states (of motion) of the ūñcal is related to the three worlds, viz. the elevated one to heaven, the lower to hell and the stable to this world. A further analogy is added to relate the movement of the ūñcal to the incertitudes experienced by the devotees to redeem them from which the ūñcal has been composed. [42]

In view of the swing's association with Spring and Kāmadeva it would be naive not to acknowledge the erotic significance suggested by its movement especially in the social sphere. The sensations experienced perhaps would explain it. It is perhaps this feature that could account for certain amount of the sentiment of love in some swing songs.[43] However, swinging typified on these occasions was perhaps more brisk compared to the gentle swaying when related to religous rituals.

It is indeed relevant to add here that the swing has been a popular motif in art too. Gods and goddesses are represented on the swing; social scenes of lovers and women swinging and enjoying the festivals are often depicted. [44] It is obvious from all this that the swings held an aesthetic appeal to artists as well as art admirers.

A lyrically oriented form of sport and ritual, the swing has inspired literary compositions and songs in different languages, inclusive of the folk variety. As pointed out earlier this ritual in temple is always accompanied by music. *Śrīpraśna Saṁhitā* prescribes dolāgāna and other songs of Viṣṇu by Vaiṣṇava devotess to please Lord Kṛṣṇa during Kṛṣṇa-jayanti-utsava.[45]

Ūñcal in Tamil literature is placed under the category of ninety six *pirapantams* (a classification of literary works). The verses are set to a special kind of metre. They glorify a deity or a great personality. These songs are rendered in certain specific rāgas or tunes.[46]

Ilankōaṭikaḷ in *Cilapatikāram* has introduced *ūcalvari*, a swing song in praise of the Cera king Vañci, sung by girls as they swing. [47] Possibly the

earliest reference to ūñcal as far as religious texts are concerned is to be found in *Tiruvācakam* of Māṇikkavācakar (9th c. A.D) known as Tiruppoṇṇūcal ("the sacred decade of golden swing").[48] It consists of songs sung in glory of Civan sung by the maid who is in love with the Lord as she swings along with her friends. Following this we have the *Tiruvaraṅkattūcal.* It is learnt that *uyyālappāṭṭalu* (swing songs) in Telugu were in vogue as early as twelfth century.[49] Prominent music composers from South such as Tallapaka Annamācārya (15th c. A.D) and Tyāgarāja (19th c. A.D) have composed melodious swing songs meant to be sung during worship.[50] The ūñcal songs are rich in imagery; extolling the beauty of the spectacle is one important feature. In *Cīraṅkanāyakiyārūcal* the ūñcal is exquisitely described as made of emerald planks, placed under the arbour of celestial tree kalpaka, suspended from a diamond cross-beam and supported by coral posts.[51] *Cīraṅkanāyakiyārūcal* has a beautiful verse portraying also the manner in which the goddess swings.[52]

The ūñcal songs can boast of rich philosophical content too besides vivid descriptions. In fact the subtitle for *Tiruppoṇṇūcal* is *arutcutti* ("purification by grace"). The poet in the role of a maid in love with Civan applauds His supreme grace, which actually characterizes the decade. The bliss of a purified soul caused by His grace is perhaps comparable only to the ecstatic joy emanating from swinging and hence perhaps the subtitle for the same, which is as a matter of fact a swing song.

That the ūñcal has figured in temple utsavas is gathered also from literary and inscriptional sources from early times. An inference to it can be made from Tēvāram of Tirujñāṉa campantar (7th c. A.D).[53] Though the term ūñcal does not occur and the phrase portāppu is used, which could indicate a swing with 'golden ropes' by eliciting the meanings of the terms poṉ and tāmpu.[54] To strengthen this point of view we have the *Tiruppoṇṇūcal* composed by Māṇikkavācakar.

Several endowments have been made towards ūñcal tirunāl in temples in South. In the year śaka 1337(1414 A.D) a donation was made for the uyyāla, for dolārohotsava (swing festival) for Chennakesava of Velāpura of Belur taluka.[55]

Complete details of the number of days of the performance of anna-ūñcal tirunāḷ (swan shaped swing festival), the rituals and offerings made, are available from a record dated Śaka 1395(1473 A.D) from Tirumalai.[56] That the festival was conducted in the month of Āṭi (July-August) at Tirupati is gathered from an inscription belonging to Śaka 1430(1506 A.D).[57] At Kāñcī it was celebrated for seven days as is learnt from an inscription dated Śaka 1455 (1533 A.D).[58]

The Vijayanagar period witnessed a marked increase in the number of festivals in the temples in the South. Lavish celebrations called for special halls and pavilions and hence we have the constructions such as ūñcal maṇṭapa, kalyāṇa maṇṭapa etc.

The ūñcal maṇṭapas at Kāñcī and Srirangam exhibit exquisite and ornate workmanship.[59] This would indicate the importance assigned to the ritual.

The current practices in temples also show that ūñcal has retained its importance. Ḍolotsava or ūñcal tirunāḷ continues to be celebrated in most temples both in North and South. While in some it may go on for more than a day, at others the ritual may be adjoined to brahmotsava or kalyāṇotsava (marriage festival) or even performed as a routine weekly ritual on Friday evenings, for goddess especially in the South. It is also an integral part during the tiruvāṭipūram festival celebrated for Āṇṭāḷ.[60] Srirangam temple conducts the ūñcal tirunāḷ for nine days in the month of Aipaci (October-November) for perumāḷ (Lord) and a separate one for tāyar (goddess) immediately following it for seven days. Ūñcal sēvai (obtaining the view of the deities on the swing) takes place in the late evenings. The first and seventh days of the festival are of special interest as it is only on these two days both perumāḷ and nāccimar (consorts) are seated on the ūñcal. The seventh day includes a special flower decoration for the pavilion. Cūṛṇotsava [61] and Dhānyamānam[62] also take place on this day. The araiyars [63] chant tālaṭṭu pācurams (lullaby hymns) of Periyāḻvar [64] and Kulacekara āḻvār [65] and Kōyil pācurams. Ūñcal songs are not sung any more.[66]

At Tirumalai, ūñcal tirunāḷ is not an independent festival any more, which perhaps was the case as understood from inscriptions. However, the

ritual is one of the daily features in late afternoons at ainamahal(mirror hall) when both perumāḷ and nāccimar are seated on the swing. It also takes place on Friday evenings at Koluvu maṇṭapa and is included during brahmotsava.

The festival has a special significance as it is considered to be an alaṅkāra utsava because special care is taken to present the deity in varied manner adorned with several ornaments. [67]

After a perusal of the various facets pertaining to ūñcal a few factors seem to emerge. The age-long association of the swing with religious ceremonies right from the Vedic age speaks of its ritualistic significance besides its social importance. Several ideas have been developed projecting its symbolic aspect beginning from its movement being related to the path of the sun, to the states of mind, from joyful to the incertitudes as well. Finally it has evolved as a reverential form of service to the deity with an aesthetic reckoning, occupying a significant place among temple rituals and has been responsible for lyrical compositions with a philosophic fervour too.

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5. Lullaby songs are known as tālaṭṭu in Tamil. An Attempt has been made to derive the word tālā from dola; vide, Preface to *Nammālvār Tiruttālāṭṭu*, Tañcāvūr, 1951.
6. MONIER MONIER WILLIAMS,
7. LAKSHMANAN CETTIYAR S.M.L., *Tamil Nāṭṭu Makkalin Marapum paṇpāṭum*, Madras, 1975, p. 161. *Ammanai* is a game played by girls in Tamilnadu with three or more wooden or metallic balls. Just as there are ūñcal songs there are ammaṉai songs too.
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13. MITRA RAJENDRALAL, ed., *The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya*, Calcutta, 1859, Vol .I, 1.2.6.6.

14. The Soma sacrifices which had more than twelve pressing days were known as sattras of which the *gavāmayana* lasted for a year.
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17. KEITH A.B., op.cit., p.177; *Ṛgveda*, 7.88.3 where there seems to be some connection between the movement of ship and swinging.
18. *Ibid.*,
19. Rājopacāras are special services or honours extended to the deity as for a monarch such as the royal paraphernalia like chattra (parasol), cāmara (chowrie) etc.
20. *The Skanda Mahāpurāṇa*, Nagsharan Singh (Pub), Delhi, 1982, Vol.I. 2.2.43 ff. also see 7.4.25, 45f.
21. Phalgu is a reddish powder used during holi festival. The holi festival is also known as dolāyātrā, a spring festival.
22. *The Pādmamahāpurāṇam*, Pātalakhaṇḍa, Khemraj Srikrishnadas, Reprint, Delhi, 1954, Vol.II, 80.46 ff.
23. *Ibid.*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 83.5 ff
24. It is a festival when some special fragrant leaves are offered to the deity.
25. *Skanda Mahāpurāṇa*, 1982., 1.2.9.23 ff.
26. The ḍolā that is used for Kṛṣṇajayanti would perhaps resemble a cradle as the festival marks the birth of Kṛṣṇa, and hence it is meant for an infant deity.
27. BHATTACHARYA CHAKRAVARTI RAGHUNATHA & SETU MĀDHAVĀCĀRYA, eds *Marīcivimānārcakalpa*, Madras, 1926, chap.52.
28. BHATTACHARYA PĀRTHASARATHY M.R., ed, *Bhṛgu Saṁhitā* (Kriyādhikāra), Tirupati, 1953, chap. 14.89 ff.
29. Rangaḍolam was perhaps a coloured or a painted swing.
30. ANANTACHARYASVAMI P.B. ed. *Īśvara-Saṁhitā*, Kāñchipuram, 1923, chap.12. 161-205.

31. PADMANABHAN, Sita, ed. *Śrīpraśna Saṁhitā*, Tirupati, 1969, chap.45.

32. The ritual is performed both in the morning and the evening as stated by *Ajitāgama* (a Śaiva Āgama), vide BHATT N.R., ed, *Ajitāgama* (Kriyāpāda), Pondicherry, 1964, Vol.I, chap. 28.84.

33. *Ajitāgama* includes bheritāḍana (striking the drum, an act of inviting other deities to be present) and dhvajārohaṇa if the festival is conducted for seven days or nine days. *Ibid.*, vv p-10.

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40. *Taniyan* is a single stanza composed either in Sanskrit or Tamil relating to a preceptor or his work. The Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition includes the chanting of the respective taniyan before the work.

41. *Tirvaraṅkattūcal* comprises of swing songs composed in honour of God and Goddess of Srirangam. The first one is known as *Cīraṅkanāyarkarūcal* by PILLAIPPERUMAL AYYANKAR (14th AD) and the second one as *Cīraṅkanāyakiyarūcal* by his grandson *Konēriyappan Ayyaṅkār*. The former consists of thirty-two verses and the latter fifteen.

42. GOPALAKRISHNAMACHARYA V.M., ed. *Aṣṭa Pirapantam*, Madras, 1976, pp.405-406.

43. AMBALAL AMIT, KRISHNA AS SHRINATHJI, Ahmedabad, 1987, p.152; also see BALAKRISHNAN, SHYAMALA : "Devotion in folk music", *Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures.* (1977 January-June) p.270. In this song the bridal couple is imagined to be Rāma and Sitā, and it is sung at the time of marriage ceremonies.

44. SHARMA B.N. *op.cit.*, figs.15, 18, 22 etc; AMBALAL AMIT, *op.cit.*, p.99. Here Madanmohanji is shown on a painted hindola attended upon by people.

45. PADMANABHAN SITA ,(1969) chap.41.38. The dolāgāna in this case perhaps would be more of the lullaby type.

46. Some of the Carnatic classical ragas that are usually adopted are : Bhairavi, Anandabhairavi and Nilāmbari. Kuriñji and Navroj ragas are also chosen.

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50. *"Dolāyām"* of TALLAPAKA ANNAMACHARYA; "Lāli Lāliyani", "Uyyāla" etc.of Tyāgarāja.

51. GOPALAKRISHNAMACHARYA V.M, 1976, v.2.

52. *Ibid.*, v.3

53. SUBRAMANYA PILLAI K., ed. *Tevārappatikaṅkal,* Srivaikuṇṭam, 1980, Tirumayilāpūr 18-9.

54. Campantar enumerates the corresponding monthly festivals at Kapalīśvarar temple, Mylapore, Madras. Portāppu occurs in relation to perhaps vaikāci (May-June). It is interpreted as a marriage festival by deriving one of the meanings of *tāmpu* (*vide, ibid.*, p.639 n). Rendering the term as 'golden ropes' it is felt that it was probably *ponnūcal*--the golden swing for the Vasanta festival in *Vaikāci* ; vide, ARUNACHALAM M, *Festivals of Tamil Nadu,* Tiruchitrambalam, 1980, pp.319-320.

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60. In the month of Āṭi, a festival is celebrated in honour of Āṇṭāl. It usually lasts for ten days culminating on the day when Pūram star is on the ascent.

61. Cūrṇotsava is a ritual of smearing some special powders on the images.

62. Dhānyamānam is the ritual of measuring paddy at the granary in the presence of deities, when the *arcaka* calls out on behalf of the deity to the person concerned.

63. Araiyars are a special category of people in Srirangam temple who are assigned the duty of chanting āḻvārs' *pācurams* (hymns of accompanied by abhinaya (gestures) on special occasions. They are also known as *viṇṇappamceyvār.*

64. *Periyāḻvār tirumoḻi*, 1.4.1-10.

65. *Perumāḷ tirumoḻi* , 8, 1-10.

66. Courtesans at the temple used to sing *Cīrankarnāyakarūcal* and *Cīrankarnāyakiyārūcal* songs in the past (vide HARI RAO V.N., *op.cit.*, p.141)

67. At Phanaswadi Temple of Bālaji in Bombay, every day during the festival, the deity appears in different attires and adornments. It gives immense scope to the priests to use their imagination.

NAPPINNAI : CONSORT OF KṚṢṆA : A STUDY OF TAMIL TRADITION.

K. K. A. VENKATACHARI

Concept

Nappinnai enjoys an exalted position similar to that accorded to Lakṣmī as the consort of the Lord, in Tamil religious literature. In fact, the Ālvār tradition has given the highest pedestal to Nappinnai amongst the three beloveds of the Lord, the other two being Śrī and Bhū. Āṇṭāḷ, the only woman saint endows her with the supreme status, as the sole receiver of the unbounded love of Lord Kṛṣṇa. In *Tiruppāvai*, Āṇṭāḷ refers to Nappinnai in three verses,[1] the first of them being the favourite of Śrī Rāmānuja. Hence the later Ācāryas interpreted this stanza as, 'the damsels of Gokulam, having failed to wake up the Lord from his slumber, appeal to Nappinnai in the characteristic Śrīvaiṣṇava concept of securing recommendatory help, *"Puruṣakāratva"* from her'. 'Nappinnai has beautiful locks of hair emitting fragrance'. 'Lord Kṛṣṇa lies with his flower like broad chest on the breasts of Nappinnai'. The girls of Gokulam appeal to her thus : " Oh ! Pure one ! Our worshipful Nappinnai, with cup-like soft breasts, sweet red lips and slender waist ! Are you not Tiru(Lakṣmī) herself ? Get up from sleep." [Śl.19] Nappinnai is implored to wake up, so that she might awaken the Lord.

The earliest reference to the three consorts of Viṣṇu could be traced to Poykāyāḻvār, who conceives them as Tirumakaḷ, Maṇmakaḷ and Āymakaḷ, being respectively Śrī, Bhū and Nappinnai (cowherd girl).[2] Later, Āymakaḷ came to be represented as Nīlā, as exemplified by Parāśara Bhaṭṭar in his taniyan (single stanzas pertaining to a preceptor) in Sanskrit, which commences with, *"Nīlātuṅgastanagiritaṭī . . . ."* Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition has recognised Nappinnai as Nīlā. The first clear reference to this can be had from Rāmānuja's *Gadyatraya* and *Nityagrantha*, wherein he extolls the Lord as "Śrī-Bhū-Nīlāsameta". Thus, the concept of Nappinnai in Tamil and as Nīlā in Sanskrit has come to occupy a unique place of reverence and compassion in religious literature.

Name

The meaning of the word 'Nappinnai' can be derived in two ways. In the first manner, it is nam + pinnai, meaning 'our mother's sister'or'foster mother'. This derivation signifies that Nappinnai is accorded a place next to

Lakṣmī, as the second universal mother. In Tamil tradition, Nappinnai is sometimes given even greater importance than Rukmiṇī or Satyabhāmā, in the matter of being the recipient of the abounding love of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The second derivation is based on na + pinnai, wherein 'na' denotes great or unique[3] and pinnai, the one with beautiful locks of hair. This meaning is corroborated with the text, *"Nēmināta viruttiūrai "*, where the commentary invokes a quotation from *Tiruvaḷḷuvamālai* [Śl.21].[4] This stanza refers to the marriage of Kṛṣṇa to Upakeśī, the one who has plaited locks of fine hair. Here also, the name alludes to her beautiful hair. Therefore, the meaning of the word 'Nappinnai', can be traced to either the status she enjoys as the consort of Lord Kṛṣṇa or her personal beauty, as typified by the beautiful locks of wavy, soft and silken, jet black hair.

Different Interpretation

In the *Viraha-Bhakti*, FRIEDHELM HARDY offers a different interpretation of "pinnai", as younger sister. He has cited, in support of his contention, some references to the Prabandham.[5] He has stated that Pinnai is the basic form of the name ; it emanates etymologically from "pinnu", "to plait" the hair. While rejecting the derivation alluding to her beautiful locks, he offers another derivation from "pin", to mean later. In support of this, he quotes the words pinnōn, pinnavan, pinnar, literally meaning one born sub-sequently. By taking the word as a 'generic substantive', he concludes that Nappinnai is the younger sister of Lord Kṛṣṇa. .

He advances the parallel of Kṛṣṇa dancing with his elder brother Balarāma and younger sister Subhadrā and also the famous trinity of Puri-Jagannātha with his brother and sister. He quotes *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (X.4.9) to substantiate that Yaśoda's daughter is referred to as *anujā Viṣṇoḥ*, Viṣṇu's younger sister, and that she is Devī Māyā or Bhagavatī. Further, he brings out the contradiction in *Mahābhārata*, where the one born in the cowherd family of Nanda is alluded to as Kālī, elder sister of Kṛṣṇa. Bhāsa mentions Kātyāyanī or Kālī as being Yaśoda's daughter, which has also found acceptance in Jain tradition. He concludes that Nīlī referred to also as Subhadrā, Kālī or Nīlā is in fact Pinnai. In order to justify his stand, he offers the opinion that by the 5th or 6th century, Vaiṣṇavas in the South had forgotten the literal meaning and

identity of Pinnai and that the love relationship between Kṛṣṇa and Pinnai was influenced by the concept of Rādhikā which prevailed in the North.

In the opinion of this author, the arguments advanced by HARDY are unacceptable. Though the word "Pinnai" should be taken as one in the feminine gender derived from "Pin", the word 'Pinnai' refers to the mother's younger sister or elder brother's wife. Such a tradition exists in Tamil and also in Telugu literature and custom. Therefore, the derivation to mean 'later', younger sister is incorrect. HARDY has based the argument of "Nappinnai" being the sister of Kṛṣṇa on the Pañcavīra cult. In the Tamil architecture and sculpture, no evidence as represented by a specific dance form is available to substantiate 'Nappinnai' as the sister of Kṛṣṇa. In contrast, literary evidence from *Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai* and others clearly indicate that Nappinnai was the consort of Kṛṣṇa. Further, from the earliest of times, not even a single Vaiṣṇava savant or Āḻvār has re-ferred to 'Pinnai' as a sister and it has always been as the consort of Kṛṣṇa.HARDY's argument that 'Pinnai' is the sister of Kṛṣṇa is highly ('involved'), as he connects Kālī, who is acknowledged as the Lord's sister, with 'Nīlī' and stretches the word similarly to Nīlā to conclude the sister relationship.

It is only during the time of the later Ācāryas commencing from Rāmānuja, that the place of 'Nappinnai' was taken in Sanskrit literature as 'Nīlā' and not earlier. This also can be corroborated by both the early "Pāñcarātra" and "Vaikhānasa" Āgama literature where references to "Nīlā" and iconographic representations are not available.

Therefore, such an attempt at an 'involved' connection does not bear relation to facts and hence cannot be accepted. In conclusion it may be highly significant to note that the Śrīvaiṣṇava savants were perfectly conscious of the role and significance of Pinnai and Nīlā, as otherwise Āṇṭāl or Parāśara Bhaṭṭar would not have spoken in such endearing and intimate terms, as Lord Kṛṣṇa 'sleeping on the high breasts of Nīlā'.

Social stratum

Tamil tradition recognises Nappinnai as belonging to the cowherd family. According to *Tolkāppiyam*,'Māyon', (Kṛṣṇa) is the Lord of the

'kuruñci' land. It was but natural that people inhabiting hilly tracts, had ample opportunity to graze their cattle in the slopes. In Tamil, the cowherd is called the 'iṭaiyar', meaning a person occupying the mid terrain, specifically applied to a herdsman who grazes the cattle in the region of 'mullai' pasture or forest land, lying midway between the hills and the plains called 'marutam'. Persons coming from the cowherd families had occasions for meeting and playing with their kinsfolk. According to Tamil tradition, the hero and the heroine, 'talaivan' and 'talaivi', should have equal social and financial status and there was no constraint or restriction regarding their 'Varṇa'. On the contrary, the 'Varṇa' classification had been strongly rooted in Sanskrit tradition. as a result of which, a poet used to accept one as a 'nāyaka' or'nāyakī', based on a consideration of the 'Varṇa'. The earlier Tamil literature referred to are purely literary works, having had nothing to do with religion. However, it is not un-common to find reflections of religious beliefs and practices in the works of poets. Tamil tradition and literature lend support to the existence of the cowherd families and to the fact that Nappinnai hailed from the cowherd stratum of the society, as it existed in the days of the dim past.

Date of Nappinnai Tradition

As pointed out earlier, the Nappinnai tradition is unique to Tamil culture, as evidenced by literature. Apart from the Āḻvārs, who have sung in ecstasy on the consort of Lord Kṛṣṇa at Gokulam, the earliest references are to be found in *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai.* These conclusively establish the existence of the Tamil Nappinnai tradition. In order to ascertain the time frame, when the Nappinnai concept was grafted on to the Sanskrit tradition, it is necessary to turn attention to the *Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇa.*[6] A study of this work reveals that the author was familiar with the Tamil tradition and adapted it to suit the context of the Purāṇa. The date of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the subject of controversy among the traditional Indian and Western literary scholars. The earliest date assigned to this work by DIKSHITAR is 300 A.D. and the latest date given by WILSON, COLEBROOK and others is 1,300 A.D., which shows the wide divergence of opinion as to the date of the Purāṇa. HARDY, is of the opinion that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was authored by a South Indian, who was thoroughly familiar with the hymns of the Āḻvārs and their philosophy. G.V.TAGARE, who has rendered a translation of the Purāṇa, assigns it a date

around the 5th century A.D.[7] As such it would be much later than *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai.* Therefore, it emerges that the Purāṇa has adapted the Tamil Nappinnai tradition, which was already in existence, into the Sanskrit tradition. Later, other Sanskrit works have drawn on the theme of Nappinnai in suitable portrayals. Thus, it would be evident that the basic Tamil tradition of Nappinnai has evolved and flowered into the Sanskrit tradition as well, in the early centuries of this current millennium.

Winning the damsel

An old custom had prevailed in the cowherd community, to which Nappinnai belonged, according to which fierce bulls were set up as *'kanyāśulka'* and the bold young man who dared to subdue the ferocious beasts won the hand of the damsel, in whose honour the bulls were set up. It is stated in the section on 'Mullaikkali' in 'Kalittokai', that the cowherds had been observing the marriage custom, wherein fierce bulls with pointed horns were set up with great fanfare and the daughter of the family was given in marriage to the brave young man, who could vanquish the bulls. Nammāḻvār, who had sung hymns of unsurpassable beauty and depth of meaning, has alluded to Kṛṣṇa as "the one who stole butter and danced on the hooves of the bulls and the one who subdued the seven fierce bulls for the sake of marrying the blemishless and beautiful Nappinnai."[8] This pregnant passage lends unassailable authority to the twin facts of subduing the bulls and winning the hand of the paragon of beauty, Nappinnai. *Cilappati-kāram* also refers to the incident of taming the bulls but ascribes different colours to the seven bulls.[9] In fact, the tradition of taming bulls as a show of strength and valour persists in Tamil Nadu even to-day, as practised on the day of 'Māṭū Poṅkal', which follows Makarasaṅkrānti.

In Sanskrit works also, reference is to be found to Kṛṣṇa taming the bulls and winning the hand of a damsel, but with some differences in detail. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (V.28.3) mentions Nāgnajitī, as the daughter of Nagnajit. She was also known as Satyā. Captivated by her beauty, a number of kings vied with each other for claiming her hand. In order to ward off trouble from the warring kings, Nagnajit announced that he would give his daughter in marriage to the one who could subdue seven fierce bulls. These were in the custody of Kumbāṇḍa,Yaśoda's brother and the keeper of the cattle. Alas ! the kings with-

drew tamely from the contest. At this juncture, Kṛṣṇa appeared on the scene, met the *kanyāśulka* by downing the bulls and married Nāgnajitī. Though the essential feature of the bull incident is identical in both the Tamil traditional and Sanskrit literary versions, the caste of the girl in question is different. *Bhāgavatam* ascribes her to the Kṣatriya caste, while the Tamil custom would have her in the cowherd community. However, in the *Bhāgavata* in Tamil written by NELLINAGAR VARADARAJA, it has been claimed that Nagnajitā and Nappinnai were two different girls, the daughters of Nagnajit and Kumbakan respectively, who were given in marriage to Kaṇṇan (Kṛṣṇa), after he vanquished the bulls. The source for VARADARAJA's information has not been cited and as such, the authenticity of the two bull fights is open to question. Nevertheless, the theme of taming the bulls and winning the hand of the damsel is identical, though with minor differences in detail.

Literary allusions.

Of all the lovely damsels that Kṛṣṇa married, the one who is extolled in Tamil works bears the sacred name Nappinnai. Allusions to her have been made by various Tamil writers from the early centuries of this era. Translations of a few select verses are provided hereunder, in evidence of the glory of this beloved consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. (M.RAGHAVA IYANGAR, "*Collected Works* "p.54).

" Nappinnai, with the beautiful bangles, who adorns the chest of the Lord, who measured the Earth." - *Cilappatikāram*, 17.

" Praising the kuravai dance, danced he the blue-hued Lord, his elder brother and Nappinnai." - *Maṇimēkalai* (18.65 f)

" The consort of the Lord of the Earth and the one who drank the nectar of the mouth of Nappinnai." - Cintāmaṇi.

" The one who married the beautiful Nappinnai." - *Tirukkovaiyar* (18.8).

" The one who married Nappinnai of Uttara Maturai." - *Tiruvalluva Mālai*.(21).

" The one who subdued the seven fierce bulls for the sake of marrying the blemishless and beautiful Nappinnai." - *Tiruvāymoḻi* (4.8.4).

It would be observed from the above, that Tamil writers had a true perspective of the nature and glory of Nappinnai and have sung in memorable lines, on the beauty of her form and the exalted place she held as the chosen consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Gokulam.

Conclusion.

The concept of Nappinnai, as the beloved consort of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, is unique to Tamil literature and tradition from the earliest of times. She has been absorbed into the stream of Sanskrit literature as Nīlā. The origin of the word Nappinnai, can be traced to the status accorded to her in Kṛṣṇa's love or her remarkable beauty. Literary and traditional evidence lend support to the view that she belonged to the cowherd community. It would appear that the Nappinnai concept was grafted on to Sanskrit tradition around the 5th century A.D. The old Tamil custom of a brave young man winning the hand of a damsel after proving himself against a fierce bull is evident in Kṛṣṇa marrying Nappinnai. Select references to Tamil literature are adduced in support of the lovely maiden form, the test for taking her hand and the revelry she enjoyed, by citing allusions to Nappinnai and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, dating from the early centuries of this millennium. It may be concluded that the concept of Nappinnai as portrayed in Tamil literature and tradition is delicate and refreshing and has been enshrined in letters of gold.

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   Uppakka nōkkiyupakēci tōṇmaṇantān uttara māmaturaik kaccenpa -
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Śilparatnakośa : A Glossary of Orissan Temple Architecture by : Sthapaka Niranjana Mahapatra; Sanskrit Text Critically edited with English Tr. and Illustrations by Bettina Baumer and Rajendra Prasad Das.(Kalāmūlaśāstra Series) Pub : Indira Gandhi National Centre for The Arts, New Delhi & Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Pvt Ltd, Delhi, pp. 228 + 35 plates. First published 1994, Price Rs.400/-.

Until this book fell into the hands of the present reviewer, he did not know that there existed any traditional lexicon compiling a specialised vocabulary on Vāstu Śāstra or Śilpa Śāstra. The University of Poona had organised a specialised seminar on traditional lexicons and at that time the present reviewer had to be content with the two well-known lexicons on Tāntric vocabulary, viz., *Tantrābhidhāna-Kośa* and *Uddhāra-Kośa. Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* specialises in medical terminology and *Gaṇitanāmamālā* specialises in mathematical vocabulary. The present book came as a surprise after the seminar, however, not very late. It was possible to include a present book in the proceedings to be published.

Alice Boner, like Stella Kramrisch, is a pioneer in the original contribution on *"Hindu Architecture"*. The editors and translators Bettina Baumer and Rajendra Prasad Das of *"Śilparatnakośa"* have been fortunate in having close association with Alice Boner. Both of them, have done great service to the specialised field of Indology, namely, Vāstu-Śilpa. The lexicon belongs to early 17th century A.D. to be precise 1620 A.D. This lexicon was kept unpublished by the lineage of Orissan architectural engineers, Sthapatis and Sthāpakas, since they thought it fit for strict private circulation. Hence, the credit of publication goes all the more to the pains the editors have taken to bring the book to light for the facility of research scholars.

It is now time to enter into content-analysis of the book. The book has been divided into two sections : Temple Architecture and Iconography, in the light of subject-division made in traditional Vāstu-Śāstra texts like *Kāśyapaśilpa, Mānasāra, Mayamatam, Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra* and the like. It is only in the recent times that technical glossaries appended to Śilpa-Śāstra editions have become available. It was about sixty years ago that the *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* and *Encyclopeadia of Hindu Architecture* which reflect the

'Tapas' of P.K.ACHARYA, came to the hands of scholars; and the publishers are reprinting and selling these books which are in high demand in the absence of any updated glossary material on "Vāstu Śilpa" literature. An updated glossary is a desideratum and it is proposed to take up a project on behalf of Vastu Vedic Research Foundation. The present publication should be well received as a boon for both Sanskrit knowers and non-knowers since the present edition contains varbatim English translation of the versified Sanskrit text of *Śilparatnakośa*. Another additional point which enhances the value of the edition is the illustrations of important technical terms such as : temple components like 'Pītha', 'Jaṅghā','Stambha','Rekhāśikhara', Pīḍhacāla' and 'Ghaṇṭicāla', 'Kumbhakalaśa' and 'Beki' and 'Cāla'. The most welcome contribution is the comparison of 'Yantra', namely 'Śrī-Cakra' super-imposed on the ground plan of 'Rājā-Rāṇi' temple of Bhuvanesh war. It is not the finding of the editors but of the author himself. Perhaps, it is a plan originally conceived by the architect engineers of the Rājā Rāṇi temple. This is direct proof of the Tāntric diagrams such as Maṇḍalas, Cakras and Yantras serving as ground plans or site plans of temple sculptures. The recent book by GERI MALANDRA, *'Unfolding of Maṇḍalas : Ellora, Buddhist cave-temples'* has indeed unfolded the inter-relation between the Tāntric-mystic diagrams and temple structures. Consequently, the research scholars need no longer deem the Tantric diagram to be confined to flat two-dimensional drawings to be used for meditation. Now more and more temple-structures are being discovered to be erected on Tāntric Yantras or Maṇḍalas.

The vocabulary of *'Śilparatnakośa'* is drawn mainly from Orissan Sthapati tradition and naturally it is mixed with Oria technical terms along with Sanskrit. The translators have done excellent job eventhough the experts may find some flaws in their job.

The present reviewer finds no hesitation in recommending the present publication of Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and Motilal Banarasidass publishers which would be an asset for any library. The general editor of Kalāmūla-śāstra series, Dr.Kapila Vatsyayan deserves compliments for the selection of books as well as for editorial foreword.

P. P. Apte.

Temples of Space Science by GANAPATI STHAPATI. English version of Tamil Text by S.P.SABHARATHNAM. Pub. Vastu Vedic Research Foundation, Madras -41.1996, pp. XLV + 238. Price Rs.150/-

"Temples of Space Science" in Tamil authored by GANAPATI STHAPATI, modern Mayan pioneer in Indian Arts and Architecture and translated in English by S.P. SABHARATHNAM is an exposition and elaboration in book form, author's article in Tamil on Chidambaram and Shrirangam temples published in the Deepavali number of *Kalaimagal* in 1994. The translator of the original Tamil book in English is an equally well-known scholar in Āgamic and Vāstu sciences and proficient in three languages viz., Tamil, Sanskrit and English. The book discusses the subject dividing it into three main sections : Introductory, temples of Space Science and Revisional and conclusional, apart from preface and note on supportive material by the author, a note by the translator with a foreword by Er.V.RAMAMURTHY, Executive Director, Vāstu Vedic Research Foundation Madras.

The book highlights the salient features and Scientific concepts of Vāstu Science in the Context of the two temples, Chidambaram and Shrirangam in Tamilnadu deriving the source materials from the standard texts on the Śāstra, - Vāstu Śāstra, Mayonic works, Mānasāra, etc. The author makes an impassioned plea to bring this Supreme science to experimental field enabling the people to gain physical and spiritual welfare, peace and bliss par excellence. The author enumerates the supportive texts and the key statements contained therein. To cite just one instance, the effulgent space itself is the storehouse of energy and it is the originating source of all the objects in universe. "Space itself turns into earth and space substance turns into the stream of material form - aural and visible form". This the author says is the secret of space-science and he further reveals the scientific message that the form of Viṣṇu is the mirror image of Naṭarāja. He has shown a linking line between Śiva and Viṣṇu and equallised the symbolic images that are viewed from different religious stand-points. The Mayonic formula of *Vastu eva Vāstu* - pure energy itself transforms into materialised energy. The spiritual significance, the symbolic meaning, the scientific bases and noble objectives of the author in writing this book are explained in clear terms at various places in the

book : "Time is nothing but vibration of inner space and time itself turns into universe and universe turns into worldly objects and forms" (IV-XII). Universal temple is that place where musical vibration and universal vibration are harmonized and integrated. The symbolic meaning of these two great and ancient temples of Tamilnadu,viz., Chidambaram and Shrirangam is vividly explained by the author keeping the spirit of the tradition that maintains that temple is nothing but a built space and embodied energy. Space is Śiva and spatial structure is Viṣṇu. If Chidambaram represents speace, Śrirangam represents earth which is in reality the mirror image of space. If Chidambaram is matter contained in Energy, Śrirangam is Energy contained in the matter. The former is abode of Vāstu Puruṣa, a subtle space, shines as world, pervades in all places, macro in dancing pose, in space atom, square form always iconised in metal whereas the latter is abode of Vāstu Puruṣa, gross space, shines as worldly objects, pervades in all substances, micro, in reclining pose, in earth atom,circular form,always made of Earth. $E = MC^2$ (p.84-85).

It is very interesting to note that the author tries to explain the mass-energy relationship formulae of Einstein i.e. $E = MC^2$, as applicable to this Vāstu science. E is vastu (potential) Energy, M is materialised energy i.e. Vāstu Puruṣa, C is the consciousness that presents as light. He says that space is great vastness in which atoms (paramāṇu) exist without space between them. These atoms are in light form and sound form (*tejo bindu* and *Brahman bindu* as Sanskrit texts term them). These serve as basic material as external manifestation. The symbolic meaning of Naṭarāja form and Viṣṇu (Śrīraṅga) form holding light and sound in their hands in dancing and reclining positions have been brought home by the author. The iconographic study of Naṭarāja, the dancing form of God which represents the rhythm and the movement of the world spirit is fascinating. The image of Naṭarāja is a synthesis of science, religion and art as well-known art critic Coomarswamy says : The dance of Śiva can be witnessed in the rising sun, in the waves of ocean, in the rotation of the planets, in the lightning and thunder and in cosmic pralaya (deluge). The purpose of this dance is to release innumerable souls of mankind from the snare of illusion. The role of Vāstu Vijñāna in raising the religion to the state of Science, and its role in cosmo-sociology and cosmo-psychology is very significant.

As an aspect of culture, man creates images in his mind and fashions icons by his hand. Indian temple represents - a combination of religion and art (and architecture). This is a precious heritage of our country bequeathed by Vāstu-Śilpa Śāstra and Āgama Śāstra. The architecture of these temples is based not only on liturgical needs but on philosophical conception of creation and divinity. Hindu temple is both a body of God and house of God (both occupying the space), the interesting parallelism between the temple and human body both housing the highest soul and individual soul respectively *"deho devālayaḥ proktaḥ"* as Sanskrit texts say. Many fascinating statements such as Universe is subject to a mathematical formula and architecture is yet another manifestation of this, provoke your thought and open up new window to the Universe.

The original work is in Tamil by GANAPATI STHAPATI. The book under review is the translation by P.SABHARATHNAM, who is himself an eminent authority on Āgamic and Vāstu sciences, in lucid and idiomatic English, faithfully following the original without slightest deviation. It is duly certified by the author himself in his words "actual enactment of Tamil texts in English" (Preface II). The translator not only has command over both subject and language, but also hails from hereditary family of traditional Śivācāryas and as such is eminently qualified to undertake the task. The author and particularly the translator deserve to be congratulated for this excellent production particularly by those readers who do not know Tamil. There can be no disagreement with the pronouncement of the translator, who has reviewed the book, as "the wonderful, inspiring and enlightening one and shines forth like a Chidambaram and Shrirangam (p.208). The present work (which is a translation) appeals as the original and falsifies the statement that translators are traitors.

The book is published by Vastu Vedic Research Foundation, Madras in Jan.1996 and is within the reach of an ordinary reader as it it priced at Rs.150/-. It is hoped that the book will be welcomed by all those interested in the subject and also that many more works of this kind will come out from the facile pen of the author.

R.N. Aralikatti.

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Vāstu Shāstra : A Scientific Treatise. by GANAPATI STHAPATI. Pub. Vastu Vedic Research Foundation, B-2, Geethalaya Apts, 3rd Seaward Road, Valmiki Nagar, Thiruvanmiyur, Madras - First Edition : January, 1996, pp. 118. Price Rs.100/-

The book "Vāstu Śāstra : A Scientific treatise" is an invaluable addition to the modern literature on Vāstu by V. GANAPATI STHAPATI, Maya of modern India, an eminent Vāstu Vijñāni of international repute, a traditional architect, builder and sculptor. It embodies the lectures delivered by the author at the national and international forums which were addressed to contemporary engineers and architects in India. The book is unique in many respects since it highlights the salient features and significance of Indian Vāstuśāstra with hoary traditions in the light and language of modern scientific thought. The author's main thesis is that Vāstuśāstra is not a religious document but a scientific treatise of universal applicability. It is essentially metaphysical in its import. It is a science of manifestation of the divinity which pervades the entire universe all around and remains beyond it. The Ṛgvedic hymn of creation- Puruṣasūkta wherein the Almighty is referred to as - *"sa bhūmiṁ viśvato vṛtvā atyattiṣṭhaddaśāṅgulam"* - He pervaded the universe and remained beyond it over ten fingers - forms the basis of his theory. The divinity (or Almighty) is both imminent and transcendent.

The author explains the significance of Sthapati which means one who is qualified to hold the position of a chief executive, designer and builder of art and architecture, town-planning and Sthāpatya Veda as the science of this Vāstu-śāstra - *"Sthāpanādhipatir-yasmāt-tasmāt sthapatirucyate"*. The author himself is popularly well known as Ganapati Sthapati, who is hailed as India's foremost traditional temple architect, master builder and first true expert in sculpture and stone-construction.

Here he highlights the main characteristics of Indian Vāstuśāstra and expounds not only science behind the artistic and architectural creations and scale of scales and designs as embodied in the ancient Indian Scientific texts like Mānasāra, Mayamata, Mānavidhi, Mānabodham, Mānakalpam, the treatises that are replete with essential measures "or essence of measures" - but also the philosophy behind them.

The book is divided into six sections : The first section provides some glimpses of the scholars, opinion on Vāstu science and Vāstu technology. In the second, conflicting viewpoints on the ancient Indian Science of Vāstu, are put forth. The third section deals with contemporary Indian scenario. In the fourth, the essentials of the profession and professionals governing many aspects like qualifications of Individual architect, the institution of Śilpīs, the literature on Vāstu, the past, present and future of Vāstu science in India and its spiritual basis are presented. In the fifth, conceptual frame of Vāstu Vidyā as unique Indian Science with spiritual basis is stated. The last one presents a flow chart of science of manifestation showing genesis of Vāstu Puruṣa Maṇḍala.

The approach of the author throughout the book is scientific and treatment scholarly. The interpretations of the texts are original and fascinating. The language is simple and lucid. The author's noble objectives and his idealism in writing his book are transparent at various places in the body of the book. He states the same in clear terms " The Vāstu Śāstra is a technological treatise on building architecture or a book of grammar of visual forms that gives the practising designer and builder (Śilpis) a good deal of guidelines in terms of numerical measures as also the codes and rules to assimilate, adhere and bring into reality unique forms"(Preface). "The science underlying the technology of Vāstu is a science of manifestation. It is a science of metamorphosis. It is a science of energy turning into material visual forms and aural forms. It is a science of Vastu (Energy) turning into Vāstu (material energy). As a result it has been discovered that the Universe is subject to a mathematical formula, and architecture is yet another manifestation"(Preface). Vāstu Śāstra is on par with Āgama Śilpa. If the former deals with science of manifestation, the latter deals with the science of maintenance. The tone and tune of both are Universal and eternal though both speak of images and temples pertaining to different religions. "The contribution of Indian Vāstu Śāstra tradition towards the evolution of Indian civilization and culture is not only substantial but exceptional in many respects in its being both spiritual and experimental"(p.13). "The Vāstu texts are secular documents of Unique science and technology"(p.27). "The end products of Vāstu technology microcosms - organisms that pulsate into life, with a well defined structural form that is replicated and magnified into building forms in actual practice"(p.28).

According to the author, promotion of human welfare and promotion of spiritual technology in the light of our heritage as enshrined in Vedas, Āgamas, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas, is the felt need of the hour. It is Vāstu Śāstra which elevates science to religion and religion in Hindu concept is spiritual and universal. Indian Vāstu Śilpa tradition is a 'world heritage', not confined only to India and hence the author makes an impassioned plea to modern technical experts and linguists to work together to understand the spiritual values of this Vāstu Śilpa tradition and science and technology involved therein (p.37). " This tradition has been playing a dual role in our culture and social life - one as a fine art and another as utilitarian and industrial art" (p.46). The products of this art and architectural traditions are basically scientific, conceptually spiritual, experimentally elevating, technology-utilitarian and aesthetically pleasing (p.52).

The author has shown two striking similarities in Indian and American Mayan sacred structures in various aspects, starting with layout of structures, which conform to the principles and guidelines as prescribed in Vāstu Śāstra of India (p.86).

This Sthāpatya Veda embodies the dynamics of spatial energy, thoughts turning into number and number turning into thoughts (p.113). It is here that pure energy (Vastu) turns into materialistic energy (Vāstu) which according to the author supports Einstein's scientific formula $E = MC^2$, where E is pure energy and M is materialised energy and C is consciousness (light). This is the science which helps sthapati (architect and builder) to create new Vāstus with divine vibrancy and life and he becomes a vastu technologist (Vedic Viśvakarman).

This fascinating book lifts the readers to the lofty heights of spiritual thoughts where science, philosophy, religion and art merge and present homogenious unity of unmanifest and manifest. The book is published by Vastu Vedic Research Foundation and is priced at Rs.100/- For his excellent production of the book the author deserves our congratulations. It is hoped that the book will be well received by all those who are interested in the subject, and also that many more such works will come out from the facile pen of the author.

R.N. Aralikatti.

Vedic Heritage of India (A Brief Survey) By B. R. Sharma. Pub. Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupati,1991. pp. 18 + 198 + 12 Price Rs.

"Vedic Heritage of India" (a brief survey) by Prof. B.R. SHARMA, is the most authentic, brief but brilliant survey of the vast Vedic literature, highlighting the most salient features of Vedas and their contribution to Indian heritage. The book is most useful for scholars and students of Veda as well as general public, as rightly expressed in his preface by Prof. N.S.R. TATACHARYA, former V.C. of R.S.V.Tirupati. It is a unique addition to the vast literature on Vedas and its uniqueness consists in its deeper perception of the subject with penetrating analysis and crystal clear summary of the entire corpus of the Vedas and their significance presented in simple and lucid language and in easy-following style - a task which one who has a thorough command over the subject and English language alone can accomplish.

The author of the work, Prof. B.R. SHARMA founder-director of Tirupati Vidyapeetha who has a rare combination of both traditional and modern scholarship in Sanskrit and who is acknowledged as an eminent authority on Vedic literature has to his credit more than 29 works on the subject particularly on *Sāmaveda*, most of which are published by Tirupati Vidyapeetha and others in various research centres in India, Nepal and Germany. The critical editions of his work adorn the Indological libraries of not only Indian Universities but also of the foreign countries like U.K., Europe and U.S.A. The reviewer had an occasion to see the book in Vienna library during his visit there in course of the VIII world Sanskrit Conference in 1990. Some German scholars there made enquiries with this reviewer regarding his new critical editions, which bespeak of his flawless scholarship and critical acumen that are hall-marks of an Indologist of an international repute.

The present hand-book which mainly embodies the nucleus of his two lectures delivered at the Institute of World Culture, Bangalore during Oct, 1985. deals with the following topics, viz., origin, age and influence of Vedas, the method of study, their interpretation, Ṛṣis, the Chandas, Saṁskāras (Upanayanam & Yajñopavīta and their significance), Corpus of Vedas (Ṛg, Yajus, Sāma and Atharva, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads), the Vedic deities

(their Philosophical speculation), the Sāmaveda (its Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas), the Soma Sacrifice, Significance of Sāmaveda, Vedic Cosmology and Cosmogony) and conclusion. They are divided into the above fifteen sections with sub-topics embedded in them as detailed in the table of contents. The book provides a table of contents, abbreviations, six very useful appendices, references, glossary and index. These have greatly enhanced the utility of the book for one and all particularly for the scholars and students of Veda.

Vedas, as we all know, are the oldest literary documents of the world in general and ancient Indian religious scriptures in particular. The derivational meaning of the word 'Veda' is knowledge - the fountain-head and unlimited store-house of all knowledge. The four Vedas with six Vedāṅgas, and a number of Upavedas, deal with all branches of knowledge - religious, spiritual, secular and sceintific. The significance and contribution of Vedas are stated by the author in clear terms and at several places in the book : "The Veda is a veritable treasure-house of ancient wisdom, an encyclopoedia of Universal Knowledge, a basis of all-round development of the Aryan Civilization (p.2)". "All branches of Indian knowledge -- Science, pure and applied as well as arts and social institutions, whether religious or secular, proudly trace their origin back to the Veda (p.1)". "Vedas are records of elevated thoughts of an age-long past in which great heritage of this land has been preserved (preface)". "Veda is an uninterrupted stream of Spiritual and Cultural Mandākinī that descended from the unscalable heights of lofty Himalayas (p.121). This great literature embodies the insights gained by our ancient Ṛṣis in temporal as well as spiritual fabric of our great heritage - the foundation of all Indian religious thought of which humanity at large can rightly be, proud of " (p.121). "The unique contribution of India to the world's wisdom and culture, comprising of Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads and Vedāṅgas on the one hand and scriptures propounding different schools of philosophical thought (including Cārvāka's), the Epics and Purāṇas on the other, is the greatest achievement of ancient India, unsurpassed by the cultural and literary history of any nation of the world" (p.121).

In presenting the various topics of the subject, DR.SHARMA's approach has been most scientific and rational, comparative and critical and his entire treatment scholarly, duly emphasising the merits of the traditional approach

to the problem as is clearly evident from a large number of citations at various places from standard and authoritative works by Sāyaṇācārya and others along with those of western scholars like WINTERNITZ, MACDONELL and others. What he states about the Vedic Ṛṣis aptly apply to him also: "The approach of the Vedic Ṛṣis to the subject of their investigation in no way differs much from that of modern scientists" (p.109). "In their search for truth the Ṛṣis of yore relied on their intellect and reason as well as intuition and insight and tried to solve the riddles that baffled their mind" (p.109). His synthetic (Samastapratyavamarṣiṇi buddhi as Shankar terms it) and comparative approach to the subject is evident from his discussion on the topics like cosmology wherein he rightly interprets Vedic term "Bhagavṛtta" to mean both cosmogony and cosmology. Like Veda this book on Vedic Heritage, though small in size (200 pages), is most invaluable one as it is precious life-blood of its author's spirit that embodies the true perspective of entire Vedic literature, religion, philosophy and culture. It offers an enlightened and instructive study of the subject in lucid language and flowing style at once useful both for the scholars and students as an acclaimed reference. The general public for whom it is mainly intended, will equally enjoy its reading. The book is published by R.S. Vidyapeetha, Tirupati and is reasonably priced. The world of scholars hold Prof. B.R. SHARMA in high esteem for his significant contribution to Indological Studies and this present work, add admiration to esteem.

R.N. Aralikatti.

Buddhism In India And Abroad :An Integrating Influence in Vedic and Post-Vedic Perspective, Eds : KALPAKAM SANKARANARAYAN, MOTOHIRO YORITOMI, SHUBHADA A. JOSHI. Pub : Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd. Mumbai, 1996, pp.372. Price Rs.800/-

Scholars all-over the world, particularly in American Universities are taking keener interest in studying Buddhism and Vedānta. There has been increased awareness among thinkers that Buddhism "is not just a form of faith or system of religion to be treated through its doctrines and philosophies, the sects and

schools, . . . but, it is most intimately linked to the life of the people and their culture as a whole. It is these cultural and civilizational aspects of behaviour of humanity as a whole and societies through time, and over space, which are significant and have a universal message that has been brought out through this book".

The volume, a pioneering work on Buddhism contains thirty-five papers presented by eminent scholars from various universities of India, Japan, Thailand and U.S.A. The reason for organizing the seminar on Buddhism emanated from the "ambitious quest for an integrated culture of mankind in transnational and comparative perspective, utilizing the inputs made by "different disciplines such as Philosophy, Religion, History, Sociology, Anthropology, Archaeology, Language and Literature.

Nearly fifty percent papers published in this volume deal with Buddhism in India, the rest deal with Buddhism in Tibet, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Japan. There are nine papers on early Buddhist Philosophy and Religion, five papers on Buddhism in Vedic perspective, two papers on Buddhist Logic, two papers on Buddhism as found in Sanskrit and Tamil literature, three papers on Mahāyāna Buddhism and its branches, one paper on the comparative study of *Atharvaveda* and Buddhist Tantra in Tibet, one paper on Inner Homa in Japanese Shingon Buddhism, three papers on the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism, two papers on Buddhist culture in India and Sri Lanka, four papers on Buddhist Art and Architecture, two papers on Buddhism in contemporary Thailand and Minnesota (U.S.A.) and one paper on 'Role of Women in early Buddhism'. Periodwise, these papers cover Buddhism from its origin to the present day.

There have been books written on "Indian Buddhism", "Chinese Buddhism", "Tibetan Buddhism", "Japanese Buddhism" and regional Buddhism like "Buddhism in Sri Lanka, Thailand, Burma and so on ". These books are concerned with textual and philosophical studies of the doctrines. The international seminar on Buddhism was organized "to discuss problems relating to all aspects of Buddhism, in a trans-national and cross-cultural perspective, in giving rise to a civilizational factor of global dimension."

This volume provides for the first time an opportunity to an International and interdisciplinery group of scholars with the background of Philosophy,

Religion, History, Sociology, Anthropology, Archeaology, Language and Literature, to exchange ideas on various subjects and in this process give a visibility of Buddhist studies, as an independent discipline in its own right.

The book contains contributions from eminent Buddhist scholars such as, B.N. MUKHERJEE, Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta (India), MAHESH TIWARI & SHYAMDEV DWIVEDI, Directors, Vipassana Research Institute, Dhammagiri, Maharashtra (India), KUNJUNNI RAJAH, Director, Adyar Library and Research, Theosophic Society, Adyar, Madras, India, S.N.KANDASWAMY, Professor and Head, Department of Literature, Tamil University, Tanjavur, Tamil Nadu, India, S.K.PATHAK, Professor, Indo-Tibetan Studies, Shantiniketan, India, KALPAKAM SANKARANARAYAN, Dirctor, K.J.Somaiya Centre of Buddhistic Studies, Mumbai, India, MOTOHIRO YORITOMI, Chairman, Head, Department of Buddhist studies, Suchin University, Kyoto (Japan), Yamagishi Koki, Associate Professor, Nara University of Education, Nara, Japan, PHRARAJA VISUDDHI MEDHI, Director, Mahachulalorn Korn RajaMahavidyalaya, Wat Salolai, Surin Province, Thailand and INDIRA Y. JUNGHARE, Chairperson, Professor, Department of Asain Languages and Culture, Minnesota University, Minnesota, U.S.A. to name a few.

The book under review is divided into eight parts. In the first part, there are thirteen articles on different topics of Religion and Philosophy. N.G.KULKARNI's paper on 'Buddha's Approach to Metaphysics', SUBHADA JOSHI's article on Buddhist Mysticism: A Comparative Study, V.V.GANGAL's paper on Vedic Antecedents of the Buddhist Paradigm and ANGARAJ CHAUDHARY's article on Buddhism : Where philosophy and religion converge, are highly thought-provoking and enlightening.

The second part contains two papers on Buddhist Logic. KUNJUNNI RAJAH's paper on Diṅnāga and Bhartṛhari, though very short is highly thought-provoking and original. V.N. JHA's paper on Dharmakīrti's concept of Pramāṇa, makes a highly informative reading for any student of Indian epistemology.

Part three of the volume throws new light on Buddhism as found in Sanskrit and Tamil literature. Part IV deals with Mahāyana Buddhism. The papers (a) Essentialism, Eternalism & Buddhism - by PRADEEP GOKHALE, (b) Non-Dualism in Zen Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta by N.S.SIDDHARTHAN,

(c) The *Atharvaveda* and the Indian Tantra in Tibetan by S.K.PATHAK, (d) Concept of Inner Homa in Japanese Shingon Buddhism, jointly written by KALPAKAM SHANKARNARAYAN and MOTOHIRO YORITOMI are highly original, full of new insights and make refreshing reading.

Part V of the volume consists of five papers on History of Buddhism. The article by AKIRA SAITO entitled "Śāntideva in The History of Mādhyamika Philosophy" is highly original, as there is systematic and penitrating discussion of the subject from Chronological and Philosophical stand points. PANDURANGA BHATTA's article, Aśoka's contribution to Universal Peace : An Introspection, makes a very refreshing reading as it highlights the importance and relevance of Aśoka's ethics to contemporary world.

In part VI of the volume, there are four papers dealing with Buddhist Art. Special mention can be made of S. NAGARAJU's article entitled, "From Spirituality to Power : A Millennium of Buddhist Monastic Architecture as a Mirror of Social History" as it brilliantly discusses the interrelation between precept and practice with plenty of evidence drawn from artistic creations. D.C.BHATTACHARYA's paper entitled, "Dharm-cakrapravartana Mudrā", is equally illuminating and informative. The author has taken great pains to show how Dharmcakrapravartana is regarded as the embodiment of all facets of Law and Wisdom.

Part VII contains two papers on Buddhism outside India. The last paper in Part VIII by MEENA.V.TALIM deals with "Female Reformers of Buddhist Period". In this chapter there are beautiful portraits of Mahārajāpati Gotami, Visākhā Migāramātā Saṅghamitrā and Nayanikā. This article effectively highlights the role of women in ancient India and their contribution to the civilization of this great country.

The book contains as many as 36 + 12 coloured and black and white rare highly informative, artistically exquisite plates and figures. In my o pinion, the book is a very valuable addition to comparative literature on various dimensions of Buddhism. Even though the scope of the book is very wide, the editors have done an excellent job in arranging the papers in such a way that the interest of the reader is kept alive throughout. This pioneering work is a landmark in Buddhism and will be received enthusiastically by the learned

world. The book is appropriately dedicated to "those who played their role in creating interest in innovation and excellence". The book is recommended for both studious and not-so-studious readers.

S.R. Bongale.

The Concept of Upāsanā : Worship in Sanskrit Literature by RAJANI. S. PATKI. Pub : Sri Satguru Publications : A Division of Indian Books Centre, Delhi. First Ed. 1996, pp. xvi + 247. Price Rs.450/-

The above treatise is a modified version of a Ph.D. Thesis of RAJANI PATKI. which she submitted through Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, and for which the Bombay University has already awarded the degree to her. Both the Institute and the Scholar deserve compliments for promoting a study of a topic like 'Upāsanā'. It would help in developing critical insights into our religio-philosophical culture; and the spiritual dimensions of the indological studies in particular.

The book by PATKI as a whole presents a comprehensive account of Upāsanā in almost all forms of Sanskrit literature, in its different periods of history. Her work is a well-documented kaleidoscopic presentation of Indian worship, which helps the reader to understand the forms and interconnections among the diverse traditions.

At the beginning she has clarified the distinction between Upāsanā, Sādhanā and Bhakti (pp.9-10), which instead of being sketchy, should have been discussed in more critical details, being the key concepts in Indian Worship.

PATKI deserves full credit for providing the details relating to Bhāratīya Upāsanā as we find it developed in its three major streams, viz. Vedic, Paurāṇika and Tāntrika. A special mention needs to be made of her attempt to present an outline of the Vidyās, as we find them in the Upaniṣadic lore (Chap.II, pp. 19-36). It would be a difficult job to knit together the details of worship from the Sūtra, Smṛti and the Epic forms of literature. Similar difficulty is felt, when one tries to study and articulate with many occult details. PATKI has

given in her work an outline of Upāsanā, with clarity and precision (Chap.4. pp.124-152; chap.6. pp.174 -189). Her outline may help the reader in approaching the original sources in the matter.

Indian Worship has been misunderstood. Some find in it nothing but ritualism, while for others it is the religion of a Brahmanic culture. Yet some others read in it the remnants of ancient life of the primitive tribes. Such parochial interpre-tations come in the way of understanding our cultural identity, and the spiritual streams behind our national unity. The works like the present one deserve praise, as such academic and research efforts show the possible avenues and orinetations in understanding our cultural ethos.

The Pañcāyatana Pūjā in Indian Worship provides freedom of choic to the devotee; and yet preserves the unity or synthetic nature of the Divinity. PATKI's presentation in the matter (Chap.3. pp. 37-123) is a quite substantive treatment of the subject with analytical mode of study. However, her concluding portion (Chap.8.) where she has tried to discuss the relations among the Upāsya, Upāsanā and Upāsaka may appear to the advanced reader as again sketchy, as these too are the key concepts in the whole work.

Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā, Śrīmad Bhāgavata and the *Bhakti Sūtras* play an important role in Indian Worship. While studying its aspects and problems, one has to understand their teachings in depth,so that one can throw light on the philosophical and mystical dimensions. One would expect from PATKI more enlightenment in the matter.

The Bhakti movement and Indian saints have played a vital role in Indian life, particularly in developing Upāsanā for the masses. Though this work is a study confined to the Sanskrit literature, a reference to the saints would have been a relevant step, as many saints have followed the Classics of Bhakti literature, such as Gītā and Bhāgavata. Similarly, as the work reasonably takes into account Drama, Poetry etc., it would have been better, had it taken note of the works like *Bhagavad-bhakti Rasāyanam* of Sri MADHUSUDAN SARASVATI, and *Bhagavadbhakti Rasāmṛta- sindhu* of RUPA GOSVAMI, as in them we find the different aspects and implications of Bhakti Rasa, which is the core of Divine Worship.

However, apart from these or such inadequacies here and there, PATKI's treatise deserves all praise for bringing together diverse threads and thoughts regarding Upāsanā or Worship under one conceptual umbrella. Her work reflects her research abilities, and the book as a whole carries within it research potentialities for further studies. It would be a welcome step, if she presents a study of India's contribution to world thought pertaining to Mokṣa Dharma and Mokṣa Mārga. The present work appears to be more a textual exposition of the themes relating to worship. She has described her approach as integral or that of Samanvaya in Introduction (p. xv). For such approach, this type of treatise may serve as a good source book. However, a creative synthesis of the diverse trends in Indian Worship would be a result of a critical and comparative study of the core concepts within the framework of its history and development. Such studies are important while meeting the challenges of the present day scepticism and the crisis of the human values.

Though the cost of book may appear forbidding to the common reader, the printing and other technical features of the book deserve appreciation. Indian Books Centre, therefore, needs to be complimented for publishing the book in an elegant style.

PATKI used to have consultations with me, while she was preparing her Thesis. Her painstaking nature, interest in the research theme and wide reading is reflected both in it, as well as in this published book.

I hope, the book would help the reader in understanding the wide spectrum of Upāsanā or worship in Indian Thought, and would inspire other researchers to unfold its still unknown mysteries and milestones.

J. V. Joshi.

Advaitasiddhi Vs Nyāyāmṛta (An up to date critical Re-Appraisal) Part - I B.N.K. SHARMA. Akhila Bharatiya Madhva Mahamandal, Bangalore, 1994, pp.229; Price Rs. 70/-

In 1962, Dr. A.K.NARAIN, wrote a book *'Outlines of Madhva Philosophy'*. This book was greeted by all scholars of Dvaita Vedānta, as a very authentic systematically written book. The Bombay University, where Madhvācārya is studied as a special philosopher at M.A., presented it for Reading by M.A. Philosophy students, in addition to other authoritative works on Madhvācārya. The author, seemed so overwhelmed by dualistic Vedānta, that he concluded his book with the following remarks :

" As a vindication of the truth of Theism as the most successful doctrine, Madhva's Philosophy is an unblemished appraisal that has carried logic to the farthest end, to avoid any inconsistency - examples of which may be found in his defence of Difference and his doctrine of Viśeṣa". He further adds - " for a student of comparative philosophy, desiring to understand the contribution of Theism to world and its future, the teachings of Madhva would appear as a strong argument to the revival of Theism as the only redeeming philosophy of the world " (underline mine).

The same Dr.NARAIN, in 1964, wrote another book *'Critique of Madhva Refutation of Śaṅkara School of Vedānta.'* This was intended to be a criticism of *Nyāyāmṛta* and in defence of *Advaitasiddhi*. This book is highly censorious of the performance of Madhva, Jayatīrtha and Vyāsatirtha, accusing them of grossly misrepresenting Advaita by wantonly or otherwise confusing between the Paramārthika and the Vyāvahārika levels of truth in Śaṅkara's philosophy and holding it up to misplaced criticism throughout. He thus took an about turn suddenly and mysteriously.

It was therefore necessary to evaluate the performance of Dr.NARAIN himself by exposing the inner inconsistencies in his *'Critique of Madhva Refutation ... Vedānta'* and also bringing to his notice the fact that, he could have been as much careful in refuting the Madhva refutation, as he was careful in writing his *'Outlines . . .'* though not more.

It is unfortunate that Dr.NARAIN has not been an honest critic. He has indulged in misrepresenting, and mis-interpreting ; he has not hesitated to play tricks with evidence, suppress material facts from the writings of the Dvaita authors and accuse them of deliberately misrepresenting Advaita position.

Dr.B.N.K.SHARMA's book *'Advaita Siddhi Vs Nyāyāmṛta'* is a very welcome addition to the literature on the Advaita-Dvaita polemics. He has successfully, rebutted all the accusations by Dr.NARAIN in his *'Critique'* and has also given an excellent exposition of the Dvaita school of Vedānta and its authentic refutation of Advaita, through the centuries from Madhvācārya to 'Taraṅgiṇī' Rāmācārya, quoting extensively, and pointing out at each stage, where Dr.NARAIN went wrong or bungled.

In this connection it will suffice to refer to Dr. Narain's accusation about the two levels Pāramārthika and Vyāvahārika. Dr.SHARMA rightly points out how, Madhu-sūdana Sarasvatī when confronted by Vyāsatīrtha quietly abandons the older view of sublation from Pāramārthika stand point on account of the mutual interdependence it involves and accepts boldly the only other alternative left to him of 'Svarūpeṇa Niṣedha' regardless of the consequences, viz., it would reduce the world to a nullity. The fig leaf of Vyāvahārika thus drops down exposing the nullity of the world in all its nakedness.

Another instance may be considered. Dr.NARAIN has accused the Mādhva philosophers of deliberately overlooking the philosophy of Vivarta. Dr. SHARMA in his book quoting Jayatīrtha extensively points out how, while explaining the details of Vivartavāda, Jayatīrtha gives a lucid exposition of *avikṛtam, mṛṣā* and *mandadṛṣṭi* and gives an authentic exposition of the Advaitic position. Dr. SHARMA has invited Dr.NARAIN to look into Madhva's AV also, for the treatment of Vivarta.

Vyāsatīrtha too has devoted a section to the examination of Vivartavāda in terms of its three alternative explanations of Brahman's causality in association with avidyā as propounded by the Vivarṇakāra.

It is a gross perversion of the truth for Dr.NARAIN to say that the Masters of the Dvaita school have deliberately overlooked the explanation of Vivarta invented by the Advaitins. All the three masters have been quite well informed about the Brahmavivartavāda and have refuted it in their writings.

Dr. SHARMA's book in its Introductory gives a broad summary of *Nyāyāmṛta*, which will help the reader to know the issues. Chapter II deals with the Doctrine of Falsity of the World and Chaps III and VIII deal with five definitions of Mithyātva and their detailed examination from the Dvaita Vedānta point of view.

In Chaps IX to XX the grounds of Falsity as given by the Advaitins are stated and examined. They are (a) Dṛśyatva, (b) Jaḍatva, (c) Paricchinnatva and (d) Sattvanirukti. A detailed examination of Dṛśyatva is given from Chap XIII to XVIII, establishing the Primacy of Pratyakṣa and competence of Pratyakṣa to grasp uncontradictable reality of the world.

Chapter XIX deals with Antinomies in the Advaita Interpretation of *Neha Nānāsti Śruti*. The last chapter of the book concludes that the Doctrine of Falsity of the Universe is irrational.

It is quite often said that Madhusūdana Sarasvatī tried to save Advaita by his *'Advaitasiddhi'*. But it is full of inherent contradictions. These were exposed by Rāmācārya in his *'Taraṅgini'*. Further, Madhusūdana compromises Advaita with Vaiṣṇava Theism, as can be seen from his *'Bhāgavata Bhakti Rasāyana'*. He identifies Brahman with Kṛṣṇa and advocates Rādhābhakti or Madhurābhakti as means to Mukti.

DR. SHARMA rightly points out that the stupendous range of survey of the problems of Indian Philosophy carried out by Vyāsatīrtha in his *Nyāyāmṛta*, places severe restrictions on the ability and equipment of any modern scholar aspiring to do even remote justice to monumental classics like the Nyāyāmṛta and its rival. One has to be extremely good in Neo-Nyāya and Sanskrit.

The book carries an introduction by DR.NINIAN SMART, Prof. of Comparative Religion, Uni. of California, Santa Barbara (U.S.A.). DR. SMART writes - 'Both Western and traditional Indian Scholars are in his (DR.SHARMA's) debt for making the *Nyāyāmṛta* available to a modern public. I congratulate him on 'this volume's appearance'.

DR.SHARMA's book is an excellent contribution to the literature of Indian Philosophy and Dvaita-Advaita polemics and every serious student

and research scholar of Vedānta will profit by going through it. It is a remarkable reference book, on Dvaita Philosophy and Dvaita refutation of Advaita.

S. G. Mudgal.

The Life of Rāmānujācārya - the exponent of Viśiṣṭādvaita Philosophy by A.Govindacharya. Edited and Re-published by T.N. Santhanam and T.D. Muralidharan. Pub. Shri Visishtadvaita Research Centre, 66 Dr, Rangachari Road, Madras - 600 018, 1995, pp. X + 220. Price Rs.95/

This book is an old classic, first published in 1906. It was out of print for a long time. It has now been reprinted and published. It has a foreword by Dr.K.K.A. Venkatachari, the former Director of Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, Bombay-5. The Editors have written a very good "Introduction" bringing out the salient features in the life of Ramanujacharya.

This is one of the most authentic book on the life of the great Mystic Saint and Philosopher and a well documented work. It is not an emotional account of a devotee of Rāmānuja, but is a properly researched faithfull account of the trials and tribulations suffered by Rāmānuja, his contribution to Indian Philosophy and Vaiṣṇavism, his compassion for the poor and down-trodden, his social reforms, his religious and mystic life, his disciples and their sacrifice and devotion for the Cause, his travels and his writings, and lastly his life of dedication to God, all these have been graphically brought out by the author. The book also provides the lineage of Śrī Vaiṣṇava Saints and acharyas right from Nammalvar to Maṇavalamāmuni and from Maṇavalamāmuni to Kaliyan Rāmānuja Svāmi.

For all students of Indian Philosophy in general and Viśiṣṭādvaita in particular, this book is an important reference work.

The only problem, with this edition, which is otherwise very well printed, with a beautiful colour cover of Rāmānuja's picture --- is the printing mistakes, which could have been avoided with a little more care.

I have no hesitation in recommending this book to the Scholars and Students of Indian Philosophy and also to the general reader interested in the lives of great Philosophers and Saints.

S. G. Mudgal.

" ताटी उघडा ज्ञानेश्वरा " " Open The Door Jñāneśvara " :
Translated into English. VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY.Pub Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Kulapati Munshi Marg, Mumbai -400 007, First Edition 1995. Pages 30, Price Rs.20/-

Tāṭīce Abhaṅga of Muktabai, the deservedly famous sister of Śrī Jñāneśvara has a place of its own in Marathi Literature. It has been rightly said that the great wisdom rooted in steadfast devotion displayed in her Abhaṅgas (eleven in number) at the young age of fourteen is a rare achievement. The circumstances that led to the composition of these Abhaṅgas are moving. On one occasion the abusive words of a brahmin caused great distress to Jñāneśvara and he locked himself in the hut. Muktabai knew that the insult had upset him too much. Then she assumed the role of an elderly person and lovingly rebuked him, expected him to 'become the ocean of happiness' and 'calm the world by words of advice'(as he, 'known to be a Yogī with mind so pure, he had to bear offences of people (with patience)'(p.13). Every Abhaṅga ends with an irresistible appeal, 'Tāṭi ughaḍā Jñāneśvara', Open the door, Jñāneśvara. No wonder that she succeeded in opening the doors of his heart full of the milk of human kindness.

VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY, the Deputy Director of the Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute, Mumbai has taken pains to translate these abhaṅgas. She has provided a short but very illuminating introduction giving all available information about Muktabai's personal life, her disciple Visoba as well as her pupil Cāṅgadeva (who was an arrogant Haṭhayogī), her relation with the famous devotee Nāmadeva who has graphically described the last moments of this

woman-saint (pages 8-9). VANAMALA PARTHASARATHY's carefulness can be seen from her reference to observations made by DHERE R.C. in his thesis speaking of Muktabai as a Śivayoginī. She has also alluded to 'the temple in Salbardi in Morshi Taluka in the Amaravati district of Maharashtra'(p.7). I am sure that such praiseworthy attempts of English renderings of the female philosopher-poets of Maharashtra will go a long way in encouraging emotional integration in this vast country which truly happens to be a desideratum. Thanks are also due to Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for neatly printing this useful booklet.

M.D.Paradkar.

Gujarāt Ke Santa Kaviyoṅmeṅ Sāṁājik Samvāditā (Hindi) Ed. GOVARDHAN SHARMA. Pub : AARSH Akshardham, Sec.20, Gandhinagar, Gujarat, 1996, pp.165, Price Rs.70/-.

The book under review is the first publication of Aarsh. Aarsh is a significant mnemonic for Akshardham Applied Research Centre for Social Harmony. This research centre was established in 1994, at Akshardham, Gandhinagar, under the able guidance of Dr. K.K.A. Venkatachari, a doyen in the field of research in South Indian Traditions and Culture. As its first activity, AARSH organized a state-level seminar at Gandhinagar, in April 1994, on the theme of social harmony, as traceable in the literature of saint poets of Gujarat. The present publication is a collection of the research papers presented at the said seminar. A few more papers are included, which were commissioned for the complete treatment of the theme.

Originally, the papers were presented in Gujarati, Hindi and English. They were subsequently rendered into Hindi for a wider readership, and GOVARDHAN SHARMA, an acknowledged Hindi writer in both Maharashtra and Gujarat, has edited them to perfection. All these eighteen papers together present a pleasant colourful spectrum of social harmony, which has gone a long way in nourishing a sense of equality and solidarity among the masses of this part of India.

As is mentioned by the editor, the saints though born in a particular region, do not belong to that particular region or language. They are the salt of the earth. They speak out their inner experience about the Reality, and can elevate the masses to a higher plane of existence. This results in an abiding harmony among those who stand thus elevated.

The book contains the significant teachings of Swami Narayan sect and their works of unifying the masses through love and care for the common man. These four articles are contributed by J.M. and RAMESH DAVE, PRATIMA and PURNIMA DAVE.

Then there are articles on Jain saints, the Rāmānandīs, Kabīr Panthīs, and the Sūfis by RANGATIYA, PRAJAPATI, RAMCHARAN SHARMA and GOVARDHAN SHARMA respectively. These scholars have brought out the quintessence of the teachings of these sects and have shown how it helped in social unification.

A few other lesser known saints are also represented in the book by NARESH PANDYA, by BAHECHARBHAI PATEL, NEELKANTH SATHE, BHAVANA MAHETA and BALWANT JANI. These scholars have written on Praṇāmi sect f ounded by Deochandra, on Kuberdas and his Kaivalya-jñāna sect, the saints of Sorath and of Kutch and also the Charan saints.

VIJAY PANDYA has traced the social strains in the poems of Narsi Mehta. While ANANTA VYAS studies the life of Akha, who achieved advaitic bliss through love and devotion, PUSHPALATA SHARMA narrates the achievements of Isra or Isvardas. NATHALAL GOHIL explores the writings of those saints, who followed humble trades such as of weavers, barbers, cobblers etc. All these saints have a thread of love and co existence, running through their songs. DEVADATTA JOSHI writes about Rang Avadhut, a saint belonging to Datta sect, known for its informal behaviour.

All these articles in the publication, it may be seen, lay more stress on personal ethical life of the saints. The supporting quotations cited in each article will prove this. It would, however, have been better, if the writers would have endeavoured to show the social changes leading to harmonious community-living, as a result of the impact of saints on society. Almost all the articles are rather good essays than thoroughly researched papers.

The purpose of the seminar, however, stands fulfilled in this publication in as much as it presents a cross section of Gujarat saints and their socially oriented thoughts.

N. B. Patil.

Poetry, Creativity and Aesthetic Experience : by NATVARLAL JOSHI. Pub :Eastern Book Linkers, 5825. New Chandrawal, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110 007. pp.251. Price Rs. 250/-,1994

Sanskrit poetics is an enchanting subject for both, the philosophers and linguists. A number of books are already there, dealing separately with various aspects of Sanskrit poetry and literary excellence. But a need was often felt for a co-ordinated study of all the earlier literary critics and their contribution to aesthetics. The book under review partially meets this need.

Originally this was a work submitted for Ph.D. degree of University of Bombay (which the author earned in 1993) and the thesis was titled "Poetic Compostioin, Its Cause and Purpose". The present title, viz. 'Poetry, Creativity and Aesthetic Experience' with its sub-title as 'Sanskrit Poetics and Literary Criticism' is equally expressive of the subject matter of the book.

In presenting his study, the author has used the age-old technic of *'Anubandha catuṣṭaya,* usually employed in the prakaraṇa granthas on Vedānta. The study presupposes the three vital problems in Sanskrit literary criticism'. viz., (1) the problem of defining poetic expression; (2) the problem of creativity and (3) the problem of aesthetic experience. We in India have a rich tradition of literary thinkers who have evolved over the millenia the theories of poetic creativity, excellence and appreciation. The author has co-ordinated the views of more than twenty-two literary philosophers and linguists and has also co-related his findings with Vedānta and Yoga philosophies.

The entire study has been presented in seven chapters running over 223 pages and the results of the author's study are summarised in the last fifteen pages. The author explains (Ch II) his method of the *anubandha catuṣṭaya* and points out its relevance in co-ordinating the variant views

of early literary critics. Thus according to the author (Ch II),the poet, the connoisseur (sahṛdaya), the critic (vidagdha), the royal patron (rājan) and the assembly (vidvat pariṣad) are the *adhikāriṇaḥ* in the poetic activity. The author goes further deep and recounts the qualities of each category of adhikārin that makes him play his role better in the enjoyment of poetry.

In the same manner, he explores the poetic compositions which form the viṣaya or the subject-matter of poetry (Ch IV). Here he takes count of all the earlier literary critics and categorises them as per the importance they gave to (1) the word element, (2) the sense element, (3) the arrangement and (4) the embellishment. He quotes in extenso in support of the arguments advanced by these literary critics.

The subject matter i.e. characteristics of poetry is discussed in chapter V and these are lakṣaṇā, guṇa, doṣa, alaṅkāra, rīti, vṛtti, rasa, dhvani, vakrokti, aucitya, camatkāra, ramaṇīyatā. This is perhaps the longest chapter in the book and rightly so, because all these characteristics have been thoroughly discussed in the context of respective theories.

Chapter VI deals with the relation or sambandha between the adhikāriṇaḥ (mentioned earlier) and viṣaya. The chapter also deals with pratibhā i.e. creativity and distinguishes a variety of mental faculties, viz. smṛti, mati, buddhi, prajñā, etc. The author quotes from Ānandavardhana, Bhaṭṭa Tota, Mahimabhaṭṭa, Abhinavagupta, Rudraṭa, Vāgbhaṭa, Jayadeva, Jagannātha, Vāmana, Vidyādhara, Rājaśekhara, regarding pratibhā or creativity.

Kāvyaprayojanas or purposes of poetry such as fame, aesthetic joy, expert knowledge of various arts, benefaction, enrichment of intellect and enhancement of the four puruṣārthas are mentioned in Chapter VII.

Some of the salient conclusions drawn by the author (Ch VIII) are :

The art and practice of poetry in ancient India, flourished under the influence of the connoisseur (sahṛdaya), the critic (vidagdha), the royal patron (rājan), the assembly (vidvatpariṣad) the nāgaraka and the gaṇikā. Poets received appreciation from all these and poetry thrived. The concepts of poetry evolved gradually and various theories sprang up during the course of history of poetics of 1500 years; that pratibhā (inspiration), nipuṇatā (proficiency) and

practice (abhyāsa), serve as causes of poetry and various theorists give varying importance to these factors; that fame, wealth, knowledge of the ways of the world, removal of evil, instant joy and friendly advice as that of a wife (kāntā) are the main purposes of poetry.

The author has taken great pains in bringing together the vast theoretical material in Sanskrit poetics and literary criticism and has meaningfully presented it in the manner of Vedāntic discipline. In doing so he has trod a new path and used an effective scale of Vedānta in understanding poetry.

The paper and printing of the book are nice and the simple symbolic representation on the cover is quite expressive of the method used.

N. B. Patil.

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1. Sanskrit (Devanagari) Script

अ a ;	आ ā ;	इ i ;	ई ī ;	उ u ;	ऊ ū ;	ऋ ṛ ;	ॠ ṝ ;
ऌ ḷ ;	ॡ ḹ ;	ए e ;	ऐ ai ;	ओ o ;	औ au ;	अं ṁ ;	अः ḥ ;
क् k ;	ख् kh;	ग् g;	घ् gh ;	ङ् ṅ ;	च् c ;	छ् ch ;	ज् j ;
झ् jh ;	ञ् ñ ;	ट् ṭ ;	ठ् ṭh ;	ड् ḍ ;	ढ् ḍh ;	ण् ṇ ;	त् t ;
थ् th ;	द् d ;	ध् dh ;	न् n ;	प् p ;	फ् ph ;	ब् b ;	भ् bh ;
म् m ;	य् y ;	र् r ;	ल् l ;	व् v ;	श् ś ;	ष् ṣ ;	स् s ;
ह् h ;	avagraha ऽ						

2. Tamil Script

அ a ; ஆ ā ; இ i ; ஈ ī ; உ u ; ஊ ū ; எ e ; ஏ ē ; ஐ ai ; ஒ o ;
ஓ ō ; ஔ au ; க் k ; ங் ṅ ; ச் c ; ஞ் ñ ; ட் ṭ ; ண் ṇ ; த் t ; ந் n ;
ப் p ; ம் m ; ய் y ; ர் r ; ல் l ; வ் v ; ழ் ḻ ; ள் ḷ ; ற் ṟ ; ன ṉ ;
ஃ k̲ ; ஜ் j ; ஶ் ś ; ஷ் ṣ ; ஸ் s ; ஹ் h ; க்ஷ் kṣ ;

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2 **Divyasuri Caritam** by Garudavahana Pandita
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3 **The Manipravala Literature of Srivaishnava Acaryas** (12th to 15th Century A. D.)

* 4 Papers presented at the Seminar on **Sanskrit Literature,** 1979.

* 5-8 **Tiruvaymoli** English Glossary by S. Sathyamoorthi Ayyengar (Volumes I to IV)

* 5 **God Far, God Near** - An Interpretation of the Thoughts of Nammalvar by R. D. Kaylor & K. K. A. Venkatachari.

9 **The Theology of Ramanuja** by John.B. Carman of Harvard University (Indian Reprint)originally published from Yale University.

* 10 Proceedings of the Seminar on **"Temple Art & Architecture "** March 1980.

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