

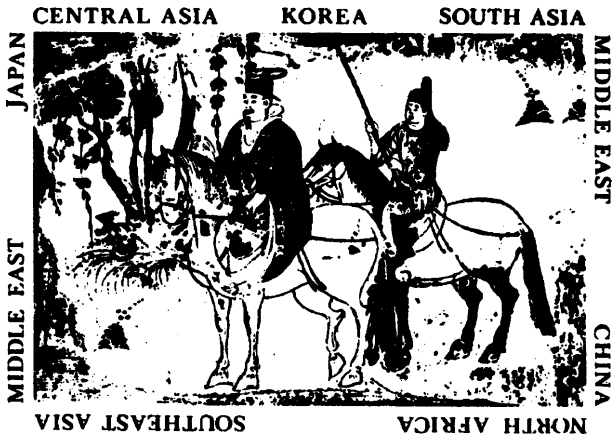
30th
International
Congress
of Human
Sciences
in Asia and
North Africa

PROCEEDINGS

SOUTH ASIA 1

El Colegio de México

30th International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa



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The persons responsible for selecting, translating and editing the materials we now present have respected the style of the authors to the extent possible, although they have made certain changes necessary for publication. The editors were especially concerned with the problem of transliteration, preference always being given to each author's own system.

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1976**

South Asia 1

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Literary Expression

VOICE AND VISION IN RAJA RAO'S FICTION

Lakshmi Mani

Among the writers of Indo-Anglian fiction, Raja Rao stands out eminently as a great technical innovator. His achievement, remarkable in view of his meagre output, lies in his evolving a sophisticated narrative method which puts the fictional medium to versatile uses and views man from a variety of perspectives ranging from the social to the metaphysical.¹ In this paper I shall be examining Raja Rao's unique experimentation with a narrative technique which combines native forms drawn from myth, theology, legend and folklore with the narrative modes of Western literature, namely, the epic, dramatic and the lyric. A definition of "mode" may be in order here to clarify its meaning in this paper. While in a general sense a "mode" is a "manner of doing or being," I am using this term in the specific sense of a form of narration which shows the relationship between the writer and the reader.² In a work of fiction, the speaking voice may be completely suppressed as in the dramatic mode or it may surface in varying degrees as in the epic and lyric modes. The vision may be mediated or unmediated.

In his first novel *Kanthapura*, Raja Rao combines the epic mode with the dramatic in his portrayal of the freedom movement and its repercussions on a remote village in South India. The epic devices of a narrator-observer, a garrulous widow, and a one-

Raja Rao states this: "Starting from the humanitarian and romantic perspective of man in *Kanthapura* and *The Cow of the Barricades* — both deeply influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence — I soon came to the metaphysical novel, *The Serpent and the Rope*, and *The Cat and Shakespeare*, based on the Vedantic conception of illusion and reality." *Contemporary Novelists*, ed. James Vinson (London & New York, 1972), p.1042.

² In a discussion of thematic modes, Northrop Frye points out that a literary work has two fictions, "an internal fiction of the hero and his society" and "an external fiction which is a relation between the writer and the writer's society." *Anatomy of Criticism* (New York, 1967), p.52.

woman audience, lend structure to the novel. The protagonist, Moorthy, is an identifiable model whose deeds transform cultural and social values into actions. The ethos of the novel centers around a patriotic consciousness molded by the Gandhian creed of Truth and Non-violence and it is transmuted into the action of the *Satyagraha* movement. The texture of the novel is made up of the stylistic devices of the Hindu oral tradition (a blend of myth, parable, folklore and ballad). These serve as a "grammar" in which the new experiences of India are comprehended. The language is demotic and the English reflects the flavor of the author's native Kannada.

The reader, together with the implied auditor, sees the "reality" of the novel through the eyes of the narrator for the most part, a narrator who is also involved in the action of the novel, like Ishmael in *Moby-Dick*. The ironic distance between the author and the narrator increases as her personality is unfolded in the course of the narration. She comes off as a naive, gossipy, somewhat prejudiced person. When Waterfall Venkamma, the sullen and malicious stereotype of the frustrated village widow, ridicules the women volunteers as "toddy people" on seeing them place five twigs of toddy trees and a toddy pot before the altar of Shiva as their trophies of victory in picketing Boranna's liquor shop, the narrator, who identifies herself with Moorthy's movement, cannot resist the temptation to get even with the venomous gossip, and proves no better than the person whom she is criticizing when she tells her auditor: "Yes, yes, sister, we are toddy people! But we don't marry our daughters to gap-toothed sons-in-law. Nor like Bhatta [another representative of orthodoxy and a staunch anti-Gandhi person] do we go on Kashi-pilgrimage with toddy contract money. Do we?" (134).

In the opening section, the reader along with the auditor who is an outsider, gets a guided tour of Kanthapura, a lush tropical village rooted in centuries of tradition. An impression of stability is initially created to bring about the epic contrast of the turbulence that is about to overtake this village when it is caught in the maelstrom of the independence movement. The descriptive summary reflects two feudalisms, the colonial feudalism of the British and the indigenous feudalism of caste: "the cardamoms and coffee get into the ships the Red-men bring . . . and go across the seven oceans into the countries where our rulers live" (1). The hierarchy of caste is a condition that the narrator accepts:

“Till now I’ve spoken only of the Brahmin quarters. Our village had a Pariah quarter too, a Potters’ quarter, a Weavers’ quarter, and a Sudra quarter Of course you wouldn’t expect me to go to a Pariah quarter” (5). Bhatta, the Brahmin, is the richest man in town who, starting from humble beginnings, has amassed money through usury. The Potters’ street is the smallest while the Sudra and the Pariah quarters are further down in the scale of affluence. Religion is at the heart of all activity, sacred and profane, and the temple, besides being a place of worship is also a cultural center and later becomes an arena of political activity. Kenchamma, symbolizing the Feminine Principle worshipped in the pre-Aryan matriarchal societies, is the guardian spirit of the entire village, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, while Shiva, the male deity, is worshipped in the Main Street temple, located in a Brahmin neighbourhood.

The village has been in a state of torpor for centuries till one day, the seeds of its awakening are sown by Jayaramachar, a famous Harikatha man. The Harikatha belongs to an Indian oral tradition in which an imaginative story-teller narrates epics and mythological tales with musical and histrionic embellishments. Hindu myth, a part of the racial unconscious of rural India, is transformed into political allegory. Jayaramachar gives a modern interpretation to the ancient legend of Shiva and Parvathi: “Siva is the three-eyed, and Swaraj [self-government] too is three-eyed: Self-purification, Hindu-Moslem unity, Khaddar.” The bard caps his story-telling with a parable of India in which Siva himself descends as an incarnation in Gandhi to succour the enslaved people of India. The past becomes linked with the present and the “gods mingle with men”³

As the story advances, the dramatic mode increasingly takes over and the narrator remains in the background. Drama is achieved in several ways: the narrator “shows” firstly, those scenes which call for dramatic irony; secondly, whenever events happen in such quick succession that there is hardly any time for commentary; and thirdly, when subjective states of characters are dramatized.

Whenever a situation calls for dramatic irony, the vision portrayed is unmediated. The narrator intersperses vivid description with dramatic dialogue. While Narasamma, Moorthy’s mother,

³ Raja Rao, *Kanthapura*, p.vii.

is dreaming up grandiose plans for her son's marriage, Waterfall Venkamma has other plans, of destroying Narasamma's happiness. One fateful day, she comes to the river, a clearing-house for information and misinformation and "placing her basket [of wash] on the sands," begins to "unroll her bundle." She then "plants herself like a banana-trunk in front" of Narasamma and spits out her venom: "Do you know what your son is bringing to this village?" When Narasamma displays innocent ignorance, Venkamma drops a bombshell which literally kills Narasamma: "What! It's for nothing you put forth into the world eleven children, if you do not even know what your very beloved son is always doing. I will tell you what he is doing: he is mixing with the Pariahs like a veritable Mohamedan, and the Swami has sent word through Bhatta that the whole of Kanthapura will be excommunicated" (36). The news of collective punishment for individual violation of a religious taboo is more than Narasamma can bear for it implies social ostracism for her and her family. In her anger and chagrin at what she has heard from Venkamma, the poor woman bursts into a volley of abuse at the sight of Moorthy on his return from the city. As she rushes off to the river the fury spends itself out in the violent activity of beating the clothes on the washing stone. The cooling effect of the bath and the calming of her nerves in telling her beads make her less hostile towards Moorthy. Finding him gone on her arrival home, Narasamma relents and hopes her son would come back. There is a shift in narrative perspective and the point of view is Narasamma's. It dramatizes her mental turmoil as she sees herself objectively (in the third person):

He would come. He was only at Rangamma's house. Oh, he was no wicked child to leave the village without telling her. Oh, the fool that she was to have been so angry with him! Age brings anger. It is just a passing rage. (41)

As she says her *gayathri* (a prayer) and eyes the sacred lamp and the altar with the objects of worship she reassures herself that her Moorthy would surely come. But the immemorial taboos of Brahmin society are too strongly embedded in her unconscious to be overcome by her vast love for her only son. Her paranoid fears of retribution soon kill her

When the action is fast moving, the narrator adopts a dramatic method of narration, evolved from the narrative style of the Indian epics and mythological tales.⁴ A sense of breathless excitement and quick tempo is created by a kind of eye-witness style of repetitions and simplistic compound sentences loosely strung with innumerable “ands” in the vivid description of the scene of violent confrontation between the police and the villagers when the latter picket the liquor shop. The narrator also dramatizes the tension in the minds of the women volunteers (of whom she is one) between wishful thinking and fear:

But suddenly he leaves them and runs forward and we say something is the matter, and Moorthy stops on the bridge and looks toward the Skeffington Estate gate, and we all look toward it, too, and we only hear the wind whistling before the rain patters on the trees, and the cawing of a crow or two; and we say to ourselves, so there’s nothing the matter, nothing. Then we hear a sputter of leaves and see dark shapes behind the leaves and we hold our breath and say, “There they are; they’re coming,” and when the gateway opens, there’s a seesaw lightning and we hide our faces behind our saris and we are afraid . . . Then the police inspector saunters up to Skeffington gate, and he opens it and one coolie and two coolies and three coolies come out, their faces dark as mops and their blue skin black under the clouded heavens, and perspiration flows down their bodies and their eyes seem fixed to the earth — one coolie and two coolies and three coolies and four and five come out, eyes fixed to the earth . . . (136-137)

As the coolies, besotted and emaciated with habitual drinking (“with bulging stomachs and bamboo legs”) are marched like dumb cattle to Boranna’s toddy booth, the suspense mounts and the women are awaiting Moorthy’s orders which follow immediately: “Squat down before the toddy booth.” The volunteers then rush forth and the rain, at this psychological moment, appears to them not as a hindrance but as a good omen (“Maybe that’s the blessing of the gods!”). But along with the rain comes another rain, “a shower of lathi blows.” The rest is utter chaos and violence interspersed by the incessant shouts “Mahatma

⁴ Raja Rao explains this style in his Foreword to *Kanthapura*: “We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move we move quickly. There must be something in the sun of India that makes us rush and tumble and run on. And our paths are interminable . . . we tell one interminable tale.” pp.vii,viii.

Gandhi ki jai [Victory to Mahatma Gandhi]!" (137-138).

The novel follows a temporal organization and is structured on the pattern of the Hindu calendar with its innumerable festivals and the seasonal pattern which organizes the activities of an agricultural community. The story begins with Sankara Jayanthi which occurs at the beginning of the Hindu year, followed by Gauri's festival and Ganapathi's festival in August and September. The Kartik festival in November is signalled by the "glow of lights and the unpressed footsteps of the wandering gods" (81). It is in the month of Pushya (December-January) that Rangamma goes to Karwar to see Moorthy who is now in jail. The action of the novel begins in summer followed by the Southwest monsoon which is succeeded by the end of the rainy season and a mild winter.

The ideal state, the Ram-rajya of Gandhi's dream, seems as yet a dim prospect at the end of the novel. Kanthapura has suffered much but has also gained in a kind of consciousness raising. The apocalyptic fire at the close of the novel, started by Rachi and the other Pariah women, the aboriginal daughters of the soil, symbolizes the release of those primordial impulses which lie embedded in the most primitive part of the psyche. It reduces the village to a wasteland and by Range Gowda's report to the narrator who too has left Kanthapura with many others, "there's neither man nor mosquito" left there (182).

Raja Rao's next novel is a unique experiment in the metaphysical novel.⁵ *The Serpent and the Rope* is a novel of subjective consciousness portraying the protagonist's spiritual quest for the Absolute in a world of shifting realities. The protagonist tells his own story. The autobiographical nature of the subject matter calls for an organic, fluid literary mode approximating poetry, achieved by setting the novel in the lyric mode. There is a discontinuous, dreamlike texture of imagery modulated by rhythmic *leitmotif*. Vision is predominant while the speaking voice, where audible, is often muted. This effect is achieved through interior

⁵ Perry Westbrook, comparing *The Serpent and the Rope* with Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* and Dostoevski's *The Brothers Karamazov*, points out that Raja Rao's novel is a brilliant success in the genre of the metaphysical novel. "Theme and Inaction in Raja Rao's *The Serpent and the Rope*," *World Literature Written in English*, Vol. 14, No.2 (Nov. 1975), p.399.

monologue and the intimate style of the diary and the letter.⁶ Since the protagonist-narrator is a Vedantin seeking an absorptive vision of Truth, he reveals a synthesizing consciousness which draws on Western as well as Eastern traditions of theology, philosophy, and myth for form and meaning in the novel.

At the very outset, the protagonist Ramaswamy or Rama as he is called by others, tells us that he "was born a Brahmin." In the same breath Rama explains that this fact of his birth defines him normatively in two ways: he should be a devotee of Truth and should know Brahman, the ultimate ground of being in Advaita or Non-dualistic interpretation of Vedanta; a Hindu philosophical system. The rest of the novel traces Rama's metaphysical odyssey to find salvation (freedom) in Vedantic terms . . . The action, or rather the inaction of the novel,⁷ centers around two visions of reality which produce the tension of the novel. Rama's vision is ahistorical — *sub specie aeternitatis* — while his French wife Madeleine's is historical and is concerned with the here and now. This is why Rama is portrayed as an unfinished historian and Madeleine as an expert in history (professor). In a letter to M. K. Naik, Raja Rao points out these different outlooks upon reality and explains that it was this dichotomy that proved to be the rock on which Rama's marriage with Madeleine floundered: "Tradition is wisdom. And Wisdom (that is Tradition) as History is anti-history. Hence India refused to have history . . . Thus marriage as history (Rama-Madeleine) fails, but love as Savithri-Rama succeeds . . ."⁸

The two visions are summed up in Madeleine's first letter to Rama during his visit to India to perform his father's obsequies and settle family affairs. She has just visited the grave of their first-born and explains why she did it. In giving her reasons-for her own behavior, Madeleine is also defining Rama's impersonal attitude and tendency to see universals in contrast to her own attitude of personal significance:

I bore him, your son, with such love, for he was a child of love;

⁶ Raja Rao acknowledges that Rainer Maria Rilke had a great influence upon him. Critics have found a close parallel between Rilke's *NoteBooks of Malte Laurids Brigge* and *The Serpent and the Rope*. See M.K. Naik, *Raja Rao* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972), p.31-33.

⁷ Perry Westbrook points out that the dearth of action in the novel is because its "metaphysics so dominate it as to exclude all action." *Op.cit.*, p.385.

⁸ Quoted by M. K. Naik. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

but you were more interested in his sonship than in his being my son. The feminine to the Indian must always be accessory, a side issue . . . Your impersonal approach was strange to me, you yourself so impersonal . . . You people are sentimental about the invisible, we about the visible. And to me you were the invisible made concrete, so visible, incarnate, beside me — and my husband. (34-35)

Later, in a more direct confrontation, Madeleine and Rama talk about the two polarized visions in their discussion of Buddhism, a philosophy of personalism, and Non-dualistic Vedanta, a philosophy of impersonalism. Rama has the last say in the matter: "The perfect civilization, then, is where the world is not, but where there is nothing but the 'I'. It is like the perfect number, which is always a manifestation of 1.1.1. The Buddhists say the world, the perception is *real*, '*Sarvam-Kshanikam*,' that everything is minuted the moment we see it. The Vedantin says the perception is real, yes; but that reality is 'my Self' . . ." (332). At this point, the protagonist becomes a mask for the author. Raja Rao once stated: "My main interest increasingly is in showing the complexity of the human condition (that is, that the reality of man is beyond his person), and in showing the symbolic construct of any human expression. All words are hierarchic symbols, almost mathematical in precision, on and of the unknown."⁹

Rama's search for a true knowledge of the Self follows the symbolic pattern of a journey to the West and final return to the East, the mythic direction of enlightenment. During this odyssey, each experience becomes transformed into an illumination which guides him towards freedom. Very early in life, his initiation begins in his perception of death not as a finality but leading to another life. Even though his ancestors did "die" (the inverted commas are Rama's), he knows instinctively even as a child that they did not die. He cannot grieve any death except his mother's, not even his father's or his son's. This is because he cannot believe that "death is" (7). Benares particularly reinforces the unreality of death: "In Benares one knows death is as illusory as the mist in the morning" (9), and the concubine, a symbol of life-affirmation, floats in the Ganges, side by side with the corpse. Rama's detachment increases after his return from his first trip to

⁹ Quoted in *Contemporary Novelists*, p. 1042.

India. This detachment ripens into recognition and experience, further stages in the path of freedom. The recognition consists in realizing that the manifold universe is the result of *maya* or illusion (symbolized in the title of the novel), and *lila* or divine play, a motif that Raja Rao is to develop into a comic vision in his next novel.

In portraying a series of epiphanies, Raja Rao uses a spatial principle in this novel unlike *Kanthapura* where a linear progression of time is the ordering principle. In a lyrical novel, moments of illumination are arrested in a kind of stasis as in painting. The pattern follows a progression of images towards a point of peak intensity of vision. Kenneth Burke calls this a "qualitative" progression and Wolfgang Kayser, the "lyrical process."¹⁰ The time perspective is psychological, as in the unconscious, rather than chronological, and the past and present are collapsed in a sort of unitive vision. Rama's recognition reaches a peak intensity midway through the novel within about three chapters. The illumination comes about through Savithri; the historical Savithri merges with the mythical Savithri and she brings about the spiritual resurrection of her Satyavan ("Master of Truth") - Rama, who becomes her "husband" through the symbolic marriage that takes place in London. Image succeeds image with mounting intensity, leading up to the moment of truth, the revelation that Savithri and Rama are in love which in turn leads increasingly to Rama's discovery that this love is a means to the realization of Brahman, the authentic Self. Earlier, as Rama leaves Savithri at Girton College, he has intimations that she is going to become the instrument of his salvation. As he wanders through the streets of London, his vision of Savithri becomes archetypal: "All the world is spread for woman to be, and making us know the world is one-self seen as the other. Union is proof that the Truth is non-dual."

Rama, for some reason, remembers the image of the holy marriage in the *Brihadaranyaka* Upanishad: "As one embraced by a darling bride knows naught of 'I' and 'Thou,' so self embraced by the foreknowing (solar) self knows naught of 'myself' within or 'thyself' without." This is further reinforced by the Yajnyavalkya-Maitreyi image: "The husband does not love the wife for

¹⁰ Quoted by Ralph Freedman, "Nature and Forms of the Lyrical Novel," *The Novel: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Robert Murray Davis (New Jersey, 1969), p.64.

the wife's sake, the husband loves the wife for the sake of the Self in her" (168, 169). A stream-of-consciousness links several images, all of which reinforce the theme of the Eternal Feminine as the means to the Supreme Knowledge of Brahman (his father's anecdote about a virgin used in spiritual initiation by a sixteenth century Tantrik ancestor). He feels a sense of expansion, as if realizing the meaning of Brahman which is from a Sanskrit word for "grow."

And then break those magic words from Savithri, the keys to Rama's kingdom of God: "Pub or no pub, take me anywhere my love," and the gentle pressure of her fingers on his arm which speak a more mysterious and eloquent language than words. Rama captures the essence of this ecstatic moment: "Was it I, the foolish schoolteacher, this miserable five foot eleven of Brahmin feebleness, this ungainly myopic over-bent creature, to whom she had said those two tender, commonplace but perfect words? . . . History and my mind vanished somewhere, and I put my arms around that little creature — she hardly came to my shoulder — led her along alleyways and parkways, past bus stop, bridge, and mews — to a taxi" (205). From that moment onwards, he feels a "lit space" between them, a "presence — God."

After the ritual "marriage," all is an illumination — of Advaita. Rama's subjective consciousness colors his vision of the waves in the English Channel which are now endowed with a new significance:

Destiny is, I think, nothing but a series of psychic knots that we tie with our own fears. . . . Freedom is to leave nothing of yourself outside. . . . Never can you escape eternity, for never can you escape that "I." Even when you say you can, it is the "I" saying it. Can the "I" say anything? No, it cannot, no more than eternity can be seen in time. But time itself is eternity, just as wave seeing itself is water. Meanwhile the winds lift and the monsoon blows, and the white flakes of wavelets curve and rise, dash and demonstrate and from crest to crest they cavalcade processioning to the shore. Not wavelet or crest, however breathless with foam, is life: water is the meaning of life, or rather the meaning of life is *lila*, play. (213)

But freedom is still a far-away goal. One more tie with material existence is broken when Madeleine grants him divorce. The

chest surgery becomes a symbolic death and spiritual rebirth when once again Savithri appears on the scene; this time she has her own bonds as Pratap's wife. Though at the end of the novel Rama feels homeless and an orphan once again, he is lifted up when a Vision appears to him which he records in his journal. Not a God but a Guru, he realizes, is what he needs, and he has a Vision of this Master, a promise of discipleship as the ultimate means to freedom.

Raja Rao's last novel, *The Cat and Shakespeare*, gathers the theme and motifs of *The Serpent and the Rope* and combines them into an entirely new vision of the human condition — a vision of the absurd on the one hand, and a vision of optimistic affirmation on the other. Govindan Nair, the hero, a good Hindu, is visited with much suffering quite undeserved. He loses his only son and his boss of "blessed memory." This is followed by his arrest on false charges of bribery. But his own unshakable faith in God's grace is proven when, as if by a miracle, a cat becomes instrumental in bringing about his acquittal. Ramakrishna Pai, the narrator, too goes through a parallel experience. His suffering however is minor (he is married to Saroja, a rank materialist who is busy managing her inherited property with no feeling for her husband; he is afflicted by boils). He too experiences divine grace in the form of his friend and guide, Govindan Nair, and his mistress Shantha, both of whom are embodiments of selfless love. Pai is also able to buy a two-storey house through a miraculous generous impulse in the otherwise miserly owner Mudali. *The Cat and Shakespeare* is an inverted divine comedy centering around the theme of salvation through utter self-surrender to God expounded in Visishtadvaita (Qualified Non-dualism) theology as cat-salvation¹¹ (Nair's: "The mother cat alone knows. It takes you by the skin of your neck, and takes you to the loft. It alone loves." p. 42).

It is surprising that one of the leading critics of Raja Rao's fiction has found his last novel something of a disappointment. M. K. Naik points out that "the different elements have not been fused organically together in the work, which is thus denied the satisfying finality of a whole."¹² Among all his novels, I find the

¹¹ Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1965), p.56.

¹² Op.cit. p.116.

tightest organization of symbol and narration in this novel. Realism and transcendence are exquisitely woven together in what appears like a comic apocalypse. The lyric mode is used for the most part with Shandean digressions and stream-of-consciousness narration. Raja Rao connects two levels of reality, the mundane and the metaphysical, through what E. M. Forster calls "fantasy," a perfectly natural occurrence which appears almost miraculous because it accidentally provides significance to an ordinary event.¹³ Raja Rao also uses the Joycean technique of inverted myth and parody for ironic purposes. I shall discuss some of these narrative features.

The concept of *lila*, or divine play, merely hinted at in *The Serpent and the Rope*, is now developed into a major motif. The Ration Shop scale is an instrument for measuring the staff of life as well as a plaything to children and adults alike who get a pleasure in seeing it jerk up and down. Godlike, Govindan Nair emerges from the upstairs Ration Office and goes down to play with the children. With a sleight of hand ("he pushed the needle to the middle"), he assures the children that "everybody weighs the same" (38-39), implying that divine grace is even-handed.

Everyone plays pranks in the novel, and Govinda Nair himself is a metaphysical prankster. His ordinary language is theatrical, a hybrid of *The Vicar of Wakefield* and Shakespeare. Velayudhan Nair, a scamp and fellow-clerk in the Ration Office, takes Govindan Nair to a brothel on the pretext of taking him to a doctor's clinic when the latter is in search of a doctor. John, another clerk, brings in a large cat in a mousetrap one day and places it on Govindan Nair's table to make fun of his "mother-cat-carries-kitten-by-the-scruff" theory of salvation. The grotesque drama staged by Nair in deifying the cat, making all his friends kneel before it, comes to an even more bizarre ending when Bhoothalinga Iyer, dazed by the cat's mysteriousness, collapses in his chair uttering the name of God during his last moments. The surrealistic aspect of this interlude is brought out by casting the scene in the dramatic mode, like a play within the novel. The cat's later antics in the court further emphasize the play concept. Finally, Nair's story in court about Bhoothalinga Iyer's "extramarital propensities" is a pure concoction of his that he thought

¹³ *Aspects of the Novel* (New York, 1927), pp. 155-180.

up and rehearsed in jail: "Wardens could think he was practising acting" (105-106).

Parody is another method by which Raja Rao emphasizes the concept of divine play. The Hamlet myth becomes an ironic analogue of the Ration Shop, a microcosm of society. Ghost ration cards proliferate and fraud abounds: "Here . . . we haven't to murder a brother to marry his wife. Here we marry whom we like. The ration card marries. You are married even when there is no wife . . . The dead are not buried in ration shops. . . ." (81). The grotesquerie reaches its peak in Nair's parody of Hamlet's soliloquy, "To be or not to be . . . A kitten sans cat etc." to prove the absurdity of language as an instrument of Truth (80).

E. M. Forster points out that certain novels are special in that they introduce a kind of natural supernaturalism by which the ordinary becomes transformed into the extraordinary.¹⁴ *The Cat and Shakespeare* uses the fantastic to provide a kind of ambiguity that Yvor Winters calls the "formula of alternative possibilities."¹⁵ Just as the judge prepares to read a piece of evidence that the cat mysteriously helps the court clerk dig out from among files, an unexpected illumination falls on the document: "the light from the ceiling — a sunbeam, in fact — pierced through the paper, or maybe it was just electric light" (104). Under this light could be discerned Bhoothalinga Iyer's signature, a revelation crucial to establishing Nair's innocence.

The main narrative often shades into the intimate aspects of Pai's own life. The stream-of-consciousness technique has echoes of *Tristram Shandy*. The distinctions in person between the narrator and his mistress Shantha are often blurred in some of Pai's lyrical out-pourings:

I want to take you to London, will you come? . . . Don't you hear the koel sing on the coconut tree, don't you hear the anguish that wants to eat your heart, cut it and pickle it, and savor it, and say: Look what a good heart. I am a woman. And I have such a good heart. What will you give me in return, my Lord? I shall give you, woman, a house three stories high . . . (51)

There are many digressions in which the reader almost loses the

¹⁴ See note 13 above.

¹⁵ *In Defence of Reason* (New York, 1947), p.170.

main thread of the story. While recounting the story about Nair's miraculous acquittal, the narrator digresses into a kind of meta-physical reverie: "Normally the story should have stopped here. But is life normal? Is the cat and the court normal? . . . Is Shantha's life with me normal (she not married to me and such a wife)? And Saroja such a married spouse (and living far away where the Dutch once landed, those able-bodied men) . . ." and so on and on for another paragraph and then resumes the story: "But I must give you other news" (108). The other news is about his beatific vision, a mystical experience, to which he is led one day by the cat. But the novel is as open-ended as *The Serpent and the Rope* for the third story to Pai's house never gets built. Quoting Sankara, the greatest exponent of Non-dualism, Raja Rao points out that the native land is the three worlds by which is meant not a physical plane but the metaphysical plane of Truth.¹⁶

Thus Raja Rao's mode of narration shows both great variety and technical virtuosity. It is unique in preserving the integrity of the Indian sensibility within an inherited language, a task that is not easy. Raja Rao's achievement is not only a major contribution to Indo-Anglian fiction but also a significant phenomenon in the modern novel.

All references to *Kanthapura*, *The Serpent and the Rope*, and *The Cat and Shakespeare* are by page numbers which appear within parenthesis in the paper. The editions used are:

Kanthapura. Paperback Edition. New York: New Directions, 1967.

The Serpent and the Rope. American Edition. New York: Pantheon Books, 1963.

The Cat and Shakespeare: A Tale of India. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965.

¹⁶ Quoted by S.V.V. "Face to Face: Rajo Rao," *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Jan. 5, 1964.

ĀNANDAVARDHANA'S THEORY OF POETIC LANGUAGE

K. Kunjunn Raja

The Dhvani theory of poetic language propounded and formulated by Ānandavardhana of Kashmir in the ninth century A.D. is one of the most important contributions of India to literary criticism. This theory emphasizes the importance of the suggestive function of poetry. According to Ānanda the content of poetry includes not only the literal, logical meaning of the expressions, but also the social-cultural significance of the utterance, the figures of speech like simile and metaphor implied and above all the emotions to be evoked in the readers. The best kind of poetry is that where the suggested elements, especially the emotional content, are predominant. Next comes the type where there are suggested meanings, but only serving to enhance the beauty of the literal meaning. And last comes the type where there is no suggested meaning worth mentioning.

The importance of emotions with special reference to the theatre had been stressed much earlier in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (3rd century A.D.) which gives detailed directions regarding the communication of emotions by the actors. Ānandavardhana accepted the importance of emotions in all literature and evolved his theory to explain the communication of the aesthetic experience by the poet to the readers through the medium of language using the method of suggestion.

Ānanda's basic postulate is that an emotion cannot be evoked in the reader by merely referring to its name nor by its stark description. It has to be suggested by describing the situation and the contextual factors such as the reactions of the characters. Not only the literal meaning, but also the suggestive possibilities of the expression such as the sound echoing the sense, rhythm, imagery and symbols, selective exaggeration of the prominent element and the suppression of the irrelevant, and bringing out the

etymological significance through subtle suppletion — all these are to be resorted to for helping the reader. Words and expressions are to be selected from those in common usage in such a way as to help in evoking the emotional content.

Linguistic speculations of ancient Indians like the grammarians and logicians generally took the word as the unit of speech and considered the sentence as a combination of words. How is syntactic unity effected from a series of isolated words uttered in a sequence? This question was discussed and various explanations given by different schools of thought. The literal and metaphorical meanings of words were also discussed and the conditions for resorting to the metaphorical meaning of a word in a sentence were also evolved. But there were some scholars like Bharṭṛhari (4th Cent. A.D.) who exposed the unsatisfactory nature of a linguistic theory which depends entirely on individual words and their lexical meanings; the theory of *spṛṣṭa* which Bharṭṛhari brought forward emphasized the importance of taking the whole utterance as a significant unitary linguistic symbol. Anandavardhana took his cue from Bharṭṛhari when he developed his theory of suggestion in poetry.

Ananda accepts the usual division of speech utterance into sentences and words, into stems and suffixes and the distinction between the primary and the metaphorical senses of words. In addition to these he postulates a third potency of words, which he calls the capacity to suggest a meaning other than the literal. This suggestive power of language is called *vyañjanā*. The logicians interested more in accuracy and precision in the use of words which they want to analyse objectively than in the fullness of expression and the possibilities of extending the range of meanings to the domain of the inexpressible, are satisfied with the normal sense; but the poets and the critics who deal with the totality of human experience cannot neglect vast areas of human behaviour. The suggested meaning is too vague and fleeting and subjective to have a place among logical meanings; the subtle and subjective suggestions implied in language are not subjects of logical discussion.

The suggested meanings depend on contextual factors and the same utterance may convey different suggestions to different people depending on their mental make up and expectations. There is no invariable connection between an expression and the suggestions conveyed. Anandavardhana included the emotions

evoked in the listeners under meaning. This naturally necessitates the assumption of a suggestive power for language; for even the logicians cannot argue that the emotions induced by language can be included under the literal meaning. Emotions can be evoked by music or dance where no expressed sense is involved; the emotive element in a language can not be explained in terms of the primary literal meaning or even the metaphorical sense of words.

It is true that intentional metaphors can suggest further ideas; but these suggested meanings have to be assigned to the suggestive power of language. The break in the flow, due to the incompatibility of the expressed sense, in the case of a metaphor is a kind of signal to the listener to stop and think about the possible interpretations and thereby lead him to the sphere of suggestions. Ānanda was concerned only with poetic language and confined his attention to the suggestion of meanings of aesthetic value. His theory of Dhvani is *Vyañjanā* or suggestion as applied to poetry.

It was Ānandavardhana who for the first time enunciated the theory of *AṅgīRasa* according to which there should be one predominant sentiment or *Rasa* in a literary work such as a drama, epic or lyric and all the other *Rasas* introduced should be subordinate to it. Mutually conflicting or helpful emotions could be delineated appropriately in a work, provided there is one *Rasa* predominant throughout, the others being kept in the background as subsidiary. Earlier writers like Bharata had not stressed this point but considered that a work such as a drama has to cater to the different tastes of the various types of people and must therefore deal with various emotions and *Rasas*. Bharata seems to have felt that each character in a play may have one dominant emotion, but he did not consider the need for a predominant *Rasa* for the work as a whole. Unity in plot was, however, stressed by him. Anandavardhana perhaps felt that unity in theme implied a predominant *Rasa* for the work as a whole, and that great classical writers have always taken this idea for granted; so he boldly stated that even the construction of the plot must be made in such a way that there is scope for a predominant *Rasa*; incidents and descriptions irrelevant to the development of the main *Rasa* should be avoided and even the introduction of figures of speech and selection of the texture of the work should be in keeping with the *Rasa* delineated. In all such cases the propriety from the point

of view of the Rasa is the most important factor to be taken into account.

Another point stressed by Ānandavardhana is that the power for proper literary appreciation can be acquired only by a close study of classical works and constant practice. Since the most important core of the meaning of a poem is the emotional content which is suggested, it can be understood and appreciated only by Sahrdayas or men of sensibility, and not by all scholars and logicians, who may be able to get at the literal meaning through analytical study. Poetry does not give out its full charm to all and sundry, but only to the select few. The statement in the Rg Veda about the Goddess of speech seems to apply here. The Goddess of speech exposes her full charm and yields completely only to the deserving devotee, just as a loving wife to her husband. Bharata, who had to deal with the problems of the theatrical performances considered that a drama should please all types of people, not merely the specialists. Ānandavardhana, however, differs from this view and considers that literary taste has to be acquired through practice. Even among connoisseurs tastes differ: some themes like love stories and adventures may have a wider attraction than stories dealing with the quiet life of a recluse. The ideal Sahrdaya however, is one who can raise himself above his petty prejudices and personal predilections and appreciate things from the point of view of the poet.

The theory of poetic language developed by Ānandavardhana in ancient India contains many interesting observations which shed considerable light on some of the perennial problems of aesthetic appreciation confronting even modern writers and critics.

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*RUDRATA, AUTHOR OF THE KĀVYĀLAMKĀRA
AND THE ŚRĪNGĀRATILAKA

J. Venkatacharya

The R.A.S. mentions an author by the name of Rudraṭa three times. After I.290 Rudraṭa is mentioned once with a quotation from the Ś.T. The name is also mentioned twice in the context of a discussion on whether a *sādhāraṇastrī* (i.e. a *gaṇikā*) could be a *nāyikā* in a drama, *Nāṭaka* and the like.

In the *Kāvyaḷamkāra* of Rudrata we have the following: *sarvāṅganā tu veśyā saṃyag asau lipsate dhanam kāmāt, nirguṇaguṇinos tasyā na dvesyo na priyaḥ kaścit. gamyam nirūpya sā sphuṭam anuraktevābhīyujya rañjayati, ākr̥ṣṭasakalasāraṃ krameṇa niṣkāsayaty enam.* (XII.39 & 40)

Here the expression *anurakteva* conveys that a *gaṇikā* would not really have any love for the visitors, her main profession and interest being only making money, and more money. This further implies that the case where a person may really have love for the *gaṇikā*, because of its absence on her part, would be a case of one-sided *śr̥ṅgāra*. Only one of the two is the *ālabhanavibhāva*, and not both. This is what is described as a case of *ekatraivānurāga*, and one of the three types of *śr̥ṅgārābhāsa*, and not of the real *śr̥ṅgāra*. The *Rasakalikā* says:

ekatraivānurāgaś cet tiryahmlecchagato'pi vā, yoṣito bahusaktiś ced rasābhāsas tridhā mataḥ.

(page 45 in Madras Govt. Ori. MSS Library Transcript in my possession; this is also quoted in the *Pratāprudrīya*, p. 163, Bāla. ed. 1950)

*This paper has extracts from my Introduction to my edition of the *Rasārṇavasudhākara*. In the light of some new evidence the paper investigates the controversy about the identity and difference between the two.

In the same *Kāvyaḷamkāra* Rudraṭa says later on thus:

śṛṅgārābhāsaḥ sa tu yatra virakte'pi jāyate raktah, ekasminn aparo'sau nābhāṣyeṣu prayoktavyah. (XIV.36)

On this Namisādhu comments thus:

ābhāṣyeṣu = uttameṣu asau na prayoktavyah.

If a *Nāyaka* in a drama (who is an *uttamanāyaka*) is associated with a *gaṇikā* as *nāyikā*, it would then be counted as a case of *śṛṅgārābhāsa*. By the statement of *nābhāṣyeṣu prayoktavyah*, the presence of a *gaṇikā* as a *nāyikā* in a drama seems also to be prohibited by Rudraṭa of the *Kāvyaḷamkāra*. On the basis of this statement of the *K.Ā.* (it is not clear whether there was some other source also) some writers perhaps had made in general an express prohibition of the presence of *gaṇikā-nāyikā* in a *Rūpaka*. Dhanañjaya and Dhanika (it is not clear whether there were some earlier writers too) conveyed their disapproval of this view, and noted that even among the *gaṇikās*, some cases of real love (human nature) are definitely possible, because the real love is not precluded by their love for money. But the point to be noted, says the *DR*, is that in a drama other than a *Prahasana*, only a *raktā gaṇikā* could be a *nāyikā*, but not an *araktā*. In a *Prahasana* even an *araktā gaṇikā* could be a *nāyikā*, as her presence as such would contribute to the *hāsyarasa*. The *Daśarūpaka* has the following:

sādhāraṇastṛī gaṇikā kaḷāprāḡalbhyaḍhaurtyayuk, (II.21)

channakāmasukhārthājñāsvatantrāhamyupaṇḍakān, rakteva rañjayed āḍhyān niḡsvān mātrā vivāsayet. (II.22)

On this Dhanika comments thus:

. . . etān (channakāmādīn) bahuvittān rakteva rañjayed arthārtham. tat-pradhānatvāt tadvyṛteḥ.

The expression *arthārtham* of the *Avaloka* is explained by Bhaṭṭanṛsimha thus:

vastuto rāḡavirahe kāraṇam āha arthārtham iti. etc.

The *Daśarūpaka* states further thus:

raktaiva tv aprahasane, naiṣā divyanṛpāśraye. (II.23)

Here, again, Dhañika comments thus:

prahasanaavarjite prakaraṇādau raktaiva eṣā vidheyā. yathā mṛcchakaṭikāyām vasantasenā cārudattasya. prahasane tu araktāpi (vidheyā) hāsyaheturvāt. nāṭakādau tu divyanṛpanāyākāśraye naiva vidheyā.

On this Bhaṭṭanṛsiṃha has the following:

sūtrasthāprahasaneiti viśeṣaṇaṃ vivṛṇoti — prahasane tu araktāpīti. naiṣā divyanṛpāśraya iti śuddhadivye gaṇikā niṣiddhyate. tena divy-amartye vikramorvaśī-yādau gaṇikā bhavaty eva.

The statement of the *Daśarūpakāvaloka*:

prakaraṇādau raktaiva eṣā (gaṇikā) vidheyā

seems to be a rebuttal of the view which prohibited the presence of a *gaṇikā-nāyikā* in a *Rūpaka*. The author of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* (Ś.T.) Śāradātanaya, Siṅgabhūpāla, and Bahurūpamiśra have all followed the view of the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Avaloka*. Here, it is the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* which seems to have made clear the point and the intention conveyed in the concise statements by Bhaṇaṅjaya and Dhañika. The *Śṛṅgāratilaka* says:

sāmānyavanitā veśyā sā vittam param icchati, nirguṇe'pi na vidveṣo na rāgaḥ syād guṇiny api. (I.120) tatsvarūpam idaṃ proktaṃ kaiścit. . .

and then the criticism of this view is conveyed thus:

. . . brūmo vayaṃ punaḥ, balavatyānayā yuktyā tāsām apy anurāgitām. (I.121) śṛṅgārābhāsa eva syād yadi tā rāgavarjitāḥ, tad-vyāpāro'tha vā tāsām smarāḥ kiṃ bhakṣito bakaiḥ. (122) tasmāt tāsām api kvāpi rāgaḥ syāt . . . etc. . . .

anayā yuktyā (in I.121) means *vakṣyamāṇayā yuktyā*, which is given in I.122.

The view of those who did not permit the presence of a *gaṇikā-nāyikā* in a *Rūpaka* is presented in the lines quoted above (Ś.T.

in I.120 & 121), ending with the expression *proktaṃ kaiścit*, and it is the same view of these opponents, which is mentioned in the R.A.S. thus:

atra kecid āhuḥ:

*gaṇikāyā nānurāgo guṇavaty api nāyake, rasābhāsaprasaṅgaḥ syād ar-
aktāyās ca varṇane. ataś ca nāṭakādau tu varṇyā sā na bhaved iti.*

In these three halves Siṅgabhūpāla is presenting the view of the *pūrvapakṣin*, which seems to be the view of Rudraṭa of the *Kāvyaḷamkāra*. The same *pūrvapakṣa*-view was also presented by the author of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka* in his own words in the metric lines:

sāmānyavanitā veśyā sā vittam param icchati, etc.

After presenting the view of the *Kāvyaḷamkāra*, the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* has the following lines with *yathā cāhuḥ*:

*sāmānyavanitā veśyā sā dravyam param icchati, guṇahīne na ca devṣo
nānurāgo guṇiny api. śṛṅgārābhāsa etāsām na śṛṅgāraḥ kadācana,
(R.A.S. I.116)*

This is a repetition, and perhaps was intended to show simply that the *pūrvapakṣa* was also pointed out by an earlier writer. Some difference in the expressions found in the quotation seems to indicate that the reading known to Siṅgabhūpāla was probably different from the one now available in the printed edition of the Ś.T. Subsequently Siṅgabhūpāla says about the view of the *Kāvyaḷamkāra* thus:

*tanmataṃ nānumanute dhīmān śṛiṅgabhūpatiḥ, bhāvā-
nubandhābhāve ca nāyikātvaparāhateḥ. etc. . . . tasmāt
sādhāraṇastriṇām guṇasālini nāyake, bhāvānubandhaḥ syād eva rud-
raṭasyāpi bhāṣaṇāt. (I.116-119)*

These lines are given in support of the argument justifying the presence of a *gaṇikā-nāyikā* in a *Rūpaka*.

Coming to the matter on hand, the expressions *rudraṭasyāpi bhāṣaṇāt* and *tad āha rudraṭaḥ : iṛṣyākula-striṣu* etc. found in the R.A.S. are clear references to the author of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka*, of which the former is to his statement

tasmāt tāsām api kvāpi rāgaḥ syāt etc. (I.123)

and the second is the verse *irṣyākulastrīṣu* etc., which is a direct quotation of his verse I.128. In these references, the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* uses the expression *Rudraṭa* (the reading is clear in all the MSS, and in one place the metrical line shows this alone to be possible) and not *Rudrabhaṭṭa* which is known to be the name of the author of the *Ś.T.* and which is also the reading in some manuscripts of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka*. The expression *Rudraṭa* found in the *R.A.S.* has caused some confusion and controversy. (See P.V. Kane's *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1961, pp. 156 to 160, for a discussion on the controversy.) Some scholars thought that the author of the *Ś.T.* was *Rudraṭa* and that he was identical with *Rudraṭa*, the author of the *Kāvyaḷāmkāra*. Some argued for the difference of the two authors. I should like to note here what I have been able to gather on the question.

I have recently got a transcript of the *Rasakalikā*, which is attributed to *Rudrabhaṭṭa*, whose name is said to have been mentioned clearly in a Kannaḍa (Kanarese language) treatise on *Rasa*, the *Rasaratnākara* of *Sālva* (16th Century). See Prof. V. Raghavan's *The Number of Rasas*, Adyar, 1967, pp. 61-62.

The author of the *Rasakalikā* quotes (as seen on p. 13 in the Transcript) from *Padmagupta's Navasāhasāṅkacarita* the verse *citravartiny api* etc. (VI.42; this was also quoted by *Dhanika*) and also *Dhanika's* own verse *smaradavathunimittam* etc., which is given as such in the *Avaloka* as an example for *moṭṭāyita*. This shows that *Rudrabhaṭṭa* of the *Rasakalikā* was definitely later than *Dhanika*. It is not clear whether the author of the *Rasakalikā* was identical with the author of the *Śṛṅgāratilaka*. The doubt about the identity arises because of the occurrence of the verse *irṣyā kulastrīṣu* etc. in both the works, without any indication of its being a quotation from one or the other author. Even if they be different, one point deserves our attention. The *Śṛṅgāratilaka* says in the context of the division of the *vipralambha śṛṅgāra* thus:

keṣāṃ cit karuṇabhṛāntiḥ kāruṇyād iha jāyate etc. (II.99)

This was probably a criticism of the DR (IV.68) and the *Avaloka* of *Dhanika*, who do not accept the *Karuṇavipralambha* as a

śrngāra. Regarding the cases of the so-called *Karuṇavipralambha*, Dhanika says:

kādambarīyaṃ tu prathamam karuṇaḥ. ākāśasarsvatīvacanād ūrdhvaṃ pravāsaśrngāra eveti. (p. 240, my edition)

On the basis of this it would appear that the author of the *Ś.T.* was later than Dhanika. Whereas Rudraṭa, the author of the *Kāvyaḷamkāra* was definitely earlier than Dhanika (and others too) as Dhanika quotes the *Kāvyaḷamkāra* XII.4, and criticises it (DR page 203-204). This would mean that (in addition to the points noted by Prof. P.V. Kane, who did not mention about the point noted now) the author of the *Ś.T.* was different from Rudraṭa of the *Kāvyaḷamkāra*.

Regarding the name Rudraṭa used by Siṅgabhūpāla (instead of Rudrabhaṭṭa) referring to the author of the *Ś.T.*, it seems possible that the author was also known by that name, as some manuscripts of the work have it as Rudraṭa (see the last portion of the work, and the note in the Pischel's edition). Rudra, Rudraṭa and Rudrabhaṭṭa (the third came by the addition of Bhaṭṭa — meaning highly learned — to Rudra) might have referred to the same person. The identity of the name Rudraṭa need not mean the identity of the authors of the different periods. Regarding Rudra and Rudraṭa I may mention that slightly different expressions or regional variations in the names for a same person are not uncommon, particularly in India. Siṅgabhūpāla's father was known by the names of Anapota, Ananta and Anavota. For the point that the identity of the names does not prove the identity of the persons, we may also note that Mallinātha, the commentator on the *Amarakośa* is different from the well-known Mallinātha, the commentator of the *Kāvya*s. I therefore think that the two authors are different, even if the name Rudraṭa be the same, and this would give some answer to the confusion and the controversy caused by the word Rudraṭa found in the *R.A.S.* We may call the earlier one as *Kāvyaḷamkāra-Rudraṭa*, and the later one as *Kāvyaṛasa-Rudraṭa*.

ORAL POETRY OF THE SANTALS

Atindra Mojumder

The Santals belonging to the Muṇḍā speaking group of the Adivasis of India occupy a third place among the major tribes of India, with their habitat mainly in Santal Parganas in Bihar in India, and in some northern and eastern districts of Bangladesh. They number 3,247,058 in the 1971 census. They are a dark brown complexioned, predominantly dolichocephalic, mesorrhiny and short to medium statured people. Their language *Santali* belongs to the Munda family of languages belonging to the Austro-Asiatic sub-family. Santali has drawn upon modern Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi and Bengali. It is not, however, a written language and their traditional legends, songs, myths, etc., are orally handed down mostly in form of poetry so that they could be easily memorised.

The Santal Parganas in the State of Bihar form the largest political unit of this tribe. Each Pargana covers 50 to 100 villages depending perhaps on the size of the village and the population therein. A Santal feels most insulted if he is called a 'Deko-Hindu' "outsider-Hindu." His place of pride is zealously guarded by his cherished attributes namely language, gods, socially valid parentage, relationships with 'Boṅga's' (evil spirits), membership with clan, family and village, subject to the social authority vested at different levels of social organization, conformation to moves and ways dictated by tradition and finally the knowledge of their traditional lore. Conversion to Christianity or adoption of the Hindu faith do not cut away the Santals from the bundle of beliefs, customs, cultural traits and ways of life.

The Santals as we find from the records prepared in the later half of the 19th Century and in the earlier decades of the present century were peace loving people. In 1793 the British administration gave Bengal a "Permanent Settlement" which created a

new class of landlords after the English pattern. The Santals whose labour was required to cultivate the new estates were enticed by the promise of high wages or rent-free farms to leave their jungle homes where they enjoyed freedom and independence. Once they accepted service they were enslaved as agricultural serfs, or mercilessly exploited as tenants. The exploitation of the Hindu and Muslim landlords has been vividly expressed in the following song:

When the 'Deko' wants a horse
the Hor must pay.
When he desires a pālki (palanguin)
We have to pay and afterwards
bear him therein.
We must pay for the Deko's musicians
for his milch cows, for his pan.
Does someone die in his house?

He taxes the Hors,
Is a child born?
again a tax.
Is there a marriage or puja?
— again a tax.
Is the Tiḱādār found guilty at the Kutchery
and sentenced to be punished
— The Santals must pay the fine.
Is somebody dead in a Santal house
— The poor man must pay a fine.
Is a child born? Is a son or daughter married?
— The poor Santal must pay a tax"

The calculated exploitation by the money lenders, landlords, traders, etc., from the non-tribal areas eventually forced the Santals to revolt against them in 1855. The money lenders, landlords and other exploiters received plenty of support from petty officialdom which guided the British bosses. The leaders of the Santal rebels, the two brothers Sido and Kānhu, and their followers with their bows and arrows and axes attacked Hindu money lenders and landlords. British troops came to help the Hindus. The loss to the Santals was enormous; many died, many were widowed, many children were orphaned. Sido and Kānhu, the heroes and leaders were captured, tried, condemned and were hung. The following songs composed during those days and still sung by

them reveal the feelings of the Santals who were subjected to cruelty, subjugation and torture in those days:

- a) Sahib rule is trouble full
Shall we go or shall we stay?
Eating, drinking, clothing,
for everything we are troubled;
Shall we go or shall we stay?
- b) Sido, why are you bathed in blood?
Kānhu, why do you cry 'Hul', 'Hul'?
For our people we have bathed in blood
For the trader thieves
have robbed us of our land.
- c) On Sawālāk Hill
Dāto mājhi's daughter
Hanged herself from a mango tree
At Gopikander Bunglow
The Deputy sahib held his court
and tired us with questions.
- d) On this side Sāntbhui
On that side Sikarbhui,
Babu Nilu Singh
O Babu Nadu Singh, Jadu Jamadar;
We will not allow you to pass
through Sikarbhui, Babu Nilu Singh
O Babu Nadu Singh, Jadu Jamodar.

Since then the Santals have always resented free-mixing of their people with the Dekos. The following songs reveal that feeling:

- a) You stuff your mouth with betels
You look now to right and now to left.
Your 'Sāri' trails along the ground
You move about in the market place, Jhāri.
You sing songs in the language of the Hindus,
You do not feel you are abandoning us
You invite Hindu 'chokrās' with your smile
You will end up in the market
cawing like a market-crow, Jhāri —
You will never have a nest.
- b) While you dance and sing, Jhāri
The Dekos look at your breasts, your hips.
They do not listen to your songs,

They do not swing with the drum beats.
They look at your breasts, your hips, Jhāri,
Beware, Beware,
The tiger is after the deer.

II

Almost all of the Santal's oral poetry are composed during the numerous festivals they have throughout the year. Some of these are strictly religious and some are semi-religious in nature. During these festivals the Santals plunge into their primitive herd-life to worship their deities, to sing the advent of the agricultural season, to make merry over a bumper crop and to ward off by magic, the pests that hinder the sweet and even flow of their tribal life. These compositions are very short, rarely exceeding four or six lines, and are sung by the tribe accompanied by dance. The music is provided by flutes and drums known as 'mādal.' Some of the typical Santal festivals are: 'Erok Sim,' connected with the sowing of paddy seeds in June; 'Harihar Simko' when thanks are offered to the tribal gods in the month of August; 'Grāma Purnimā' another type of harvest festival observed on the full-moon of August when cows are fed with salt, mohua flowers, rice, the corrosive 'bhelā' fruit and 'muthā' grass; 'Karom parab,' observed in September-October when the males of the village go to the jungle after nightfall, cut a branch of 'karom' tree (*Adina cordifolia*), fix in the village lane or 'Kuhli' and the young people dance around it till morning after which the Karom branch is thrown into the river; 'Jānthār' festival in November when a goat or a pig or a ram is sacrificed before the village deity Parganāthan; 'Sohrāe' or bringing the winter harvest home — the biggest annual event of their tribal life; 'Mokor or Sakrāt Parob' held in mid-January when parched rice and molasses are offered to the dead ancestors; 'Bāhā,' held towards the end of February the 'Śāl-blossom season, an occasion for wholesale tribal rejoicing with sprinkling of water; and 'Pāṭā' held in mid-April, to honour their god Mahadeo. Some specimens are given below:

- a) Bāpu Ṭhākur, Jāher Erā, Mārāi Buru
Salute to you all:
Let the wind bring rains
and rain and rain and more rain,
Let diseases disappear

Cattle increase
hunting dogs protected

(Erok Sim)

- b) Green green everywhere
Trees are green leaves are green
Your sari is green Mainā.
Bullock goes to the village hut
a green parrot sits on its horns.
Bāpu Thākur wrapped in a green wrapper
goes to the village hut.

(Harihar Simko)

- c) Mother dear, Father dear
Make me happy by arranging my marriage.
If I am not married
Young men will not come to my house.

(Karam)

- d) Parganā bābā, Salute to you
Here are our offerings
eat bābā eat!
Eat bābā so that we may eat,
We may digest
Bless our crop in the field
and grains in the barn.

(Janthar)

- e) Thākur bābā you give gold to Hindus
You did not give any such thing to Santals
Give me Thakur, land and daughter,
They will turn into gold in my hand.

(Sohrāc)

- f) Parched rice in my hand
bundle of betel leaves.
The sun is down
The cows are kissed.
One kiss, another kiss
Two kisses to my cow,
The bullock fell down
at the weight of the kiss.
To whom shall I give rice
to whom shall I give betel leaves
to whom shall I give, my son,
Water, hay, fruits!

Move slowly my bullock
Move slowly dear one
I shall wash your horns with oil
put vermilion on them.

(Sohrae).

- g) Cows are returning at sunset
Buffaloes return at midnight
On which horn shall I apply 'sindur'.
On which horn shall I apply oil!
On whose back shall I place paddy
On whose back shall I place grass!

(Sohrāc).

- h) On the Pipul tree
The woodpecker is twittering
Under the Banyan tree
the 'guṛuṭ' is singing
Has the spring arrived?

The seasons have changed
'Sāl' blossoms on the tree
So the woodpecker twitters
So the 'guṛuṭ' babbles
Spring! Spring! Spring has come back!

(Bāhā).

III

Another type of poetry sung by Santals are popularly known as 'Bir Siren', "Forest songs". Some of them are the most vulgar songs imaginable couched in languages of gross vulgarism and accompanied by dances equally uncouth and ribald. As the name indicates many of these are not sung in the neighbourhood of human habitation but in forests during the hunting festival where women are not allowed to accompany.

The important point is that the vulgar forest verses are composed mostly by divorced women and they teach young girls these songs when they collect vegetables and twigs from jungles. The young men learn these songs from them. Some forest songs are good and can be presented in villages. Elderly married women do not sing sexy forest songs but half-elderly women of loose morals compose and sing these songs in the forest with young unmarried girls. The songs had probably some connection with vegetation magic at the earlier stages of their lives.

A sample out of the less objectionable ones is given below. The songs are mostly addressed to Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi, the mythical ancestors of the Santals, who though brother and sister, lived like husband and wife:

- a) Hai Hai Pilchu
Was there no girl in the country
that you corked the hole of your sister
and made her your wife!
Hai Hai Budhi, Budhi Ho,
Was there no man in the country
that you pressed your breasts on your brother's chest
and gently gently shook your waist!
- b) Under the bushes
Which two are struggling?
Budhi has caught his chest
Pilchu is holding her breasts
Pilchu and Budhi they rock together!
- c) At the river, by the side of the river
We have had each other
And are lying together,
Pilchu my lover is rubbing his eyes
O how shall I go out
with my husband lying on my clothes!

But forest songs which are not vulgar or obscene can be appreciated as love poems or love songs of the Santals many which rise to a rare poignancy of feeling. This is all the more surprising as the composers are almost invariably village bards without any pretension of learning. This brevity has lent additional charm to the poems in as much as poetic expression has been concentrated and controlled by the limitations of the medium. Some of the Santal love songs are given below:

- a) O my love
play your flute on the mountain
I will hear you at the spring.
If I leave my pot
the men will see me
If I stay away,
my lover will scold me.

- b) We promised yesterday
 We will go out when the moon is up.
 The moon had gone half way
 But, my love, I could not see you.
 It was the love of the milk tree,
 my love
 It was the love of the flowering tree.
 But still I was to come
 When the moon had gone halfway.
- c) I have become thirsty, my love,
 thirsty for water
 While cutting grass on the big mountain
 Take me, my love
 to the spring by the tamarind.
 In the spring by the tamarind,
 leeches are many, my darling!
 O my love, then
 take me to the spring by the mango.
 In the spring by the mango, my darling
 cowherd boys are playing
 Let us then go to Mainamati, my love,
 and quench my thirst with water
 from the silent pool.
- d) You in the upper village
 I in the lower
 My love, my love
 My heart is tied to you.
 Your father and brothers
 are standing with axes and arrows
 My love, my love
 You do not make my heart sad.
 With thick creepers
 the tree is hidden
 you have glued me to you
 like a bird trapped in lime.
- e) In the upper village
 a 'mahuā' tree formed her garland
 In the lower village
 A pipal made her necklace,
 Alas, my love, that when your body was swelling
 You went away and left me.
- f) Radiant is your body

Like a ripe mango
Two 'bel' fruits are resting
on your breasts
For whom are they, for whom?

This ripe mango, these 'bel' fruits
These are for you, for you my love!
This my sari, this white sheet
Where shall we spread my love!

g) A white blossom is in our courtyard
an 'ākār' plant in my lovers courtyard
How shall I get there, O how shall I?
I will pretend I went for flowers
and shall become an 'ākār' flower there.

h) Beside the headman's pond
Under the Karam tree
Which is that boy
With a turban like a basket?
Shall I break my pitcher
Shall I wave my hand
Who is that boy, sister-in-law
With a turban like a basket?

i) I am at midnight in the house
and you by the river
How shall I know you, my love?
Stand on the bank of the river
and sound your flute
and when I shall hear it,
I shall come my love!

III

Marriage is equally important in a Santal boy and girl's life. As free mixing of young unmarried boys and girls is encouraged and permitted in the Santal community, most marriages are love marriages. Songs are sung for days during a Santal's marriage to mark the preparation, actual marriage and parting of the bride from her parents' home. Some of these marriage songs are:

a) my mother on the stool
my father on the chair
How at ease they sit!
You are tired of rearing me, milk tree,
So stay as you are!

- b) With such a big pond, O my lotus
 Why have you come where the water flows away.
 come to the spider's country, O my lotus
 and the rain is drizzling down.
- c) The tank, the tank
 Who dug it like a sea?
 The chain of gold
 the ring of silver
 Who linked them to the sky?
- The tank, the tank
 The father dug it like a sea
 The chain of gold
 The ring of silver
 The mother linked them to the sky.
- d) O my 'ākār' flower
 They are taking you
 to an upper country
 They are tearing you away
 to a lower land
 Ākār flower, I shall never
 see you again, my darling!
 But our eyes will meet
 and meet again and again
 When you hold your mirror, my darling!
- e) In our courtyard
 is a sweet tamarind.
 Its branches are large
 Its flowers are white and large,
 Its fruits hang in clusters.
 Who will smell your flowers, tamarind,
 Who will taste your fruits!
 The dark shadow of yours in the eve
 Will remain lonely for ever!
- f) You are a drummer.
 I am a dancer
 Do not play your drum too loud.
 Your mother and father
 are standing by
 your juri
 is watching from a window.

In the Santal family joking relationship exists between sister-in-law and husband's younger brother. The relationship between

wife and her husband's younger brother is such that sexual intercourse between the two is permitted and tolerated. These are some poems which reveal the nature of the relationship.

- a) Cutting thatch on the big mountain
Sister-in-law I am thirsty for water,
Come to the canal by the plaintain
In the canal with the plaintain, brother-in-law.

There are many men there, sister-in-law
Take me to the spring with the tamarind.
To the spring with the tamarind
sister-in-law,
The elder brother went.
Come to the cowshed, brother-in-law,
At the back of the house,

- b) No, not here, not here
The birds in this jungle
Are singing from tree to tree.
Where shall we do it, brother-in-law?
We will go sister-in-law
into the bushes
Where not a bird will see.

- c) At the big river and the stony river
I am thirsty for water, brother-in-law,
I am a grown girl
I am not a youngster.
Brother-in-law,
Shake my body hard, harder!

Witchcraft is practised among Santals and if a woman is suspected of practising witchcraft, she is destined to receive severe punishment, even beaten to death. Witches can also cure some diseases, cure a person suffering from snake-bite or possessed by spirits. Here are two charms:

- a) I have cut the plantain grove
I have taken off my clothes
I have learnt from my mother-in-law
How to eat my husband
On the hills the wind blows
I have cut the thatching grass
I have grown weary
Weary of eating rice.

- b) The weapons are ready
the axe glitters
over the smooth verandah
The wasps are swarming
O Bagru leave us
Kill the young servants
Kill the girls, the boys.

IV

The Santals have a great love of music and dance. The following verses indicate the feelings of the Santal girls and boys when a preparation for dance and music is made.

- a) Songs are going on over the fence
Music played beyond the courtyard.
How can I attend now
how can i go out.
- My bracelets are tinkling
My anklets are jingling.
How can I attend now
how can I go out.
- Father-in-law is in the house
Mother-in-law at the door
How can I attend now
how can I go out.
- Lamp is burning in the room
A cord of hair is fastened to the door.
How can I attend now
How can I go out.
- b) Music in Lugu hills
Ding dong ding dong ringing the bells,
Why is music going on now
Why are bells ringing now?
Boys gather, girls come out,
jingle jingle rings the anklet,
Ding dong ding dong goes the bell.
- c) I clasped the pitcher with my arms
the pumpkin ladle to fetch water.
The flute then sang the madol spoke
I dropped the pitcher pumpkin ladle
the river swelled within me.

- d) Do not play the flute, my love
Do not tap the mādol, dear,
The father is awake so is mother
The room is locked so am I.

V

The following verses depict the different stages of Santal life and various aspects of their everyday life:

- a) **Youth:**
- (i) Water of the spring on the mountain
Drink water from the spring
Do not make it muddy.
Milk flowers at the corner plot
pluck the flowers, put on your hair,
Never break the branches dear.
 - (ii) Gay saris over skirts
to and fro move together
Locks of hair under the turban
to and fro move together.
- b) **Unmarried State:**
- (i) You talk about parched rice
But cooked rice is the real food.
You talk about love for parents, mother,
but husband is the real love.
 - (ii) Clouds gather in the distant sky
Black clouds are rising up.
Father and mother sleeping tight
Not even a dark son-in-law for them!
 - (iii) With hairs parted combed with care
swinging body, tight thighs,
I plaster the courtyard with cowdung water
For whom! for whom! my mother.
- c) **Desire to marry:**
- (i) There is a darling young parrot mother
singing at the hills of Ghāṭsilā.
Allow me mother to bring the parrot
and put her in my little cage.
We do not have grains, son

Nor do we have a dove cot.
Let the parrot fly away
to the hills of Ghāṭsilā.

Grains shall I grow mother,
Dove cot shall I build soon.
Let me bring my darling parrot
From the hills of Ghāṭsilā.

d)

Nature:

- (i) How does mohuā gather oil within
How does mohuā gather honey?
How does the man's face gather bristles
How does my face remain smooth?
- (ii) The 'ākār' tree in our yard
dressed in white blossom.
We sweep the yard day and night
still the flowers drop on the ground.

I took the flowers with my hands cupped
The smell went into my mind.
My mind was filled with joy and happiness
My mind became a flower.
- (iii) Tigers growl on low mountains
Summer days are near
Tigers growl on high mountains
Rains are here are here.
- (iv) Cuckoo sings on the Pipul tree
Spring is here is here.
Cuckoo sleeps in the pipul tree
Summer is here is here.
Frogs croak on the tank below
Rain is near is near.

e)

Divorce and co-wife:

- (i) Yes, yes give me up
Father and mother will be pleased.
Again I will have a new husband
You will have a new wife.
But before you drive me out
give me back my maiden mind.
- (ii) When I was a young cowherd
I used to play flute there.
Now my mother bought me a wife
With a face of ant-hill, dear.

Since then my flute is dumb
and my ear unable to hear.

- (iii) On the marriage night you said
You would love me for ten years
Remember me for twenty years.
Where are those ten years gone?
Where are those twenty years?

f)

Death:

- (i) Elder sister, they have put my love
on the funeral pyre.
It is burning all around
Where will he get water?
It burnt and burnt all day
in the evening it went down.
He still cries for water, sister,
Will he get it at midnight?
- (ii) Eat drink and make yourself merry
This body this lump of earth
Will not last longer.
Life slides along this path
Like water on a 'ārum' leaf.
- (iii) In this world
within the lump of clay
life clings and laughs
Nobody knows when it will vanish
nobody knows where it will vanish.

LITERATURE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY —
ITS IMPLICATIONS IN PAKISTAN

Hakim Mohammed Said

This earthly sphere has many varied and distinct geographical divisions, bound by natural barriers. The boundaries have, however, not stayed permanent; ravages of time, weathering, dislocation of land masses, change of rivers' courses and even political upheavals or calamitous war have joined in the efforts to bring in changes of sorts, some time in a big leap, or often recurrently. But despite all these variations, peoples and nations of each part have lived through and retained their own distinguishing characteristics, except by misfortune or Nature's discretion, a few of them have vanished altogether, and even history has not any record of a number of them.

The process of Nature goes on and on for thousands of years; new set of lives are being heralded and the old ones joining the dust. How long will this earth keep on, one does not know. But in every phase of the past, even distinct races and peoples have always had their human similarities and common grounds of existence, and there have always been links and contacts between them at some stage, when each have influenced the other. Nature gave them religious and moral codes and their ideologies gave birth to many a revolution. Every day that passes by tells of the generative continuance in the process, and its projection always presages homogenisation.

Despite this perspective, geographical segregations, geo-physical ups and downs and associated factors, and the natural barriers have played their part in inducing differentiations of colour and race which gave rise to the concept of nationhood and the nation states. Perpetuation of remoteness and disparities among the good peoples of the globe have thus been chiefly the outcome of their variegated concepts of life which moulded their temper-

aments, outlooks, and attitudes. Human beings tend to group together in communities and societies, each with its distinct characteristics of economic efforts, customs and traditions, which later develop into a civilised pattern of living. Beliefs are then established and religious and moral codes are born as a natural necessity.

The trend to influence, among nations and states, has not always been dictated by beliefs. Religions have played a significant role though, in a number of such cases, and their moulding force cannot, therefore, be ignored. But equally noteworthy are the parts played by strength of numbers, intellectual substantiation, moral justifications, and geographical circumstances in supporting the implement of influence.

Even so it has always been the subject of thought and argument why a particular nation is inspired to subdue another. We cannot close the argument by merely stating that eating of small fish by big fish is a process of natural selection or that power always subdues the weak. Nor should we remain under any misconception that one nation is compelled to subdue another because of its adverse circumstances which incites it to achieve betterment and prosperity through the exercise of force and strength. But human history and the annals of the rise and decline of nations do give evidence that the conqueror kept the vanquished always under loss, deprived him of his wealth and resources in order to utilise them for his own needs in disregard to the loser's title.

However, if we decide not to give credence to such psychological and economic probings and instead pass a verdict that every disturbance, differentiation, or unsettlement in human living is caused because one human being does not regard and respect the other, we shall undoubtedly reach a point, and after converging on this point of agreement, not one of us shall have any difficulty in finding the route of that cherished goal of lasting peace in this world. Although by merely adopting this *modus operandi*, the end may still be far off for eliminating national differentiations, or the desire of one to bring the other under his sphere of influence may wane, yet a bridge would certainly rise to cross safely over the spate of war and tumult, in the way illustrated by Islam.

If we conceive of power as a function of force and accept its suzerainty, then it will always be that one bigger power will need to be given due acknowledgement, whenever a battle for hege-

mony between the two ensues on the proving grounds. Ultimately, acknowledgement will be due to a power whose immense force and energy rules supreme over the universe, this earth, and the skies — a task which none of us can fulfil. That power is limitless, whether we go to the moon, or Mercury, or any other celestial body, to encounter it.

This unseen power is accepted in faith by a large percentage of this earth's people, Muslims being one-fifth of them. Since the remaining population of the world is divided into various sections of beliefs, each with a different approach, most of them not having absolute faith on an unseen power, this one-fifth population is a majority group in such faith. They are called Muslims and they hold a characteristic concept of their own on life, covering all its economic, social, cultural, and civilized aspects and requirements. They have expressed their views, on these aspects, through belief and faith, and have striven to propagate them through very extensively produced literature, an example rare to find. The testament of their faith and belief is the Holy Qur'an which confers unity irrespective of barriers, political, social, racial or linguistic, and puts the stamp of a distinctive identity among the peoples of the world. I do feel obliged to state that even though a large sector of this world has not directly come under the sphere of guidance of the Qur'an, there is hardly a culture area of civilization where the influence of its reformative message has not activated progressive trends and movements, or even accomplished revolutionary transformations.

We have assembled here to discuss on literature, and the topic, I am to elaborate on, concerns the effects literature has induced in the shaping of national identity in Pakistan. But in our particular set of circumstances it would render the discourse incomplete without touching on the literary aspect of the Qur'an and its incorporating element in the fibre of our literature.

Revelational Literature

Aside from the countless virtuous qualities found in the Qur'an, it has also the distinction of being a unique piece of literature, and among the best literary masterpieces of the world. It has a style non-occurrent in any other book, and very peculiarly its own. We can term this rare style as heavenly or revelational. The most novel feature of Qur'anic literature is that the speaker is God and the contents are the word of God, but the style of car-

riage is exemplary and unmatched, in context of human standards and performance. The words and phrases are chosen from the texts of daily usage and cognizable environments. The elements of eloquence and fluency of speech are the same as available in human literature. But when put together in a superb heavenly style, the masterpiece has a singular individuality entirely its own.

Qur'anic literature though it appeals to common sense through reasoning, yet nowhere has there been ignored the importance of the moving force of emotions. Plain mental acceptance leads to lifeless philosophising and fossilised idealism. To transform into practical human activation and to induce historical renaissance the dynamism of emotion is imperative. Mind and emotion are the two prime constituents which, through ideal blending, adopt a form of moving force which can be termed as faith.

In the Qur'an are found spread out the tear-inducing, wonder-striking, amazement-producing, fear-instilling, consoling, faith-infusing, zeal-inciting, challenge-meeting, fight-activating, sacrifice-orienting granaries of phrases which affect every aspect of human sentiment and seep life into every dormant corner of human psychology. Emotions and inherent activities move under the impact of this book's study and gather and assemble around a single purposeful ideal. Qur'an, in fact, activates the whole human, his consciousness, his enthusiasm, his religious inclinations, and his moral predilections. There is not another book in the world which can profess to be a parallel of this literary wonder. The book has a striking characteristic that it shepherds the reader closer to God, and God closer to him.

Pakistan being an Islamic state, it may, therefore, be pertinent to study its literature in such a perspective. But before we do so, it would be pertinent to examine, broadly speaking, the functions of literature and apply them in a specific sense to the theme in question.

Literature is any kind of composition in prose or verse which not only gives pleasure through some use of the inventive imagination in the employment of words, but teaches one to think. It delights and teaches by appealing both to the sensuous and moral side of man.

In the tremendous drama of human evolution, literature in its earliest forms has played a significant role in forming character, clothing with courage and inspiring virtue. From recorded history

we find the Greeks, the Romans, the Vikings, Teutons and Celts, the Aryans and the Arabs recounting the stories of the valour and achievements of their heroes. Who has not heard of Hector and Achilles, Romulus, of Thor and Wodin, Balder the beautiful, of Arthur and Tristram, of the mighty Pandava brothers, and Sohrab and Rustum? Each race subscribed to its own epics and drama, tales and legends which sprang deep from the heart and mind of a people bound by the same dreams and ambitions, importuned by the same questions of right and wrong, choice and justice. The past repeats itself. We are now living through one of the remarkable and demanding periods in human history. It is exciting because human society is going through a critical change of a kind, it is demanding because human society is more self-conscious than before; it is constantly looking at itself in the mirror of self-analysis, poking at its psyches and concerned with itself. It needs to see itself. How else to see itself than in the arts, in literature? Because literature is strongly linked to the spirit of the time and the national spirit, mirroring the good and the bad, the drama and passions of the community which produces it. The age-old questions of right and wrong, choice and justice still endure.

Literature has always had enormous political impact. The 15th century Chinese novel, later translated by Pearl Buck as "All Men Are Brothers," Anton Chekov's "Ward No.6," the novels of Charles Dickens, exposing the social stench of Victorian England, the satires of Jonathan Swift or Victor Hugo, the polemical novel of Harriet Beecher Stowe on early nineteenth century slavery, all triggered off rumbles that culminated in movements or revolutions. Makers of literature are thus forever creating and stimulating, teaching and correcting and through their didactic roles creating a new order or giving a new impetus. We should be keenly appreciative of the role of original, creative individuals in the development and progressive reconstruction of the life of a nation.

The modern age is characterised by territorial patriotism and racial fanaticism which are accepted as integrating forces in the life of a people. Literature emphasises that it is not racial or geographical unity — mere accidents of time and space — that should be constituted as the basis of a people's cohesiveness or identity. But it is unity of emotions and outlook, of purposes and endeavour, a merging of individual selves in the service of great,

co-operative ideals and objectives which bind together a collection of individuals and communities into a nation and confer on them a distinctive national identity.

In other words, national identity can be secured when the people feed on and draw inspiration from their cultural heritage, typified by literature, arts, architecture and science. The continuity of the cultural life of the community, therefore, demands on the part of the individuals, a critical appreciation of, and an unwavering adherence to the highest of its cultural values and traditions. This is what literature teaches: to develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their own being.

The Place of Literature in Pakistan's Culture

The weaker aspect of Pakistan's culture is its economic insufficiency and the resultant low rate of literacy among the masses. Educated cadres form a small percentage, and among these the group, with literary tastes, is still smaller. A few of them restrict their field of scholarship to religious, cultural and moral studies only. Some others associate the subject of their studies to their occupations, dealing with political or economic issues. A large section consists of the less educated ones who satisfy their urge with low quality novels, film stories, scandals and romances, and frivolous journals and newspapers which serve as their pastime. A "Digest Literature" has taken roots in Pakistan which is fed plentifully with foreign crime and punishment stories, sex scandals, pervert journalism, immoral writings, and sadistic material. And for the illiterate there is the "Radio and Television Literature", — the audio-visual agents — sufficiently equipped with foreign as well as local film material and video tapes to extend the frontiers of the "Digest Literature" and the effective area of their psychological impact. These contaminants are very adversely affecting the trends of intellectual growth and development.

Every link and relationship brought through civilization between man and man, needs to be consolidated, retained, and preserved and this is possible only through the means of expression. If humanity gets deprived of the facility of expression, the reasoning faculty, power of speech, auditory attentiveness, and discretionary capability, all the societal brickwork would collapse instantly. Whatever difficult quagmires of misunderstanding have been gotten rid of up till now through the agency of expression,

and the hundreds of streams of goodwill made to flow from our hearts are all accomplishments of the lofty pen.

It was only this implement through which a human intellectual reaction could gain the facility to be broadcast to others. Initially the reactions are simple, but when they develop further, deeper, more complicated, and more compounded, literature flowers into its multi-prolific forms, and newer words, newer modes of usage, similes, metaphors, and phrases are coined and expressions styled. Further onwards literature takes upon itself the task of communicating life's expansive social and cultural encounters, and makes use of the fibre of imagination and ingenuity, to weave the fabric of story and incident in which the participants are facsimiles, reproduced from the living culture.

Literature thus becomes an instrument to record the intricacies of human intellectual reaction and to gauge the extent of life's multi-functions, as well as a media for a raised plane of communication.

And literature also becomes a support for expressing the state of uneasiness which encompasses a people of period. Man has, to a large extent, been uneasy always, facing some encounter or the other. His body is constantly under the stress and strains of various forces, and geographic and seasonal variations and intensities. On the one side are his physical necessities and natural desires and on the other the environment of economic antagonism. Then there are his beliefs and moral concepts always subjected to reckless grinding under a societal mill. These never-ending tussles and encounters whirl up his emotions and lead to a state of uneasiness and pain. His soul is filled with their quaking impact, and a stage reaches when the molten preoccupation seeks intellectual eruption. It is then literature only which paves the way and brings to view the countless bitter aspects of life. These flowing waves of literature are often encouraging, and sometimes despondent; frequently preparing man for revolutionary encounters, and occasionally to retreat from challenge. If these waves were not to ensue from the instrument of literature, man would become choked and suffocated within his own mental enclosures.

In my modest view the soul of literary concept is love of mankind. In fact, literature is not a personal act, but more a collective action and a social performance. It has two interdependents, one, the writer and the other, his social participant, the reader. One is

the donor and the other the acceptor. Both are indispensable for the establishment of their potential intellectual difference and only then the ensuing flow of literature becomes possible. For the same reason of indispensability, literature should not be self-oriented but should be considerate of the other's participation, and his amelioration. This should then tend to convert his performance into a form of dutiful obligation. An author's literary action should thus be to serve the acceptors. Whether they are of the present or of the future, national or transnational, they all fall within the perimeters of his human responsibility, and their betterment and welfare are rightly his homosapient purpose. The writer, while entrusting his thoughts and reactions to others, should, therefore, not lose sight of the duty-bound-fact that he is involving himself in improving the social, intellectual and moral fibre of his co-socials. He has to be alertly cautious that his tools do not lead them to flamboyancy and intellectual recession.

The constructive spirited literature inevitably builds up minor noble feelings into major virtuous pursuits, feeble humanistic emotions into enlarged civilized accomplishments, paltry meliorist purpose into positive purposefulness, strong human morality to combat beastly immoral trends, sober intellectual consciousness to detract from ostentatious body worship, and expands the restricted parameters of societal insight to extensive intellectual dimensions. Such a role is one truly worthy of true literature.

If the trend of thinking on literatures keeps these aspects in view, the writer's pen would never wander astray. His pen becomes then an implement of cautious abstinence, and a heavy responsibility. Abstinence implies that he is guarded by inhibition, to reflect that whatever his mind conceives may not all be worthy of conveyance to others, he may, therefore, pick only those flowering blossoms from his intellectual green house, whose fragrant objectivity could invigorate and help thrive the humanistic growth and progress of the soul.

I have given these few points on literature, as they would facilitate in understanding the central theme of the article and my own way of looking at the subject, and to enable me to express more clearly on literature in Pakistan, and its influence on national identity.

Now let us turn the pages of history and see how literature is the contributory cause and effect of Pakistan's national identity.

The social values of Islam, as given in the finest book of literature, viz. the Holy Qur'an, constitute the strongest bulwark against the rising tide of racialism and nationalism, and provide, in their essence the greatest guarantee and hope of a society based on the principles of equality, social justice and human brotherhood. Small wonder then that the Muslims of the sub-continent should be filled with the vision of a "new world", of the emergence of Muslims as a separate political force, in a separate homeland comprising the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, amalgamated into a single state called Pakistan.

Although Pakistan is composed of four provinces, each having its own traditions, customs, literature and culture, yet the strands of this diversity are woven into one unity called Pakistan, having one language as its national language viz., 'Urdu', which is a lingua franca, spoken by one-fifth of the world's population. Therefore, the Urdu literature, comprising prose, poetry and drama, has at its core the spirit of Islamic ideology which had given birth to Pakistan.

Urdu, which entered as a new word into the vocabulary of several languages, actually had its genesis in the Tartar language. It meant "royal encampment". When the Mongols and Tartars were absorbed into the texture of Muslim culture, among the other legacies they handed down to posterity was the word 'Urdu' which originally meaning the 'royal encampment', gradually passed on to the language spoken in the camp. But the Urdu language is much older than the name by which it was known. Its origin has been the subject of many discussions and controversies. But whatever the claims and controversies, its real origin is in the will of the Muslims of the Pak-Indo sub-continent to create a language, which conveyed in the native idiom the tradition of their common Persian culture and Arabic heritage. While in the Deccan, Gujrat, Delhi and Lucknow, Urdu developed under the patronage of decadent courts as the romantic language, in the provinces that now constitute Pakistan, the Urdu language became the means of expressing the intellectual ideas of the people. The common tradition was preserved and communication with others was held in an idiom which was not merely a dialect, but one which became highly developed and was shared by people in other parts of the sub-continent.

The earliest literary remains in Urdu were the lost Hindustani verses of Masood Sa'ad Salman, whose poems full of longing for the lovely city of Lahore, are in a sense perhaps the first patriotic songs of Pakistan. Then two centuries later came Amir Khusrau, poet, wit and musician, who wrote fine Persian poetry and experimented with Urdu verse. Like most languages of the world, Urdu poetry preceded prose with a vital force in literature. Perhaps it is because the passion of expressing and interpreting one's thoughts in a rhythmic way is natural human longing, or because feeling always precedes reasoning, because poetry is emotion recollected in tranquility. Almost all the Holy Books of the world have a poetical or versified touch.

It has been claimed that early Urdu and Punjabi have much in common. But the dialect most akin to Urdu is Multani or Southern Punjabi. In this dialect of Multan, the Kafees or religious poems of Farid, the saint, are almost half-Urdu. The tradition of Urdu verse in the Punjab continued through the centuries through poets like Sheikh Osman, Sheikh Junaid, Nasir Ali Sirhindi and Waris Shah.

In the Deccan, Urdu was adopted and developed. The first prose work in Urdu was written by a saint of the Deccan, Khwaja Banda Nawaz at the end of the fourteenth century. Vusvati, Sultan Mohammad Quli Qutub Shah, Vajhi, Vali and others flashed across the firmament, each one enriching the content of Urdu prose and poetry.

The forces that assailed Delhi during the last days of the Mughal empire failed to subdue the development of Urdu and the best Urdu literature continued to be studied and written. The poet Mir and his contemporary Sauda, the saintly Sufi, Dard, Musaffi, Insha, Atish and others rose to heights of genius. It is perhaps, the effect of Persian poetry, from which the Urdu language, in the beginning, had borrowed not only the vocabulary, but also the trends, styles and imagery. Under this influence, the poet believed that poetry or literature exists only to please or lighten the burden of man's life to make him for a short while, forget his sorrows or his disappointed hopes.

During the middle period of Urdu literature, there were 3 chief forms called *Ghazal*, *Qasida* and *Marsiya*. The word 'ghazal' literally means 'conversation with womenfolk' and was mostly lyrical in form celebrating themes of love, ethics or metaphysics, satire or politics. The second form '*Qasida*', literally means 'eu-

logy', often written in praise of royal or high-ranking personalities. The third form 'Marsiya' literally means 'elegy' or 'funeral ode'.

The supreme poet of this period was Mirza Asadullah Ghalib whose poetry was characterised by an elaborate symbolism. In his fusion of thought and feeling, he resembles the English poet, John Donne, and he influenced all Urdu poets who followed him. The upheaval of 1857 was a sad time for the Indian Muslims who faced annihilation or absorption into a conquering civilization. The age that followed was a struggle for revival, of adjustment and re-adjustment, criticism and acceptance of which the main vehicle was prose, but which also changed the main current of verse. The leader of the Muslim struggle for survival and resurgence, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, used prose to forge a clear-cut, direct, simple, racy style of expression. Until then, Urdu prose was highly ornate and euphuistic. But with the advent of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, a matter-of-fact style was developed to introduce Western intellectual thought and science into Urdu. He wrote on a variety of subjects — archaeology, theology, ethics, philosophy, education and numerous political questions and thus laid the foundations of modern Urdu journalism. Through the writings of Maulana Shibli, Nazir Ahmad, Munshi Zakauallah, Maulvi Chiragh Ali and others, historical and academic scholarship and literary criticism came into its own. But by far the most distinguished man of Sir Syed's time was the saintly poet, Hali, "the founder of the New School of Poetry, and indeed the greatest name in modern Urdu literature." He took a leading part in preparing the ground, through his poetry, for the great reforms initiated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. His famous poem, "Musaddas-i-Hali" or the "Flow and Ebb of Islam," had a great share in awakening the Muslim masses. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's gift to posterity was inestimable. He gave the Indian Muslims a new prose, a new approach to their individual and national problems, rallied together the Indian Muslims and became the first prophet of their new nationhood.

By the end of the second decade of the twentieth century, two conflicting trends were visible in the intellectual life of the Muslims. One was the modernist liberal movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to enable the Muslims to adjust themselves to the political, intellectual and spiritual atmosphere generated by the West. The other was led by Shibli, Abul Kalam Azad, Akbar

of Allahabad and the Ulema of Deoband which was more conservative, adhering to the old values and institutions and resisting the inroads of western thought. Soon there arose one man who being influenced by both, triumphantly synthesised the two schools of thought. He is Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal born at Sialkot in 1877 and died in 1938. Having made a comparative study of the philosophies of the East and West, it led him to a reassessment and reorientation of his former sense of values. In the beginning he had written mainly lyrical and patriotic, but he soon began to use his verse for more mature thought. The two Mathnavis, the 'Asrar-i-Khudi,' and the 'Rumuz-i-Bekhudi,' contain his philosophy that life is a 'forward, assimilative movement,' that it should not be passive or inactive, but should enrich living and strengthen the national life. Apart from the two Mathnavis, Iqbal's book "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam" presented Islam as a dynamic rather than a static religion, a liberal rather than a reactionary force. The vision of a 'new world' for the Muslims of the sub-continent was projected by Iqbal when he emphasised that the future of Muslims, with their distinct cultural and spiritual urges, lay in a separate homeland, in the 1930 Session of the Muslim League at Allahabad. He was first to see the vision of Pakistan. The role he played in promoting intellectual revolution among the Muslims culminating in their emergence as a separate political force, became his most valuable contribution in getting a distinct identity to the Muslim cause. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Founder of Pakistan, said of him: "Iqbal . . . was the bugler of Muslim thought and culture. He was the singer of the finest poetry in the world. He will live as long as Islam will live. His notable poetry represents the true aspirations of the Muslims. It will remain an inspiration for us and for generations after us."

During Iqbal's life, traditional Urdu literature was following its course. The novel developed in the hands of Sarshar and Sharar, reaching its peak in the hands of Prem Chand. The short story as the vehicle of fiction, utilized by Ahmad Ali and Saadat Hasan Manto are most popular today.

Literary criticism and academic scholarship flowered in the hands of Moulvi Abdul Haq and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. Poetry split into two styles — the Ghazal and the Nazm. Ghazal followed the old tradition and for Fani, Hasrat and Jigar Morada-

badi, it is the supreme tool for writing on themes ranging from the purely lyrical to sociological themes.

Nazm means poem and includes almost every other variety of verse. There was a number of poets who wrote fiery poems on Pan-Islamic themes. Josh Malihabadi, Akhtar Sherani, N.M. Rashed, and Faiz Ahmad Faiz have statement and imagery which proclaim them to be more contemporary than traditional.

The old order changes, yielding place to new. The large number of poets in Pakistan adhere purely to Islamic ideology and their thought is appreciated by the modernists and conservatives alike. They seldom write Ghazals as has been described earlier. They write long poems or 4-line Rubais (quatrains) on variegated subjects which stimulate the intellect. Among such poets is Hafiz Jullundhari who had earlier composed the national anthem of Pakistan which attains rare lyrical beauty and patriotic fervour. His Shahnamah-e-Islam (Chronicles of Islam) gives him a permanent place in classical Urdu poetry and in the history of Pakistan. Other Islam-oriented poets such as Mahirul Qadri, Naim Siddiqui, Asad Multani, Tabish Dehlavi and others perform social and religious service.

I have been talking so far of the main current of Urdu literature. Literature in Urdu besides the regional literature has come from the provinces comprising Pakistan. The Urdu poetry of Sind can be divided into three epochs. Sheikh Ward Yawar, Syed Haideruddin Kamil and Mir Hafizuddin Ali wrote in the first epoch. Mir Ali Sher Qane and Syed Sabit Ali Shah are of the second epoch, which included also Sachal Sarmast, who after Shah Abdul Latif Bhit, is the most respected saint-poet of Sind. The third epoch merges into the mainstream of Urdu literature. The North-West Frontier Province has also contributed to the mainstream of Urdu literature. The Urdu Ghazals of Rahman Baba and Khushal Khan Khattak are still sung with pride today. The 'Diwan' of Qasim Ali Afridi (1820) is an improvement on the language and sentiment. By this time, Urdu writing in the Frontier region, had become a part of the general Muslim cultural unity of the sub-continent. Urdu poetry became fashionable and a group of poets appeared, who have contributed richly to the literary heritage.

At present there is a more dynamic group of poets who have brought a new life and robustness to the Urdu literature of their province and include Zia Jaffery, Raza Hamadani, Mazhar Gilani

and Khatir Ghaznavi. My study would not be complete unless I present an analysis of the effects of foreign literature on Pakistan's literature and society.

Effects of foreign literature on Pakistan's literature & society

I would first refer to the noble literature, which led to positive effects. If one surveys the course of the past hundred years it would come to light that its first half was a period of the spread of British literature. In the third quarter, French, Russian and Chinese gained ascendancy. And the fourth quarter witnessed the predominance of American. From the British our literature derived positive impacts. Both from the aspects of form and content, the *Nazm*, *Sonnet*, and *Geet* in their non-Hindi forms, evolved from British forms. Romantic verse, blank verse, prose verse, and most significant of all, story writing, rose and furbished under the influence of the foreign literature, progressed to such a level that now story-writing in Urdu can be tested on the standards of many foreign countries advanced in literary attainment. Drama also adapted its form. Our beginning commenced from Inder Sabha which was wholly in verse form. Then under the influence of western drama, there was a period of rhythmic prose-drama growth, which finally took the shape of full prose. In regard to contents, British literary substance produced favourable effects because its classical forms portrayed and preserved higher values. If there was a detraction from the contents in our adapted substance, it was not fault oriented because our translators were adept at not only translating, but also moulding the substance into our own social forms and patterns. In the second quarter of the present century, the new literary trend or in other words the progressive literature rose. It had two facets; one was literature for the sake of purpose and the other was factual writing. The former element was a diffusion from the Russian while the latter was an impact from the existentialist and associated French and Italian production. The former persuaded the growth of class struggle, and the latter made factual writing excessively plain and uninhibited. For instance, sex was undressed and prosaically factualised. Even homosexual topics were not left out in some writings. There were protests against these trends, but matters did not reach a head, because references were provided from the fifth chapter

of "Gulistan," and a few portions of the Mathnavi of Maulana Rumi were cited for support.

In the third quarter of the present century, partly from the infusion of Soviet and partly, or largely, from the bulk dumping of American literature, our own gained a new vicious mould. Progressive literature trends turned round the corner from literature for sake of purpose to literature for sake of revolution (Communist revolution), and in literary writings a curtain of non-materialist separation began by avoiding mention of Islamic guidelines and spiritual values; which later became a fashion of the time. Then the unbridled popular literary material hit the bulwark of moral values like a storm, and we came still afar from our goal of attainment.

Nevertheless, if it was only the moral values' erosion there could be a defense barricade to check it to a fair extent. But the last few years of the technotronic civilization in Western Europe and America, the state of suspended fear of atomic war and a sense of insecurity has produced a new culture trend, the Hippy Culture, in its multifarious forms. While it influenced and prompted a large section of the population towards purposeless pointless pursuits out of disgust from life, literature too did not escape from its influence. Even some of the noteworthy Pakistan journals reflect this uncertainty and rebellion.

What do they portray — only that our life is pointless; we were brought into this world unnecessarily; we have no utility, no companions, no relationships; we are each lost in an ocean of anonymity, and one does not know what one's self is: our bodies, our statures, our personalities have all disintegrated within us; we have no route to follow, no goal to accomplish, and no purpose to fulfil.

That is the literary posture of today's permissive breed and God knows where it will lead us to.

Talking about popular literature, one can say that the digest journals do have good material often. There is also such material whose interest provoking aspects could not be denied. But the theme is purposeless and purely hedonistic. We began emulating Reader's Digest, and then left off its good points totally. Now the trends of permissiveness, from Western extraction are thriving lucratively. Permissiveness is like uninhibited indulgence in social conduct. It implies that moral values are of no significance. Only that kind of indulgence is to be acknowledged which provides

unrestricted pleasure and physical joy. Sin and virtue are meaningless restraints. Sex urge takes precedence over all other emotional currents, as it holds the reigns of human behaviour. In Pakistan also quite a number of journals and newspapers flourish which have blatantly broken the ramparts of moral values. Standards of decency and morality have been openly assaulted by the floods of pornographic literature that have swamped the country.

It is being said often that we are moving closer towards socialism. But it is worthy of note that in countries where true socialism is operative, moral values are placed on a high pedestal of distinction in literary and social pursuits. In Pakistan although the intentional impulse is for socialism, yet the morality standards of true socialism are being completely ignored.

I am not aware that if our direction is really towards socialism, does it imply a retreat from Islam — the religion which led to the establishment of Pakistan, where even today no political party can retreat from it. Even the present ruling party, if at any time declares its retreat from Islam, it would lose its ground and favour the next moment. The most unfortunate plight of this state after its establishment was that a number of polluting involvements resulted in a state of stagnancy due to which the country's education programme could not be aligned with its ideology. That situation exists even today. Absence of direction caused divergent wastage of efforts and the invincible ideological fortress of Islamic nationhood began showing cracks; by 1958 this young nation developed many vulnerabilities. Then the Martial Law came and in its wake some effective reforms too, which slowed down the process of subversion. Once again the Pakistan ideology revived. But in the course of time when this martial revolution set foot in the fields of politics and democratic rule, in uncertain mood, it too ignored the educational imperatives. The issue of education was in the hands of those who were western-oriented, and who had little trust on the Islamic concept of life. Consequently education still remained, non-aligned with national ideology and its curricula could not fulfil its role of a true benefactor for the youth.

September 6, 1955, was the day when India attacked Pakistan. Even though the nation was not mentally or materially prepared, yet when President Ayub appealed to its ten million people in the name of Islam, the whole nation came alive to meet the chal-

lenge. Writers and lyricists joined the effort applying their full talents to the task. Information media zealously reminded the people of their past historical episodes. Not only the armed forces, but, in fact, every individual prepared himself for the sacrifice required of him, and participated actively to preserve the dignity of his country. The result was that even a seven-times strong Indian armed might could not gain an inch of way towards Lahore in 17 days of warfare.

The pen of the writers and poets instilled as much fighting power in the people as the battle weapons. Their dormant creative talents and capabilities were ignited. They had found a direction, a real perspective. Vigour and zeal, determination and courage, emotion and patriotism, *jihad* and trust in God, unity and consciousness of national integrity, blended together to produce a worthy national literature. In 17 days more than a thousand Nazms, Ghazals, Rubais, and freedom songs were created stirring the nation's enthusiasm and emotion.

The September (1965) war witnessed the true spirit of Islamic revival in Pakistan. If the spirit had been preserved the whole nation would have been cemented into an unbreakable bloc of Islamic solidarity, and peace would have reigned not only in Pakistan, but also extended its effects to other Islamic countries, and would have also earned the good will of many non-Muslim countries. But this was not to be as it went against the grain of big-power politics, on whose 'chess board of struggle' small nations are moved like pawns.

There followed an aftermath when foreign literature made a bulk onslaught on Pakistan. It was morally degrading, and embarrassed the very existence of ethical values. It should be squarely accepted that any ruling government in Pakistan was not strong enough economically, to stand up to foreign pressures. As a result, non-restricted import of literature also formed part of economic support agreements. Even waste paper stocks imported from abroad was in fact permissive literature in bulk, which is circulated, freely and we can do nothing about it. Our information media is also fed to a sizeable extent by foreign counterparts, and their pervading intellectual incarcerations are playing their desired role in the Pakistani locale.

The situation as it exists today is, that: Pakistan has turned away from its concept of national life.

Qur'an's volumes, as a cover, are being used to smuggle hashish (cannabis) abroad. Islam is being used as an implement to gain victory in elections. There is unrestrained freedom to promote un-Islamic trends in Pakistan. Foreign missions in Pakistan have been given complete freedom to print and distribute their literature while in these same countries Pakistan has not gained such freedom. Pakistani writers have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage.

For the last quarter century there have been persistent cultural incursions on Pakistan, and because of these the nation has become psychologically so disarrayed that even when it lost a part of its territory in the 1971 war there was no noticeable shock or grief; nor was there any joy at getting back any of its territory. And now what is left of Pakistan is going through a hectic tussle of four nationalities but no one appears to be concerned by its utter contrast with their national ideology.

For a state whose literature has been subjected for the last 25 years to paradoxical trends, there can be little prospect for crystallisation of national identity. With ideological ties lost, literary purposefulness dissipated, and anarchic upheavals recurrent. Pakistan as a nation has lost its stature in the community of nations. The same can be the fate of any other nation which turns away from its ideology, its moral guidelines, and its literary dignity.

In the end I would close my address with some messages based on the Holy Qu'ran, for nations of the world.

The Holy Qu'ran says:

“There has not been a religion in the world which has not preached and stressed on religious unity and brotherhood, and avoidance of rifts and disharmony. They all preached that the religion of God is meant to bring human beings together, and not to separate them. Therefore, unite under submission to one God, and adopt the route which brings you away from dissension and hostility, and takes you towards mutual move and integration.”

“Wa In Hazihi Amin Kum Ummatan Wahidatan wa Inna Rabbakum Fattaqoon al-Muminoon” (52)

The Holy Qur'an says:

“God had given you a dress of humanity, but you adopted many different dresses and names, and the oneness of human relation-

ship became divided and dispersed into fragments. Your races are many, because you have alienated yourself from each other in the name of race. Your homelands are many, therefore, you are fighting with each other for separation of homelands; your nationalities are many, therefore, every nation is holding the other by the collar. Your colours are not same, and this too has become the cause of mutual hatred and your dialects are different and this also has become a major argument to keep each other separated. Apart from these, numerous other differentiations have been created between rich and poor, master and servant, low and high, weak and strong, the base and the noble, and they are meant to separate you so that you may keep hating each other. Under these conditions, point out what is that bond which, despite these differences, can bring human beings together, and then the deserted abode of humanity becomes inhabited again.”

The Holy Qur’an says:

“Only one bond has remained, and that is the bond of devotion to God. However much you may have segregated, but your God cannot be separated. You are all subjects of God. There is only one God for you all to worship. You may belong to any race, any homeland, any nationality, any class, or any group, but when you bow your heads in worship to one God, then this heavenly bond shall wipe away all your earthly differences; your hearts will join together, and you will then feel that this world is your homeland, the whole human race is your family, and you are all children of one supreme God.”

THE VANAUSADHI VARGA OF THE AMARAKOṢA AND ITS HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

P. V. Sharma

There is constant and definite development of ideas in the field of plants regarding their identity and uses and this may be a reasonable base for deciding the date of any work. This method is a new one applied in Historiographical Research.

The Amarakoṣa is a well-known Sanskrit lexicon composed by Amarasimha, a Buddhist poet scholar. His date has been fixed differently by different scholars. Most of the scholars place him in the Gupta period during the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya. This is supported by the fact that the work was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta of Ujjayinī in 6th Cent. A.D.¹ and that Amarasimha preceded Candragomin, a Buddhist Grammarian of Bengal and the teacher of Vasurāta (450 A.D.).² Kṣīraswāmī (11th Cent. A.D.), the commentator on the text, has said that as contents of the Vanauśadhi Varga of this work are based on the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu, it must be posterior to the latter work. On this basis, the date of the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu is fixed long before the Amarakoṣa.³ Let us discuss his arguments first:

1. 'Bālapatra' is a synonym of Khadira given in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu. Confusing it for 'Bālaputra' Amarasimha has given 'Bālatanaya' for this.⁴ But this argument does not stand because of the following facts:
 - 1) 'Bālapatra' as a synonym of Khadira has not been given only in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu but also in other earlier Nighaṅṭus including the Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu of Vāhaṭa.
 - 2) The word 'Tanaya' means offshoots of the main body

¹ Sharma, Ramawatar: Int., P. XVII, Kalpadrukosa, Baroda, 1928.

² De, S.K.: I.H.Q., June, 1938, p. 258.

³ Sharma & Sardesai: Amarakosa (with Com. of Bhaṭṭa Kṣīraswāmī, Poona, 1941, Int., p. VII-VIII.

⁴ Amara Simha: Amarakosa, 2.4.49.

which denotes leaves, flowers as well as fruits. Here the author might be meaning 'Leaves'.

- 3) As Bhānujī Dīkṣita says, the original reading might be 'Bālapatra' which later on became 'Bālaputra' due to a transcriptional error.

It is to be noted that the synonym 'Bālapatra' is first seen in the Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya which might have been followed by later authors.

2. In Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu,⁵ the word 'Upacitrā' is meant for Dantī but Amarasimha confusing it as Dravantī has used the synonym for the same,⁶ but in use of the synonym 'Citrā' and 'Upacitrā' there has not been any hard and fast rule. In Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu, Citrā has been used for Dantī while Upacitrā for Nāgadantī.⁷ In Paryāyaratnamālā, both the words are used for Dantī.⁸ Hence it should not be surprising if Amarasimha used both these words for Dravanti. On this ground to allege mistake on the part of the author and following of Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu is a far-fetched idea.
3. One of the synonyms of Puṣkaramūla is 'Padmavarṇa' in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu.⁹ Amarasimha confusing it as Padmaparṇa has used it in this context.¹⁰ Firstly, in the Anandāsharma edition (Poona, 2nd ed., 1925) there is no 'Padmavarṇa'. Secondly, 'Padmapatra' is the correct synonym for Puṣkaramūla accepted by almost all the Nighaṅṭus. It denotes the size and shape of its leaves like those of the lotus.
4. 'Śītala-Vātaka' is one word meaning Śaṅgaparṇī by Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu (I could not find it out) but Amarasimha confusing it as a compound used Śītala and Vātaka separately.¹¹ Bhānujī Dīkṣita has supported both these views¹² and it is very difficult to be convinced by the former view.
5. 'Māhausadhi' is a synonym for 'Viṣa' but Amarasimha confusing 'Viṣa' for Viṣā used it for Ativiṣā.¹³ But 'Māhausadhi'

⁵ Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu, 1.223.

⁶ Amara Simha: Op. Cit., 2.4.87.

⁷ Vāhata: Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu (ed. P.V. Sharma, Madras, 1973), Verse 193.

⁸ Mādhava: Paryāyaratnamālā (ed. T.P. Chowdhary, Patna 1946), p. 5.

⁹ Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu, 1.66.

¹⁰ Amara Simha: Op. Cit., 2.4.145.

¹¹ Idem: Op. Cit., 2.4.149.

¹² Bhānujī Dīkṣita: Vyakhyasudha (Com. on Amarakosa) on the above verse; Nirnayasagar, Bombay, 3rd ed., 1905.

¹³ Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.99.

is only a general term meaning 'great remedy' which may be applicable to any popular drug.

There are evidences of some confusion as in case of uṣīra and lāmajjaka where both have been taken as identical¹⁴ whereas they are separate drugs.¹⁵ 'Nādeyī Bhūmijambukā' has been mentioned twice once in the context of Nāgaraṅga¹⁶ and again in that of Bhūjambū.¹⁷

Nevertheless, it is strongly probable that some earlier Nighaṅṭu has been followed in setting the material of the Vanauṣadhi Varga. There is a Nighaṅṭu quoted by Cakrapāṇidatta¹⁸ (11th Cent. A.D.), Kṣīraswāmī¹⁹ (11th Cent. A.D.) Sarvānanda²⁰ (12th Cent. A.D.) and other commentators but unfortunately the work is not known today. Whatever may be the position, the contents of the Vanauṣadhi Varga throw immense light on its historical perspective which might be helpful in deciding the date of the work. Only some of the important points are discussed here.

1. The synonym 'Bodhidruma' for Aśwattha (*Ficus religiosa* Linn.) is seen only in Dṛdhabala's portion of the Caraka Samhita²¹ which is said to be composed during the Gupta period. This is followed by Vāgbhaṭa, the author of the Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya²² which is later than Dṛdhabala.
2. Again in the context of Lodhra, it has been made synonymous with Śābara and Tilwaka²³ while the common Lodhra is said as Paṭṭikā or Paṭṭī.²⁴ It may be noted that Dṛdhabala also has mentioned Lodhra and Tilwaka as synonymous.²⁵ Later commentators like Cakrapāṇidatta have also supported this idea.²⁶ This also shows the relationship of ideas between Dṛdhabala and Amarasimha.

¹⁴ Idem: Op. Cit. 2.4.164.5.

¹⁵ Caraka: Caraka Samhita, Sutra, Ch. 25.

¹⁶ Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.38.

¹⁷ Idem: Op. Cit. 2.4.118.

¹⁸ Cakrapāṇidatta: Ayurveda Dīpikā (Com. on Caraka Samhita), Caraka Samhita, Sutra, 27.4., Cikitsa 7-70.

¹⁹ Kṣīraswāmī: Amarakosadghāṭana (Com. on Amarakosa), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, LI, 1915-17; Pt. II, pp. 2, 100, 292; Pt. III, p. 216.

²⁰ Sarvānanda: Tikāsarvasa (Com. on Amarakosa), Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, LII, 1917; Pt. IV, p. 113.

²¹ Dṛdhabala: Caraka Samhita, Cikitsa, 29.158.

²² Vāgbhaṭa: Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya, Uttara, 37.70.

²³ Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.33.

²⁴ Idem: Op. Cit. 2.4.41.

²⁵ Dṛdhabala: Op. Cit. Kalpa, 9.1.

²⁶ Cakrapāṇidatta: Op. Cit. 1.114.5.

3. Tilaka (*Wedlandia exerta* DC.), a well known flowering Dohada tree, is mentioned among the ancient Ayurvedic Samhitas only in the *Aṣṭāᅅga Hṛdaya*²⁷ and is not found in the older Samhitas of Caraka and Susruta. Most probably the plant became popular during the Gupta Period.²⁸ This has been described in the *Amarakosa*.²⁹
4. Uccaṭā, a common drug used as aphrodisiac in *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*,³⁰ is found only in *Dṛḁhabala's* portion of the *Caraka Samhita*.³¹ It is also found in the *Amarakoṣa*.
5. Aralu (*Allanthus excelsa* Roxb.) and śyonāka (*Oroxylum indicum* Vent.) are two separate plants recognised explicitly in the ancient texts but in the *Amarakoṣa* they are made as synonymous.³² It is to be noted that in a later period, śyonāka began to be taken as substitute of Aralu and thus gradually they were confused as identical. The word 'Śoᅅāka' is very significant which is also found in 'Bṛhat Samhita'³³ of *Varāhamihira* (6th Cent. A.D.)
6. Similarly Kuśa (*Desmostachya bipinnata* Stap f.) and Darbha (*Imperata cylindrica* Beauv.) altogether different plants, have been made as synonymous by *Amarasimha*.³⁴ This fact is also found as confused in the *Aṣṭāᅅga Hṛdaya*.³⁵
7. Karnikāra is found in *Dṛḁhabala's* portion of the *Caraka Samhita*³⁶ which has been said as *Drumotpala* in the *Amarakoṣa*,³⁷ but in *Dhanwantari Nighaᅅtu Karnikāra* has been mentioned as a synonym of *Āragwadha*.³⁸
8. Kumkuma (saffron) has been said as 'Kaśmīrajanmā' in the *Amarakoṣa*.³⁹ The latter word is not found in any of the Ayurvedic works before the *Aṣṭāᅅga Hṛdaya*.⁴⁰
9. 'Varᅅsarocana' is a common material used for various pur-

²⁷ *Vāgbhaṭa: Op. Cit. Uttar. 38.30.*

²⁸ *Varāhamihira: Br. Samhita, 54.37, 55.11.*

Kālidasa: Raghuvamśa, 9.41, Kumārasambhava 3.30.

²⁹ *Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.40.*

³⁰ *Vātsyāyana: Kāmasūtra, 7.1.36.*

³¹ *Dṛḁhabala: Op. Cit. Siddhi- 12.45, 46, 54.*

³² *Amarasimha: Op. Cit. 2.4.160.*

³³ *Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.57.*

³⁴ *Varāhamihira: Op. Cit. 54.23.*

³⁵ *Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.166.*

³⁶ *Vāgbhaṭa: Op. Cit. Sutra, 15.24.*

³⁷ *Dṛḁhabala: Op. Cit. Kalpa. 8.1.*

³⁸ *Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.60.*

³⁹ *Dhanwantari Nighantu 1.219-221.*

⁴⁰ *Amara Simha: Op. Cit. 2.4.124.*

poses. As the natural source was very rare and meagre, a similar substance derived from the tubers of the plants known as *Tavakṣīrī* (*Curcuma angustifolia* Roxb.) colloquially known as 'Tiknura' became prevalent as its substitute and gradually the word *Tavakṣīrī* or '*Twakṣīrī*' was made as a synonym of *Vaṁśarocana*⁴¹ which is found in *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*⁴² and *Dr̥dhabala*'s portion⁴³ but not in the earlier portion of the *Caraka Samhita*.

10. *Dhattūra* (*Datura metel* Linn.) is not found in the *Caraka Samhita*. The word '*Kanaka*' has been used in other senses such as Gold, *Nāgakesara* etc., but not as a synonym of *Dhattūra*. *Dhattūra* has been used in the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*⁴⁴ as well the *Amarakoṣa*.⁴⁵

These evidences point towards intimate temporal relation between *Vāgbhaṭa* and *Amarasimha*. Now this has to be decided who is earlier.

The ideas in some contexts seem to be more developed which leads to the posteriority of *Amarasimha*. They are as follows:

1. Decorticised *Marica* (Black Pepper) was used as *Śweta Marica* during the period of *Dr̥dhabala*⁴⁶ and *Vāgbhaṭa*⁴⁷ who used this word first. It seems that later on, the seeds of *Śigru* or *Śobhāñjana* (*Moringa pteroygo sperma* Gaertn.) began to be used as *Śweta Marica* which is mentioned by *Amarasimha*.⁴⁸
2. '*Prasāriṇi*' has been mentioned in *Dr̥dhabala*'s portion of the *Caraka Sāmhita*⁴⁹ as well as in the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*⁵⁰ but its identity as *Rājabalā* has not been mentioned in either of the two as in the *Amarakosa*.⁵¹
3. The word '*Bhaṅga*'⁵² and '*Gañjā*'⁵³ are found in the *Amarakosa* but not in *Vāgbhaṭa*'s work.

⁴¹ *Vāgbhaṭa*: Op. Cit. Uttar. 37.44.

⁴² *Amarasimha*: Op. Cit. 2.10.109.

⁴³ *Idem*: Op. Cit. *Cikitsa* 3.75, 80. etc.

⁴⁴ *Dr̥dhabala*: Op. Cit. *Cikitsa* 15.164 etc.

⁴⁵ *Vāgbhaṭa*: Op. Cit. Uttar. 24.30; 38.37.

⁴⁶ *Amarasimha*: Op. Cit. 2.4.77-78.

⁴⁷ *Dr̥dhabala*: Op. Cit. *Cikitsa*, 26.224-5.

⁴⁸ *Vāgbhaṭa*: Op. Cit. Uttar. 16.48.

⁴⁹ *Amara Simha*: Op. Cit., 2.10.110.

⁵⁰ *Dr̥dhabala*: Op. Cit., *Cikitsa*, 28.165.

⁵¹ *Vāgbhaṭa*: Op. Cit. *Cikitsa*, 21.65.

⁵² *Amara Simha*: Op. Cit. 2.4.152-3.

⁵³ *Idem*: Op. Cit. 2.9.20.

4. 'Abhraka' (Mica) is not found in the Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya but is in the Amarakosa.⁵⁴ This also carries the latter later than the former.

However, some of the substances introduced during the medieval period are not found in this text. For instance, Pūti (Civet) is found in Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu⁵⁵ and Mādhava's Paryāyaratnamālā⁵⁶ but is not mentioned in the Amarakosa. This indicates anterior position of the Amarakosa. The date of the Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu⁵⁷ and the Paryāyaratnamālā⁵⁸ has been fixed in the 8th and 9th Cent. A.D. respectively and as such Amarasimha must be earlier than that.

As regards the relation of the Amarakosa with the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu, it has been shown earlier that anteriority of the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu is not proved on those grounds. On the contrary, there are several substances like Ambara (Ambergris) which are described in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu⁵⁹ but are not found in the Amarakosa. Moreover, description of some of the substances is more developed in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu. For instance, the types of Karañja are only two in the ancient texts,⁶⁰ five in the Amarakosa⁶¹ and six in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu.⁶² Hence the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu is definitely posterior to the Amarakosa and has been placed between the 10th and 13th Cent. A.D.

Moreover, the following points support the posteriority of the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu:

1. Gajapippali has been said as the fruit of Cavya (Piper chaba Hunter) in the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu⁶³ but this fact has not been mentioned in the Amarakosa. This idea is certainly a later one which places the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu posterior to the Amarakosa.
2. 'Kankuṣṭha' though described in detail in the Dhanwantari

⁵⁴ Idem: Op. Cit. 2.2.8.

⁵⁵ Idem: Op. Cit. 2.9.100.

⁵⁶ Vāhaṭa: Op. Cit., 299.

⁵⁷ Mādhava: Op. Cit., p. 37.

⁵⁸ Sharma, P.V.: Introduction, P. XIX, Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu, Madras, 1973.

⁵⁹ Idem: Scientific History of Ayurveda, p. 375 Chowkhamba Orientalia, Varanasi, 1975.

⁶⁰ Dhanwantari Nighantu, 6.21.

⁶¹ Caraka: Caraka Samhita, Sutra, 1.83.

Suśruta: Suśruta Samhita, Sutra 38.25.

Vāgbhaṭa: Op. Cit. Sutra 15.21.

⁶² Amara Simha: Op. Cit., 2.4.47-8.

⁶³ Dhanwantari Nighantu 5.107-8.

Nighaṅṭu⁶⁴ has not been mentioned in the Amarakosa. Had the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu been earlier, it must have found place in the Amarakosa. On the basis of the above facts of the Vanauṣadhi Varga and other corroborative evidences the place of the Amarakosa may be decided as between the Aṣṭāṅga Hr̥daya (6th Cent. A.D.)⁶⁵ and the Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu (8th Cent. A.D.) e.g. 7th Cent. A.D. This supports Hoernle's views⁶⁶ which hold Amarasimha posterior to Vāgbhata.

The presence of Pārada,⁶⁷ Abhraka⁶⁸ and other alchemical substances shows somewhat developed condition of Rasa Śāstra which seems to be possible only after the period of Vāgbhata. There is also no doubt that the Amarakosa existed before the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu and was followed by the latter.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION:

The contents of the A Vanauṣadhi-varga play a vital role in projecting a clear historical picture of the Amarakosa. On this basis the date of the Amarakosa may be fixed as between Vāgbhata (6th Cent. A.D.) and the Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṅṭu (8th Cent. A.D.) e.g. 7th Cent. A.D. The work preceded the Dhanwantari Nighaṅṭu rather than having followed it.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 2.78.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 3.141.

⁶⁶ Sharma, P.V.; Vāgbhata-Vivecana, p. 356, Chowkhamba Bidyabhavana, 1968.

⁶⁷ Hornle, S.F.R.; Studies in Medicine of Ancient India, Pt. I-Ostrology, p. 166. Oxford, 1907.

⁶⁸ Amarasimha: Op. Cit., 2.9.99.

⁶⁹ Idem: Op. Cit., 2.9.100.

ANTI-TRADITIONAL PLOT-MOTIVES IN HINDI NOVELS
WRITTEN BY WOMEN

Indu Prakash Pandey

The present paper proposes to analyse the leitmotives in the plots of some outstanding Hindi novels written by women during the last five years, (1971-76) period in order to assess the extent of change in social behaviour in the traditional Indian society. From these novels we can, at least, find out how the women intellectuals themselves look at their problems and what roles do they propose for them in the society of modern India. In many respects anti-traditional stance has started to be evidently popular in social behaviour among the educated Indians which is reflected in their creative writings. Out of about five hundred Hindi novels written by over one hundred women novelists I have selected some which have appeared in the present decade. Thus these novels yield the latest and most up-to-date evidence of social change. Generally speaking these novels leave an impression that anti-traditional behaviour has, in several respects, created more problems than solved them.

By and large tradition is respected in India and is treated as something holy. It governs social relationship and mode of individual behaviour through its centuries-old institutions of caste and joint family in addition to maintaining a highminded set of ethical values and social ideals. The caste endogamous and sub-caste exogamous Hindu society has been conducting its social behaviour and sexual relationship through the system of arranged marriage where there is no room for romantic love, premarital sex, love-marriage, extra-marital sexual affairs, divorce, widow remarriage and divorcee remarriage which are common practices of the industrial and technological civilization of the west. But a process of change was introduced in India through modern education on western patterns in the early 19th century. The traditional society

was confronted with a more dynamic and innovative civilization than its own. High standard of life through industrialisation and technological development caught the attention of the educated Indians. With the independence of India came the parliament as the final authority for the secular source of omnipotent power in place of the Hindu religion and social tradition. Thus a traditionally hierarchical society came face to face with a political system based on democratic egalitarianism. The richness of the western world through technological development has become a matter of envy to the modern Indians. All these changes have made tradition vulnerable and have obliged the modern Indians to adopt some of the western ways of life. The western movement of women's emancipation received a favourable echo in India among the upper and upper middle class. For very definite purposes Mahatma Gandhi had already pleaded for women's emancipation in the thirties and forties. However, no Indian can fully ignore or reject the rich cultural heritage of his society nor can he live in oblivion of the modern scientific developments and technological achievements. Therefore it should not be surprising if we find some kind of hesitancy and ambivalence in the attitude of a modern Indian. It is reflected in these novels also. Now we shall see to what effect and purpose some of the anti-traditional plot-motives have been utilised by the women writers of Hindi.

Rajani Pannikar (died in 1975), the most prolific and competent woman novelist of Hindi, states in the foreword of her important novel — *Mahānagar kī mītā* (1969): "Love — marriage — divorce! These are the three aspects of our conjugal love in the Indian families. Wherever traditional control is operative there is suffocation and wherever we have freedom there is divorce. This problem is the burning issue of the day; everybody experiences it, but no one has a solution for it." In all the novels under consideration freedom of choice and romantic love have been assumed as accepted modes of establishing marital relations against the parental authority and the system of arranged marriage. However, the leitmotif of all these novels deals with the aftermath of love-marriage or marriage based on free choice of the partners. Wherever romantic love has been shown to have succeeded in bringing about matrimony between the lovers, either the threat of divorce is hanging on their heads like a sword of Damocles or it has already fallen cutting asunder the conjugal love leading to privation, loneliness and unsurmountable hardships for the chil-

dren. And in those cases where love has failed in bringing about marriage, it has brought frustration, disillusionment and social maladjustments.

Shānti Joshī, in her novel *Machalī aur marā jal* (1971) tells us how Mandirā, the heroine of the novel, married a young man who courted her for a short period of time. In the course of ten years of married life he turns out to be a very jealous lover and a possessive husband. Their first encounter was at a swimming pool where she was in her swimming costume as she was very fond of swimming. But after marriage her husband never permitted her to go for swimming nor did he allow her to keep relations with her parents and other relatives. She is not allowed to go to an elderly doctor who is closely related to her family even when their daughter is seriously ill. He feels terribly upset and angry at his wife for every little thing and does not like her even taking care of their children. He feels neglected and becomes vindictive to his wife. She tries to impress upon her husband that after becoming parents their first duty was to look after the children. He never realizes his role as a father and as such conflict between the two mounts leading to separation and subsequent divorce. She over-emphasises the role of mother since she fully believes that the ultimate goal of a woman is motherhood and he refuses to see any other role for a man than that of a husband and his privilege of being looked after by his wife. Pronouncing the last judgment, as it were, she accepts in repentance, "To be blind in love is to be blind to life and if such blind persons would not stumble then who else?" (24)

After such separations and divorces what happens to the children has been vividly narrated by Mannū Bhaṇḍārī in her novel *Āp kā Baṇṭī* (1971). In this novel the story has been narrated from the point of view of an eight or nine year old boy, Baṇṭī, who is obliged to live with his mother alone since she is living in separation awaiting divorce. In this novel all the three stages, (separation, divorce and remarriage) as the aftermath of love-marriage, have been depicted. Although the author does not offer any value judgment on divorce and remarriage, she allows the situation to speak for itself demanding due attention to the fate of children under such circumstances. It seems that the writer would like to differentiate between those married partners who have children from those who have none and, perhaps, would like to warn those partners who have children against the dangerous consequences

of divorce and remarriage. After receiving divorce from her husband, Baṅṭi's mother marries again a man who, too, has children from his deceased wife. Being a very precocious and sensitive child Baṅṭi is unable to adjust to the new setup and is therefore sent to his father where he not only misses his mother but finds his father having a wife and child. Ultimately he is shown to have lost both, mother and father, and is forced to live in a boarding school. In this atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity a promising boy loses his mental balance. Here in this novel anti-traditional ways of life have been presented with serious reservations and, although no return to tradition has been suggested, no encouraging prospects of love-marriage have been put forth.

Mamatā Kāliyā's hero Paramjīt is so shocked and disheartened to find his beloved Sanjīvanī's hymen broken on his first sexual encounter that he turns her out never to see her again. In her novel *Beghar* (1971) we find this unhappy development of romantic love which, instead of leading to love-marriage, throws the young hero into the lap of his parents for arranging his marriage with a girl of their choice. It is happily done by his parents. But the girl that he gets in this arranged marriage is lowbred, mean, uncouth, miserly and completely unsuited to Paramjīt and his sophisticated middle class society of Bombay in which he moves. The mounting stress of work outside and unpleasant tension at home make this young man a heart patient and in five years he dies of heart attack in the prime of his youth. The author has tried to discredit the traditional attitude regarding virginity of the bride and has ridiculed such young men who want to have romantic love and love-marriage and even want to enjoy sexual intercourse before marriage but are not prepared to accept a woman whose hymen is accidentally broken. Paramjīt had a very delicate and pleasant romance with Sanjīvanī, a sophisticated working girl of refined taste. He even loved her and wanted to marry her but the dead ghost of virginity shattered all the hopes of future prospects of conjugal love.

Stupidity and selfishness of young men reach a dangerous point when we find Elmā, a highly cultured and educated woman with charming manners, in the novel *Us kā ghar* (1972) by Meharunissā Parvez, to have been abandoned and subsequently divorced by her husband for the simple reason that she occasionally suffered from bronchial asthma. She is left alone to suffer humiliation and to be subjected to exploitation by her own brother for his

monetary gains. On the other hand, in the same novel, we have Reshamā who is not allowed by her orthodox mother, who is a fanatic Christian, to marry her lover who is a Hindu from whom she got a child. The old mother prefers to have her home even as an unwed mother than to marry her to a Hindu. By presenting these two cases the writer points out to the dangers and difficulties for women both in untraditional and traditional societies. So long as women do not develop self-confidence and reach a stage of self-reliance through education and work, they will continue to be exploited by irresponsible and adventurous men. The writer has brought in one more woman character, Sophiyā, who is also shown to have been disappointed by men. Though they have no more faith in marriage and do not trust men, they are shown to be inclined to favour marriage for the sake of bringing men to realize their obligations and family duties. However, it has been fully established that divorce has definitely reduced the importance of marriage.

Rattī (Raktikā) of *Sūrajmukhī andhere ke* (1972) by Krishnā Sobatī does not trust any men. Sixteen young men have been shown in this novel who approach and entreat Rattī to be accepted by her as friend and lover but she refuses to involve herself either emotionally or physically with any one of them. As a child she was raped and furthermore was ridiculed and humiliated by her class-mates for her misfortune which left in her an indelible feeling of abhorrence for the sexual act. And the premature death of her adolescent friend Asad had completely chilled her love. She is free and fearless, blunt and even sadistic in her behaviour to her male friends whom she wants to have around her but does not permit them to be intimate. At last she happens to get involved with a married man Divākār for whom she offers her body as prayer but would not break their marriage for her sake. She keeps her door open for him but chooses to remain alone. Romantic love may bring two persons together but on account of various factors it may not succeed in uniting them and consequently the partners may have to suffer loneliness and privation. It is Rattī's own choice otherwise; Divākār has offered to divorce his first wife and come over to her. But she does not want to divide.

But Mālatī P̄rulkar's *Innī* is very different. In her novel *Innī* (1973) she presents an educated young woman who is modern so far as the question of choice of partner is concerned. Otherwise she implicitly believes in the physical purity as the highest virtue

in a woman. She holds the traditional value of virginity before marriage and chastity after marriage as the most essential qualities for a woman. She does not compromise these ideals even for the sake of the man whom she loves most from childhood. Rāj, her childhood friend passing through the vicissitudes of life and even forced marriage reaches Bombay and becomes a successful play-back singer in Hindi films. And though, during this period, he has several women friends and free sexual relations with them, he is always looking for his childhood friend Innī in them. Emotionally he is always true to his love for Innī and when he rediscovers her, he wants her to come to him so that they could live together in physical and emotional harmony of love. But Innī cannot accept him as her sex partner because he was not only married but had sexual relations with his wife and with several other women. She leaves Rāj in spite of her deep love for him and goes to Delhi and marries a Muslim young man whom, too, she knew and liked from her childhood as a shy and innocent boy. They are faithful to each other and loving, too, but Innī could never free herself from her love for Rāj, a fact which becomes known to her husband, Sāhil at the time of Rāj's death. On this Sāhil's feelings of love become numb and their relations estranged making Innī look ridiculous with her high minded virtues of virginity and chastity. The readers are left to answer the question whether it is physical purity that is more desirable than emotional integrity.

Rajanī Pannīkar offers quite an opposite view of life in her novel *Duriyā* (1974) through her female characters, viz., Namitā, Cāru and Sushīlā. None of the characters believe in physical purity nor can they fully hold to their love for one person. Namitā has been shown, in the beginning, to be living with Hari — sharing one room and his bed without marriage. And Hari is a married man and a father of a son now awaiting divorce from the court. Namitā's friend Cāru has turned out to be even more adventurous who has had several love affairs of serious and nonserious nature before marrying a young man who accepts her without any compunction or hesitancy for her past sexual affairs. After her first disappointment with a serious friend she lost faith in love and started treating men nonchalantly. She almost developed a conviction that men are good to sleep with but are not good enough to marry. The narrator states clearly, "going out of tradition means that one should find his own way without expecting anything from anybody!" (90) Embittered by her abandonment Sushīlā

has organised an association for helping destitute women who are badly treated by their husbands. She is a man-hater. The same Namitā who is prepared to become an unwed mother and does not want to have an abortion to remain faithful to Hari, goes to Sushilā after quarreling with Hari and falls in love with Suresh. She would not have returned to Hari had she not received the son of Hari whose divorced mother had married again. She leaves Suresh to be able to become a mother of the boy and comes back to Hari so that the boy can have his own father. Thus even the emancipated women who indulge in free love in all sorts of combinations, adopt a serious attitude when the welfare of a child is in question.

When we read *Us ke hisse kī dhūp* (1975) we find its author Mridulā Garg to have taken a complete somersault from the position of Innī. We find its heroine declaring that "love is not the goal of life, that love exhausts itself" (125), "people get fed up with love and instead play the drama of love," "their (the lover's) loneliness hurts them most when they are together" (157), or it (love) if it does not end it becomes a routine," "becoming a mother does not help either, at the most it is a means of filling time," (157) "In fact, it is very dangerous and risky to live dependent on someone. All relationships, love, marriage etc. make one dependent." (160) After discussing all these points she comes to the conclusion that it is through action that one can derive full satisfaction in life. "Therefore Karma (action) alone can be the goal of life and not love because love does not have that density which can fill the vast expanse of life forever." (164) But she, too, comes to a compromising mood when she accepts that "all cherish a wish to rear and care for someone with selfless love and thus leave some part of his personality behind to be remembered for. It is in this light that bearing and rearing a child gives a kind of satisfaction and a pleasant fulfillment of one's obligations." (171) Socially speaking it is an agreeable note in the novel; otherwise her self-consciousness starts right from the needs of her body and their gratification without the camouflage of love. In her adulterous sexual act with her previous husband she comes to the realization that "loving or love-making is not an art, but is a need . . . The perfect fulfillment of this need is possible only when both have the same need. Then alone it will be free from exploitation. Yes, when the need of the two is one, the meeting of two bodies become a thing of marvellous experience . . . Is the body

so meaningless that we always have to put the sexual act under some garb? Love — love — love! Is the excitement of every pore of the body and its every vibration mortgaged to love? The all consuming moments of climax (in sexual act) do not belong to the body or have they been loaned by love?" (46) She believes that "body has its own glory and its own justification." (47) In this philosophy of life she is an antithesis of Innī. Manīshā and Jiten had arranged their marriage and had it solemnized by their parents. This marriage was not the result of their love in which people try to win each other. She gets bored with Jiten and falls in love with Madhukar; a young and impulsive colleague of her college where she is teaching Hindi literature. She takes divorce and converts her romantic love into their marriage. But now she finds certain qualities in her previous husband whom she starts admiring after getting fed up with her impetuous husband and his passionate love. Now she enjoys sexual act with her previous husband whenever he visits Delhi. She had sexual relations with Madhukar while married to Jiten and with Jiten while married to Madhukar. By such behaviour of Manīshā the narrator is trying to separate sexual act from love on the one side and from the traditional framework of marriage on the other. Thus by the middle of the present decade we find such plot-motives being freely presented which may not find approval even in the permissive society of the West.

The treatment of such anti-traditional plot-motives should not necessarily mean that the traditional Indian society has been radically changed and the old ideals and social values have been thrown above board. We have seen in these novels a definite trend towards women's emancipation which has been dealt with variously by the several authors. We find a consensus on certain anti-traditional modes of behaviour: Romantic love and love-marriage have received general consent. Marriage still continues to be a generally accepted form for regulating sexual relations and family life. Divorce has been accepted as a necessary evil and there is no opposition to readjustment through divorce and remarriage. Only the parents have been warned against the possible dangers of divorce and their remarriage which might go against the interests of the children. It has been suggested that pre-marital sexual acts cannot be excluded from romantic love which might become an integral part of love-marriage as is the case in the West. Under the present circumstances of romantic love and love-marriage ex-

tra-marital sexual relations cannot be ruled out, a fact which has been pointed out in several novels. The romantic love and the possibility of pre-marital sex are bound to bring the unwanted situation of unwed mothers. The divorcee remarriages might prove to be more difficult than widow-remarriage in the society but as a plot-motive it might occur frequently in novels and dramas. Motherhood still continues to be an accepted and desirable role for women and for the sake of children they are expected to make necessary sacrifices. These anti-traditional plot-motives and their treatment in these novels indicate a shift from the traditional norm and vouchsafe rapid change along with the spread of education.

A CONFLUENCE OF TRADITIONS: CONTEMPORARY PAKISTANI POETRY

David D. Anderson

Because Pakistan as a nation is little more than a generation old, any discussion of contemporary Pakistani poetry is, for all practical purposes, a discussion of the poetic history of all Pakistan's national existence. Born in the turmoil of independence and partition in 1947, the country has endured nearly thirty years of continued domestic turmoil, foreign wars, and a painful civil war that led not only to further partition but to political, social, and philosophical soul-searching that still continues.

Such a climate is hardly one which permits the pursuit or exploitation of Wordsworthian moments of tranquility, much less the development of a national literature, and it is not surprising that a clearly-identifiable Pakistani poetic tradition has yet to emerge. What is surprising, however, is that many of the poets of Pakistan, those who transcend their regional language or cultural origins — and Pakistan is a nation of poets — have in recent years begun to mark the path that national poetic evolution of the future must inevitably take.

The mainstream of Pakistani poetic development in the years since partition has been influenced by two major coexisting movements, which, for convenience as well as clarity, may be considered the traditional, that is, dominated by the Islamic idealistic philosophy of the East, and the modern, that is, strongly influenced by the post-Darwinian, post-Marxian pessimism of the West. This dichotomy of traditions extends also to poetic techniques, to those refined in the works of Iqbal, Hali, and other greats of the Islamic past, and those pioneered by Walt Whitman and T. S. Eliot, the two most influential Western technical innovators for Pakistani poets today. The traditional attitudes, philosophies, and techniques had dominated writing in the Indian

Islamic communities that were eventually to become Pakistani until the early 1930's when, under the influence of the Progressive Writers Movement, the modern or Western attitudes, philosophies, and techniques began to make an impact that continued through the early national years and is evident today.

Although a great deal of cross-fertilization and cross-influence has taken place in the years before and since Independence, traditional writing has been largely in the vernaculars: Urdu, the lingua franca of the country and the language of Islamic poetic tradition since the mushairas at the Moghul courts of the eighteenth century, and the regional languages, particularly Sindhi, Punjabi, and Pushto. On the other hand, most of the modern poetry, the result of the impact of English-language education in this century, is largely in English.

Although traditional writing in the vernaculars was produced for the most part in traditional forms and it expressed traditional ideas since the days of Moghul glory, by the late nineteenth century it had begun to be expressive of a rising spirit of Islamic nationalism and a new Islamic identity. Both expressions were ultimately to lead to an awareness of the unique qualities of Islamic culture, a new dimension that ultimately led to the idea of a Muslim homeland, the idea, in other words, of Pakistan.

During those years the most influential as well as the most significant poets in the Urdu tradition were Hali (1837-1914) and Iqbal (1873-1938), philosophers and critics as well as poets, each of whom was also to contribute to the nationalistic strain in Islamic writing. Traditionalists in their acceptance, celebration, and propagation of traditional Islamic philosophy, both were at the same time innovators and revolutionaries in language usage and poetic technique, and both made substantial contributions to revitalizing Urdu as a viable literary language.

Hali's contributions were the liberation of Urdu verse from stylized conventions, particularly of the Moghul past, the simplification of poetic diction so that it became more nearly the living language, and the rejection of the intricate, highly stylized *ghazal*. In its place he introduced new subject matter and he developed six-line stanzas that reached beyond tradition to fuse the learning of East and West through the use of classic Western imagery. In his *Mussadas* he wrote:

The pearls of Aesop and Hippocrates staid,

Socrates' secrets, lectures Plato read,
Aristotle's wisdom, laws by Solon made,
All these in ancient, unknown graves were laid,
But here their seals were broken, silence ceased,
Their souls within this garden were released.

This verse style, which rejects the intricate end-rhymed couplets of the *ghazal*, marks the beginning of what was to be called *nazm*. This literally meant "poem," in effect, the name for a wide-ranging variety of verse forms that to Hali and later to Iqbal were to be more adequate for the expression of new ideas. Iqbal particularly sought new forms for the ideas related to the rising Islamic nationalistic consciousness and new concepts of the relationship between God and man.

Iqbal began his revitalization with the use of old forms for new ideas, as in the following technically a *ghazal* in form, but radically new in imagery and in overtones of determinism:

O world of earth, wind, water! Are you the secret brought to life
or I?
Are you the continent of that which is concealed from sight or I?
The night of pain and passion and of troubling men call life —
are you
Its dawn, or I? Are you the call to prayer which ends that night
or I?
To whose revealing make such haste the evening and the dawn?
Are you
upon the shoulder of the world the heavy load bound to night, or
I?
You are a pinch of dust, and blind; I am a pinch of dust that feels;
Are you the flowing stream that lifts from life's drab fields their
blight or I?

However, Iqbal moved from change within the traditional form to a new freedom as well as a new human self-identity and self-evaluation in the long, poetic philosophical statement that was *Secrets of the Self*, published in 1915. Here, in a fusion of Eastern traditional growth of the soul and Nietzschean faith in the strength of the superman, he defined three stages of human development. First is "obedience to natural law:"

Endeavor to obey, O headless one!
Liberty is the fruit of compulsion.

By obedience the man of no worth is made worthy;
By disobedience his fire is turned to ashes.
Whoso would master the sun and stars,
Let him make himself a prisoner of Law?
The air becomes fragrant when it is imprisoned in the flower-
buds;
The perfume becomes musk when it is confined in the navel of
the musk-deer.
The star moves toward its goal;
With head bowed in surrender to a law.

From obedience, Iqbal moves to a definition of self-control, of self-mastery, but which man may attain the highest degree of self-consciousness:

Thy soul cares only for itself, like the camel;
It is self-conceited, self-governed, and self-willed.
Be a man, get its halter into thine hand,
That thou mayst become a pearl albeit thou art a potter's vessel.
He that does not command himself
Becomes a receiver of commands from others.

After this self-mastery he then asserted that one may attain the highest stage of human development, that of the "Divine Vice-regency:"

God's viceregent is as the soul of the universe,
His being is the shadow of the Greatest Name.
He knows the mysteries of part and whole.
He executes the command of Allah in the world;
He rolls up this ancient carpet.
His genius abounds with life and desire to manifest itself:
He will bring another world into existence.
A hundred worlds like this world of parts and wholes;
Spring up, like roses, from the seed of his imagination.

This definition of human self-mastery and the achievement of self-realization through one's own efforts is the beginning of Iqbal's profound influence, philosophically and technically, on the development of Urdu verse. This emerging tradition was to culminate in the concept of Pakistan and the early development of what was to be a Pakistani literary tradition. In "Secrets of the Self" Iqbal defined a new personal, philosophical world for the

Muslim traditionalist, just as he later insisted upon a new political identity, at first visionary and finally a reality.

Concurrent with this revitalization of Muslim traditional verse was the development of a new Western poetic philosophy and technique that, in the intense philosophical turmoil of the 1930's, was also to have an impact upon the poetry that was to become part of the new Pakistani literary movement. This was the movement that began with the romantic exuberance of Walt Whitman, who, like Hali and Iqbal in the East, imbued Western poetry with a new democratic freedom in both subject matter and technique. Whitman's "Song of Myself" is in many respects a Western echo of "Secrets of the Self:"

I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
And I have said that the body is not more than the soul,
And nothing, not God, is greater to one than one's self is,
And whoever walks a furlong without sympathy walks to his
own funeral drest in his shroud,
And I or you pocketless of a dime may purchase the pick of the
earth,
And to glance with an eye or show a bean in its pod confounds
the learning of all times,
And there is no trade or employment by the young man
following it may become a hero,
And there is no object so soft but it makes a hub for the wheel'd
universe,
And I say to any man or woman, Let your soul stand cool and
composed before a million universes.

Whitman's impact on the Western mainstream eventually made itself felt through Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot and the modern movement in the West during the first two decades of this century. By 1910 Pound wrote:

I would shake off the lethargy of this our time,
and give
For shadows — shapes of power,
For dreams — men.
"Is it better to dream than do?"
Aye! and, No!
Aye! if we dream great deeds, strong men,
Hearts hot, thoughts mighty.

No! if we dream pale flowers,
Slow-moving pageantry of hours that languidly
Drop as o'er-ripened fruit from fallow trees.
If so we live and die not life but dreams,
Great God, grant life in dreams,
Not dalliance, but life!

Let us be men that dream,
Not cowards, dabblers, waiters
For dead Time to reawaken and grant balm
For ills unnamed.

Great God, if we be damn'd to be not men but only dreams,
Then let us be such dreams the world shall tremble at
And know we be its rulers though but dreams!
Then let us be such shadows as the world shall tremble at
And know we be its masters though but shadow!
High God, if men are grown but pale sick phantoms
That must live only in these mists and tempered lights
And tremble for dim hours that knock o'er loud
Or tread too violent in passing them;

Great God, if these thy sons are grown such thin ephemers,
I bid thee grapple chaos and beget
Some new titanic spawn to pile the hills and stir
This earth again.

To Pound's demand for a new total poetry of sound and rhythm, that for which he coined the term "Imagism," an effect that would, in essence, permit a new freedom and a new discipline at the same time, there were many responses. Perhaps the most durable of them was the work of T. S. Eliot, the most widely taught, admired, and read Western poet in Pakistan since independence. Eliot's earlier verse was a fusion of the new freedom in the form and imagery preached by Pound with the new inverse symbolism and the frustration and despair of the era of World War I. Perhaps more than any other verse, Eliot's early work epitomizes modernism in Western poetry, and "The Waste Land" is the most typical of that spirit:

April is the cruellest month, breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire, stirring
Dull roots with spring rain.
Winter kept us warm, covering

Earth in forgetful snow, feeding
A little life with dried tubers . . .

What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water. Only
There is shadow under this red rock,
(Come in under the shadow of this red rock),
And I will show you something different from either
Your shadow at morning striding behind you
Or your shadow at evening rising to meet you;
I will show you fear in a handful of dust.

Eliot's apparent illogicality in imagery, his rapid transition, his harshness of language, his startling movement between past and present, are echoed in a good deal of the poetry being written by the younger post-independence generation of Pakistani poets, as are the free, optimistic cadences of Whitman and the harsh demands made upon the human spirit by Pound. In others, the solemn, knotty intellectualism of Hali and Iqbal is equally evident, and at times the two traditions fuse into free-moving structure and demanding idealistic philosophy.

Among the best Pakistani poets writing today this juxtaposition of traditions is clearly evident, and it merges at times into what may be the direction in which a unique Pakistani poetry will ultimately develop. Those Pakistani poets most clearly influenced by Eliot and Pound are A. A. Akhtar, and Atiya Hasan, while Khalilur Rahman and N. M. Raashid echo the long Urdu tradition that culminated in Iqbal's verse. Kaleem Omar, in my view the best Pakistani poet writing today, shows the clear fusion of both traditions into a unique poetic statement.

In A. A. Akhtar's "A Poem" Eliot's despair is compounded:

Drip
Drip drip
Drips the blood
My life is slowly ebbing out
I hear
The thud thud
Of a tired heart

seating inside my hollow chest
Beckoning me
To the awaited hour
When I shall face God
With a charge sheet
Full of sins
God
Who is sitting idle
Probably playing chess
With his demi gods
He
Who made the world
And abandoned it
To Nature's freaks
To Devil's friends
Ah!
It reminds me
He might have lost it
In a game of chess.

Atiza Hasan's echoes are of Prufrock lost in his own confused mortality:

we are little gods
each of us
in our stolen divinity.
islands of light. oceans of shade
Tomorrow is a thousand years away,
Today is a pandemonium of sophistries . . .
and astigmatism.
How far the eye can see in tones of gloom the
endless days and hours stretching in suspension
at noon in the heat of the heartless sun and
walls that fall and chairs that stand prim in
spinster pride close-legged, straight-backed,
and burning-eyed.
i batter against the ramparts of eternity.
i the little god for now.
No music of Jericho
to blast the battlements
of yesterday,
today, tomorrow.
only
desert

blinded
eyes
to see beyond the haze, the mist
and convolutions of decay
and thin pipe music
to tell of things of beauty.
of life.
of death.
and yesterday . . .

Conversely N. M. Raashid, perhaps the most optimistic of the poets now writing, rejects the pessimism of the present as well as the post-World War I despair that colored the early verse of Eliot and his followers. Instead Rashid, like Iqbal, with overtones of Whitman, transcends the material and defines a new human spirituality. In "The First Ray" he writes,

But, O my comrades, in these
Dark nights doth hear
That wild burst of music?
Perchance someone, at last,
Has seen the First Ray of Hope!
But no. Just look for a moment
Out of the window. It
Seems the angels are bearing
Away the Pall of gold, that
Sorcerer of whom there is
No sign visible anywhere —
Who is the god of the West.
But not of the East!

Yes, they are the joyous
Strains of music which
Usher in a New Era of the
Transcending importance of Man.
Listen and drink them up into
Your soul. Of the coming
New order, in advance,
They constitute the welcome shadow.
Arise, therefore, and let us
Join in the great rejoicings!
Let us with abandon bathe
In the New Light, and revel
In the current of this swelling
Flood!

N. M. Raashid's metaphysical celebration of the new era of man owes much to the freedom of Iqbal's development of the *nazm* at the same time that it celebrates the ordered, visionary, humanistic future. In Khalilur Rahman's "In the Wilderness of Life," the same demanding vision echoes the long traditions of Islamic idealism:

There are
No pathways here, no beaten tracks:
There are only storms,
And trials, and tribulations.
But for those who have
The power to ride through,
They are not only easy
They also yield that deep delight,
Keen as mustard, which healthy minds
Hail as the Supreme Joy in Life.

In turning to Kaleem Omar, perhaps the most gifted of the poets of Pakistan's first generation, one hears the same challenge that Ezra Pound had voiced to his contemporaries more than a half-century before, phrased in the cadences and imagery of living speech and flesh and blood humanity. Like Walt Whitman, to whom he is indebted in form and technique, he sees beyond the immediate to an ultimate transcendental oneness. But the oneness that he defines is that characterized by the control, the dignity, and the peace expressed by Iqbal. "The Poets of the Millenium," defines the role of the poet in Kaleem Omar's vision of the future:

When the earth with fools is filled
and all love from life distilled,
when the sky is torn asunder
by a clap of vicious thunder,
when the streets run red with blood
oozing from the scarlet mud,
when white hail, like bullets flying,
chills the flesh of thousands dying,
when the cold of hate is in
and the love of life is sin . . .
when proud cities are a mound
of geiger ashes on the ground,
when the great books of the world

are on funeral pyres hurled,
when to win the race they run
a maddened father kills his son,
when men's hate to horror flings
the essence of the scheme of things,
when man's spirit broken lies
then will nature's poets rise.

Suddenly will their coming be,
like spring blossoms on a tree . . .
Then the tortured womb of earth
to their planting will give birth,
and their words to winds will cry:
men were born to live not die . . .
Thus will life begin anew
underneath the central blue,
thus will joy become the name
of the poet and his fame.
Thus will poets show the way
to another golden day,
like a true and lovely rhyme
in a clean and peaceful clime
where the best within us lives
and to life its meaning gives,
where a man is truly free
to fathom his own destiny,
and within the ancient span
gives his dignity to Man.

Kaleem Omar's challenge and prophecy provide an appropriate ending to this discussion of some of the origins and influences that have made Pakistani poetry what it is. There are a number of other poets of substantial achievement whose work we might examine — Riaz Quadir, Adib Suhail, and Omar Ali Chowdhury among them, all of whom combine to promise a bright poetic future for Pakistan — but with Kaleem Omar we see the fusion of traditions — of visions, of techniques, of challenges — that I am confident will mark the path of the future. These poets, and dozens of others, are demonstrating vigour, control, and eagerness to do battle with the great themes of life, and they provide a solid foundation for the new, unique poetic tradition, a confluence of traditions East and West, that is emerging in Pakistan.

MODERNISM IN INDIAN POETRY: AN INSCAPE OF PARADOX

H. B. Kulkarni

Indian literature is a product of more than fifteen languages, apparently an insurmountable barrier of communication between linguistic groups in the country. But the unity of its literature is unmistakable. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, an internationally acclaimed educator and philosopher, emphasized this fact when he said that the languages of India are many, but its literature is one. "There is a unity of outlook," he maintained, "as the writers in different languages derive their inspiration from a common source and face more or less the same kind of experience, emotional and intellectual."¹ The literature of India presents more than a common outlook on life and letters; it is the creation of a single heritage and invariably reveals common cultural and stylistic modes. This appears to be true today more than ever before. Political freedom has put a final seal of unity on India's cultural and aesthetic enterprise and provided a fresh framework of singleness of purpose and function to its expression. The modern poet is the product of new and free India; he has been exposed to extremely agonizing experiences like the struggle for independence, the partition of the country, communal riots, economic disasters like frequent failure of crops and wide-spread hunger — such and other painful events that deepened the situation into a crisis of faith that freedom had given the nation. These tides of social, economic, and spiritual crises have helped in forging a bond of fellowship among poets of today. Events, like war and inflation which have swamped the world, and modernism, which is described as the product of this crisis have cast India's poetic sensibility into the turbulent center of world consciousness.

¹ Preface, *Contemporary Indian Literature* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1957)

It is no wonder then that the poets of India have discovered affinity of spirit and models for imitation and inspiration in English, French, Russian, and American masters. The influence, for instance, of T.S. Eliot seems to have been all pervasive. His works have been translated into Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Malayalam, and Telugu and imitated in all the rest. *The Waste Land* has not only provided a symbol for cultural and spiritual crisis, but its technique has affected all experiments, whoever the poet and whatever the language. Poets, like Gopal Krishna Adiga in Kannada and Arudra in Telugu come to mind as examples of the depth of a single poet's influence. *Navya Kavya*, in Kannada, *Nava Kavya* in Marathi, *Prayogavada* in Hindi, new poetry in Telugu, ultra-modern poetry in Bengali, modernist poetry in Malayalam and so on reveal unmistakable affiliations with English and European models. Mallarmé, Baudelaire, and Rilke are familiar names in India; Mayakovsky has been translated and imitated in many languages. Marx and Freud have followers throughout the country. If the modernist poet tries to present in his works the pervasive malaise of modern times, as in the poetry of Mardhekar and Dilip Chitre (Marathi), the Marxist writer, in spite of his conviction in Utopian goals of a classless society, is filled with anger and frustration at man's inhumanity to man, as the works of Sri. (Telugu) are, but the constant exposure of the Indian poet to external poetic and philosophic influences has not made him purely imitative. These influences have helped him only to broaden his outlook without destroying his originality of perception and imagination. Indian poetry, in general, is the creation of the nation's psychological and spiritual heritage and the stresses of its socio-economic life.

Modernism in India, as elsewhere, may be described as the cult of the new. At no other time in its literary history was poetry exposed to such a craze for experimentation and a total breach with the past as the twentieth century. Poetry seems to have liberated itself from the stranglehold of classical regulations of metre and rhyme and is now composed in a manner that sometimes is pure license. The process of liberation which, perhaps, commenced with Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Laureate of India, has advanced to such an extent that he has now come to be regarded as a traditionalist. Every decade in Indian poetry presents a new phase of revolution and discards the previous decade by labeling its experiments as conventional. It is very difficult to

communicate adequately this dynamic spirit of experimentation in verse through translation. I will only mention here some of the avante-garde schools of poetry to give a general indication of what is happening on the Indian scene. The *Navya Kavya* in Kannada has come to stay after a long battle with the older generation of poets who were themselves spirited revolutionaries.

The father of modernism in Kannada, V. K. Gokak, who gave young writers both the theory and technique of modernism is no longer accepted by the newest generation as its leader. The "*prayogavada*" school of experiment in Hindi has branched off into a minor movement known as "*a-kavita*," which means "un-poetry." In Telugu the latest experiment is called by its sponsors "naked poetry," for it has declared an open war against all forms of tradition in matter and manner. Yet it lapses mostly into what is clearly a poetry of "social protest." A similar preoccupation with novelty and experiment is discernible in Bengal, Tamilnadu, Gujarat, and Kerala. The success or failure of experimentation is still in the lap of time, but we may take warning from what Vatsyana, a leading Hindi poet, has to say about experiments. Although his remarks were aimed at the specific situation in Hindi, they are applicable to other languages as well:

The search for new forms that the new temper necessarily called for has provided an excuse to a number of aspirants to present formless, indisciplined, adolescent verse as New Poetry, quaintness, exoticism, any weird or macabre pose as originality, a slick phrase as the inspiration of genius.²

Fortunately this cult of the new is, in significant instances of modernism, associated with the love of antiquity. This desire to recover and understand the past is part of a larger movement for freedom from alien rule and was promoted by leaders like Mahatma Gandhi who believed in freedom as love of one's heritage. Familiarity with ancient Sanskrit literature became an important aspect of national education. *Bhagavadgita* came to act as the spearhead of the country's political struggle. *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* were recreated in a variety of forms and modes for contemporary consumption. Poems, like *Savitri* by Sri Auro-

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

bindo, *Ramayana Darsana* (Kannada) by K. V. Puttappa, and *Ramayana Kalpavrikshamu* (Telugu) by Viswanadha Satyanarayana, to name but a few, discover modern relevance in ancient stories. *Songs from Ramayana* in Marathi (*Gitaramayana*) by Madgulkar have become very popular and are sung to packed audiences. Obviously they cannot be cited as examples of modernism; this is mentioned only to prove the vitality of tradition which is being exploited by poets of today. Poets acknowledged by the public as leaders of modernist poetry have shown great zeal in trans-creating classical Sanskrit literature and applying it to ultra-modern themes. P. Lal, a leading figure in Indo-Anglian poetry, is a dedicated translator of *Mahabharata*, *Rig-Veda*, and other classical literature. V. K. Gokak discovers new symbolism in the story of Trisanku as signifying the dawn of higher consciousness. He is now engaged in composing an epic poem on the legend of Viswamitra. Another random example of modernist recreation of ancient legends is Vinda Karandikar's poem on Dadhichi (Marathi). This presence of the old in the company of the new has been aptly described in a Bengali poem called "Harrappa":

Here time's old playthings are exposed
 As the plough cuts through the soil;
 And nearby children play with new toys
 As ever they did before.

In this bright new dawn
 We of the ages, meet in a new age,
 Great Indosthan,
 Your future still grows from the paternal past.

One of the great paradoxes of modernism is its antipathy for the modern. Although Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of free India, described factories as temples of modern India, we hardly find any modernist poet celebrating the glory of technology and industry. The overwhelming theme of poetry today is the despair born of the dehumanizing influences of industrial civilization. Arudra's "Cinewali" (Telugu), which means the "new moon," is a poem based on the tensions experienced by people who rush to the city in search of fortune. Sometimes, such a social theme is widened to cosmic proportions in poems, like "Abortion" by Gokak:

Like a woman in labor pain
Mother Earth is sick and bed-ridden!
Every age has a new conception
But every time it's a horrid abortion . . .
This womb that dreams of angels
Has given birth, O God!
To fiends and monsters odd.

Kailas Vajpeyi, one of the angry young men of Hindi poetry, describes modern culture as "ghoul culture":

If culture has granted us
Nothing else
It has accomplished one thing:
It has made us all inhuman
In equal proportion.

A well-known Hindi poet Dharmavir Bharati has a poem called "*Parajit Pidhi ka Gita*" (Song of the Vanquished Generation):

We are all stained with sin
Tainted with hypocrisy and fraud
Our face painted with dishonor and shame
Our hands brandish a broken sword.

A shameful progeny of this industrial civilization is the ever-haunting spectre of poverty, which has found enthusiastic laureates among the moderns. A poem call "Pavement" by a Urdu poet may be partially noted:

Look, there's this man —
Maybe it's plain hunger or maybe he's ill,
But people see him and edge away.
If he's dead leave him alone, or
Inform the police from a distance —
No red tape; if he's ill
We will push him into the hospital next door
No trouble, no time wasted; the rest
Is none of our business.

Kambadasan (Tamil) writes sympathetically of the poor and the hungry:

For the eyes to rest, sleep can come to aid;

For the silly ass to rest, any corner can be had;
For the music to rest, rhythm can yield a bed;
For human hunger to rest, where can you find the Grace?

The modern poet is equally preoccupied with the ugliness and evil that surrounds him. He refuses to escape into the romantic world of beauty that seems to find poetic fulfillment in the expression of truth as he sees it. Sudhindranath Datta believes that the "present is no time for dreams," for

This ruin is our inheritance:
A line of spendthrifts went before;
They picked the pounds and left no pence:
Now both of us must pay the score.

Another Bengali poet, Premendra Mitra, says:

Beauty without blemish
And truth unalloyed
Only the printed books proclaim!

The modern poet is trying to remove from his eyes the many folds of delusion and dream and see reality as it is, and while doing so, he sometimes experiences the mystic charm underlying what is apparently ugly. A poem on "Frogs" may be cited as an example: Frogs in the rainy season lie with their neckless swollen throats in the luscious mud and experience the ecstasy of touch; their eyes are

Like the sombre stare of a mystic
Seeking God, in deep meditation.

Another poet sings of darkness as holy: "Love's orchestra is silenced by hatred." Another poet sees the night "filled with the howl of foxes,"

The bats flap their wings on black fig trees,
The owl's hoot above my head startled me — ah!
Half a moon has got stuck on to the telegraph wire.

The aesthetics of modernism is a search for beauty in the un-beautiful. Here is a Hindi poem entitled "The Stump":

A mere stump.
All foliage gone,
Done with making . . .
No traveller rests in its shade,
No lover weeps in the spot of shade
Cast by an old blind bird who sits there
Dumbly recalling the music it once could make.

This new aesthetics drives the poet into the world of the commonplace and the unheroic; I will have to be satisfied with a single example, where the field is overcrowded with common people, unattractive places and ugly things: The following is a brief quotation from a poem called "Family" by a Hindi poet Vishwanath:

My father,
 a conquered Everest,
My mother,
 an ocean of milk poisoned by poverty,
My brother,
 a lion cub cinched up as a pack animal,
My sister,
 a doll made of soiled clothes,
And I,
 a kettle of water
 steaming away to vapor,
 water consumed into vapor.

This family portrait is a touching tragi-comedy of modern life.

One of the striking characteristics of modernist poetry is the dominance of the "I." There are more lyrical poems involving the first person singular than narrative or dramatic poems. But the "I" in these poems is no longer the autobiographical "I." It is almost always a dramatic pose which represents the condition of the modern man. The unheroic, broken self that is most often versified is indeed the symbol of the tainted, fragmented world that surrounds him, of which he is an integral part:

I am stained with the dark sins of Oedipus!
I drove a tractor and sowed and reaped
A harvest of atom bombs . . .

(From Adigs's *Bhoomigeeta*)

It has often been mentioned that truth has replaced beauty as the chief function of poetry in modern times. It is no doubt true that the poet of today is deeply concerned with realizing the truth of life in and around him, however ugly or painful it might be. That is the reason why, perhaps, that the texture of modernist poetry is a woof of social and psychological problems and predicaments. Traditional faiths have fallen and the conventional solutions to problems have failed, resulting in anger against God and religion:

We will bury God under the ground
And visit His tomb on our nightly round!
Set fire to creeds of men that rave,
To burn as incense on His grave.

But the general trend among modernist poets is to control this sense of frustration and turn seriously to one's own inner resources to find a direction and meaning to life. The most significant expressions of modernism have been deep explorations of the spirit, often without the aid of formal religion. Therefore this spirituality in modern poetry is never a repetition of old wisdom but a new adventure of the flesh-locked mind in search of redemption, a pilgrimage of a sinner towards salvation. The poetry of Nissim Ezekiel³ has been described in terms of such a theme of pilgrimage. In his recent poetry, however,

Even the pilgrimage theme can be resurrected, transmuted now into a thorough-going quest for the Grail (*Perspective*); there is the returned poet, fresh from hell, dispassionately reading his dearly bought . . . "message from another shore" (*Poetry Reading*); the primal landscape in which God's mills furiously turn and myths meander like rivers through a topography of pain (*Philosophy*); and, in the finest of poems, the not fully realized women who

Slowly turn around
Not only flesh and bone but myths of light
With darkness at the core (*Poet, Love, Bird-watcher*).

³ Michael Garman, "Nissim Ezekiel — Pilgrimage and Myth, *Critical Essays on Indian Writing in English*, edited by M. K. Naik, et al (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1972), p. 135.

Many of the references in this paper have been taken from native sources; only those selected from material in English have been footnoted.

Such a spiritual adventure is to be found in many modernist poets in Kannada, Gujarati, Bengali, Tamil, and Telugu.

The modernist poet is equally concerned with the technique of poetic composition. New experiences require new modes of expression. The modernist poet, we have seen, has liberated himself from the external disciplines of rhyme and meter, which makes it all the more important that he discover an inner rhythm resonant of his emotional complexity produced by a sensibility exposed to the turbulence of our times. It is very difficult to illustrate the experimental nature of this "word-craft" in Indian poetry. For it is typically regional. All that could be said here is that the poet has tried to exploit the multi-layered vocabulary of Sanskrit language. He has put to use the conversational idiom, folk-tunes and imagery, and on occasions, used English words without hesitation. Modernist poetry has indeed striven to extend the scope and significance of the word as monad of sound and sense. One of the older poets, who cannot be dismissed as non-modernist is a poet I have personally known. D. R. Bendre, who received national recognition through the coveted *Jnanapith* award is indeed a magician of the word. He has woven such delightful word-patterns that it is a rare experience to listen to him. But his is not a love of words for their own sake. He makes them carry such a load of meaning and feeling that the words almost break under it.

Ancient seers of India describe the poet as "Krantā-Darshi," an individual with a revolutionary vision. The modernist poet by his open breach with tradition may be said to have extended the tradition through the practice of his art. If we remove the pejorative connotation from the word 'revolution', we may find it useful to describe it as the very soul of poetry and a shaping force of the poet's personality. Modernism has been a seat of many revolutions, both of vision and technique. It may be defined as a process of liberation from dead habits of custom and prejudice and of perceiving reality with sensitivity and understanding. One of the ancient definitions of Beauty is "that which has power to become something forever new." What is referred to here is not the cosmetics of the beautiful but its aesthetic philosophy. Although in some cases, modernism has shown a tendency towards novelty for its own sake, the genuine poet has saved himself from this temptation and has striven to achieve a new way of looking at reality and expressing it accordingly. Modernism in India may

be described as a sincere attempt to reach an ancient ideal of creativity and beauty through a constant process of liberation and novelty.

THE SARVĀNGĪ OF THE DADŪPANTHĪ RAJAB AND OTHER ANTHOLOGIES WITH HINDĪ LITERATURE IN RĀJASTHĀN

W. M. Callewaert

The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to some sectarian works, written in Rājasthān, in the 16-17th c. A.D. A thorough study of these works may reveal a good amount of hitherto unknown literature and may give plenty of information on the history of the sects and of individual poets in Rājasthān. At the same time I hope to illustrate the urgent need to collect, preserve, study and edit the manuscript material still available in India now.

My study is limited to Rājasthān, that area in Western India where 'sectarian' poets and reformers have not yet been studied thoroughly. Many of the general studies on the medieval Hindī and Rājasthānī literature and on medieval religious poetry in general mention these poets rather briefly, although their impact on the ordinary people may have been considerable. Critical studies about only a few great reformers have been made so far as Dādū,¹ Jāmbhojī, the founder of the Viṣṇoī sect² and Haridās, the founder of the Nirañjanī sect.³

Two kinds of literary works are to be mentioned, first the biographies (*Bhaktamāl*) and secondly the anthologies (*Pañcavānī* and *Sarvāngī*).

1. *Bhaktamāl*

These 'Rosaries of the saints' are a literary genre, found in many sects of the period under discussion. These biographies

¹ W. G. ORR. *A sixteenth-century Indian mystic*, London, 1947.

² H. MĀHEŠVARĪ, *Jāmbhojī, Viṣṇoī sampracay aur sāhitya*, 2 vols, Calcutta, 1970.

³ Sv. MAṄGALADĀS, *Śrī Mahārāj Haridās jī kī Vānī*, Jaipur, 1962. The author shows that Haridās was born in Rājasthān, in 1455 A.D. In *Kabīr* (Oxford, 1974), p. 73, n.2, C. VAUDEVILLE remarks: "The Nirañjanī School whose possible origin is to be found in Orissa (according to K. M. Sen *Medieval Mysticism of India*, pp. 70 and 170) is also established in Rajasthan."

briefly relate the life-story of the great saints not only of the sect to which the composer of the *Bhaktamāl* himself belongs, but also of other saints, before and outside the sect. The best known and the most frequently studied and edited *Bhaktamāl* is the one written by Nābhādās, with a commentary by Priyādās. There is, however, a score of other, smaller and even bigger *Bhaktamālas*, awaiting a critical edition and a comparative historical study. I classify them according to the sect in which they were composed.

1.1. In the Dādūpantha (Dādū lived from 1544 till 1603 A.D.) there are four *Bhaktamālas*.

1.1.1. JAGGĀ, a disciple of Dādū, wrote a small *Bhaktamāl* of 89 distichs, in which he mainly enumerates the names of about 100 saints, with a few biographical notes.

1.1.2. Another small *Bhaktamāl*, of 91 verses, was written by CAIN, a disciple of Dādū. Both works were edited by A. NĀHAṬĀ, along with the Rāghavadās *Bhaktamāl*.⁴

1.1.3. The Dādūpanthī RĀGHAVADĀS wrote a huge *Bhaktamāl*, giving plenty of information on some 1200 saints; this is an enormous number if one compares it with the approximately 600 saints described in the Nābhādās *Bhaktamāl*. In the manuscripts this *Bhaktamāl* is always found together with its commentary, written by Caturadās, in 1800 A.D.

This work too has been edited, first by A. NĀHAṬĀ,⁴ who used two manuscripts (dated 1804 and 1829 A.D.) for the critical edition. A second edition was prepared by Svāmī NĀRĀYAṆADĀS⁵ who used "seven manuscripts" in order "to correct the mistakes in the first edition". However, Nārāyaṇadās did not specify which manuscripts he consulted and his edition appears to be freely adapted to modern Hindī. On the whole, the Nāhaṭā edition seems to be more reliable, especially when he decides which verse was originally written by Rāghavadās and which verses were written by the commentator Caturadās.

The date of composition of the Rāghavadās *Bhaktamāl* is problematic. At the end of the work we read *samvat satrah sai satrahotarā*. *Satrah sai* is straightforward, meaning 1700 *vikram*. *Satrahotarā* was translated by Sharmā⁶ as seventy, which gives the date of the composition 1770 *vikram* or 1713 A.D. Both ed-

⁴ *Bhaktamāl*, Rājasthān Purātan Granthamālā, 47, Jodhpur, 1965.

⁵ *Bhaktamāl*, Puṣkar, 1969.

⁶ P.H. SHARMĀ, *Sundar Granthāvalī*, Calcutta, 1936, vol. I, p. [2].

itors of the *Bhaktamāl* translate *satrahotarā* as seventeen, which gives a much earlier date of composition: 1717 *vikram* or 1640. This early date looks improbable. It is contradicted by the list of successors given by Nārāyaṇadās himself⁷ as follows: 1. Dādū. 2. Baṛe Sundaradās, 3. Prahlādādās, 4. Haridās jī Hāpā, 5. Rāghavadās. Considering this sequence of teacher-disciple, Rāghavadās could hardly have completed his work in 1640 A.D. (Dādū died in 1603.)

The etymology of the word *satrahotarā* may support the hypothesis of a different translation. In the Rājasthānī Sabad Kos of Sītārām Lālas we find the word *ik otar* derived from Sanskrit *eka saptati*, Prakṛt *ekka sattari*, Apabhraṁśa *iko tarai*, in which *ik* stands for 'one' and *otar* for 'seventy'. By analogy, I translate *satrah otarā* as 'seven plus seventy', that is seventy-seven. This gives us, as a hypothesis, the date of composition 1977 *vikram* or 1720 A.D.

1.1.4. The fourth *Bhaktamāl* in the Dādūpantha was written by BRAHMADĀS, who lived around 1757 A.D. The work gives a short description of 114 saints.⁸

1.2. Several *Bhaktamālas* were composed by poets of the Rāmasanehī sect, which was established around 1700 A.D. and developed in three main branches.

1.2.1. The first *Bhaktamāl* is attributed to RĀMADĀS, born near Jodhpur in 1726 A.D. This work was written possibly in 1752 A.D. and has 176 *paḍya*; it was edited in 1931 in a work called *Śrī Rāmasanehī dharmaparakāś*.⁹

1.2.2. The *Bhaktamāl* of DAYĀLUDĀS was written in 1804 A.D.⁹

1.2.3. The third *Bhaktamāl*, written by SUKHASĀRAN in 1843, has 1735 *ślokas*, dealing with a great number of saints. The work was published by Svāmī Yuktirām, in *Santa Vāṅī*, Jodhpur (p. 139-306).⁹

1.2.4. R. P. Tripāthī further mentions *Bhaktamālas* written by KISANADĀS, SUKHARĀMADĀS, PREMADĀS, and PŪRANADĀS.

⁷ *Śrī Dādūcaritāmṛt*, Puṣkar, 1975, p. 8

⁸ Edited by U. UJJVAL, *Brahmadās Bhagatamāl* Rājasthān Purāṭan Granthamālā 43, Jodhpur 1959.

⁹ See R. P. TRIPĀTHĪ *Rāmasanehī sampradāy*, Faizābād, 1973, p. 311f., 136f. and A. NĀHATA, *op. cit.*, 2, p. [4a].

1.3. The hagiographies written in the Nirañjanī sect are often referred to as *Paricayī*.

1.3.1. The first work is *Paramārtha Pañcasatasāi*, written by HARIRĀMAJĪ “before 1738”.¹⁰

1.3.2. The second work is the *Paracāi* written by RA-GHUNĀTHADĀS in 1766 A.D. This work is referred to as *Har-idāsajī kī paricayī* in *Hastalikhīt Hindī pustakō kā saṁkṣipta vivaraṇ*, Vol. II, N.P.S., Benares, p. 202. I found a reference to a manuscript (dated 1783 A.D.) of another biography written by this poet, called *Seū Samanajī kī paracāi* in the collection of P. H. Śarmā in Jaipur.¹¹

1.3.3. The third work is the *Bhaktamāl* written by PYĀRERĀM, in 1826 A.D.¹²

1.3.4. There are further the *Paracāi* written by PURNADĀS in 1853 A.D.¹³ and *Sevajī kī Paracāi* by RŪPADĀS.¹⁴

1.4. For the sake of completeness I mention the hagiographies written within the Rādhāvallabha sect, viz. *Bhaktanāmāvalī* by DHRUVADĀS (edited) and *Rasik Ananyamāl* by BHAGA-VAT.¹⁵

1.5. In the Gaury sect we have the *Vaiṣṇau Vandana* by DE-KAVINANDAN and another *Vaiṣṇau Vandana* by MĀDHAVADĀS.

1.6. In the Rāmopāsak sect we have the *Rasik prakāś bhak-tamāl*, written by JĪVARĀM (edited).¹⁵

2. Pañcavāṇī

The first type of anthology which is composed within the Dādūsect is the *Pañcavāṇī*. The term *vāṇī* literally means ‘sound’ or ‘word’ and is used in medieval *nirguṇ* poetry to denote the collected sayings of a saint. The *Pañcavāṇī* is a collection of sayings of the five saints who were kept in great reverence in the early Dādūpantha, viz. Dādū, Kabīr, Nāmadev, Raidās and Har-idās. The collection as such has obviously never been edited. Only Pārasanātha Tivārī, as far as I know, has made use of the manuscripts of this anthology for his critical edition of Kabīr’s *Granthāvalī*. It is interesting to note that of the five manuscripts

¹⁰ See Sv. MAṄGALADĀS, *op. cit.*, Introd. p. 11 and

¹¹ See G.N. BAHURĀ, *Vidyā Bhūṣaṇ Saṅgrah Sūcī* Rājasthān Purātan Granthamālā 55, Jodhpur, 1961.

¹² MAṄGALADĀS, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 16.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹⁴ See *ibidem*, p. 12. Referred to as *Sevādās kī paricayī* in N.P.S., Benares, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 330.

¹⁵ NĀHATĀ, *op. cit.*, p. [ḍa].

which Tivārī used, the three most ancient are dated 1774, 'about 1775' and 1919 A.D. During my search for manuscripts in Rājasthān I spent many weeks going through the private manuscript-collections in the Dādūpanthī temples and I discovered, among other things, manuscripts with the five *Vāñīs*, which were dated 1636, 1676, 1711, 1743, 1745, 1760, 1776 etc. (A.D.). Tivārī mentions that there should be about fifteen manuscripts with the *Pañcavāñī* in Jaipur; I found more than thirty of them, in the Dādūmahāvidyālay Jaipur alone. Obviously, it is not necessarily the most ancient manuscript which has the most reliable text, yet this discovery may be useful for new critical editions of any of the five poets.

These ancient manuscripts are interesting not only for the text of Kabīr. Even for the (re-)edition of the *Dādūvāñī* this manuscript may prove useful. I should point out that for the critical edition of the *Dādūdayāl Granthāvalī* (Benares, 1966), P. Caturvedī made use of a few ancient manuscripts, the first being dated "about 1653," the second 1711 A.D. etc. During the same search in Rājasthān I discovered (and put on microfilm) manuscripts with the *Dādūvāñī* dated 1636, 1661, 1676, 1684 etc. The first text of the *Dādūvāñī* was found precisely in the above mentioned *Pañcavāñī*, dated 1636.

The manuscripts with the *Pañcavāñī* anthology should be very useful also for a re-edition of the literature of Nāmadev. The most ancient manuscripts consulted by Bhagṛatha Miśra for his *Santa Nāmadev kī Hindī Padāvalī* (Poona, 1964) are dated 1698, 1714, 1779 etc.

3. In a second type of anthology I have grouped the works of three Dādūpanthīs, viz. Jagannātha, Gopālādās and Rajab.

3.1. *Guṇaganjanāmā* of JAGANNĀTHA: It is noteworthy that the earliest manuscript, which I found of this work, has only a very limited number of pages, viz. 15 folios, whereas the later manuscripts have 200 or more folios. The earliest manuscript is dated 1676 A.D. and is in my possession on microfilm. I also have on microfilm a copy of a manuscript dated 1796, with 216 folios, but so far I have been unable to make a detailed comparison of the two texts.

The identity of the author of the work is problematic. Vaudeville writes in *Kabīr*, p. 74-75; "The *Guṇaganjanāmā* is written by one Jagannāth-dās Kabīr-panthī in A.D. 1796. It is composed on the same pattern as the *Sarbangī* [of Rajab, see below 3.3]

and includes verses composed by 65 saints, including 400 sākhis ascribed to Kabīr." I beg to differ with several points in this statement. It should be noted that in the *Bhaktamāl* of Rāghavadās (see above, 1.1.3) a *Guṇagañjanāmā* is attributed to the Dādūpanthī Jagannātha, as follows:

Dādū ke śiṣya jagannātha . . .

*Guṇagañjanāmā kiyā sarva kī kavita tā madhi,*¹⁶ which can be rendered as 'Dādū's disciple Jagannātha composed the *Guṇagañjanāmā*; the poetry of many saints is quoted in it.' It should, therefore, be ascertained who is this Jagannātha so-called 'Kabīrpanthī, to whom Vaudeville refers.

A second point to be considered is the date of composition. If the *Guṇagañjanāmā* was composed in 1796, as Vaudeville maintains, how can it be explained that there are manuscripts of this work dated 1676 (with fifteen folios), 'about 1700,' 1761, 1767 etc.? A detailed study of this work should reveal the real contents. I may also mention here that Tripāthī remarks that the *Guṇagañjanāmā* written by Jagannātha contains 5591 *dohe* and *caupāī*.¹⁷

3.2. The *Śrī Sarvāṅgī Sarah Cintāmaṇī* of GOPĀLADĀS is another vast anthology composed in the Dādūpantha. So far this work was not catalogued anywhere and I discovered a copy of it, by accident, in the Dādūmahāvīdyālay Jaipur. It is now in my possession on microfilm.¹⁸

Obviously, not every poet quoted by Gopāladās is important. Yet, a study of this interesting document may give the following results: 1) Poets may be quoted in it whose works are to be found nowhere else; 2) considering the early date of composition (1627 A.D.?) and the neutral copying tradition of this anthology, we cannot afford to ignore the readings in this anthology, when editing or re-editing e.g. Kabīr, Dādū or Nāmadev. With neutral copying tradition I mean that a verse of, for instance Kabīr, quoted in this anthology and copied by scribes, has a better chance not to undergo intentional changes than a verse copied by Kabīrapanthī scribes in 'sectarian' manuscripts.

3.3. The last anthology, and no doubt the most important is

¹⁶ Verse 577 on p. 732-733 in the Nārāyaṇadās edition.

¹⁷ In *Dādūpanthī sampradāy kā Hindī sāhitya*, Sarasvatī 17 (1916) p. 225-231.

¹⁸ For more details, see *A 17th c. Anthology of Hindī Poetry*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 5 (1974), p. 187-196.

the *Sarvāṅgī* composed by Dādū's most influential disciple RAJAB. His own *Vāṇī*, which has been edited (but not critically) three times already, gives more than 5000 distichs and many other verses in different meters.

The *Sarvāṅgī* of Rajab is a vast compilation, giving about 8000 verses in different meters (*sākhī*, *pad*, *arilla*, *ślok*, *bait*) and quoting 88 identified poets. This work has been known to scholars for the last 50 years, but only guesses have so far been made as to its real content. Tivārī made use of the manuscripts of Rajab's *Sarvāṅgī* for his critical edition of Kabīr. He states that there are 66 poets quoted and that 337 verses of Kabīr are found. In fact 88 poets are quoted and I counted more than 450 verses of Kabīr. Tivārī did make use of this anthology but he did not consult the ancient manuscripts of it.

When B. Miśra edited the literature of Nāmadev, he also consulted Rajab's *Sarvāṅgī*, but the manuscript which he used was dated 1808 A.D.; the manuscripts which I have on microfilm and used for my study of the *Sarvāṅgī* are dated 1715, 1744, 1760 and 1779. Miśra refers to fifty *padas* of Nāmadev in the *Sarvāṅgī*; I counted 38 *padas*. Again, considering the 'neutral' copying tradition, this *Sarvāṅgī* should be useful for re-editions. The most ancient manuscripts with Nāmadeva's literature which Miśra used for this edition are dated 1698, 1714, etc.; if Rajab's *Sarvāṅgī* was composed about 1620 A.D., it is possible that the readings of Nāmadeva's verses in it are also relatively accurate.

The text of the *Sarvāṅgī* may also be useful for the edition of Rāmānanda, Gorakhanātha and many others.¹⁹

¹⁹ The publication of a detailed study of Rajab's *Sarvāṅgī* by the author is forthcoming.

**SRTVATSA OR CADUCEUS- LIKE SYMBOL:
ITS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE**

Rai Govind Chandra

Symbols in India as elsewhere appear to be creations of the so called primitive minds, who in all probability harboured some thoughts about the origin of life on this hemisphere and its continuance after physical death as well as the cause of elemental fury etc. though these thoughts might appear unscientific to the modern mind wedded to the theory of cause and effect.

It appears that the primitive people afraid of divulging their knowledge about life and nature lest the elemental forces might take revenge on them hid their thoughts in abstract forms though preserving the shapes of objects in sketchy forms in order not to forget them and be able to communicate these to their progeny. This knowledge was originally perhaps communicated in a hush hush manner by tracing on the ground and explaining its meaning in the ears of the disciples. These symbols in course of time must have acquired magical potency when their meaning would have been forgotten by most of the members of the primitive society. Then they would have been painted or carved at random to bring good luck to these members of society.

It is, however, wrong to postulate that these symbols are products of unequipped primitive minds as opposed to modern ones for among the primitive people even today we find slavish followers of the teachers as well as scoffers, non-believers, clear thinkers and muddle headed bunglers, strong characters and weaklings all rubbing shoulders side by side as we see in our society.

The most obvious case of symbolism in the modern world is that of the design of National Flags. They are not merely ornamental pieces but possess a strong emotional appeal, a national allegiance, founded upon the forms connected with definite fields

of life. Similarly the Svastika, an ancient, symbol was used by Nazis during second world war to denote their superiority of the German race.

A symbol is thus an abstract object form representing some profound thought whether of the primitive or modern society. In this context let us examine the SRIVATSA symbol widely found on various art pieces of India and elsewhere from ancient times to almost mideaval period. This symbol also takes form of architectural embellishment in India. This symbol is present in one form or the other in Ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria,¹ Persia,² and Greece. A sceptre in this form called caduceus was in use in Ancient Greece and was borne by Hermes and Mercury as a sign of quality and symbol of office. It looked like a winged rod entwined by two serpents. Later it became the staff of office of herald. The rod in those days represented power, the serpents wisdom and the two wings diligence and activity. According to Greek mythology Mercury put a branch of olive wood in between two serpents who were rushing towards him and they stopped then and there. The story was symbolised in the form of caduceus, a staff which later became the staff of office of a herald and the symbol of commerce as Mercury was also the God of Commerce.³

This motif is first found in the ancient protohistoric civilisation of the Indus Valley in India. It is presented here on a seal in the form of two serpents coiling a Pipal tree.⁴ In India serpent is regarded as the symbol of incarnation and the tree with its spreading branches and leaves as the universe itself. On another seal of the Indus Valley two serpents are seen standing on the middle portion of their body on either side of a Yogi, who is sitting in Yoga Mudra, and two worshippers are on his two sides.

This symbol which has a very ancient origin is found to have acquired sanctity among followers of all the three ancient religions of this country — the Jainas, Budhists, and Hindus. Chronologically speaking we find references of the sacredness of this symbol in Jaina Aupapātika Sūtra.⁵ It also appears among the eight Aṣṭa

¹ *Bidder Zur Religion Babyloniens and Assyriens* Pg. 92.

² Franz Cumot - *The Mysteries of Mithra* Mothr aic Camco. Fig. 28.

³ *The New Greshams Encyclopaedia* Vo. II pg. 294 *Websters New International Dictionary* pg. 373 Column 2.

⁴ Hemrich Zimmer - *The Art of Indian Asia* Vol. II Page 1e.

⁵ *Aupapattika Sutra* — 31 Pg. 68-69.

Mañgalas and is worshipped by the Jainas according to the coronal Jaina Texts.⁶ In Āchārya Dinakara we find the significance of this symbol along with the significance of others. He says that it represents the highest knowledge which manifested itself from the heart of the Jaina in the form of Śrīvatsa. Often this symbol was carved on ĀYĀGAPATTAS or ŚILĀPATTAS, which were placed on a SIMHĀSANA or a pedestal and worshipped.

Apart from the seals of the Indus Valley where the earliest representation of this symbol occurs it is present on some of the Ancient Punch Marked Coins,⁷ and then on the CAST COPPER COINS OF RAJAGRIH⁸ and the PĀÑCĀLA COINS OF PHĀLGUNĪMITRA,⁹ as well as on the reverse of AGNIMITRA AND BHĀNJMITRA¹⁰ it is found on the coins of the ŚAKA ruler MAUS.¹¹ On the coins of VIJAYA MITRA of KULU¹² and also on the reverse of the YAUDHEYA coins¹³ to the left of the Goddess.

This symbol is also found in Buddhist art and is described as a shield like symbol by Arava Muthan¹⁴ and by Theobald as double Trisūla.¹⁵ It appears in the centre of a round border of a medallion containing a lotus flower and two elephants (Fig. 2-c).¹⁶ At another place it is composed of two¹⁷ serpents like forms with a leaf in the centre (Fig. 2-b). At yet another place it becomes almost like a shield and appears as the central piece of the neck ornament

⁶ Trisati (Gaekwar Oriental Series) Pg. 112-190.

Maha Purana (Adipurana) Parva 22 VV 143, 185, 210 Pg. 520.

U.P. Shah — *Studies in Jaina Art* Pg. 109.

⁷ P.N. Bhattacharya — *A Hoard of Silver Punch Market Coins*, Memoirs A.S.I. No. 62 Pl. 000 No. 84.

⁸ Ajit Ghose — *Rare Oblong Coins from Rajgir* — J.N.S.I. 1939 P. 5-8 — Pl III — 4.

⁹ C.J. Brown. *The Coins of India* Pl. 1-4.

¹⁰ V.A. Smith — *Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum Calcutta* Vol. I p. 186 Pl. XXII — 1, 6.

¹¹ Marshall — *Taxila* Vol. II. p. 806 Pl. 238-120.

¹² Marshall — *Taxila* Vol. Pl. 243-252, 253, 257.

¹³ V.A. Smith *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* p. 183, Pl. XXI — 19, 20.

¹⁴ T.G. Arava Muthan — *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* p. 48, Fig. 16, 9.

¹⁵ W. Theobald — *Notes on Some of the Symbols found on the Punch-Marked Coins of Hindustan etc.* — J.A.S.B. No. III. IV — 1890 p. 256 No. 192.

¹⁶ Coomaraswamy — *La Sculpture de Bharhut* pl. XXXIV Fig. 96.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Pl. IV. Fig. 9,10.

of a female, *Ceda Vakhani* or *Candra Vakṣaṇi*.¹⁸ On the top of the North gate of Sāñchī it is very prominently displayed within the two arms of the *triratna*. (Fig. 2-e). At Taxila its form is seen on a bangle bracelet.¹⁹ (Fig. 2-f). It also appears on the Kuṣaṇa umbrella of the Mathura *Bodhisattva* at Sarnatha, and in front of Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription.²⁰ Among the Hindus later in the Gupta period this symbol was placed on the chest of *Vishnu* as we see in Raghuvamśa (X-10-XVII-29).²¹

In Sabda Kalpadruma this symbol on the chest of *Viṣṇu* is described as 'Su tu vaksya sukia varna daksināvarta lomāvali' i.e. it is formed by the small white hairs on the chest turning towards the right.²²

In Amarakosa again we find *Viṣṇu* described as *Śrīvatsalanchana*.²³

In Brhat Samhita We find that the image of *Viṣṇu* should have on the chest the mark of Śrīvatsa.²⁴

However, we do not come across this symbol on the chest of all the early figures of *Viṣṇu* like the *Viṣṇu* of Devagarh²⁵ or *Viṣṇu* from Mathura²⁶ or *Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadhari* from Mathura²⁷ though it is seen on the chest of *Viṣṇu* of Udaigiri of the 5th Century A.D. (Fig. 3-b), and on the chest of a Tirthankara from Mathura of the *Kuṣaṇa* period (Fig. 3-a). On the latter, the symbol, however, is slightly different from the former in as much as the central shaft takes the shape of an arrow with a triangular top, and the serpents are bound together with a string. It changes its shape when it appears on the medieval sculpture. It now assumes the form of a long lozenge shaped flower with two long petals arranged vertically, the lower being longer than the upper

¹⁸ Louis Fréderic — *Indian Temples & Sculpture* — Time & Hudson, London. Fig. 22.

¹⁹ Marshall — *Taxila* — Vol. III. Pl. 196 C. No. 140.

²⁰ Actes des sisième Congress International des Orientalistes. III, 2. P. 137.

²¹ Kalidasa — *Raghuvamsa*. X-10, XVII-28.

²² Sri Radhakant Bahadur — *Sabda Kalpadruma* — Vol. V, p. 169.

²³ *Amarakosa* — 43.

²⁴ *Brhat Samhita* by Varahmihira — ED. M.N. Sudhakara Dvivedi, E.J. Lazarno & Co., Benares — 1897 — Part II p. 208.

²⁵ Zimmer — Op. Cit. Fig. 11.

²⁶ Zimmer — Op. Cit. Fig. 104.

²⁷ Zimmer — Op. Cit. Fig. 76(a) see also Siva Ram Murti — *Ancient India* No. 6 — 1950. p. 45.

one, and two small ones placed horizontally²⁸ as we see it on some of the medieval sculptures of *Viṣṇu*²⁹ (Fig. 3-d) and of Jain *Tīrthaṅkaras* like *Pārśvanātha* (Fig. 3-c).

We come across this symbol in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta seals also which T. Bloch in his report on the excavations at Basarh describes in some cases as *ornamented Triśūla* and in others as money chest specially when it appears on the seals of mercantile guilds.³⁰ It is nothing but the *Śrīvatsa* symbol. It occurs on Basārḥ seal of Śrī Visṇupada Svāmī Naraya (na) and has to its right a staff consisting of seven dots, a Śāṅkha and a symbol for the sun. To its left there is the symbol for moon and an ornamental wheel.³¹ (Fig. 4-a). A more crude representation of this symbol is seen on another Basārḥ seal on which we find an inscription reading (Ai) Katanik (Sya.).³² On a second seal from the same site it appears in a decorated form (Fig. 4-h). The central shaft here becomes very pointed and is decorated in the middle.³³ Yet another seal from Basārḥ has *Śrīvatsa*, in between two Svastikas.³⁴ Here the form of this symbol is changed a bit to look like a Triśūla (Fig. 4-c). Similarly we also find it on the right side of a man standing on an oval seal of Bhita³⁵ where to his left is Śāṅkha (Fig. 4-c) Marshall describes it as Trident. It also appears on another Bhita seal of "Amatyā Esvarachandrasya" with a conch and a wheel on either side³⁶ (Fig. 4-d) . . . and on the seal of Āmātya Nagadam (1) we also come across this symbol on the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta seals of Basārḥ and Bhīta. It occurs on the Basārḥ seal of Viṣṇupāda. We also come across a seal of "Dandanayaka Sri San- karadattasya" at Bhita with a bull standing in the centre and a wheel to its right and a Srivatsa to the left (Fig. 4-e).³⁷ In its

²⁸ C. Sivarama Murti — Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography. Ancient India — January 1950. Fig. 20-1a. 2a, 1e, and 2b, pl. XVIII-U- (Visnu) pl. XV-B-Tirthankara pl. XVI-B-Visnu etc. p. 45, Fig. 29.

²⁹ Prof. F. Kielhorn — "On a Jaina Statue in the Horniman Museum" J.R.A.S. 1898 opp. p. 101. Stella Kramrisch — Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum Pl. 46 — Visnu from Malwa.

³⁰ T. Bloch — "Excavations at Basarh"; ASIAR-1903-04. p. 115.

³¹ Ibid — P. 110 pl. XL-3 (4).

³² Ibid. p. 112 XLVI-48.

³³ Spooner "Excavations at Basarh" — ASIAR-1913-14-Pl. XLIX — 557.

³⁴ Ibid. Pl. XLVII. 219.

³⁵ Marshall — "Excavations at Bhita" ASIAR — 1911-12. Ibid. pl. XVIII. 22.

³⁶ Ibid — Pl — XIX-40.

³⁷ Ibid — P-54 Pl- XIX-44.

cruder form it appears on the seals of Vithusi (m) ha of Vasuda (Sya)³⁸ (Figs. 4-f & g.) and also on an uninscribed seal (Fig. 4-i).³⁹ On a later bronze figures of *Viṣṇu* we find this symbol shifting from the centre of the chest to the right side and taking first the form of a bell (Fig. 3-e) and then that of a triangle (Fig. 3-f).⁴⁰ We also come across this symbol on a panel from Paddamunam preserved in the Madras Museum. Here this symbol is personified and is supplied with the head and crown of Sri Laksmi. The hands and the legs are denoted by curled lines of the original symbol. (Fig. 3-g).⁴¹ A similar small bronze figure from Enadi is also preserved in the Madras Museum.⁴² It is said to belong to the Pallava Period. It appears that by this time the sculptors had completely forgotten the origin of this symbol and had begun to imagine that this was the ancient form of Sri Laksmi because it appeared on the chest of *Viṣṇu* and was known as *Srivatsa*. In some of the still later sculptures of *Śrīvatsa* symbol forms part of *Viṣṇu*'s necklace and is amalgamated with *Kaustubha maṇī*. It is also utilized in its modified form on the hallow of *Viṣṇu*⁴³ (10th Century A.D.). Ganesa⁴⁴ and other dieties and as a decoration on the sides of Caitya windows.

This symbol⁴⁵ which gained such a wide appeal having been adopted by the Jainas, Buddhists and the Vaisnavites must have had some special significance. It is said that this symbol occurs in early Egypt also (fig-1a & b) and in Crete (Fig-1c).⁴⁶ Arvamuthan is of the opinion that it represents the horned crown of *Śiva* of the Indus Valley⁴⁷ as similar crowns are found on early Sumerian Seals.⁴⁸ We might thus be led to believe that this form of the crown was imported into India and we should therefore, go

³⁸ Ibid-p-58 pl-xx-85-86.

³⁹ Ibid — Pl-XXI-117.

⁴⁰ Sivaram Murti — *Ancient India No. 6* 1950 — Fig-29. 1b, 1d, p.45-46.

⁴¹ Siva Ram Murti — *Goddess Laksmi and her symbols*. Journal of U.P. Historical Society. XIV-(1941) P-21-24.

⁴² Siva Ram Murti. *Ancient India No.6* (1950) P-46.

⁴³ Stella Kramrisch: — *The art of India Through the Ages*. P-92.

⁴⁴ Paul dovis Conchond — *Mythologic Asiatique*-p 100 fig.13.

⁴⁵ Stella Kramriach — *The Temple of Velluvankoil* Pls. 88.89.

⁴⁶ Arva Muthan — *Survival of Harappa Culture*. fig. 16-5 Petrie: — *Decorative Designa-34* (M 13).

⁴⁷ Ibid:-p-47 A much better suggestion would have been to connect it up with the crown on the head of the tree goddess. Mackay-F.E.M. pl. LXXXII-1c or pl. LXXXVII-Seal No.235.

⁴⁸ Osten — *Ancient Seals*: Collins Newell No.134.

to the west to seek the meaning and origin of this symbol. It may be pointed out here that the crown with its two inwardly rounded horns and a central concave prism-like part, a symbolic representation of the tree, can it best help us to arrive at the origin of the upper portion of this symbol known as *Śrīvatsa*. But the development of the lower form with its two outwardly rounded parts seen clearly at Bharhut (Fig. 20) still remains to be explained.

If however we do not go only to the linear form but also to the meaning and significance of this symbol to seek its origin, we shall have to search for its representation on other seals of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. There is a seal in the Indus Valley Civilization where we find two horned serpents with unicorn-like faces shown clinging to a pipala tree. (Fig. 1-d) These two animals are represented there in the form of two arches on both sides of the trunk of a tree.⁴⁹ The stylised forms of serpents which we come across in later art representations of Bharhut⁵⁰ referred to before (fig-2b) might have developed from this figure. Two serpents standing with their lower bodies as if ready for *Maithuna* as we see them on another seal of Mohanjodaro⁵¹ (Fig-1-e) with the stump of a tree between them, would produce the form of *Srivatsa*. As the serpent is regarded the symbol of re-incarnation in India⁵² and the tree with its spreading branches and leaves the universe itself, this symbol would represent the birth and the evolution of the cosmos. This meaning can only be attached to it if we regard the two snakes standing on the middle of their bodies, a form in which we find them represented in the Indus Valley.⁵³ It is just possible that this symbol of *Śrīvatsa* might have developed from the form of serpents coiled round a tree in India, Egypt, and elsewhere simultaneously for it is in this form that we find serpents represented in Babylonia, Assyria and⁵⁴ Persia.⁵⁵

It was later adopted as a decorative devise in the ornaments of Bharhut as seen on the necklance of *Candra Yaḡṣaṇī* and was also adopted in its modified form as an architectural device to embel-

⁴⁹ Stella Kramriach: — *The Art of India through the Ages*. Appendix-Fig 1 last (r) p. 216.

⁵⁰ A Coomaraswamy: — *La Sculpture de Bharhut*-fig 9.

⁵¹ E.J.H. Mackay — *Further Excavations at Mohanjodaro* Pl.CII-9a.

⁵² E.B. Havell — *Ideals of Indian Art*. P. 59.

⁵³ Zimmer — *The art of Indian Asia* Vol. II fig. 1 b at the back of the worshippers.

⁵⁴ Jastrow — *Bilder Zur Religion Babyloniens & Assyriens*. Pl. 92.

⁵⁵ Franz Cumont — *The Mysteries of Mithra*. Mithraic Cameo fig. 26 p. 124.

lish the Caitya windows.⁵⁶ We find another variation of this symbol in Gupta sculpture from Murti.⁵⁷ Later we find the serpents only on the two sides of the Caitya window.⁵⁸ Still later we find a part of it decorating the hallow of *Viṣṇu*.⁵⁹ In the later medieval period this symbol appears on the chest of *Viṣṇu* though its form is changed.⁶⁰ A similar symbol also appears on the chest of the figures of *Rsabhanatha* and *Neminath*, the *Jain Tirthankaras*⁶¹ of this period. It later takes the form of a triangle, which was the form adopted to brand the Vaisnavites along with the other four symbols Padma, S'anka, Gada, & Cakra. This change in the original form of the symbol leads us to conclude that by the 13th century A.D. people had forgotten its significance as well as its original form though its shape persisted in other countries like Egypt,⁶² till the 11th century. *Manasara* lays down that on the chest of *Viṣṇu Srivatsa Lanchanam* should be made.⁶³ Havell also describes it as a curl of hair on the chest of *Viṣṇu* on the basis of Sanskrit Texts.⁶⁴ But neither of them explain what its form should be.

We thus come to the conclusion that this symbol denotes the *mithuna* of the serpents, and is a relic of tree and serpent worship of the primitive people inhabiting different parts of the world. Later it became one of the eight auspicious symbols of Jains when the Buddhist borrowed it. Still later it was adopted by the Hindus, and placed on the chest of *Viṣṇu* in an effort to amalgamate the primitive religion with the more sophisticated religions of the Aryans.

⁵⁶ Zimmer — Ibid-Figs. 162, 164, Ajanta Caves etc.

⁵⁷ Stein — *Archaeological Reconnaissance in N.W. India & S.E. Iran* Fig. 20-2.

⁵⁸ Stella Kramrisch: — *The Art of India Through the Ages*. Fig.92 Visnu temple of Kaulugumalai.

⁵⁹ Zimmer: — Op. cit. Fig. 388.

⁶⁰ Zimmer: — Op. Cit. Fig. 320.

⁶¹ Zimmer: — Op. Cit. Fig. 389 and Fig. 393.

⁶² Arthur Lane — *Early Islamic Pottery*. pl. 25-on a fragment of pottery of 996-1021 A.D.

⁶³ P.K. Acharya — *Manasara on Architecture & Sculpture*.

⁶⁴ E.B. Havell: — *The ideals of Indian Art* P. 87.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA . CHRONOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

Asim Kumar Chatterjee

The first thing that will strike a discerning reader of the *Rāmāyaṇa* that, unlike the *Mahābhārata*, it is a more or less homogeneous work. The first six Books of this work were probably written by a single poet and the last Book, namely the Uttarakāṇḍa, was composed a few centuries after the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, by which we generally mean Books I-VI. The Uttarakāṇḍa was written by a poet at a time when Rāma became a legendary figure and completely identified with the god Viṣṇu. Even there are reasons to believe that a work called the *Hāmacarita* or *Rāmāyaṇa* existed in manuscript form before the poet of the Uttarakāṇḍa. We will have to say something more on this Book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* afterwards; for the time being let us concentrate our attention on the original *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The original *Rāmāyaṇa*, as we have just now said, appears to be the work of a single pen. But even this work was written at a time when the events connected with the life of Rāma and even the personality of the hero became a part of legends and traditions. This is the reason why we come across fanciful and exaggerated descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and at the same time absurd chronological figures about Daśaratha and Rāma. And this is once more the reason why the *Rāmāyaṇa* appears to be a much more artificial *kāvya* in comparison to the Great Epic. The original section of the *MBH*, as is evident from that epic, was composed probably during the reign of Janamejaya II. That is why in the original *MBH* we come across such chronological sanity. The present speaker has shown elsewhere that from Śāntanu the poet of the *Mahābhārata* treads on a much surer ground. The description of the reign of the last 36 years of Yudhiṣṭhira at Hastināpura, including the vivid account of Dhṛtarāṣṭra's departure for the forest told in the 15th Book, in the 15th year of Yudhiṣṭhira's reign,

his accidental death along with important Kuru ladies in the 18th year and the description of the last days of the Vṛṣṇi heroes and the Pāṇḍava brothers leave little room to doubt that the poet who composed these sections of the *MBH*, was not far removed from the time of the actual events. Again, the brilliant yet subdued description of the last days of Parīkṣit II, who died at the age of 60 as a result of snake-bite, after a reign of 24 years, could not have been composed by anyone other than an eyewitness. The poet of that work very significantly does not mention any one after Aśvamedhadatta, the grandson of Janamejaya II. What happened to the capital Hastināpura afterwards is apparently not known to the poet of the *MBH*. The Purāṇas speak of its destruction by floods of the Gahgā in the reign of Nicakṣus, the grandson of Aśamedhadatta and the consequent transfer of the capital to Kauśāmbī. But the author of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* does never care about giving any reasonable chronological account of the events he is describing. Therefore, we need not be surprised to find statements which assign 60 thousand years to Daśaratha and eleven thousands to Rāma. The fact remains, and as is attested to indirectly by the evidence of the poem itself, the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed at least a few centuries after Rāma's time. And we have first to find out the probable time of Daśaratha and Rāma and then only we will be in a position to speak on the possible date of the earliest and latest portions of this epic.

It is a fact that neither Daśaratha nor his illustrious son finds any mention in the Vedic texts. But this does not necessarily mean that they were mythical or simply legendary figures. We know from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that one of Daśaratha's fathers-in-law was Aśvapati of the Kekaya country. This Aśvapati has been significantly described in the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* (74.9), as a *dhamarājā* and we have in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (x.6.1.2.) a pointed reference to a wise and god-fearing Aśvapati Kaikeya who is described in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* as a just and ideal administrator and a person capable of instructing even learned Brāhmaṇas. The *ŚB* gives us the vital information that Aśvapati Kaikeya taught the mystery of the nature of Vaiśvānara to five learned Brāhmaṇas. There is absolutely no doubt that Aśvapati of the Kekaya country is identical with his namesake mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Not only is here the similarity of the names of the persons and the country but also at the same time the similarity of character.

The question then naturally arises what is the date of this Aśvapati of the Vedic fame? In this case, candidly speaking, we have no other alternative but to take the help of the Purāṇas and also to some extent the *Mahābhārata*. Now, the well known Purāṇic verse that speaks of a time-gap of 1050 years between Parīkṣit II and Mahāpadma Nanda is the only certain chronological data before us. The present writer has shown elsewhere that this figure of 1050 years is essentially based on facts. It has been shown on the basis of this Verse that the Bhārata war was fought in c.1447 B.C. And in this Bhārata war, as the *MBH* and the Purāṇas inform us, king Bṛhadbala, who was separated from Rāma by some 30 generations, was killed. Allowing a period of 20 years for each generation we arrive at the figure of 600 as the time-gap separating Rāma from Yudhiṣṭhira. Therefore the possible time of Aśvapati, Daśaratha and Rāma should be circa 2050 B.C., a date which, though tentative, appears to satisfy the chronological scheme given in the Purāṇas. However, such a date will not be accepted by those who still cling to the theory proposed by Prof. Max Müller some 120 years ago. But let it be asserted once again, that there is absolutely no proof that the invasion of India by the Aryans took place in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. As a matter of fact, we have to forget everything that has been said in our Vedas, the epics, the Purāṇas and the available old texts, if we sheepishly accept the theory of Max Müller. Even that celebrated German scholar, as we learn from one of his later writings, was not sure about the exact date of the *RV*.

As we have already said, the internal evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* suggests a considerable time-gap between the date of Rāma and the beginning of this *Ādikāvya*. We have now to determine the approximate extent of this gap and in doing so we have to examine all the relevant evidences at our disposal.

Any discussion on the probable date of the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* will be a futile exercise without taking into consideration the date of the composition of the earlier portions of the *MBH*. And here again, a scholar working on the epics will have first to clear the misconceptions created about the *MBH* by a few Western scholars, most of whom leave no stone unturned to prove that both our epics were composed after the demise of the Buddha.

The internal evidence of both the Pāli and Jain canonical texts

- definitely go against the views propounded by occidental scholars and vehemently supported by a few of their Indian disciples, quite a few of whom even try to go farther than what their European or American masters would permit. The original Buddhist texts, including the origin verse sections of the *Jātakas* (which are considered to be the earliest portions of the Pāli *Jātakas*) definitely show acquaintance not only with the events, described in the epics, but also to some of their verses. There is not much space to enter into a detailed discussion of this highly complicated and technical subject; only a few salient details will be sufficient for the time being.

The *Sutta Nipāta* which is considered by competent authorities, as one of the oldest of the Pali canonical texts, mentions the Pāṇḍava hill as the name of one of the five hills of Rājagṛha. The *Isigilisutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* also refers to this hill. It is apparent from this that the story of Pāṇḍavas' visit to Rājagṛha, as described in the *Sabhā-parvan* of the *MBH* was known to the authors of the Pali canonical texts. The *Sabhāparvan* contains the following list of the five hills of Rājagṛha-Ṛṣigiri, Caityaka, Vaibhāra, Varāha and Vipula. Apparently Varāha of the *MBH* is replaced by Pāṇḍava in the Pāli texts simply because the city of Rājagṛha was sanctified by the visit of two chief Pāṇḍava brothers, namely, Bhīma and Arjuna who went there along with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. Further, Indraprastha of the epic fame is described in the earliest Pali and Jain canonical texts as an old and deserted city. Repeated references to Yudhiṣṭhira, Ajjuna, Vidhurpaṇḍita and some other characters of the *MBH* also go far to show the deep acquaintance of the *Jātaka* writers with the *MBH* and the events described in it. So far as the *Rāmāyaṇa* is concerned, it can be said with a fair degree of certainty, that the *Jātaka* poets were perfectly familiar with this epic and the characters described in it.

The *Daśaratha Jātaka*, which is at present the subject of a very animated controversy, is nothing but a summary of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The machinations of the mother of Bharata, the banishment of the prince, Bharata's attempt to bring back Rāma and finally the incident of the 'slippers' show how deeply familiar the author of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* was with the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. The last verse of this *Jātaka* is almost taken from the original *Rāmāyaṇa*; the verse runs as follows —

*daśa vassasahasāṇi saṭṭhi vassasatāni ca
kambugīvo mahābāhu Rāmo rajjamakārayi ti*

And now let us compare this verse with the following *śloka* of the Yuddhakāṇḍa —

*daśa varṣasahasrāṇi daśa varṣasatāni ca
bhrātr̥bhiḥ sahitāḥ śrīmān Rāmo rājyamakārayat*

I hope no one will jump to the conclusion that the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* here has copied from the *Daśaratha Jātaka*. The *Jayadissa Jātaka* (No. 513) also shows acquaintance with Rāma's fair-limbed mother and also the Daṇḍaka forest; we are further told there how Rāma's mother had won salvation for her absent son when the latter sought the woods of Daṇḍaka. This surely is taken from the 25th chapter to be the 2nd Book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where we find Kauśalyā invoking the gods to protect her son from animals and goblins of the forest.

A few scholars, on the basis of the evidence of the late prose section of the *Daśaratha Jātaka*, has jumped to the conclusion that Sītā was Rāma's sister. There is absolutely no indication for such an assumption from the original verse section of that *Jātaka*. Further, the famous *Vessantara Jātaka* which is mentioned in a 3rd cent. B.C. inscription, in its original verse portion pointedly refers to Sītā as the *bhariyā* (i.e. wife) of Rāma —

"I am a banisht prince's wife, a prince of glory fair, as Sītā did for Rāma, so I for my husband care." This verse, we believe, will certainly destroy the highly misleading and mischievous theory of a few overzealous modern scholars who merrily harp on the point that Sītā was Rāma's sister. But Sītā was certainly no Cleopatra and she is not only consistently painted as Rāma's wife in both the epics but also the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri, which is the oldest Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and written, according to the testimony of the poet himself, 530 years after Lord Mahāvīra's demise, or in other words, in circa 1st cent. A.D. As a matter of fact, any careful reader of the *Vessantara Jātaka* (No. 547) knows that it is basically inspired by the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

We have just now referred to the *Paumacariyam* of Vimalasūri which was written in the 1st cent A.D. This work, although written by an opponent of Hinduism, is nothing but a deliberate dis-

tortion of the Rāma story. Even the last Book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was perfectly known to Vimala. That even the Uttarakāṇḍa was composed long before the beginning of the Christian era is directly proved by a verse (I. 26) of Aśvaghōṣa's the *Saundaranandakāvya*, written certainly in the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. The words *Vālmīkiriva dhīmāmsca dhīmatormaitihileyayoḥ* could not have been written by Aśvaghōṣa, had he not been acquainted with the story of Lava and Kusa told in the last Book of The *Rāmāyaṇa*. Thus we find both Vimala and Aśvaghōṣa showing their acquaintance even with the latest section of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This surely will disappoint those who believe that the Uttarakāṇḍa was completed only in the post-Christian period.

The evidence of the Pāli and Jain texts therefore prove that the *Rāmāyaṇa* and also the *MBH* were known to the earliest Pāli and Jain writers. There are also indications to prove that even in the 6th century B.C., the name *Rāma* was quite popular. We can refer to Udaka Ramaputta, a teacher of the Buddha, who died before the 36th year of the Master at the age of 100. There was one Rāmagāma near Kapilavastu. It is not unreasonable to believe that the popularity of the name *Rāma* was largely due to the popularity of the poem dealing with him.

A few scholars fondly believe that the Rāma story told in the 3rd Book of the *MBH* represents a different version and not that of Vālmīki. Nothing can be farther from the truth. As a matter of fact, in numerous places of the *MBH*, the poets of that work show intimate acquaintance with the version of Vālmīki. The Droṇaparvan quotes a verse which it ascribes to Vālmīki and which is actually to be found in the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This strongly suggests that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* was completed before the beginning of the composition of the *MBH*.

From the point of historical geography, not only the *Rāmāyaṇa* but also the *MBH* depicts the geography of a much earlier period than what we find in the canonical Jain and Buddhist texts. Nowhere in the two epics do we get any reference either to Pāṭaliputra or Ujjayinī which rose into prominence from the Buddha's time, i.e. 6th cent. B.C. This should not be taken merely as *argumentum ex silentio*; This surely shows that both the epics were completed before the rise of Pāṭaliputra-Ujjayinī cultural complex.

The present speaker is painfully conscious of the fact that the above discussion is grossly inadequate. But enough has been said to destroy the view that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a post-Buddhist work.

Barring a single interpreted verse of the 2nd Book, rightly rejected by the critical editors, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has nothing to do with the Buddha. It does not know even the Nirgrantha Jains whose original teacher was Pārśvanātha and who lived in circa 800 B.C. Neither of the two epics knows the Ājīvikas who probably came into existence even before Cośāla. Even the knowledge of writing is not known to the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The 'Spirit' in which both the epics were composed is entirely different from what we get in Jain and Buddhist texts. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, at least, is much nearer to the Vedic texts in 'spirit' than any other known post-Vedic work. The constant struggle between the Aryans and the dark-skinned non-Aryans is repeatedly referred to in Vālmīki's work. The *MBH* on the other hand, shows acquaintance with much larger number of Aryan *janapadas* of both the Āryāvarta and Deccan.

Even then, no sure conclusion is possible regarding the date of the composition of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*. But there are strong reasons to believe that the original *Rāmāyaṇa* with the possible exception of the last Book, was completed before the birth of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Only the future explorations at Ayodhyā and elsewhere can finally solve the question of the chronology of the *Rāmāyaṇa*; till then we have to depend on the available literary evidences.

Linguistic Problems

SOME ASPECTS OF THE EXPANSION OF NĀGARĪ SCRIPT IN SOUTH AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

Johannes De Casparis

Since a few years I have been engaged in the study of Nāgarī in India, Sri Lanka and South East Asia, for there are many problems that require further research. Some of these concern the origin and earliest stages of Nāgarī, others the nature of its expansion outside its 'home land': northern India.

I. The beginnings of Nāgarī have more than once been discussed by scholars. Only a few points may be noted here as they are important for the understanding of later developments.

Most discussion has focused on the question where and when Nāgarī 'originated'. Any answers must depend on how one chooses to define Nāgarī. We have no ancient Indian definition to fall back on, and in the continuous evolution of writing in ancient India any strict delimitation of different stages must be somewhat arbitrary. For the purpose of this paper Nāgarī is applied to the type of script in which individual letters appear as though suspended from a horizontal line, either clearly expressed or suggested by well aligned wedges or similar shapes. At the same time verticality is stressed by the presence of vertical bars, extending downwards beyond any connexion with horizontals. Most letters thus seem to be contained between a horizontal and a vertical bar. Some individual akṣaras assume characteristic shapes. [Thus, the bipartite *ya* replaces the earlier tripartite form, while the *ja* no longer consists of three horizontals: the upper one remains and becomes the top bar, while the two others begin to turn clockwise. Of the vowel marks *-ā* is no longer written *over* the akṣara to which it belongs, but to its right, gradually developing into a full vertical bar.]

According to this definition the script of the copper plates of Harṣa and Śaśānka cannot be called Nāgarī: it is transitional,

whereas the Aphaṣṭ inscription of c. 680 might just qualify. The above definition includes, however, most of the acute-angled ('spitzwinkliges', Bühler) script.¹

Bühler rightly emphasized the importance for the origin of Nāgarī of the sign-manuals of the Gurjaras of Broach,² where early stages in the history of Nāgarī from 629 to 736 can be distinguished. The signature of Jayabhāṭa III on the Anjaneri plates of 710³ is the first that *fully* answers the above definition of Nāgarī, but some of the earlier examples come pretty close, showing most, but not all, of the above mentioned features.

Bühler also argued that the earliest inscription *wholly* written in Nāgarī is the Sāmangaḍh copper-plate inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga (754),⁴ without taking into account the South Indian Nāgarī inscriptions of Śāluvankuppam, Māmallapuram and Kāñjivaram of c. 700.

This immediately leads us to a serious problem. Nobody doubts that Nāgarī is of North Indian origin because it is there that its direct antecedents are found.⁵ Yet, the earliest examples of fully developed Nāgarī are from South India: the above-mentioned Pallava inscriptions, the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Cālukya Kīrtivarman (753) and the Sāmangaḍh plates of Dantidurga (754).⁶ As to the sign-manuals of the Gurjaras of Broach, which are among the earliest known examples of Nāgarī, one may argue that they are, technically North Indian, though somewhat marginal. It is, how-

¹ G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie, Von circa 350 A. Chr. — circa 1300 P. Chr.*, 1896, pp. 49-52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 51. — For these inscriptions see especially G. V. Acharya, 'A grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhata III of Nāndīpurī, Kalachuri Year 486,' *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 1935-36, pp. 147-155; V. V. Mirashi, 'Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era,' *C.I.I.*, IV, Vol I, 1955, Nine inscriptions of these Gurjaras of Broach, *plus* a few of doubtful authenticity, are known. For the chronology (earlier scholars often dated the inscriptions in the Śaka Era!) and other problems see V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. li-lvi.

³ *Ibid.*, Plate XV facing p. 93.

⁴ J. F. Fleet, 'Sāmangaḍh Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga,' *Ind. Ant.*, XI, pp. 9-24 & 108-163.

⁵ See note 11 below.

⁶ Such as the Bodhgaya inscription of Mahānāman dated 588/89, J. F. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, 1887 (reprint Varanasi 1970), No. 71, pp. 274-278, Plate xli A, the Madhuban and Banskhera copper-plate inscriptions of Harṣa, cf. D. Devahuti, *Harsha, A Political Study*, 1970, Plates 1 and 2; the Gañjām copper-plate inscription of Mādhavarāja of the time of king Śaśānka, 619 A.D., cf. E. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 1900-01, pp. 143-146; the Aphaṣṭ inscription of Adityasena, see J. F. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, No. 42, pp. 200-208, Plate XXVIII.

ever. clear that Nāgarī cannot have originated in this area because the Nāgarī is confined to the kings' sign-manuals, whereas the inscriptions themselves are written in local script akin to that of the Maitrakas of Valabhī.⁷ As these sign-manuals were no doubt intended as evidence for the authenticity of the grants a different type of script had the advantage that it was more difficult to fake.⁸ It is also possible that the kings had learnt the art of writing from teachers from the Gangetic valley. It does not necessarily indicate that the kings themselves were of northern origin.⁹ Consequently these sign-manuals do not directly contribute to the solution of the problem under consideration.

We may feel disappointed at being unable to trace the birth-place of Nāgarī but we really ought to feel satisfied at the discovery of the remarkable fact we find Nāgarī used within the span of one generation in places as far apart from each other as Broach, South Bihar and Tamiṇnāḍu. Whatever its origin — possibly Kanauj, as Sivaramamurti thinks, — we find it almost immediately used in three 'corners' of the subcontinent as though distances of 1000 miles or so were immaterial.

This 'success story' of Nāgarī does not end there, for less than a century after its beginnings we find it used in Karṇātaka, Sri Lanka and even distant Java. Nāgarī must have had a strong fascination for certain circles in areas at a great distance from the ancient centres in Madhyadeśa, even in areas where other and equally efficient scripts had been in use since many generations.

⁷ F. Kielhorn, 'Paṭṭadakal Pillar Inscription of Kīrtivarman II; A.D. 754,' *Ep. Ind.*, III, 1895, pp. 1-7. J. F. Fleet, 'Sāmangaḍh Plates,' as in note 4 above.

⁸ See, for instance, J. F. Fleet *C.I.I.*, III, Plate XXV, facing p. 180 (the Alina Plates of Śīlāditya VII, A.D. 766/67).

⁹ Harṣa's beautiful signature on the Banskhera copper-plate inscription was not probably put there merely for aesthetic reasons, but partly because it would be very difficult to fake. What is surprising is the fact that so few copper-plate charters, other than those mentioned here and a few others from Gujerat, have a sign-manual. It is, however, in keeping with the practice in South Asia even till relatively recent times. Cf. S. G. Perera, S. J., 'The Signatures of the Kings of Ceylon,' *Ceyl. Hist.*, I, 1952, pp. 321-329, in particular p. 321: — 'No document in this Island bears the signature of a King of Ceylon, for the good reason that ancient Sinhalese Kings did not usually sign any document. Inscriptions, grants (*Sannas*) or amnesties (*Abhaya Dana*) issued by the King's authority and engraved on rock or on plates of gold, silver and copper, or written on palmleaves, generally bear the royal sign-manual, Śrī, as a guarantee of authority in *perpetuam rei memoriam*. But that symbol is inscribed not by the king, but on his order by the sculptor, if it is a lithic record, or by a member of the royal guild of smiths (*Abharane Patale*) on metal plates . . .

As might, however, have been expected, the nature of its penetration as well as its effects depended on many local factors.

In this respect, three vast regions can be distinguished:

(1) In North India, in the Indo-Gangetic plains and adjoining areas (including even Tibet in the north and Malwa and Madhya Pradesh in the south), Nāgarī developed out of, or completely replaced, pre-existing scripts and thus became the *normal* script.

(2) In Karṇāṭaka and Orissa, to a lesser extent also in Andhra Pradesh, Nāgarī became a *second* or subsidiary script, used by the side of, temporarily even almost replacing, the local scripts, at least for writing Sanskrit.

(3) In Tamiḷnāḍu, Sri Lanka and some parts of South East Asia (such as Java and Cambodia) Nāgarī became a *special* script used occasionally and for special purposes.

The present paper is concerned only with the last two regions, where Nāgarī was used as either a second or a special script. As the difference is one of degree rather than of principle these regions will not be sharply separated in the sequel but a more chronological approach seems preferable. We shall therefore consider the Tamiḷnāḍu first, subsequently Karṇāṭaka, Orissa and South East Asia.

II. *Nāgarī in Tamiḷnāḍu*. The Nāgarī inscriptions on the southern wall of the Śāluvankuppam cave temple (a few miles north of Māmallapuram), on the Gaṇeśaratha at Māmallapuram and the Kailāsanāth temple at Kāñjīvaram,¹⁰ are now generally attributed to Rājasimha or Narasimhavarman II, c. 690-720.¹¹ This is fully developed Nāgarī, satisfying all the criteria mentioned earlier. It also shows some special features, not normally found in Nāgarī. Thus, (a) the *anusvāra* is not, as usual, written *over* the akṣara to which it belongs but to its right at top-bar level; (b) the *r* preceding another consonant is expressed by an elongated wedge pointing downwards on top of the akṣara; (c) the *ja* has a curious shape, consisting of two disconnected parts.

¹⁰ V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. lii: 'The sign-manuals of the Gurjara princes are in northern characters, though their grants are written in the southern script. This clearly indicates their northern origin.' — As pointed out in the text, there are other, more plausible, ways to account for the use of Nāgarī sign-manuals by the kings.

¹¹ A. C. Burnell, *Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 1878 (reprint Varanasi-Delhi, 1968), p. 38, Plate XXII; E. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, 1890, pp. 1-24, especially p. 10; E. Hultzsch, 'The Pallava Inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas,' *Ep. Ind.*, X, 1909-10, pp. 1-14, VI Plates.

It is quite striking that this Nāgarī, far from lagging behind the developments in the Gangetic valley, almost seems in advance if compared with the Aphaṣṭ inscription or even Yaśovarman's Nālandā inscription of c. 730/40.¹² But what is even more interesting is the fact that the special features of this South Indian Nāgarī can almost certainly be traced back to the Tamil-Grantha script. Thus, precisely the same form of the *ja* and the same place of the *anusvāra*, also, but less strikingly, the form of *r* preceding a consonant can all be found back in the Kūram copper-plate inscription of Parameśvaravarman I, Rājasimha's immediate predecessor.¹³ It therefore seems likely that the Nāgarī inscriptions, though based on a North Indian prototype, were written by a Tamil scribe who followed some of the conventions which he used in writing Grantha and so adapted the Nāgarī somewhat to the earlier South Indian tradition.

Even so, the history of Nāgarī in Tamiḷnāḍu was short-lived. Despite these minor adaptations it was apparently felt as 'foreign' and was, for writing Sanskrit, replaced by Grantha. There is, however, one very interesting later example of Nāgarī in the bilingual and digraphic Paliyam grant of Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa I (c. 756-815).¹⁴ This Nāgarī has a distinctly more modern appearance than that of Rājasimha's time. With its *pa's*, *ma's* etc. completely closed at the top it again seems in advance of its time. The peculiar forms of *ja* and *r-* are abandoned, but the placing of the *anusvāra* to the right of the akṣara is continued.

Apart from these few inscriptions, which suggest some kind of learned, but transient fashion, Nāgarī was used in the Tamiḷnāḍu for such special purposes as inscribing the so-called Buddhist 'Credo,' coin and seal legends — all cases where legibility was not essential. I may add that a Nāgarī inscription on a South Indian bronze recently acquired by the Boston museum shows no trace of South Indian features but is in the same script as the

¹² For the date of Rājasimha see T. V. Mahalingam, *Kāncīpuram in South Indian History*, 1969, pp. 109-132.

¹³ For the Aphaṣṭ inscription (c. A.D. 680) see note 6 above; for Yaśovarman see Hiranand Shastri, *Ep. Ind.* XX, 1933, pp. 37-46, and 'Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material,' *Mem. Arch. Surv. India*, No. 66, 1942, pp. 78-82.

¹⁴ E. Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 144-155. Good facsimile in C. Sivaramamurti, 'Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts,' *Bull. Madras Govt. Mus.*, 4, 1952, Fig. 124 on p. 125.

inscriptions of the time of Dharmapāla at Nālandā and elsewhere.¹⁵ We shall see that the situation in Sri Lanka and South East Asia is remarkably similar to that described for Tamilnāḍu.

III. *Nāgarī in Karṇātakā*. Nāgarī made its appearance later in the Western than in the Eastern Deccan, but its effect was more lasting as it soon became the established script for writing Sanskrit and remained so till fairly recent times.

One of the earliest examples is the digraphic Sanskrit inscription of Paṭṭadakal near Bādāmi, dated 754 in the reign of Kīrtivarman II Cālukya.¹⁶ It presents the same text (apart from a few minor variants) in Nāgarī and in local script. While there are numerous examples of inscriptions that are both bilingual and digraphic (e.g. those of South India with Sanskrit in Grantha and Tamil in Tamil script) and even more that use different languages in the same script (the inscription of 'Myazedi' is quadrilingual, but all texts are in the same script¹⁷), it is rare to see the same text in two scripts. The only other example known to me from ancient times will be discussed below.¹⁸ Was the addition of the Nāgarī text a mere display of learning or was it based on other, e.g. didactic, considerations?¹⁹ The latter seems possible as the Paṭṭadakal inscription is one of the first of a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions in Nāgarī — a tradition which can be pursued at least till the end of the Vijayanagara empire in the seventeenth century. It would seem that by using Nāgarī the paṇḍits of Karṇātakā felt themselves full members of the erudite élite.

The Sāmangaḍh copper-plate inscription of Dantidurga Khaḍgāvaloka dated 753 (one year before the Paṭṭadakal inscription) is the oldest of the numerous Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions in Sanskrit and Nāgarī script (their Kannaḍa and some of the Sanskrit inscriptions are in the local script). The Nāgarī of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas has some special features which usually make it easy to recognize.

¹⁵ T. A. Gopinath Rao, 'Paliyam Plates of Varaguṇa,' *Trav. Arch. Ser. I*, 1910-13, pp. 187-193.

¹⁶ Hirananda Shastri, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1924, pp. 318 ff. with Plates; N. G. Majumdar, 'Nālandā Copper-plate of Devapāladeva', *Mon. Var. Res. Soc.*, No. 1, 1926; F. D. K. Bosch, 'Oorkonde van het Groote Klooster te Nālandā,' *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.* 65, 1925, pp. 509-527.

¹⁷ See note 7 above.

¹⁸ E. B. Duroiselle and C. O. Blagden, 'The Inscription of Myazedi,' *Ep. Birm.*, 1, 1919, pp. 1-68, Plates I-IV.

¹⁹ Viz. the Lolei inscriptions of the Khmer king Yaśovarman; see Section V below.

The use of Nāgarī in the Western Deccan was continued by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the kings of Vijayanagara, which brings us down to the seventeenth century. Though Nāgarī underwent no major changes during all these centuries the cumulative effect of numerous minor changes, combined with the relative isolation of Hindu Vijayanagara from the homeland of Nāgarī, may account for its development into Nandināgarī.

The totally different development of Nāgarī in the western, as compared with the eastern, Deccan raises interesting problems. The main factor, in my view, is that Karṇāṭaka, which had at least partly been incorporated in the Mauryan empire, had close relations with the Guptas and gave Bengal its Sena dynasty, had through the ages been in regular contact with the Gangetic valley. Such links may have been strengthened by Jainism. Tamilnāḍu, on the other hand, had its own ancient tradition with Śaṅgam literature, even its own *Brāhmī* script, which cannot be directly derived from Mauryan *brāhmī*.²⁰ It was therefore less strongly influenced by Gangetic culture or went further in adapting northern elements to local standards.

IV. *Nāgarī in Orissa*. Orissa can be regarded as a 'border' area where Indo-Aryan culture is partly grafted on Dravidian patterns. Thus, numerous eleventh- and twelfth-century votive inscriptions in the Puri area are in Telugu, although this is at present an Oriya-speaking region.

As to writing, almost all the older inscriptions, such as those of the Eastern Gāṅgas before the tenth century,²¹ are in southern script closely related to Pallava Grantha, but from the middle of the eleventh the Sanskrit inscriptions are normally in Nāgarī. There is also a transitional period during which we not only find 'both scripts but also a curious phenomenon: a few inscriptions in mixed script with a proportion of the akṣaras in Nāgarī and the remainder in southern script. Thus, Kielhorn wrote about an inscription of Vajrahasta III:

²⁰ As a kind of transition to prepare the court paṇḍits for a complete switch to Nāgarī? In a similar way, the Dinoyo inscription of East Java, dated A. D. 760, could be and may well have been used as an exercise in Sanskrit *sandhi* rules.

²¹ It seems as though the need to use script for communications over vast distances would have acted as a kind of brake in applying innovations that were taking shape.

'The *characters*, perhaps the most interesting feature of this inscription, present a curious mixture of the Nāgarī alphabet, as written in Southern India, and of several southern alphabets, properly so called. Speaking generally, of about 730 *aksharas* which the inscription contains, 320 are written in Nāgarī and 410 in southern characters.'²²

It is exactly as though someone wrote an English text but replaced about half of the letters by their Greek equivalents. Some Orissan scribes were apparently equally familiar with both scripts and expected the same of their readers.

IV. *Nāgarī in Orissa*. Orissa can be regarded as a 'border' area where Indo-Aryan culture is partly grafted on Dravidian patterns. Unfortunately, any full discussion of Nāgarī in Orissa, with its concomitant problems of chronology etc., would require a separate paper. Here it may be sufficient to summarize that Nāgarī of a similar type as that of the Gangetic valley appeared quite early in Orissa, but by the side of 'southern' script, related to that of the Pallavas, and a curious form of 'mixed' script, a blend of Nāgarī and Pallava letters. When, however, Nāgarī became the normal script for writing Sanskrit in the eleventh century it also acquired some special features which clearly differentiate Orissan Nāgarī from other types.

The transition to Nāgarī forms part of a number of changes taking place in Orissa in the beginning of the second millennium: the old local era is abandoned in favour of the Saka era; with Vajrahasta III a new line of kings, only loosely connected with the earlier Gāngas, takes over; above all, the modest local form of Siva, Gokarṇasvāmin, loses his place as the protector of Kalinga to the great Puruṣottama Jagannātha, who would soon attract many thousands of pilgrims from all over the subcontinent. The combined effect of these changes was that of drawing Kalinga more closely within the orbit of Pan-Indian civilization.

Kielhorn's expression 'the Nāgarī alphabet, as written in Southern India' is misleading as this Nāgarī is quite different from that used in Karṇāṭaka. Thus, the *na* 'is very peculiar and, but for its abrupt tapering towards the top, would appear somewhat like *ma*.'²³ Medial *-i* and *-e* are almost indistinguishable,

²² The most recent and penetrating analysis is that by T. V. Mahalingam, *Early South Indian Palaeography*, Madras 1967.

²³ There are difficulties, as we have a few copper-plate inscriptions apparently dated

while final *-m* is sometimes expressed by what looks like a combination of an *anusvāra* and a *virāma*.²⁴ Many copper plates are carelessly engraved in some kind of cursive hand.

One can describe the Nāgarī scripts of Kārṇātaka and Orissa as two regional varieties of a general script: the scripts each have a local flavour but would hardly cause headache to a Gangetic paṇḍit.

The time of the appearance of Nāgarī in Orissa is also interesting.²⁵ It is clearly a period of change in cultural orientation. With Vajrahasta III a new line of the Eastern Gāṅgas, only loosely (if at all) connected with the earlier Gāṅgas, rose to power and broke with earlier tradition. The local Gāṅga era was abandoned and replaced by the Pan-Indian Śaka Era, while a little

earlier than the tenth century, but they are not of the main line of the Gāṅgas. One example is the Santiragrama grant of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍamahādevī, dated A.D. 786, but this date is based on the assumption that the Bhauma-Kara era is identical with the Harṣa Era. D. C. Sircar rightly pointed out that the script is of much later date, not earlier than the tenth century (*Ep. Ind.* XXIX, pp. 80 f.). This implies that the inscription is either a falsification or a later copy, but it seems more likely that our assumption about its date is wrong. As to the Buguḍa Plates of the Sailodbhava king Mādhavarman Kielhorn noted (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 101) that the inscription is written in 'which I would call the *Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet*' and 'cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D.' R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, 1934, p. 170, rightly argued that the contexts of the inscription clearly place it two centuries earlier. Here again we may have a copy of an earlier inscription. The palaeography of the early inscriptions of Orissa would deserve a special detailed study, including those of the Śvetaka Gāṅgas, Bhauma-Karas and Bhañjas, whose chronology is still uncertain.

²⁴ F. Kielhorn, 'Parla-Kimedi Plates of the time of Vajrahasta,' *Ep. Ind.*, III, 1895, pp. 220-224. — There may well be some earlier examples, especially, it seems, in inscriptions of the Śvetaka branch of the Eastern Gāṅgas, but their dating is still uncertain. Thus, T. C. Rath, 'Vishmagiri Plates of Indravarmadeva,' *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, pp. 134-137, dates this Nāgarī inscription back to the eighth or ninth century, but without real basis. It is likely that he belongs to the same group as Bhūpēndravarmadeva. The latter was wrongly held to belong to the tenth century by S. N. Chakravarti, 'Four Ganga Copper-Plate Grants,' *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, 1936, pp. 261-269, but a more recently discovered copper plate of this king is dated Śaka 988 = A.D. 1066. Indravarmadeva probably also belongs to the same period.

Different types of mixed script is found in other inscriptions of the Śvetaka Gāṅgas. See, for instance, the Svalpa-Velura grant of Gāṅga Anantavarman, published by Chhabra in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, pp. 129-137; cf. p. 130: 'With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be observed that *k, dh, p, m, y, r, l, s* have two signs each.' In some cases, at least, the two forms correspond to the Nāgarī and 'Palava' forms, especially for *y* and *r*. Chhabra cautiously avoids any attempt to date the inscription.

²⁵ Cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 183, with an excellent description of Kaliṅga Nāgarī.

later, during the reign of Anantavarman Coḍaḡaṅga (c. 1076-1138) Śaivism with its special tutelary deity Gokarṇasvāmin gives way to the worship of the great Puruṣottama Jagannath, originally a tribal deity of the Orissan forests who, identified with Viṣṇu, attracted devotees from all over the subcontinent.

The precise significance of all these changes — palaeographic, dynastic, chronological and religious — may be doubtful, but some connexion is likely. Their combined effect may have drawn Orissa closer to the Pan-Indian tradition.

V. *Nāgarī in Sri Lanka and South East Asia*. In Sri Lanka and in parts of South East Asia the regular scripts (excluding, of course, Arabic, Chinese and Latin script) are all derived from South Indian prototypes, usually described as 'Pallava.'²⁶ Nāgarī was, however, regularly, though not always,²⁷ used for the so-called Buddhist 'Credo' in its Sanskrit form (*ve dharmā* etc.) inscribed on clay tablets, seals, gold leaves or on the pedestal of images. As such inscriptions are usually not independently datable they are of limited value for the palaeographer, although they emphasize one important aspect of Nāgarī in South East Asia: its predominant association with Sanskrit and mostly Mahāyāna.²⁸

This association is also evident in most of the longer inscriptions known from Sri Lanka, Cambodia, Karimūn Besar (an island c. 50 miles southwest by west from Singapore), Central and Eastern Java and Bali. Only from Sri Lanka and Java are they known in considerable numbers.

Only few cases are known where Nāgarī was used for languages other than Sanskrit. The 'Abhayagiri' copper plate (actually from the ancient Jetavana) is inscribed with a Pali verse in Nāgarī.²⁹ The pillar of Sanur (Bali) has two inscriptions: one in

²⁶ G. V. Ramamurti, 'Nāḍagam Plates of Vajrahasta: Śaka Saṃvat 979,' *Ep. Ind.* IV, 1896, pp. 182-193.

²⁷ I am, of course, aware of the difficulties. There are certainly many earlier inscriptions in Nāgarī by the side of those in 'southern' script in addition to those in 'mixed' script, but only from the eleventh century does Nāgarī become the normal script of the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions and assumes its typical form with its peculiarities.

²⁸ This designation of the script has become the usual one from the time of Vogel's authoritative publication of the Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarman of East Kalimantan (*Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, LXXIV, 1918, pp. 167-232).

²⁹ There are, however, many exceptions, such as the well known inscription on a coping stone, once above the entrance of Caṅḍi Mendut in Central Java, giving the

Nāgarī but Old Balinese language, the other in Kawi script and partly Sanskrit, partly Old Balinese language — almost the opposite of what one would have expected.³⁰ In ancient India, too, Nāgarī was rarely used for languages other than Sanskrit.³¹

As to the relation between Buddhism (i.e. normally Mahāyāna) and Nāgarī there are also important exceptions. The Sanur inscription does not seem Buddhist, but there is no proof owing to the numerous lacunae. The digraphic inscriptions of Cambodia (Nāgarī and Old Khmer script), known in over a dozen of almost identical copies, all relate to the foundation by Yaśovarman of hermitages placed under the protection of various brahmanical gods.³² An almost obliterated Nāgarī inscription occurs at the back of a well preserved Old Javanese inscription which deals with the foundation in 856 of a Śiva temple.³³ Finally, some non-Buddhist statues of Singosari carry brief Nāgarī inscriptions.³⁴ All the other known Nāgarī inscriptions are Buddhist.

A striking proportion of Nāgarī inscriptions in South East Asia not in Sri Lanka — belong to digraphic texts. This may suggest that Nāgarī was not readily understood by most of the literati (except perhaps in Java in the eighth century), so that transliteration in the local script was added.

An important group of Nāgarī inscriptions belong to the last quarter of the eighth and the ninth century and show characteristic features of the script of the inscriptions of Dharmapāla

'Credo' in Kawi characters of the eighth-ninth century (N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 2nd edn., 1923, I, p. 317).

³⁰ What is, however, clear is that the Nāgarī of these inscriptions belongs to different periods.

³¹ D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, 'The Abhayagiri Copper-Plate Inscription,' *Ep. Zeyl.*, I, 1904-1912, pp. 39 f.; S. Paranavitana, 'A note on the "Abhayagiri" copper-plate inscription,' *Ep. Zeyl.*, III, Pt. III, 1930, pp. 169-171.

³² W. F. Stutterheim, 'A Newly Discovered Pre-Nāgarī Inscription on Bali,' *Acta Orient.*, XII, 1934, pp. 126-132, 2 Plates; R. Goris & P. L. Dronkers, *Bali. Atlas Kebudajaan*, 1950, Plate 303; L. C. Damais, 'Études Balinaises. I. — La Colonnade de Sanur,' *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLIV, 1947-1950, pp. 121-128; R. Goris, *Prasasti Bali*, 1954, I, No. 103, p. 9; II, No. 103, p. 131.

³³ There are, for instance, a couple of Kannaḍa inscriptions in Nāgarī; see K. V. Ramesh, 'Kondguli Inscription of Bhūlokanātha, year 7 (= 1132 A.D.),' *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVIII, 1967, pp. 189-192.

³⁴ A. Barth & A. Bergaigne, '*Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*,' 1882, pp. 413 ff.; G. Coedes, '*Études Cambodgiennes*,' XXX. — A la recherche du Yaśodharāśrama, III. Les inscriptions digraphiques *B.E.F.E.O.*, XXXII, 1932, pp. 108-112. — the hermitages are each placed under the protection of a different god: Nārāyaṇa, Kārttikeya, Pameśa etc.

(c. 781-821) and Devapāla (c. 821-861).³⁵ This applies to the Śailendra inscriptions of Java (dated 778, 782, and 792) and the 'Abhayagiri' slab inscription³⁶ as well as a considerable number of undated inscriptions from Anurādhapura, Mihintale and elsewhere.³⁷ The rock inscription of Karimun Besar also belongs to this group.³⁸ Despite its close affinity with the early Pāla script, it has hitherto proved impossible to pinpoint precise prototypes in India.³⁹ Several possibilities have been suggested by scholars to account for this state of affairs. Javanese Buddhist monks may have picked up this script from Indian monks visiting Java; or they may have learnt it from Nāgarī manuscripts; or else, they may have learnt it during pilgrimages to sacred sites in India. The second possibility seems unlikely, for no Nāgarī manuscripts have ever been found in Java, but there is little to choose between the other two possibilities.

Whatever the precise interpretation, there is no doubt that the use of Nāgarī in Sri Lanka and Indonesia must be attributed to close contacts between Buddhist monks in different parts of South and South East Asia. This is confirmed by other data. Thus, contacts between Indonesia and Bengal are substantiated by the Nālandā inscription of Devapāla;⁴⁰ those between Indonesia and Sri Lanka by the Ratubaka inscription of 792;⁴¹ those between Sri Lanka and north-east India by the Bodhgaya inscription

³⁵ N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd edn., 1931, p. 138; J. G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, II, 1956, p. 281.

³⁶ J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van jan i Singasari en de wolken-Oneelen van anataran*, 1909, Plate (not numbered).

³⁷ F. D. K. Bosch, 'De inscriptie van Kēloerak,' *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, LXVIII, 1928, pp. 1-64, 4 Plates; J. G. de Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography*, 1975, pp. 35f.

³⁸ D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, *Ep. Zeyl.*, I, 1904-1912, pp. 1-9.

³⁹ The most up-to-date and complete account of all known Nāgarī with their approximate dates is that by Malini Dias, 'Sanskrit and Pali Inscriptions of Ceylon,' *Ancient Ceylon*, I, 1971, pp. 105-110. A slightly older, which has the advantage of illustrations, is Nandasena Mudiyanse, *Mahāvāna Monuments in Ceylon*, 1967, Chapter IV, pp. 79-105, Figs. 35-39.

⁴⁰ J. L. A. Brandes, *Not. Bat. Gen.*, XXV, 1887, pp. 148-152; H. Kern, 'Twee Buddhistische Inscripties van Sumatra nader verklaard: uit 900 A.D. en 946 Śāka. I. — Het rotsopschrift van Pasir Pandjang (eiland Karimoen),' *Verspr. Geschr.*, VII, 1917, pp. 141 f.

⁴¹ Little has been added to our knowledge of Nāgarī in this period since the publication of Bosch' article of 1928 (See note 36 above). All the peculiarities of the Javanese Nāgarī inscriptions can be found back in Indian inscriptions of the 8th-9th centuries — but not in the same inscription. The Javanese scribes were apparently eclectic. A complicating factor is that the four long inscriptions from Central Java present three clearly different styles of writing.

of Mahānāman.⁴² The use by different Buddhist communities of a common script — at a time when the 'local' scripts of Pallava origin had already diversified — may have strengthened the links between Buddhist 'minorities' in different areas.

The Nāgarī of the Yaśovarman inscriptions of Cambodia (889) is quite interesting. The letters are elongated and in a calligraphic style and seem at first difficult to read. They have distinctive notched head marks similar to, though by no means identical with, those found in some Rāṣtrakūṭa inscriptions of the same period, but the script is quite different in other respects. It is, however, strangely reminiscent of the version in Old Khmer script, which has, e.g., the same head marks. It therefore seems most likely that we here have a form of Nāgarī adapted by the Khmer scribes to their usual mode of writing. A corresponding conclusion with reference to the Tamil scribes was drawn earlier.

After the Sanur inscription, possibly dated A.D. 914, until the latter half of the thirteenth century — 3½ centuries! — there is no dated or even datable Nāgarī inscription anywhere in Sri Lanka or South East Asia, but it would be unwise to draw any conclusion from this *argumentum e silentio*. What is, however, significant is the unexpected re-appearance of Nāgarī in eastern Java between c. 1250 and 1350. One twelve-line Nāgarī inscription in Sanskrit occurs at the back of a bronze Amorphapāśa from Chaṇḍi Jago, dated c. 1265 during the reign of Kērtanagara, who is described as a 'follower of excellent Mahāyāna' (*pravaramahāyānayāyinaḥ*).⁴³ A small number of inscriptions on statues from Ch. Singasari, viz. *Cakracakra*, *bhagavān Trṇavindumaharṣiḥ*, and *bhagavān Marīci-maharṣiḥ*, are no doubt contemporary although the script is somewhat different.⁴⁴ In this case there is no connexion with Buddhism as Cakracakra is a name for Bhairava, while the two other inscriptions, each of which carries a number in Kawi script, evidently belong to a group of Seven Rṣis.⁴⁵ Further, at the back of a very demonic stone

⁴² F. D. K. Bosch, 'Oorkonde van het Groote Klooster te Nālandā,' *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, 65, 1925, pp. 509-527; A. J. Bernet Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art*, 1933.

⁴³ J. G. de Casparis, 'Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times,' *Art. Asiae*, XXIV, 1961, pp. 241-248.

⁴⁴ J. F. Fleet, 'Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings,' *C.I.I.*, III, 1887, No. 72: 'Bōdh-gayā Inscription of Mahānāman. — The year 269,' pp. 274-278.

⁴⁵ J. L. A. Brandes, *Tjandi Djago. Arch. Onderzoek op Java en Madoera*, I, 1904, Chapter XI, pp. 85-98, Plate 102.

Cāmuṅḍā, once broken in a thousand pieces, there is on top of an Old Javanese inscription dated 1292 (?) the invocation *Cāmuṅḍyai namaḥ* in Nāgarī script.⁴⁶

Finally, there is a small group of very beautiful stone statues of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Tārās from Ch. Jago (now in museums in Jakarta, Leiden and London), each with an inscription to the left and the right of the head indicating the identity of the divine figure. Thus we have inscriptions of *Āryāmoghapāsa*, *Sudhanakumāra*, *Locanā* etc. all preceded by *bharāla*, resp. *bharālī*.⁴⁷

The Nāgarī of all these inscriptions has some characteristic features. The *dha* has an open top, much like the modern letter, but the *ja* with its two horizontal bars and the third bending downwards looks archaic; *ṅda* almost looks like *ṣṭa*; other ligatures are also peculiar, notably *kṣa* and *sva*; the *ra* has a kind of triangular bulge at the bottom. It is true that all or most of these features can be traced back to Indian inscriptions. Almost the same *ra* occurs in the later Candra and Sena inscriptions of Bengal, but for other details one has to turn to the inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur, in particular the Pāragaon (Raipur) inscription of Ratnadeva II of A.D. 1134⁴⁸ and especially the inscriptions of the later Bhañjas of Oṭissa. Unfortunately there is still much uncertainty about the era used in the Bhañja inscriptions; if it is indeed the same as the Bhauma-Kara era supposed to have started in A.D. 831, then the inscriptions of Neṭṭabhanja would belong to the twelfth century.⁴⁹ Moreover, the Bhañjas are particularly interesting because in their kingdom, as in eastern Java, there is evidence for a flourishing Tantric-Buddhist culture in a period when almost everywhere else in India, including Bengal and Bihar, Buddhism was declining. But there is need for caution, for despite much similarity there are also differences. Thus, the completely open *dha* of the Jago statues does not seem

⁴⁶ See Note 36 above.

⁴⁷ The Marīci and Tṛṇavindu statues carry the (Old Javanese) numbers 1 and 3 respectively.

⁴⁸ *Oudh. Versl.* 1928, Plates 11-14; M. Boechari, *B.E.F.E.O.*, XLIX, 2, 1959, Plate XXVII b; L.-C. Damais, *B.E.F.E.O.*, L, 2, 1962, pp. 407-416, Plate XXXVI.

⁴⁹ Brandes, *op. cit.*, Plates 1-19.

to occur in any Bhañja inscriptions, but is common in the Nandi-Nāgarī of Vijayanagara.⁵⁰

Again, despite the rich materials in India in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it seems impossible to find an exact prototype of this late Javanese Nāgarī. When I discussed this problem a few years ago⁵¹ I concluded that this Nāgarī might well be a continuation of the earlier Nāgarī, as this script remained in use in the Buddhist monasteries in Java. This script was not, however, static but underwent influences from Buddhist communities in India with which the Javanese monks kept in regular contact. It thus reflected the changes that were taking place in different Indian centres. In this manner Javanese Nāgarī could incorporate innovations in different parts of the subcontinent and combine these into a script that had a character of its own.

Conclusion. A few general points seem to emerge from the preceding discussion.

1. Changes in script seem to spread over enormous distances in a minimum of time, so that they sometimes actually seem to occur in the periphery earlier than in the heartland of Nāgarī. This applies already to its earliest stage, so that we cannot pinpoint its precise place of origin. Communications within South and South East Asia may have been more frequent and regular than is often thought — at least during certain periods.

2. As the use of Nāgarī reflects orientation towards northern India by erudite classes in South India, Sri Lanka and parts of South East Asia, it is likely that the striking differences in the function of Nāgarī, which we observe between regions and periods, reflect different attitudes towards Indo-Aryan culture. Thus, such differences between Karnāṭka and Tamiḷnāḍu are rooted in historical developments.

3. It is striking that Nāgarī, above all the script of northern India, displays its strongest power of attraction in a period when, after the reign of Harṣa, northern India itself was, in the opinion of most scholars, well past its zenith. In Orissa and East Java this

⁵⁰ V. V. Mirashi, 'Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era,' *C.I.I.*, IV, Vol II, 1955, No. 122, pp. 623-626: Plate CI.

⁵¹ The best available accounts of the Bhañjas are those by R. C. Majumdar, 'Outline of the History of the Bhañja kings', *Dacca Univ. Studies*, III, 2, pp. 137-170; also *Ind. Hist. Quart.* XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.; and in K. M. Munshi, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, IV. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* 2nd ed., 1964, pp. 63-76.

magnetism was at its strongest in a period when, from the eleventh century, northern India was, in our view, in full decline — political, economic and cultural. As to this paradox, all we can say is that important circles outside northern India must have thought otherwise. The lesson is that we ought to be cautious in imposing our own value judgments on civilizations which we only partially and quite imperfectly understand.

4. For the historians of South East Asia it is important to realize that the use of Nāgarī there suggests that cultural relations with India (and the ensuing Indian influence) were not confined to a few centuries right at the beginning of the Christian Era but seem to have continued through the centuries — although their nature and intensity varied considerably between different periods.

In conclusion, the special significance of Nāgarī compared with other scripts of South and South East Asia may, not without some exaggeration, be said to have almost transcended the limitations of time and place. Nāgarī thus occupies a modest, but nonetheless significant, place beside such impressive components of Pan-Indian civilization as the Vedic heritage, the Great Epics, Varnāśramadharmā, the Bhakti religions and the Sanskrit language.

KHOWĀR, A NEW LITERARY LANGUAGE OF CHITRAL,
PAKISTAN

Georg Buddruss

Since 1955 I have been studying some of the Aryan languages, the so-called Dardic and Nuristani languages of the Hindukush on Pakistani and Afghan territory. On four expeditions I have collected ethno-linguistic material in this region. Some of the languages studied have a rich folklore tradition, but none of them has developed so far a writing system and a written literature. The only exception is the Khowār language of Chitral.

In 1975 I had the opportunity to visit Chitral for the first time and to learn there some Khowār. In British times Chitral was a semi-independent princely state, now it belongs to the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan.

Several languages are spoken in Chitral. The most important of them is Khowār, which is also spoken outside Chitral proper in parts of the upper Gilgit valley. According to the census of 1961 there were approximately 96,000 speakers of Khowār. In the meantime the number must have increased considerably.

Outside Chitral the knowledge of Khowār is still very limited. We have only very few older sources written by British officers not always very reliably in an anglicized spelling. A list of these fragmentary records is to be found in volume 8 of the Linguistic Survey of India. More useful is Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan's translation of the *Ganĵ-e Paĵto* into Khowār, published in Calcutta in 1902; but even his Romanized writing is phonologically under-differentiated.

The first trained linguist who studied the Khowār language was the well-known Norwegian scholar Georg Morgenstierne. He was in Chitral in 1929. The bulk of the material collected by him is still unpublished. But we have some important papers by him on special features of Khowār.¹

Morgenstierne has shown that many archaic features of Aryan origin have been retained in the inflectional system and the pho-

nology of Khowār. To quote only one example: Khowār still has a special ablative case in *-ār*, which is to be compared with Prakrit *-āto*, with old intervocalic *-t-* not lost, as in the other Aryan languages, but retained as *r*, just as in Khowār *šer* “is” from Skt. *śete*. In the phonology we find such archaic forms like *ašru* “tear,” which sounds almost exactly as the Sanskrit form *ašru-*, while already in Pali this was changed into *assu*, which gives e.g. Hindi *āsū*. This shows that Khowār, especially in the retention of certain consonant clusters, is often more archaic than Pali and Prakrit. On the other hand we find also many innovations and words of doubtful etymology in Khowār. For these reasons Khowār has attracted the attention of the historians of the Indo-Aryan languages and the available Khowār material has been extensively quoted in Sir Ralph Turner’s Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages.

Morgenstierne describes his impressions of 1929 in his “Report on a linguistic mission to North-Western India,” Oslo 1932, p. 50 in the following words: “Khowar, though not a written language, enjoys a certain prestige. The ruling family and the nobles are proud of their sonorous language.” Later on Morgenstierne repeated the statement, that Khowār has no written literature (e.g. Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 14, 1947, p. 5).

This, however, is no longer true. While in Chitral in 1929 Morgenstierne heard nothing about the fact obviously, that at that time the first steps of making Khowār a written language had already been taken. It can now be shown that since 1921 an alphabet for Khowār had been devised in the ruling family of Chitral.

In 1975, while I was the guest of the Prince Husam-ul-Mulk, the former governour of the district of Drosh in Southern Chitral, my host kindly showed me some relevant material of his private archives. The earliest document is a Persian letter of the Prince Nisām-ul-Mulk, written in 1917, in which he mentions the desirability of having a script for the Khowār language like the Pash-tuns, based on the Arabic script.

The results of his endeavours appeared in printed form in Lahore 1921. It is a small booklet of only 8 pages, written in Persian, the administrative language of the former Chitral state. It was distributed probably only in a very small number and is now quite unknown in Chitral.

The title of the booklet is *hurūf-e tahaǰǰī-ye zabān-e Khowār, Khowār alif be*. It is further stated that this alphabet was com-

posed by Nisām-ul-Mulk by order of His Highness Šujā^c-ul-Mulk KCIE (Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire). The last line of the title page says in Urdu: *xādim-ul-ta^clīm sīim pres Lahor mē chāpā*.

The author was well aware of the fact that the script used for Arabic and Persian was not in all cases sufficient for writing Khowār. So he introduced special modifications for certain consonants and vowels.

Let us look at the consonants first.

Khowār has a dental affricate *č*, which he writes as *hā* with three dots above, following the example of Pashto, e.g. *uč* "spring," *loč* "light."²

The retroflex *ʈ* and *ɖ* are written as in Urdu with a superscribed Arabic *tā*, e.g. *loṭ* "big", *ḍang* "strong."³

But Khowār has still five more retroflex phonemes, namely *ç*, *j*, *z*, *ʃ*, *ʎ*. Their graphic representation can be seen in note 4: Arabic *tā* is again added above or below the Arabic characters which represent the phonetically nearest equivalent. The respective Arabic three-dotted signs then become two-dotted ones. As examples I have chosen: *šā* "black," *droç* "grape," *lenju* "bark," *zask* "bell." The retroflex *ç* occurs also as an aspirate. Aspiration is marked by added *h* as in Urdu, e.g. *çhir* "milk." Note, that Khowār retroflex *ʎ* is written like Urdu *ɽ*, though the Urdu sound is a retroflex flap, while the Khowār *ʎ* is a retroflex lateral. As examples I have chosen: *goʎ* "throat," *kiʎā* "cheese," *ʎolik* "to look at." —

With these modifications of the Arabic characters all the Khowār consonants can be written. The graphic system adequately represents the phonemic system of the Khowār consonants. With only minor changes it is still in use today and taught in Chitrali schools.

Less unambiguous, however, is the writing of vowels.

Khowār has the following simple system of vowel phonemes: *i*, *e*, *u*, *o*, *a*. The booklet of 1921 proposed to write *a*, *i*, *u* just as in vocalized Persian or Arabic: *a* by adding *zabar*, *i* by *zīr* and *u* by *pīš*.

For *e* and *o* the author invented special symbols, which he called *nīm zīr* and *nīm pīš*. Their form is shown in note 5.⁵ He gives the following examples on page 6 of his pamphlet: *len* "knot," *žen* "bed," *lei* "blood," *khen* "hoe"; *zom* "mountain," *don* "tooth," *toq* "mud."

Unfortunately this clear method has not been adopted and is no longer taught in Chitrālī schools.

Nowadays the phonemes *u* and *o* are both written by *wāw*. In careful writing a *pīš* should be added for *u* in order to distinguish it from *o*.⁶ But in practice this *pīš* is often omitted. The result is a number of possible homographs, some of which I have mentioned in note 7.⁷

Similarly the phonemes *i* and *e* are both represented by *yā*, e.g. *det* "give!": *ditī* "having given." Only in final position of a word *e* and *i* can be graphically distinguished in the same way as in the Urdu script, e.g. *kor'e* "do!": *kor'i* "having done."⁸

Here it is necessary to add a few remarks on the problem of vowel quantity in Khowār. Morgenstierne in his earlier writings distinguished short and long vowels, but he stated, that the phonological value of quantity was often doubtful (*Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 14, 1947, p. 9, note 3). Later he came to the conclusion, that there is no phonologically relevant vowel quantity in Khowār, stressed vowels being frequently heard as long (*Indian Linguistics* 16, p. 164; *Acta Orientalia* 24, p. 30). This agrees with my own findings and probably also with the phonological consciousness of Khowār speakers. So *i*, *e*, *o* may or may not be written in unstressed syllables. The vowel sign may be omitted probably because the vowel is felt to be shorter in unstressed position. So *nog'or* "castle" or *puš'ur* "meat" may have a *wāw* in the first syllable or not. There are similar cases with or without *yā*.⁹

Not quite clear, however, is the phonological interpretation of short and long *a* in Khowār. In his article of 1947 Morgenstierne thought (*Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap* 14, p. 9) that *a* and *ā* were separate phonemes and remarked, that also the quality of long *ā* is often different from that of short *a* (*Acta Orientalia* 24, p. 30). Later he gave up the distinction between *a/ā*, but stated correctly, that not every stressed *a* is long and that there may be really two *a*-phonemes (*Indian Linguistics* 16, p. 164). During my own field work, which was too short, I did not succeed in finding clear minimal pairs with *a/ā*. My informants often disagreed where to write *alif* and where not. Also in the printed Khowār texts transcribed by me the scribes sometimes vacillate in the writing of *alif*. I quote a few examples from my material.¹⁰ I cannot go into details here and shall leave open the question, whether all the cases where long *ā* is heard and *alif* is written can be analyzed as allophonic variations. The new Khowār script does not seem to be of much help in solving this problem.

On the whole one has to conclude that the graphic representation of vowels in the Khowār script is less reliable from a phonological point of view than that of the consonants. The writing of vowels tends to be more phonetic than phonemic. Another problem of Khowār phonology is the rising tone. We find the rising tone in monosyllabic words, which originally had an initial aspirated voiced stop.¹¹ There are minimal pairs of the type *don* "tooth": *dón* "ghee". There seems to be no fixed rule how to write this rising tone in the Khowār script. Informants from Drosh suggested to write an *h* after the initial consonant,¹² because in Drosh a slight aspiration is still audible. For other parts of Chitral the writing of an *h* would be only historically justified, not synchronically. Usually *don* "tooth" and *dón* "ghee" are not distinguished in writing.

After these brief outlines of the Khowār writing system I want to add a few remarks about present literary activities in Khowār. The date of the oldest Khowār poems transmitted in writing is uncertain. According to Chitrali tradition some verses in Khowār or a mixed Persian-Khowār style exist in manuscript form from the 17th century onwards. Some of them are printed in an Urdu book called *tarīx-e Āitrāl* (Peshawar 1962). I shall deal with them elsewhere and restrict myself here to the modern period.

The new alphabet of 1921 does not seem to have resulted in the immediate production of books. But as I had only a limited time at my disposal my information may be incomplete. It is said that a Khowār grammar was published in Peshawar by Samsām-ul-Mulk, but I have not found a copy.

In private interviews, however, I have seen or heard about several manuscripts in Khowār ready for the press, mostly translations. So Prince Husām-ul-Mulk has translated portions of the Holy Qurān and of Iqbāl's poetry, the historian Wazir Ali Shah has translated into Khowār parts of Saadi's *Bustān* and *Gulistān*.

The only printed productions I found during my stay in Chitral were copies of the Khowār monthly *Jumhūr-e Islām*, which is published since several years in cooperation with the Tribal Publicity Organization, Government of Pakistan, in Peshawar. I have gone through several numbers of this illustrated magazine and have transliterated and transcribed specimens of texts. In order to give some impression of the contents I choose at random the edition of July 1975. It contains e.g. extracts from the Qurān and the Hadīth, 6 poems, mostly Ghazals of the classical pattern, some short edifying stories, jokes and anecdotes for children, 3 jour-

nalistic articles on political issues as the Cento Pact and the national and provincial budget; finally an ethnographic essay with the title "Our ancient tools" (*ispa qadīmīyārūm*). Such ethnographic data are to be found also in other numbers, e.g. Husām-ul-Mulk has contributed a series of articles on Chitrali dishes.

I do not know whether it is only by chance that I have not yet come across modern prose fiction such as realistic short stories as we find them in abundance in the neighbouring literatures of Urdu, Panjabi or Hindi. But again my knowledge may be incomplete.

Finally I should like to quote 2 selected specimens of 2 different kinds of contemporary Khowār poetry. The first 3 lines¹³ are from a song, which wants to inspire Chitrali children with a feeling of patriotism. The author is Wali Zār Xān, a college graduate associated with the Khowār programme of Radio Peshawar. His *çiçiqān tarāna* "children's song" begins

- a) "Our request to God is: may he quickly make us young men.
- b) We want to do service to our country, this is our desire.
- c) We want to be the heirs of the pure country (*pāk watan*), to this heritage we have a right."

The second selection¹⁴ is the beginning of a *nazm* of Bābā Ayūb. He was born in 1919, is a landowner in Chitral, received a Persian education and is since 1956 one of the most prominent and well-known Khowār poets. His poetry, however, is quite different from Chitrali folk poetry. In the metrical structure and rhyme conventions as well as in the vocabulary the influence of classical Persian and Urdu poetry is clearly discernible (in the transcription I have underlined the genuine Khowār vocabulary and the words with Khowār inflectional elements).

- a) "Do not trust in this faithless world,
do not listen to the words of the desire of your soul.
- b) Life (is like) the snow of summer, if it melts little will remain,
do not keep your earthly body uninformed (i.e. about its transitoriness).
- c) The friends have all gone, you will go too.
This world is only one of two days, do not give trouble to anybody."

It goes without saying that this paper of mine contains only preliminary and introductory remarks. I want to deal with this

material elsewhere in a more detailed manner. I do hope that Pakistani scholars will in future take part too in Khowār studies as for them Chitral is more easily accessible than for Europeans. What we can observe now is probably only the initial stage of a regional Khowār literature. I think it should be worthwhile watching its possible further developments with interest.

1 Georg Morgenstierne: Iranian elements in Khowar. — Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (BSOS) 8, 1936, p. 657-671.

— : Some features of Khowar morphology. — Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap 14, 1947, p. 5-28.

— : A Khowar tale. — Indian Linguistics 16, 1955 (= Chatterji jubilee volume), p. 163-169.

— : Sanskritic words in Khowar. — Felicitation Volume presented to S.K. Belvalkar, 1957, p. 84-92. Reprinted in: Irano-Dardica, 1973, p. 256-272.

— : Some Khowar songs. — Acta Orientalia 24, 1959, p. 29-58.

2 Ablative -ār cf. Prakrit -āto; ʃer "is" < Sanskrit ʃete; Khowar aʃru "tear", Skt. aʃru-, Pali assu-, Hindi ʃū; Khowar ʃron "hip", Skt. śroni-, Pali sonī-.

3 ʃ = c : اوش = uš "spring"; لوڅ = loč "light".

4 ڄ = t, ڄ = d : لوٽ = loṭ "big"; ڄند = ɟaŋg "strong".

5 ڄ = c; ڄ = g; ڄ = z; ڄ = l. ڄا = ɟa "black"; ڄوڄ = droc "grape"; ڄوڄو = lenju "bark"; ڄوڄوڄ = zask "bell". — چير = chir "milk". — گوڄو = goḷ "throat"; کيرڄو = kilā "cheese"; لولڄو = lolik "to look at".

6 vowel phonemes: i, e, u, o, a. 1921: با = ba; بي = bi; بو = bu; به = be; بو = bo. — لڄن = len "knot"; ڄن = ɟeŋ "bed"; لڄي = lei "blood"; کهن = khen "hoc"; زوم = zom "mountain"; گن = don "tooth"; توڄ = toq "mud".

7 ڄوت = ɟut "sour"; ڄوت = ɟot "oath";

کوزوم = k'orum "work"; کوزوم = kor'om "I do";

کوزور = kum'oru "girl"; کوزور = kum'oro "girl's".

8 homographs: چهي "hunger"; چهي "six"; هون "saddle"; هون "flood" bu "owl"; بو "much" etc.

9 ڄيت = ɟet "give!"; ڄيتي = ɟiti "having given". —

کوري = kor'i "having done"; کورت = kor'e "do!".

10 نونور = no 'or "castle"; پونور = puš'ur "meat";

ڄيتي = ɟiti "vacant"; اڄمي (hardly * اڄمي) = isp'a "we".

11 پارو پاڙو = pax-'ā "in the breast"; مٽو مٽو = mäte "to me";

گنڄول = gānz'ul "lane"; اوشوڄو = ošot'ān "I was";

ڄوڄوڄو = ɟasumān "I think" etc.

12 برادر "brother"; بوم "earth"; گز "grass". — گنڄو "tooth": گنڄو "ghee" (< *dhadan < dadhan, cf. Skt. dadhi —). گنڄو = gānz "ghee"; گز = gānz "grass"; بهاس = bās "flame"...

شخیقان ترانه

سوال تانی خدا یوتے شیر شاؤ کورار جوان اسپ
 خدمت تان نکوتے کوستی همیشه ارمان اسپ
 بوسی پاک دلنو وارث میراث حقدار اسپ

- a) *suw'āl tān xud'āyote šer šau kor'ār juw'ān isp'a*
 b) *xizm'at tān mulk'ote k'osi hay'a šer ārm'ān isp'a*
 c) *b'osi pāk wat'ano wār'is mīr'āsa haqd'ār isp'a.*

نظم

بے وفا دنیاری اعتبار مومکو
 عشرت زور و توہم بھرونی کم بھور
 تان نفسو خواہش تو ان کار مومکو
 تان چھوٹی قلبو بے خبار مومکو
 بیروتیا جو بسو کوس آزار مومکو
 باران سھو لغانی تو یونگ اسوس

- a) *be wafā duniyāri i'tibār mo ko*
tān nafso xvāhišo luān kār mo ko
 b) *'umr yorwāno him burui kam behčur*
tān čhuti qalipo be xabār mo ko
 c) *yārān saf baāni tu buāk asus*
ya duniyā ju baso kos āzār mo ko

THE NATURE OF MEANING AND THE STATUS OF THE LITERARY TEXT: AN INDIAN VIEW

V.K. Chari

The problem of meaning and its interpretation was a central issue in all philosophical debates in ancient India. Often, philosophical problems were reduced to problems of meaning and seen as reflecting the conditions of verbal discourse. The literary critics, too, with their concern to differentiate the poetic from the non-poetic modes of language had to profess an exclusive interest in the problems of meaning. Hence it was not unusual for literary theorists from Bhāmaha to Jagannātha to include in their manuals on poetics excursions into theories of language. Although literary theory in India developed as a separate discipline from the pure linguistic sciences such as phonetics, grammar, etymology, and Vedic exegesis, and sometimes also as a rival school with its own distinctive contributions to linguistic speculations, it conformed in the main to the precepts, the terminology, and the methods of construction established by the language philosophers. So much so that the language of literary criticism in Sanskrit was inseparable from that of the schoolmen; it was a continuation of the Śāstraic tradition of scientific inquiry. The object of this paper is to show how the main assumptions of the language philosophers, specially those of the Vedic exegetes called the Mīmāṃsakas, were carried over into the philosophy of meaning as it pertained to literary discourse.

The two fundamental conditions of verbal meaning accepted by the Mīmāṃsakas, and subscribed to by all other schools of thought, as being axiomatic in all verbal discourse, are: (i) Verbal autonomy and (ii) Unity of Meaning (aikārthya). These are also the central issues in the hermeneutic theories developed in the West. Although the Mīmāṃsakas claimed a special status of in-

fallibility for the words of the scriptures, they admitted that the validity ascribed to the Vedic word was in no way different from that demanded of ordinary discourse. The language of the Vedas is the same as that of common parlance and subject to the same conventions and canons of logic as the other. Otherwise we would not even comprehend the Vedas. (*aviśiṣṭastu vākṃyārthah*: Jaimini, Sūtra, I.2.40; also *Śābarabhāṣya*, trans. Ganganath Jha, I, pp. 79-80; 116-117.) The literary critics, too, much as they sought to differentiate the poetic from the ordinary discourse, proceeded on the same assumptions with regard to literary texts.

I. The principle of verbal autonomy and impersonality

(i) **Verbal autonomy: (autpattikastu śabdasya arthena sambandhah**: Sūtra, I.1.5) The first axiom of the Mimamsa theory of meaning is that verbal meanings possess a self-sufficient and self-evident validity. It is based on the belief that verbal cognition is a valid means of knowledge and distinct from the other sources like direct perception and inference, and that the relation between the word and its meaning is inborn and constant (see *Śābarabhāṣya*, I, pp. 8-31). The significative capacity of the word is something that belongs to it by its very nature as a sign and inseparable from it. The Logicians (Naiyyayikas), on the other hand, maintain that it is something assigned by convention. But, whether linguistic usage is beginningless or created by divine or human will, there can be no dispute about the Mīmāṃsaka's view that meaning itself is an innate potency of the word (*śakti*). The word-meaning relation is also invariable and constant because, although meanings can change from era to era, the meanings given in a text (the Vedic text for instance) are themselves not variable, having been irrevocably fixed in their forms. Subsequent changes of meanings do not affect the fixity of the symbols once they have been used in a text. Another reason why verbal meaning should be considered autonomous is that it is quite independent of the objects in the external world. As Kumārila and Bhartṛhari have shown, incompatibility with actual facts, as in the examples "The hare's horn," "Fire-wheel," "He wets with fire," etc. does not prevent verbal comprehension. It only affects the validity of the knowledge. The truthfulness of a proposition has no bearing on its meaningfulness (*Vākyapadīya*, I, 130; Kumārila: "*atyantāsatyāpi hi arthe jñānam śabdah karoti hi abādhattu pramāṇam atra*

svatahprāmānyaniścalam”). The literary critics too, agree that fanciful statements, which are the special province of poetry, yield valid verbal cognition regardless of incompatibility. (See *Rasagangādhara*, II, Banaras Hindu University edition, pp. 170-71.)

(ii) **Impersonality:** Such an entirely objective approach to linguistic texts also dismisses the intention of the speaker as a factor in verbal comprehension. Words as signs are fully capable of delivering their meaning according to the laws of construction. Meaning does not depend on something other than words themselves; it does not need for its understanding another person or another means of knowledge. (“*tat pramānam,*” “*anapekṣatvat,*” Sūtra, I.1.5; “*śabdapramānaka vayam; yac chabda āha tadasmākam pramānam,*” Patanjali, *Mahābhāṣya*, I.1.1.)

Hence the Mīmāṃsakas declare that the Vedas are impersonal (*apauruṣeya*). The very fact that the Vedas had no known author, and the belief that they were not the creation of any human or divine author led the Mīmāṃsakas to an exclusive reliance on the text of the Vedas themselves: (“*tataśca puruṣābhāvāt śabdaniṣṭhaiva sā,*” Āpadevi, *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa*, p. 2): “In the absence of a person who can be presumed to have written the Vedas, the verbal injunctions must be taken to be contained in the words themselves.” In thus assuming a self-sufficient structure for a linguistic text the Mīmāṃsakas, of course, deny that language necessarily implies a communicative situation — a speaker, purpose (*prayojana*), etc. But they maintain that, since the purport of a text is located in the words themselves, any reference to the speaker’s intention would be redundant. The school of Prabhākara and the school of Nyāya argue that the purport of a sentence cannot be determined without inferring the intention of the speaker. To this the followers of Kumārila reply that even the intention of the speaker has to be ascertained only after ascertaining the meaning of the sentence. So why assume an “intention”? And again, they protest, “Are not words capable of expressing their own sense?” (“*svamartham abhidhātum kim samarthā na padāvalī,*” *Mānameyodaya* (Madras), p. 107.) The Vedantins point out that verbal comprehension can take place even without the meaning being intended, from words repeated by a parrot or from Vedic hymns chanted by an illiterate brahmin. The literary critics too understand purport as simply the syntactical relation between the words of a sentence (*padārthānvaya*).

In practical criticism also they proceed on the assumption that a literary text, even like the scriptural text, is a determinate and impersonal structure of meaning, that can be ascertained according to the well-known rules of verbal construction. Mallinātha, the commentator on the Sanskrit classics, sums up this approach when he says:

“All this is being commented upon by me by way only of exposition. I am not writing anything that is not warranted by the text, and nothing irrelevant.”

II. The Principle of unity of meaning

The second axiom that is fundamental to the Mīmāṃsā theory of language is *arthaikatva*. The Vedic exegetes were dealing with a heterogeneous mass of material and their concern was to reduce it to order and unity and construct a consistent interpretation of its message. Hence they tried to show that the entire corpus of the Vedas was directed towards a unified sense, which, they argued, was the injunction of certain ritual duties which must be performed if a certain transcendent result called *apūrva* was to be obtained.

The Vedic texts employ different types of sentences, or to use a modern terminology, sentences with different “illocutionary” force, such as injunctions (*vidhivākyas*), corroborative and eulogistic sentences called *arthavādas*, figurative statements (*guṇavādas*), descriptions, incantations (*mantras*), etc. But the exegetes argue that they are all directed towards the unitary purpose of enjoining acts of duty. They all bear directly or indirectly on ritual injunctions. Their total illocutionary force is injunctive. A similar unity of presentation or of emotive tone (*rasa*), according to the well-known rules of propriety (*rasaucītya*), is to be demanded of extended literary compositions too.

The mīmāṃsā theory of monosemy is based on the realization that indefiniteness or ambiguity is destructive of linguistic discourse. If words had no definite signification there would be no fixity for Vedic injunctions, whereas injunctions are best conveyed within the meaning of a unified utterance. (“*vidhīnam tvekaivākyatvāt*,” Sūtra, 1.2.7.; “*avyavasthā vidhīnam syāt*,” Sūtra, 1.2.30) A unified utterance, whether a sentence or a sequence of sentences, is one which presupposes a single consistent motive or purpose (*prayojana*) and in which different meanings are focused on a unified sense: (*prthagarthānam ekārthībhāvah samarthava-*

canam; ekārthpratipādatvam vākyam). It is fully recognized of course that neither words nor sentences have any fixity of meaning; their meanings depend upon their context of use. But the Mīmāṃsakas insist that it is manifestly wrong to take a word used in one and the same place as conveying two different meanings: (“*anyāyaścānekaśabdātvaṃ*,” Sūtra, I.3.26; “*anyāyaścānekārthatvaṃ*,” Śābara on Sūtra III.2.1.). These writers believed that all ambiguities and doubtful constructions must be resolved through explanation in the interests of unity and consistency of utterance. Under no circumstances can meanings be left undefined: (*vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ, na hi saṃdehād alakṣaṇam*,” Patanjali, *Mahābhāṣya*; “*sandigdheṣu vākyaśeṣāt*,” Sūtra, I.4.29). To this end, the Mīmāṃsakas have devised a six-fold scheme which provides for both literal construction and construction by context: (“*srutiliṅgavākyaaprakaraṇasthāna-samākhyānām pāradaurbalyam*,” Sūtra, III.3.14).

For the Indian theorists words in isolation carry no stable meanings, although for some like the Mīmāṃsakas they still have core-meanings. The philosopher Bhartrhari denies all reality to them (except for purposes of grammatical analysis), and insists that words take on definite significations only in collocation with other words. The Mīmāṃsakas too admit, in the final analysis, that words become meaningful only in connected utterances. And they all attach great importance to the context of utterance as the determinant of meaning. All meaning is contextual meaning. As Bhartrhari says: “The meanings of words are not determined by their form only, but by their use. A word is incapable of revealing its meaning outside of the context of its use.” (“*śabdārthā pravibhajyante na rūpa deva kevalam*,” *Vākya-padīya*, II.314,316; “*viniyogād r̥te śabdō na svārthasya prakāśakah*,” *ibid.* II.399, 420.) Thus sentences like “The sun has set,” “There is a bull behind you” are, no doubt, meaningful locutions, but they do not make meaningful propositions unless they are connected to a specific context of utterance. Hence the Indian linguists have formulated an elaborate set of rules called *Abhidhāniyāmakas* (regulators of meaning), also generally known as *Prakaraṇādi* (contextual factors) to determine the precise meaning of words and sentences. But the context of an utterance is, in the Indian view, not the whole history and sociology of that utterance as many Western critics (especially the New-Firthians) believe, but

it is strictly what the words themselves express immediately and demand for their completion as speech-acts.

The literary critics adopt the main principles of the language philosophers in their examination of poetic meaning. They all assume that poetic language, too, is governed by the same criteria of faultlessness, consistency, expressiveness, etc. as other modes of discourse and amenable to the same rules of interpretation. They too, again, are staunch contextualists and sticklers for unity of meaning. The Dhvani critics no doubt emphasize the exploitation of ambiguous and non-contextual meanings *aprākaraṇikārtha* as the special mark of poetic suggestion. But they do accept the Mīmāṃsā principle of monosemy. They recognize, first, that the suggested sense is necessarily something that is located in the words only and attainable through them *śabdaikaḡama, śabdapramāṇa vedya,*” *Kāvya prakāśa*, III.23). Only the words provide the necessary apparatus for the suggested sense (“*śabdasya sambhṛtasāmagrikatvāt,*” Jhalkikar on *Kāvya prakāśa*, II.15); second, that it is revealed by the power of context (*prakaraṇadyavacchedena tasya pratīteh, itarathā tvapratīteh,*” *Dhvanyāloka*, III, Vṛtti on 33; *Kāvya prakāśa*, III.21-22); third, that, however indefinite (*aniyata*) the suggested word may be in its lexical form, in relation to the literal level of meaning, that is, owing to its dependence on shifting contexts, it is yet definite and ascertainable in its own essential suggestive function: (“*śabdātmani tasya aniyatatvam, na tu sve viṣaye vyaṅgyalakṣane,*” *Dhvanyāloka*, III, Vṛtti on 33 and “Locana”). If it were completely indefinite it would be futile to examine it since each reader could interpret it according to his taste. Moreover, as these critics themselves point out, the literal meaning which gives rise to another, unexpressed sense, becomes necessarily subordinated to the other meaning, or is nullified by it altogether, so that the unity of the sentence is preserved: (*guṇapradhānabhāvena tayoṛ vyavasthānāt,*” *Dhvanyāloka*, III, Vṛtti on 33).

There is an extensive debate on polysemous words in *nānārthaśabda*) in the Sanskrit texts on language. Paronomasia or *double entendre* (*śleṣa*) is also a central issue in Sanskrit rhetoric. The traditional theorists who strictly uphold the principle of monosemy *ekārthvādins*) maintain that, although such words would by themselves convey more than one meaning, the contextual factors would necessarily limit their operation to a single

meaning, which is the purport of the sentence (*tātparya*). The context would not perhaps prevent recollection of the unwanted meanings, but only the contextual meaning *prākaraṇikārtha*) should be accepted as the purport of the sentence. Bhartṛhari too is of the view that when there are several meanings only the operative meaning is to be taken (*Vākyapadīya*, II.299-312; 330: “*arthaprakaraṇābhyam teṣām svārtho niyamyate*”). Some followers of the Dhvani school argue, however, that poetic suggestion is pre-eminently a matter of non-contextual meanings. Mammaṭa explains this point as follows: “While the denotative power of a homonymous word is restricted to one of the many senses by the contextual factors, the activity that causes the apprehension of another, unexpressed meaning is suggestion.” (“*anekārthasya śabdasya,*” etc. *Kāvya prakāśa*, II.19.)

The traditionalists reject this argument on the following grounds: If the non-contextual meaning is to be accepted in all cases of polysemy, then the very assumption of contextual action would become pointless (“[*prakaraṇādeh*] *tātparyajñāna-kāranatāyāh kalpanasya nairarthakyāpatteh,*” *Rasagangādhara*, II, “*Nanārthakaśabdaprakaraṇam*”). Again, it is not fair to argue that context operates only in literal meaning or that even suggestion could exist outside of the purport of a sentence. Mahimabhaṭṭa, an opponent of the theory of Dhvani, argues that a word-in-context cannot cause the cognition of another meaning without some compelling logic (*nibandhana*). This logic is often provided by an implicit comparison or contrast between the primary and secondary meanings. If the sentence did not provide such a rationale for a second meaning then it would either be a faulty statement (*vācyāvācāna*) or a pointless word-play. Many Sanskrit writers on rhetoric agree that the figure *paronomasia* has no separate scope of its own; it invariably attracts some other figure like metaphor or paradox. At any rate, what we have in *paronomasia* is not a dubiety of unconnected meanings, but a coalescence. A maxim in Sanskrit has it that no one would want to convey two unconnected meanings (*asambaddhārthābhidhanam mā prasañkṣīt*). Therefore even the Dhvani critics have to grant that an implicit comparison (*upamānopameyabhāva*) has to be assumed between the contextual and non-contextual meanings (see *Dhvanyāloka*, II, Gloss on 21; also Kane, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, pp. 199-200 for further discussion). Hence they show that ambiguities and multiple meanings are invariably dissolved into the sin-

gle idea or mood of the poem. This is true also of the various types of implication (*dhvani*) outside of paronomastic expressions.

The Sanskrit theory of language and interpretation, with its twin assumptions of verbal autonomy and unity of meaning, has had far-reaching consequences for literary criticism in India. The Indian conception of a literary text is that of an utterly formed object once and for all fixed in its meaning, and for one and all. It does not tolerate either historical relativism or the psychologism of reader-oriented theories that are so much in fashion in Western criticism in our day. By assuming autonomy for verbal structures and by constructing a complex system of rules for their interpretation, Sanskrit criticism seeks to preserve the sanctity of the text as a verbal object and makes it available for a meaningful critical discourse.

TYPOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE STATIVE IN SOME INDIC LANGUAGES

Manindra K. Verma

This paper takes up some typologically known features of Indic languages and examines them with a view to exploring the possibility of an underlying (analytical) unity between certain structures — structures which are readily recognized as typologically characteristic of South Asian languages but which for all practical purposes are treated as unrelated phenomena. The thesis of this paper is that 'stativeness' is a fundamental entity of the conceptual structure of Indic languages (and not just a marginal feature of some constructions) which is involved in many structural relations and contrasts, and is (systematically) sought to be expressed through certain structural devices typical of South Asian languages. Seen this way, then, certain seemingly disparate structures, such as, the compound verb, the verbal series based on transitivity, the passive, the indirect subject construction, and to some extent, also a class of participial modifiers, involve coding devices for a deeper linguistic entity of South Asian languages (namely, stativeness). In so far as this view is found tenable, it would provide some explanation as to why South Asian languages are so characterized typologically. It would do so by referring to a deeper organizing principle that seems operative in these languages.

The concept of stativeness in itself is not new. Among others, in my own work on the Noun Phrase in 1965 I sought to explain the aberrant behavior of some verbal adjectives by invoking the concept of stative verbs. This concept seemed very useful in accounting for the restrictions on the pre-nominal occurrence of certain verbal adjectives. Since adjectives in general had no such limitation, I concluded that certain verbs are more adjective-like than others. On the basis of this and other related evidence, I also

implied that there was a basic difference between the attributive and the predicative functions of the adjectival elements, and that the stative is more akin to the constraints of the attributive. Put in other words, there seemed to be good evidence that only inherently stative verbals could qualify for the attributive use.

An interesting result of this investigation was the realization that for some comparable constructions in the noun phrase, English and Hindi behaved differently in a manner not clearly noted until at least then. For almost all constructions of a past participial modifier in attributive function with a noun head, while English simply used the only past participial form available to it, Hindi automatically switched to select the intransitive counterpart:

tear: torn shirt;
break:broken window;

phārnā: phatī kamīz
tonā: tūtī khīrkī

Because of the correlation between the attributive and the stative noted earlier, such behavior very strongly suggested that the intransitive verbs of Hindi are inherently stative. To be sure, this would not apply to all the putative intransitive verbs of Hindi. But this would leave out only a small class of what may be called 'active' intransitive verbs, and will certainly cover the larger class of what may be called the 'passive' intransitives which are indeed the forms that make a typologically interesting series with their transitive (and causative) counterparts. I suggested in my review of Kachru's Introduction to Hindi Syntax quite some time back that such intransitives be called 'resultative statives', because, among other things, this is basically the relationship that obtains between them and their transitive counterparts. For example:

Hindi:	māine Kursī torī:	kursī tūt gayī
Bengali:	āmi cear bhēge dilām:	cear bhēge gae lo
Nepali:	maile yo kursī bhāc diyē:	yo kursī bhāciyo
Magahi:	ham ī kursī tūr deliyo:	ī kursī tūt gelo
Bhojpuri:	ham ī kursī tūr deni:	ī kursī tūt gail
Maithili:	ham ī kursī toīr deliyai:	ī kursī tūt gelai

Similarly,

Hindi:	maine ātā sān diyā:	ātā sān gayā
Nepali:	maile ātā muchē much diyē	ātā muchiyo muchii sakyō

The majority of verbs of this type indicate a change undergone in which the intransitive member indicates the changed state as a result. That most of these verbs dominantly indicate a state rather than action is seen very clearly in some forms; for example, Hindi *cunānā* 'be elected'; Bhojpuri *lasrānā* 'be dirty', *duhānā* 'be milked'; Bengali *dhorā* 'be caught'; Gujarati *abhadā* 'be impure'; Nepali *painu* 'be available', etc.

That this kind of semantics may be possible in other languages, too, which do not have a series like this is not necessarily questioned. But a typological investigation, of necessity, concerns itself with coding devices. The fact that South Asian languages provide such a coding device is of significance typologically. And that such a concept is crucial rather than just ancillary is reflected in the fact that a large number of forms are available to take care of it. Such a view is further strengthened by the fact that for those items which do not have exactly this device available for whatever reasons, historical or otherwise, alternative devices are provided for in the language in a systematic way.

In this regard, I take the behavior of the so-called 'explicators' of South Asian languages rather seriously. I tend to think that both the use and the selection of the explicator is much more significant than has been commonly realized. 'Explicator', incidentally, is not my preferred designation. But I would let that go at this time and continue to use the term 'explicator' for the present discussion. I would prefer to call them 'modals' because they introduce certain modality features which to my way of thinking are capable of quite definite and dependable characterization. They also, by their privilege of occurrence, characterize the verb they occur with and in many ways impose a syntactic interpretation in accordance with the underlying scheme that operates in Indic languages. An example of this would be the pair of sentences in Hindi:

usne nahā liyā
wo nahā gayā

which do not really indicate any indeterminacy about the selection of the explicator. They rather very definitely characterize the different nature of the verb *nahānā* in the two cases and its differing relationships with the subject involved.

Various proposals for the treatment of the compound verb range from the purely conjunctive interpretation to the purely empty lexical status of the second verb. In the latter case, the second verb is seen to be functioning, at best marginally, as an intensifier. (What may have been missed in all this is that verbal compounding may be a stock morphological device serving many syntactico-semantic functions.)

Restricting ourselves only to the so-called lexically empty V_2 compound verbals, because they are the ones that are both interesting and crucial, we find that such an analytical approach almost implies a kind of non-essentiality of these compound verbal constructions. This view is probably further reinforced by the fact that more often than not there are no adequate translations, in English anyway, to bring out the contrast, and, furthermore, narrowly speaking, grammatical sentences are possible, out of context, with simple verbals as well as their compound counterparts. It is easy to see how such a situation would create an impression of *lexical emptiness* and how the compound verbal would be looked upon as dispensable luxury. But this is on a par with the kind of dispensable luxury that the use of the articles in English is for most Indians. They cannot always find a properly formulatable rhyme or reason or any easily relatable counterpart in the morphological structure of Hindi or other Indian languages. As Masica puts it, compound verbs perhaps "represent a category which English either regards as redundant or is unaware of, and does not consequently represent" — to which I would like to add the phrase "perhaps morphologically." I would like to argue that part of what the V_2 does is to give a morphological expression to the concept of stativeness. (If it does indeed turn out that all human languages have a common deep structure, then the relevance of typology is primarily in investigating as to what morphological structures are used characteristically in certain language groups for the expression, realization, or manifestation of certain deep structures.)

Among the so-called *lexically-empty* explicators, the ones that really matter are very restricted in number. Nepali has basically one — *saknu* — which can be used with almost any kind of verb. In addition, only two others, *hālnu*, and *dinu* with the transitives, merit any mention. But on the whole one can certainly say that the predilection for the use of compound constructions in Nepali

is lower than in all of the languages of the Eastern group under consideration here. A possible explanation will be suggested a little later. For Bengali, Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri and Hindi, there are only three (out of the many normally cited) that are crucial both to the syntactic and semantic structure. They are *lenā*, *denā*, and *jānā*; Bengali *neoā*, *doeā*, and *jāoā*. Syntactically, there is a characteristic distribution. *lenā* and *denā* occur with transitive verbs and *jānā* with intransitive verbs. Most analyses are content with simply noting this distribution, if at all. Many don't care to do even that with the implication that it is all so uncertain. There is hardly any revealing discussion regarding the choice of *lenā* vs *denā* even within the transitive frame except to say that *lenā* is 'inward' and *denā* is 'outward'. This almost implies that the choice is equally free for the inward/outward distinction. This is not true. Even within the transitive group, some verbs will characteristically go only with *lenā* and others with *denā*. The other way round may be possible but extremely constrained. Thus verbs like *khānā*, *pīnā*, *dekhnā*, *sunnā*, etc. will naturally select only *lenā* and hardly, if ever, *denā*. On the other hand, *khilānā*, *pilānā*, *sunānā*, etc. will naturally select only *denā* and hardly ever *lenā*: Thus,

Hindi:	khā liyā: khilā diyā; sun liyā: suna diyā
Bengali:	khee nilo: khaie dilo; śune nilo: śunie dilo
Magahi:	khā lelko: khiyā dēlko; sun lelko: sunā dēlko
Maithili:	khā lelkai: khiyā delkai; sun lelkai: sunā delkai
Bhojpuri:	khā lelas: khiyā delas; sun lelas: sunā delas

There are other dimensions to this selectional propensity which will be commented upon a little later. (For example, while *parnā* as an explicator occurs only with intransitives, it does not occur with all intransitives. It occurs with 'active' intransitives like *ronā*, *girnā* but not with a 'stative' intransitive like *kaṭnā*). However in the light of the selectional norm mentioned above, one could raise a very relevant question: why is it that of all the putative explicators these three — *lenā*, *denā* and *jānā* — are the most important ones, to the extent that no normal discourse in speech or writing is possible in these languages without them. They also seem to cover the entirety of the verbal forms — transitive, intransitive, or otherwise. That is to say, there is no verb that would not accept one of these three. My belief is that they

together from a single modality — that of ‘transition’ (or effecting a state or action). (I will elaborate on this presently.) There are, of course, internal distinctions that determine the selection of one of them as against the others depending on the relationship of the subject to the verb involved. In most cases, this relationship is sort of predetermined by the nature of the verb in which case there is no choice. In others, it is up to the speaker to specify the relationship, and he can do so principally by choosing the appropriate explicators. Our earlier example of *nahā gayā* and *nahā liyā* is a case in point. The distinction between *wah paṣīne se nahā gayā* (He became drenched with sweat) and *usne paṣīne se nahā liyā* (He took a bath in sweat) aptly illustrates this point. In fact, in the case of those very few verbs in Hindi which have the same shape for both the transitive and the intransitive, it is precisely the explicator that carries the burden of this distinction:

māhak liyā:	mahak gayā
badal diyā:	badal gayā
dhāk diyā:	dhak gayā

This device becomes even more significant for Bengali which does not have a very rich system of alternating transitive - intransitive verbs (or what I prefer to call ‘resultative statives’). Thus,

śarṭ chīre dilām:	śarṭ chīre gaelo
cear bhēge dilām:	cear bhēge gaelo
bhēge deoā chair:	broken (by someone) chair
bhēge jāoā chair:	broken (condition) chair
etc.	

The simple-minded distributional statement of *lenā*, *denā*, *jānā* fails to account for the crucial difference between *māine use uṭhā diyā* and *māine use uṭhā liyā* (‘I made him get up’ and ‘I picked him up’). The first one is a causative on an action verb, the second one, if you prefer, is a causative on a stative verb. Personally I would simply call the latter transitive and its associated intransitive ‘resultative stative.’ Resultative statives will only occur with the explicator *jānā* for the modality ‘transition to a state.’ Non-statives may occur with others, too, depending on the permissible modality. For example *parṇā* can occur with intransitives but not with stative intransitives. Thus we can have *gir parā*, *hās parā*, *ro parā*, but not * *kaṭ parā*, * *tūt parā*, *

phaṭ parā, or * *ruk parā*. We do have, predictably, *ṭuṭ gayā*, *phaṭ gayā*, *ruk gayā*. But notice that if the same intransitive verbal forms are used in the active sense in such idiomatic expressions as *wo duśmanō par ṭuṭ parā* (He fall upon the enemy, i. e. viciously attacked them) and *wo mujh par phaṭ parā* (He exploded in anger at me), then *parṇā* is a distinct possibility but *jānā* is not. Similarly in the case of a truly stative verb like *jītnā* 'to be victorious' (so reflected also in its English translation), the explicator selected is *jānā*. *wo jīṭ gayā* 'he became victorious, he won.' On the other hand, for its active sense, it selects *lenā*: *usne bahut paise jīṭ liye* 'He won a lot of money.' It is thus clear that it is the conceptual structural element of stativeness rather than just the overt morphological form (of transitivity or intransitivity) that is the determining factor. That South Asian languages do have morphological devices to correlate with this deep-level structural element is not only not doubted but is in fact being asserted here. The transitive-intransitive series so characteristic of South Asian languages is in fact one of the favorite devices to accomplish this. This may not perfectly represent it in regard to each item, or may not be equally well-developed in every language, but the overall pattern is there.

For the languages under consideration, the explicator *jānā* provides for the modality of 'transition to a state' and the corresponding transitive verbs with their own natural explicators (*denā* or *lenā*) provide for the action effecting that transition. Thus, *māine use toṛ diyā*: *wo ṭuṭ gayā*, etc. Notice that, it is exactly for this reason that the following pairs have differing degrees of grammaticality:

māine use toṛa lekin wo nahī ṭuṭā
 and * *māine use toṛ diyā lekin wo nahī ṭuṭā*

The second sentence is unacceptable because in the first part of the sentence transition is asserted while in the second part it is negated. There is no such problem with the first sentence without the explicators. Incidentally, the first sentence is also very often cited as a counter-example to the causative analysis of a transitive verb like *toṛnā*, with its intransitive counterpart as the primitive element. (If *toṛnā* has the element *ṭuṭnā* in it, then how is it that it is possible to say *nahī ṭuṭā*? If it is treated simply as an action that could potentially result in the latter, then there is no problem.

In fact, it is only the second sentence that asserts that transition. I prefer to treat *ṭūṭnā* as a resultative stative and the transitive form as the primitive element. There is also phonological support or convenience for this analysis, but that is not directly relevant here.) Also notice that this analysis accounts for the inability of the negative to co-occur with explicators, as noted by many including me. In a sentence like * *māine use nahī tor diyā*, the use of the negative along with the explicator implies the assertion of transition and its negation both at the same time. There is a direct clash of modality.

Incidentally, it may be relevant to state here that other semantic dimensions may, of course, cluster around this basic characterization — dimensions such as involuntary-voluntary, accidental-deliberate, unexpected-expected, non-agentive-agentive, patient focus vs. actor focus, and maybe others depending on what is highlighted by a given context. In other words, all these extra dimensions are concomitantly present but may come into prominence by other factors in the sentence. This may explain the variety of semantic shades which one is aware of and which make an analyst despair of the possibility of a definitive characterization. Similarly, the completive sense associated with the presence of an explicator versus its absence is almost a by-product of the concept of (completed) transition (to another state); similarly, the flavor of intensity. All these can come into various degrees of prominence depending on other contextual factors.

If this concept (of the modality of transition) is relevant in a crucial way in the manipulation of these constructions, then the use or non-use of the compound verbal constructions cannot be entirely optional and should lead to ungrammatical sentences. In fact this is true; but I won't go into the details here.

In the case of Bengali, cited earlier in the paper, we found that in the absence of any overt morphological marking in the stem itself for the transitive-stative contrast, it was the explicator that took over this function: *bhēge dilām* vs. *bhēge gaelo*. We found this to be true also of some invariant verb forms in Hindi. In fact, this turns out to be such a productive device, that the stative-intransitive citation forms for most of these verbs in Bengali are conceived of in a compound verbal form: *chīre jāoā*: 'to be torn', *bhenge jāoā*: 'to be broken', *keṭe jāoā*: 'to be cut', etc. It is easy to see how in such a situation, the explicator *jānā* can come to assume the role of stative marker, and how in languages which

according to their deep structure organization need to keep this distinction clear this would become almost a natural accompaniment of the verbal forms. This is what we find in those areas that according to Peter Hook's Map II (his paper at this meeting) shows a very high degree of compound verb frequency. On the other hand, as noted earlier, Nepali shows much less frequency in the use of such compound verbal use. This seems quite suitably explainable if we remind ourselves of the fact that Nepali has a very rich system of morphologically marked stative intransitives. Practically every verb has a corresponding stative form and has certainly many of those which form extensive gaps in the Hindi system: *pāinu* 'to be available', *khāinu* 'to be eaten', *orhinu* 'to be wrapped', *lekhinu* 'to be written', *samjhinu* 'to be understood', etc. For none of these does Hindi have a counterpart. This would explain why Nepali can afford to use the explicator less frequently without losing much.

This observation may tie in with a similar phenomenon noted in Peter Hook's presentation, namely, the fact that areas to the South and Southwest of the Indo-Aryan speaking regions, which includes Sindhi, Gujarati, Marwari and Marathi show very low frequency of compound verbs. Perhaps the kind of explanation suggested above applies in this case; too. Sindhi, Gujarati, Marwari, and Marathi have productive devices for obtaining stative-intransitive stems and as a result the explicator is no longer necessary as a crutch. Stative-intransitive stems whose counterparts are totally absent in a language like Hindi are found there. Thus:

Sindhi

ḷujhṇu 'to be heard'
ḷubhṇu 'to be milked'
muṣṇu 'to suffer less'

chupṇu 'to be touched'
purjaṇu 'to be buried'
pijaṇu 'to be drunk'

Marwari

karijaṇo 'to be done'
khavijaṇo 'to be eaten'
lirijaṇo 'to be taken'

dirjaṇo 'to be given'
avijaṇo 'to be come'

Gujarati

vancā 'be read'
ankā 'be tested'
sambhaḷā 'be heard'
bihivā 'be feared'

śikhā 'be learnt'
śivā 'be sewn'
nhvā 'be washed'
khavā 'be eaten'

In fact, Sindhi and Marathi even have different sets of terminations for the stative-intransitive and the active, eg., Marathi: *gāṭhato* (stative) vs. *gāṭhito* (active). As we can see, terminations here perform the task that explicators do in case there are identical stems in Hindi. This could certainly be a possible explanation for the low frequency of compound verbs in this area.

(Parenthetically, I would briefly like to draw attention to a related aspect of the structural system which involves stativeness. In Hindi, *huā* is typically and productively used in participial constructions of adjectival and adverbial modifications: *soyā huā larkā*, *tūtī hui kalam*, *mai soyā huā āyā*, etc. It is also used in a kind of passive construction which is not generally taken note of: *film merī dekhī hui thī* besides *film mere dvārā dekhī gayī thī*. What is the function of this *huā*? Nobody has ever suggested that it be treated as an explicator, but I do not see any reason why such a suggestion can be rejected out of hand. The parallelism between *huā* and *gayā* in the passive sentences above is worth noting. Furthermore, if explicators are treated as elements that introduce a modality, then *huā* certainly qualifies. It has constructional parallels with an explicator like *jānā* and provides a neat contrast: *jānā* expresses the modality of 'transition to a state,' *honā* expresses 'being in a state.' For example, *laṛkā so gayā hai* 'the boy has gone to sleep'; *laṛkā soyā huā hai* 'the boy is asleep'; *merī ghaṛī tūt gayī hai* 'My watch has broken (transition to a new state)'; and *merī ghaṛī ṭūṭī huī hai* 'my watch is broke (in a broken condition)'. (It may turn out that *honā* and *rahnā* are conditioned variants of this modality, the selection being dependent on aspects involved; but I won't go into that here.) That *huā* transforms everything that it is in construction into a stative element is almost undeniable. It is evidenced in the fact that it is a natural element with all pre-nominal participial modifiers in true attributive function. In fact, in that position it occurs even with those aspects which are incompatible elsewhere: ("laṛkā sotā huā hai" is not possible while the similiar "laṛkā soyā huā hai" is, but pre-nominally both *soyā huā* and *sotā huā* are possible.)

It is interesting to note that just in those cases where Hindi does not have a stative-intransitive stem available to it, it takes recourse to passive constructions. For example, Nepali has stative-intransitives like *pāinu* 'to be available,' *khāinu* 'to be eaten' in expressions like *pāincha* 'is found' and *khāincha* 'is eaten.'

The corresponding Hindi expressions are in the so-called passive construction: *payā jātā hai* and *khāyā jātā hai*. This strongly suggests that the passive constructions of Hindi are employed essentially to fill the intransitive-stative gaps. This becomes very clear when the situation is compared to what it is in the languages quite close to it, namely Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Magahi. All these languages have a productive stative-intransitive affix - ā which produces many forms whose counterparts are not found in Hindi; for example: *boā* 'be seeded,' *janā* 'be known, seen,' *rakhā* 'be kept,' *likhā* 'be written.' For all these, of course Hindi would use a passive construction. This does suggest that there is probably some affinity between the explicator *jānā* employed with the stative-intransitives and the *janā* of the passive constructions. If this be true, then Hindi has no separate real passive except for the abilitative constructions generally used in the negative. The passive is then simply a periphrastic intransitive construction. It is worth noting that there are no separate passives made on such stative-intransitive verbs and, further, that passives on those transitives which have corresponding stative-intransitives are relatively less frequent in use (*makān banāyā gayā* though possible is less frequently used than *makān banā*). Both the intransitive construction and the passive construction demote the agentive subject and are patient-oriented.

Through a somewhat detailed discussion of the stative-intransitive verbal forms and the constructions involving them, I have tried to establish that non-active intransitive forms are stative. Even larger constructions like the passive with its subject demotion and patient orientation can be thought of as intransitive constructions. I would like to suggest that the indirect subject construction of South Asian languages is part of the same overall scheme. Stativeness associated with indirect subject construction has been noted by many. Indirect subject construction is a big topic in itself. At this time, without going into the details, I would simply like to note the parallelism. As in the case of stative verbal constructions, there is a definite subject demotion through an oblique case. The verb used is intransitive. It provides for an alternation relation between the active *māi pasand kartā hū* and the stative-intransitive *mujhe pasand hai* in basically the same mold as the active-stative dichotomy of the verbal constructions discussed above. The semantic associations are basically the same as alluded to above: non-volitional, non-deliberate, non-

relevance of agency, patient focus, etc. In other words, the indirect subject construction is simply part of the grand design of Indic languages — simply another device to express a very basic Indic feature, namely, stativeness.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE THEORY OF NOMINAL COMPOUNDS
ACCORDING TO INDIAN GRAMMARIANS

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I

The basic reference work for the formation of Sanskrit nominal compounds is still part 1, vol. 2 of Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*. It was first printed in 1905, and a second edition in 1957 has not substantially changed the physiognomy of the work, which had the function of critically sifting, for the twentieth century, all the material that scholars of the last century had contributed to the subject of nominal composition, from the standpoint of their own linguistic theories.

After Wackernagel, the scholar whose work was most relevant to the latter's standard presentation of compounds was, without doubt, Renou. It suffices to mention the few pages dedicated to the *composition nominale* in his *Grammaire Sanscrite* (1st ed., Paris 1961; 2nd ed., 1968). They show how Wackernagel's structures, without necessarily being ignored, are filled, rather, with living facts about language, if one possesses an up-to-date acquaintance with their historical development as well as a first-hand knowledge of Indian grammatical theories.

It is true that Renou always considered, and rightly so, the *Mahābhāṣya* as a basic achievement in Indian grammatical thought. The ideas stemming from it interested him only up until Bhartrhari. Modern currents which came from a consideration of the philosophical systems of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries never became one of Renou's primary interests.

Lastly, the labours of S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen were important. Their *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, published in five volumes (2.1.1 — 2.2.38) by the University of Poona from 1968-1974, will remain a fundamental work for elucidating the individual contributions of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and

Patañjali to the central nucleus of the theory of compounds.

Today, there remains the task of enlarging the perspective beyond the boundaries drawn by the latter scholars' research. The panorama must be extended from Pāṇini to Nāgeśa and beyond.

Indian medieval scholasticism was not a culmination of grammatical thought, but the philosophical treatise, the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, which opened a period of stimulating discussions which revitalized grammar, was an important turning point. In modern times, its influence is still resented in the works of the tradition of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita-Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa-Nāgojībhaṭṭa.

An internal dynamism, marked by contradictions, which is still capable of development today, runs throughout the history of the Indian grammatical theories concerning compounds. It is to this that we now turn.

II

Indian grammatical theories about compounds have always been enmeshed in what seems to be a paradox: the compound word is an indivisible whole, yet, on the other hand, in order to be analyzed, it must be divided into elements. Consequently, the grammarian attempts to compare the analytical expressions used in the language, which, in every individual case, may be the closest equivalent to the compound.

This contradiction reaches Bhartṛhari, having passed through the fundamental stages represented in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Mahābhāṣya*.

This is not the place to dwell on things already well known and clearly explained by the *Mahābhāṣya* and by commentators on the *Mahābhāṣya*, *sūtra* 2.1.1. The opinion of the *kāryaśabdikas* clearly results from the commentary of Kaiyaṭa.¹ They analyzed the compound on the basis of an uncompounded word-group, the synthetic expression on the basis of a corresponding analytical expression. On the contrary, in the opinion of the *naityaśabdikas*, this kind of analysis was purely a grammatical device: on the one hand, there is the synthetic expression *vṛtti*, and, on the other hand, there is the analytical expression *vākya*, both of which remain separate and distinct, each used in its own different context.

¹ Harayānā-Sāhitya-Saṁsthāna, ed., *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣyam, Pradīpa-Uddyotavimarśaiḥ samalahkṛtam, Dvītīyo Bhāgaḥ*, (Jhajjar, 1963), pp. 517-518. See also S. D. Joshi, *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya. Samarhāhnikā* (University of Poona: 1968), pp. 74-75.

Bhartṛhari, a firm *naiyaśabdika*, who allows an artificial analysis of the compound in order to make it clear to unlearned people, provides an interesting historical criticism: *sāmarthya*, i.e. the connection of the sense which links words to each other, is taken as valid by Pāṇini without any differentiation, but more critical observers of language usage (see the second *vārtika* of Kātyāyana under sū. 2.1.1, *vāvacanānarthakyaṃ ca svabhāvasiddharvāt*) have made a distinction between compounds and un-compounded words (*Vāk.* 3.14.43).²

Undoubtedly, Bhartṛhari correctly interpreted sū. 2.1.1 (*samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*) on a par with Pāṇini, historically speaking. In this sūtra, the semantic connection is taken to be assumed for the application of all rules concerning words at the syntactical level of analysis of language. Afterwards, two kinds of semantic connection, that is, the one linking the constituent elements of a synthetic expression and the one linking words of an analytical expression, became explicit. The first is in the case of *ekārthibhāva*, i.e. "integration," the second in the case of *vyapekṣā*, i.e. "interdependence." This distinction dates from Kātyāyana and is accepted by Pāṇini. This is evidence of the coming into being of an explicit semantic-syntactical criterion, whereas, in Pāṇini's grammar, semantics and syntax were merely implied or, as in the case in question, barely touched upon.

Once the theoretical foundations for the distinction between *ekārthibhāva* and *vyapekṣā* were laid by the *naiyaśabdikas*, the way was open for the separate treatment of compounds and un-compounded words in two different parts of the syntax. This, however, did not occur later nor did it occur in the work of the philosopher-grammarians Bhartṛhari. While the philosopher in him was attracted to the contemplation of the unanalyzable *vṛtti*, the grammarian in him was drawn towards the search for the (approximately) corresponding *vākya*. At times, these two poles of attraction are manifest in the same *kārikā*. So, for instance, *kā.* 192 of *Vāk.* 3.14. states that in a *dvandva* compound, *ca* disappears. This type of compound is referred to as "in the meaning of *ca*" (sū. 2.2.29), although there is actually a difference in meaning, in order to conform with or, rather, to approach the

² See *Vākyapadīya* 3.14.49 and *passim*. Quotations are from the Poona edition of 1973, *kāṇḍa* III, part II, with the *Prakīrṇakaprakāśa* of Helārāja, by K. A. Subramania Iyer.

nearest corresponding analytical expression. And *Vak.* 3.14.249 states that in a compound such as *abrāhmaṇa*, the negative particle *na* is not used. *Abrāhmaṇaḥ* is analysed on the basis of the uncompounded words *na brāhmaṇaḥ*, with which it is identified, although it is quite clearly different.

On the subject of *bahuvrīhi* compounds, the *Vākyapadīya* discusses which of the analytical expression is the nearest equivalent to the compound type *citragu*. The reason why it cannot be *as-yaitāḥ* (*citṛā gāvah*) is because, in this case, *asya*, i.e. the *padārtha* Devadatta, which should result in being the predominant word according to the rules, becomes the qualifier, *viśeṣaṇa*, of the cows; that is, it becomes the secondary member (3.14.237). Rather, it will be "*tāsām svāmī gavām*" (238), because, in this case, the connection of Devadatta with the cows becomes the *nimitta* of the compound, and Devadatta outside the compound becomes the main word qualified by his connection with the cows. The above discussion follows the statement that the *vṛtti* formation is altogether different from the uncompounded words. They give particulars which are not to be found in the *vṛtti*, which expresses the general (213).

III

The term *pradhāna*, used in the above discussion, is a key term in the dialectic of unanalyzable *vṛtti*/corresponding *vākya*.

It is well known that typological definitions of the compounds existed before Pāṇini's time, and were based on the relationship between the *pradhāna*, i.e. the main member, governing or determined or qualified, and the *upasarjana*, i.e. the secondary member, governed or determining or qualifying.

The *Kāśikā*, under 1.2.57, informs us that teachers of old had defined the compound of the type *avyayībhāva*, as the compound in which the first member is predominant (*purvapadārthapradhāna*); the compound of the type *tatpuruṣa*, as the compound in which the second member is predominant (*uttarapadārthapradhāna*); and the compound of the type *dvandva*, as the compound in which both members are predominant (*ubhayapadārthapradhāna*).³ As far as the *bahuvrīhi* type of

³ See *Prathamo Bhāgaḥ* (Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University: Hyderabad, 1969), p. 46.

compound is concerned, the *Kāśikā* relates “*matvarthe*”: the bahuvrīhi expresses the sense of the suffix *matu(p)*.

The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, making use of the old definitions again (see under 2.1.6,20 and passim), puts in line the definitions of avyayībhāva as purvapaḍārthapradhāna, tatpuruṣa as uttara-ḍārthapradhāna, dvandva as ubhayapaḍārthapradhāna, and the definition of bahuvrīhi as *anyapaḍārthapradhāna*.⁴ In the compound of the bahuvrīhi type, the sense of another word which is outside the compound is predominant.

For centuries, criticism of the four different prādhānyas has been using the same examples.⁵ The most common of these can be read in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (cf. *Sarvasamāsaśeṣaprakaraṇa*, after 939) and are clearly explained in her commentary called *Bālamānoramā*.⁶ *Sūpapratī*, “a little broth,” and *unmattagaṅgam*, “the region where the Ganges flows impetuously,” are avyayībhāva according to Pā. 2.1.9 and 2.1.21. The first, *sūpapratī*, should rather be considered a tatpuruṣa, because the second member *pratī* represents the predominant governing member; the other, *unmattagaṅgam*, a bahuvrīhi, because the word outside the compound, i.e. “region,” is predominant. In *atimālaḥ*, “surpassing the necklace (in beauty),” which according to sū. 2.2.18 is a tatpuruṣa, the predominant member *ati* actually occupies the first place (indeed, this is given as an exception by Pāṇini, cf. 1.2.44). *Dvitrāḥ*, “two or three,” a bahuvrīhi according to 2.2.25, does not have its pradhāna separate from the compound: both members have to be considered predominant. Lastly, *dantoṣṭham*, “the ensemble of teeth and lips,” should be listed among the dvandvas, according to 2.4.2. However, neither of the two members, taken individually, is predominant. The ensemble (*samāhāra*) of teeth and lips is predominant.

Pāṇini had already anticipated the above criticism more than two thousand years before the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, while numbering pradhāna and upasarjana (cf. 1.2.56-57) among the subjects which can only be learned through a direct experience in the usage of language. Rather than trying to confine the richness of

⁴ Our quotations are from F. Keilhorn and K. V. Abhyankar, eds., *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (Poona: 1962, 1965, 1972).

⁵ These are the main ones, within which a fifth, the *madhyapaḍārthapradhānya*, is not included.

⁶ Edited by Gopāla Śāstrī Nene, Chowkhamba's Kashi Sanskrit Series, no. 136.

the language to narrow typological schemes, he used these schemes and their connected terminology as means of analysis and description. He combined and integrated this particular analytical-descriptive technique with the method of elencation.

We come to the main point of the argument: dealing with a criticism of a different kind, as for instance that expressed in the *Mahābhāṣya* 2.1.55, in the debate about the most suitable *vigraha* for the compound *śastrīśyāmā*.⁷ If *śastrīśyāmā*, "black as a knife," qualifying *Devadattā*, is analyzed as *śastrīva śyāmā devadattā*, "Devadattā black as a (black) knife," *śyāmā* refers to *Devadattā*. If instead, the proposed *vigraha* is *yathā śastrī śyāmā tadvad iyaṃ devadattā*, "as the knife is black so is this (black) Devadattā," then *śyāmā* refers to the knife. A third *vigraha* is possible, in which both the members of the compound, *śastrī* and *śyāmā*, refer to *Devadattā*: *śastrī śyāmā devadattā*, "a black knife, Devadattā." And the latter is the analysis finally adopted, because, while providing a correct formation, it is also the most economical. No word, in fact, remains implied. But, in this last case, the entire compound denotes an *upameya*, i.e. *Devadattā*, which is outside the compound. *Devadattā* is the *anyapadārtha* which becomes predominant. Helārāja remarks, in his commentary in the *Vāk.* 3.14.408: "it is an *anyapadārthapradhāna*, even though it is a *tatpuruṣa*."

In conclusion, *prādhānya* and types of compounds such as *bahuvrīhi*, *tatpuruṣa*, etc., are certainly fixed points of reference in a freely developing discussion and it is mostly on their foundation that the various *vākyas* are tentatively built. Yet these *vākyas* show themselves to be relative and approximate, which denounces their inability to be definitely identified with corresponding *samāsas*.

Another interesting debate is that in *Mahābhāṣya* 2.2.6, concerning the analysis of *abrāhmaṇa*. The debate opens with the direct question: *kiṃpradhāno'yam samāsaḥ*, "in this compound, which is the predominant [member]?" But in fact, *sūtra* 2.2.6 comes under the heading *tatpuruṣa*, and the *tatpuruṣas*, as a rule, are *uttarapadārthapradhāna*. Kaiyaṭa points out that if a *nañtatpuruṣa* is considered as an *anyapadārthapradhāna*, a con-

⁷ Cf. the edition quoted in vol. I, p. 397 l.23 and p. 398 l.2. Compare also S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen, eds., *Pañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya. Karmadhārayāhnika* (Poona, 1971), p. 115 ff.

fusion may arise with the bahuvrīhis.⁸ Yet in the *Mahābhāṣya* (cf. also *Vāk.* 3.14.303), the *anyapadārthapradhānapakṣa*, puts forward its arguments free from any such reservations.

IV

Let us now consider the Kaiyaṭa's analysis of the compound *abrāhmaṇa* in his commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, sū. 2.2.6.

Abrāhmaṇa means a *ṣatriya* or anyone similar, whose brahminhood, in the primary meaning (*mukhyārtha*), is denied. Brahminhood is erroneously attributed to him (*adhyāropita*) due to his similarity, etc., to a brahmin. His particular condition, that of not being a brahmin in the primary meaning of the term, i.e. by birth, is indicated by the first member (*dyotita*). The *uttarapadārtha* is a *pradhāna* while the *purrapada* is only an indicator.

The grammatical tradition presented an analogous case of *dyotakatva* in the use of the *upasargas*. *Sthā* is a *dhātu* meaning "movement." Used by itself, for instance in *tiṣṭhati*, "he stays," it does not denote "setting-off." The *uparsarga pra* used with it, becomes an indicator of movement. *Pratiṣṭhate* means "he sets off."

In Kaiyaṭa's reasoning, the observance of the *sāstras* is secured: the *nañtatpuruṣa* shows a regular *uttarapadārthapradhānya*. The *sāmānādhikarānya* is also secured, since both the first and the second *pada* are in syntactical agreement. The *prakriyā* of *abrāhmaṇa* starts, in fact, from [(naÑ + sU) + (brāhmaṇa + sU)] + sU.⁹

Following the discussion of the *Mahābhāṣya* with care, Kaiyaṭa's commentary formulates the *sāmānādhikarānya* in terms of a reference of both members to the same whole, the parts of which, i.e. the characteristics which go to make up a brahmin, both members convey as being present or absent. In the sentence *abrāhmano'yam yas tiṣṭhan mūtrayati*, the second member of the compound, *abrāhmaṇaḥ*, is used as meaning only one characteristic of the brahmin, only that of his birth being present; the other characteristics of a brahmin, such as education and *tapas*, being absent. And the first member, naÑ (-a), is as much an indicator

⁸ See vol. II, p. 667 of the Harayānā-Sāhitya-Saṁsthana edition quoted above. Compare also S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen, eds., *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya. Tatpuruṣāhnikā*, (Poona: 1973), p. 77 ff.

⁹ Cf. Joshi, *Patañjali's*, 2.2.6.

of the absence of these last characteristics as an indicator of the presence of the first.

In the controversy between the *kāryaśabdikas* and the *nai-tyaśabdikas*, Kaiyaṭa sides with the latter. His position is also stated, incidentally but explicitly, in his commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, under the *sūtra* in question: in the same samāśas there are *dharmas* which differ from the ones of the *vākya*.¹⁰

Kaiyaṭa a *naiyaśabdika* orthodox grammarian, takes a most original stand, considering his time, in the contraposition of primary and secondary meanings. Dyotakatva, as already pointed out, is a term with an old grammatical tradition. But the secondary meaning revealed by the dyotakatva seems to coincide with that *āropita-śabdavyāpāra*, which is the indicative power of words, the *lakṣaṇā*, as it is also called, as opposed to the *abhidhā* (or *mukhyārtha*), the denotative power. The *lakṣaṇā* is based on the *abhidhā*; the former resulting when the latter is *bādhitā*, i.e. "annulled." The *sādrśya*, which Kaiyaṭa insists on, is one of the relationships by which the *lakṣaṇā* is connected to the *abhidhā*. However, all these elements, undoubtedly acceptable from the point of view of grammatical orthodoxy, stem from the *alamkāraśāstra*, where they are specifically dealt with.¹¹ The *Kāvya prakāśa* of Mammaṭa, who is almost a contemporary of Kaiyaṭa, extensively examines the *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā* in the second *Ullāsa*.

It is interesting to compare Kaiyaṭa's analysis of the compound *abrahmana* with that given a short time later in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*: "in the *purvapada nañ* there is *laksana* of a *Ksatriya* similar to a brahmin"¹². The two formulations are clearly equal to each other.

V

The *Tattvacintāmaṇi* is not generally taken into account when dealing with samāśas, as though this work, generally acknowledged as a landmark in the history of Indian philosophical thought,

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 677.

¹¹ Cf. S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 2nd ed., vol. 2. (Calcutta, 1960), p. 145 ff. and passim.

¹² Kāmākhyānātha Tarkavāgiṇa, ed., *The "Tattva-Cintāmaṇi" by Gaṇḍgeca Upādhyāya. Part IV, Vol. II, Čaoda Khaṇḍa*, Bibliotheca Indica New Series Nos. 900, 908, 915, 918, 921, 927, 935, 943, 955, 960, 975, 977, (Calcutta, 1901), p. 786.

did not also belong to the field of grammar. Actually, the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries considered the followers of Pāṇini as an officially recognized school of philosophy, tracing their tradition through the *Vākyapadīya*, with its commentators, and the *Mahābhāṣya*, back to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The theory of *sphoṭa* was considered, by the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, and is still considered today, as the most important contribution of grammarians to philosophy. On the other hand, the theory of compounds has never been considered a specific philosophical contribution. Yet, this became a topic for speculation for the *naiyāyikas*, the *mīmāṃsakas* and other schools. I believe that with the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, and particularly the *Samāsavāda* of the *Śabdakhaṇḍa*, the theory of compounds took an important step forward. This was mostly due to the fact that, according to the *nyāya* school of philosophy, in polemics with other schools but also vitally permeated with grammar and rhetorics, the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* established analyses and definitions which would adequately describe valid means of knowledge.

In the work of Bhartrhari, who contemplated the unanalyzable *samāsas*, yet at the same time was engaged in trying to provide their most approximate analyses according to grammar and grammatical tradition, the gap between the philosophical absolute and the grammatical means was never bridged. In the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, on the other hand, grammar and rhetoric collaborate in the formulation of definitions of logic-cognitive processes, which are, in fact, a specific field of study in philosophical speculation.

According to the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, *samāsas* and *vākyas* are distinct and not interchangeable, but both are valid and analyzable. This fact, as well as the fusion of various currents of thought in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, were two facts that could never again be ignored by any of the modern schools of grammar. All of them had to confront the analyses and definitions given in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. See, for instance, the definition of the *bahuvrīhi* type *citragu*, "having brindled cows:" There, after the connection of the two members *citra* and *go* has been understood, the member *go* becomes an indicator of the owner of the brindled cows, be-

cause the connection between the cows, brindled and also the object to be actually expressed, and the owner reminds one of him; the member *citra* is used only in the primary meaning, conveying its own sense united to that of the cows."¹³ And also the definition of the tatpuruṣa type *rājapuruṣa*: "In a tatpuruṣa such as *rājapuruṣa*, the first member is connected to the second in the meaning of a genitive, through the *nirūḍhā lakṣaṇā*. It is thus [through *nirūḍhā lakṣaṇā*] that the knowledge of a man connected to the king originates . . ." ¹⁴

VI

It is to be observed that it has taken centuries for Indian grammatical tradition (here we are particularly dealing with the orthodox Pāṇinian tradition) to become vitalized by the above speculations.

One part of this tradition—here I am thinking of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, the *Durghatāvṛtti*, the vulgarizing treatises which changed the order of Pāṇini's sūtras subject by subject, such as the *Rūpāvatāra*, the *Rūpamālā*, and then the *Prakriyākaumudī*, up to the popular *Siddhāntakaumudī* with later commentaries, to mention only the works of the strictest Pāṇinian orthodoxy—contributed to an enrichment of exemplification, when scholastically revised, commented upon and added to the sūtras, but the advancement was mostly sectorial and strictly grammatical.

Another part of the most enlightened grammatical works of modern times—represented not by the *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* nor the *Vyutpattivāda*, which centuries later were still the direct continuation of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, but rather by the works of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, Kaunḍabhaṭṭa, Nagojībhaṭṭa, i.e. the last line of the Pāṇinian school — is a reply, if we consider them carefully, to the speculative revolution engendered by the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*.

VII

The *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikās* by Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita are classics of modern times. The quintessence of the author's *Śabdakaustubha* has been commented upon by his nephew Kaunḍabhaṭṭa and by other modern exegetes. They represent a sort of digest of all that has been accepted until now by the mod-

¹³ Ibid., p. 733.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 753.

ern, orthodox Pāṇinian school of grammar, in its continuous confrontation with the various currents of philosophy.

On the subject of compounds, the ekarthībhāva is reaffirmed— (see *Kā.* 32), i.e. their power of integration or capacity for conveying, once the members have been fused into an integrated whole, a meaning different from that which each member, taken individually, could ever convey.¹⁵ This power, called *śakti*, is the same kind as that which inheres to the whole (*samudāya*) of the word *paṅkaja*, “the lotus.” The parts by themselves, i.e. the two members *paṅka* and *ja*, can only express “what grows in water.” It is the entire *paṅkaja* which is able to convey the meaning “lotus.”

The *vyapekṣāvādins*, philosophers of the *naiyāyika* and *mīmāṃsaka* schools (see *Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa*, *Kā.* 34), had denied the *śakti* in the compound. But *Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa* shows the difficulties in accepting the *lakṣaṇā* just in those cases where she had been most clearly recognized, although in different ways, by the *naiyāyikas* and the *mīmāṃsakas*.

One argument (see the commentary in *Kā.* 34 again) unequivocally connects *Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa* with Pāṇinian orthodoxy. *Sūtra* 1.2.45 calls *arthavat*, i.e. “provided with artha,” a *prātipadika*; and 1.2.46 includes the *samāsas* amongst the *prātipadikas*. Consequently, the *samāsas* possess artha on the authority of the *śāstras*, and artha is to be understood as *mukhyārtha*, the primary meaning, not as *lakṣaṇā*, the secondary meaning.

Evidently, there is a continuation, even today, of the ancient paradox: a *samāsa* cannot be reduced to a *vākya*, yet an analysis is aimed at using means, in their authorized form, which are enucleated from the *vākya*.

VIII

The height attained in this field of research today is better measured after having a look into the ponderous work of *Nāgojībhaṭṭa*. In fact, the time seems not to be ready yet for an adequate historical perspective.

Nāgojībhaṭṭa's reasoning unfolds with both philosophical and religious eclecticism, conveying tantrism at the same time. Al-

¹⁵ Numeration is according to Chowkhamba's edition of the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* of *Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa*: with “*Prabhā*” and “*Darpaṇa*” Commentaries, 2nd ed., Kashi Sanskrit Series 188 (Varanasi, 1969).

though orthodox, his grasp of methodology is critical and modern. From rhetoric, he recovers the centuries-old notion of *vyañjanā*, which grammarians had not yet made use of.¹⁶ This is easily understood: while *abhidhā* and *lakṣaṇā* are based on a power of communication (*artha*) which resides within the word (*śabda*)—this being the actual object of grammar—the *vyañjanā* lies outside the limits of the word.

Nāgojībhāṭṭa identifies with the *vyañjanā* both the *dyotakatva* of the *nipātas*, which Kaiyata had compared with the *dyotakatva* of the first member in a *nañtatpuruṣa*, and the *vyañgyatā* of the *sphoṭa*. In this respect, and on the authority of Bharṭṛhari and others, the *Mañjūṣā* draws the attention of grammarians to the *vyañjanā*.¹⁷

It is true that the *Mañjūṣā* itself does not fully utilize the *vyañjanā* in the section on compounds. I believe that full use has not yet been made of it.

Nāgojībhāṭṭa's work has not yet been worthily continued within India, nor has his thought been fully explored outside India.

With Nāgojībhāṭṭa, a confluence of philosophical, religious, aesthetic and grammatical currents of thought took place. Today, the way is open for a cultural revitalization of grammar of the same importance as that begun in the twelfth century because of the influence of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*.

The right perspective of the history of Indian grammatical theories of compounds can only be achieved by spanning the bridge of the more than two thousand years between Pāṇini and Nāgeśa. Having gained this perspective, which encompasses the philosophy of language, and after further study and comment from research into Nāgeśa's work, it will be possible to make further advances.

¹⁶ P. Ch. Chakravarti took note of the importance and the place given by Nāgeśa to the *vyañjanā*; cf. *The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* (University of Calcutta, 1930), p. 335.

¹⁷ See, for quick reference, the *Vyañjanānirūpaṇam* of *Paramalaghumañjūṣā*, particularly the 1961 ed. of the University of Baroda, p. 64.

REPORT REVIEW OF SOME ASPECTS OF RECENT RESEARCH
IN SANSKRIT AND INDOLOGY

V. Raghavan

As suggested by the President of this Congress, I present a Report/Review of some aspects of recent research work in the field of Sanskrit, showing some general trends and also the desiderata and priorities in respect of what might be undertaken in the coming years.

In the first place, I must report on the new forum for Sanskrit studies, the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, which was conceived at the first International Sanskrit Conference conducted by the Indian Ministry of Education in Delhi in 1972 and which was brought into being at the last session of this Congress in Paris in 1973. This Association for Sanskrit has thus a special relation to this Congress. We have had a second International meeting in Turin in June 1975, at which we passed several resolutions on Sanskrit Research Projects, some of which have been going on for some time and some of which may be usefully undertaken by scholars, institutions or countries having the required resources. These latter resolutions have been forwarded and recommended to the concerned institutions. These resolutions have been endorsed by the International Union of Orientalists at its meeting held during this Congress. The subjects of some of these resolutions will figure in this Report. Although our efforts to hold the third session along with this Congress could not bear fruit, we are glad and thankful to the President of this Congress for enabling us to hold this general meeting of the IASS. I am glad to report that our IIIrd Conference will be held in Paris next year, and Prof. J. Filliozat, one of our Vice-Presidents, has already taken the initiative for this. Prof. W. Morgenroth assured me during my recent visit to Berlin that the IVth Conference could be held in Weimar with the help of the Government of the G.D.R.

We had appealed personally and through letters to our colleagues in different countries to organize their own National Associations of Sanskrit Studies to be affiliated to the International Body. National Associations of Sanskrit Studies have already been formed in France and Italy. I have received encouraging information that in the G.D.R., they have set up such a national body with Prof. Morgenroth as Chairman and in Moscow, a similar body has been set up with Dr. Bongard-Levin as Chairman.

The 75th anniversary of the Ecole Française d' Extreme-Orient celebrated at the beginning of June this year provided an occasion for a majority of our Bureau members to meet and discuss the further progress of our organisation. The proceedings and papers of the Turin Conference are already under print in the new Indological Journal of the University of Turin, the *Indologica Taurinensia* edited by Professor Oscar Botto, who was primarily responsible for our meeting at his University. I have the melancholy duty of referring to the tragic demise in Italy of Count Giardono in a car accident while returning to Turin. The Count was an ardent student of Indian art and one of those responsible for convening the IInd International Sanskrit Conference in Turin and actively contributing to its success.

I may refer next to an important project, which has recently emerged and on which international collaboration is needed for the continuation and progress of the programme and the success of the proposed projects. The significance of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit and Indian literatures and in the religion, art and culture of India assumes further proportions in the sweep of its influence over the whole of South-East Asia and indeed over a great part of Asia. Following the initiative taken by Indonesia a few years back, the Indian National Academy of Letters (the Sahitya Akademi) with the assistance of the Ministry of Education organised an International Seminar on the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Asia, in December last year. In addition to scholars representing the various languages and arts in India, participants from Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Mongolia and the U.S. and experts on the *Rāmāyaṇa* of other countries contributed papers on the *Rāmāyaṇa* versions and variations, its role in the arts and influence on society and life. An outcome of the conference is the setting up of the International *Rāmāyaṇa* Seminar as a permanent body to carry out the resolutions passed at the Seminar, which comprehend the whole field of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in all its ramifica-

tions: survey of literary and folk versions and Index of episodes, motifs and variations, a series of illustrated volumes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the arts of sculpture, painting, wood-work etc. from all the *Rāmāyaṇa*-countries, editions of *Rāmāyaṇa*-texts, their analysis and comparative study and publication of dissertations on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and its versions; film-documentation of *Rāmāyaṇa* Ballet traditions of South-East Asia and so on. These more or less set forth a conspectus of subjects and themes of *Rāmāyaṇa*-research that could be thought of. The first duty of the Seminar is of course to publish the papers of the Delhi session. In addition to the work of Prof. Hooykaas on the Indonesian *Rāmāyaṇa*, some excellent publications have recently appeared like the one by Ameen Sweeny on the Malay Rāma Shadow Play versions, the Indian scholar Dr. S. Sahai's on the Loatian *Rāmāyaṇa*, the work and papers of Bizot and Savaros Pau on the Cambodian, the last revealing new versions of episodes; we await Prof. de Jong's book on the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa* which has been ready for some time now. I may, with your leave, refer to what I have done in the series of studies that I have already made in this field; my 'Greater *Rāmāyaṇa*' (Kasi Raja Trust, Banaras) surveys and evaluates the *Rāmāyaṇa* story as found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* and the *Purāṇas*; My '*Rāmāyaṇa* in Greater India' (South Gujarat University, Surat) surveys and makes a comparative study of the Rāma-epoch in countries of Asia outside India and enquiries into the causes and methods of the variations and carries a very detailed Index of names, motifs, episodes and variations. In three lectures under print at the Bombay University, I have made a critical and comparative study of three Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇas* other than Vālmīki's, the *Adhyātma*, *Adbhuta* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇas*. I have written also on the specific character of a little known Sanskrit version, the *Bhusuṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa*, which Tulasidās had used. Other published studies of mine include 'Some Old Lost Rāmā-Plays' (Annamalai University), and *Rāmāyaṇa* citations and Textual criticism. At present I am engaged on a study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as handled in the Sanskrit Poems and Plays. Independent of our efforts through the Indian Sahitya Akademi, the International Union of Academies has resolved to prepare with international co-operation an *Inventory of Rāmāyaṇa literature*. I learned from Professor Yamamoto, member of the International Union of Academies, that the Union has decided at its recent meeting at Brussels that the first

stage of this project will cover the text of Vālmīki, Rāmāyaṇa visions. I hope that these Rāmāyaṇa projects will meet with the approval of this Congress and the UNSCO.

To Sanskrit studies, particularly in India, which follow traditional and beaten tracks and also overdo some of the much-ploughed fields like *Alamkāra* and *Advaita*, there is the gain of new pastures and fresh interest by enlarging their range to Sanskrit in South-East Asia. After Gonda and his 'Sanskrit in Indonesia,' Spitzbardt of Jena has worked on the Sanskrit composition of Bahasa Indonesia. That classical Sanskrit was once cultivated actively and at high level in South-East Asia is clear from the use of Sanskrit for Inscriptions of the Kings all over that area. The Cambodian Sanskrit Inscriptions are couched in excellent classical diction displaying all the elegance of style and felicity of simile we know of in Kālidāsa and the skill and mastery of vocabulary and figures like *double entendre* etc. which we are accustomed to in Bāna, as I have shown in a literary study of these. Studies such as I have done will be facilitated in India if publications in Devanāgarī script of the Sanskrit Inscriptions of South-East Asia are brought out, as R. C. Majumdar has done for the Cambodian. This is necessary as the French and Dutch publications where these have originally appeared are not easily accessible to Indian scholars at large. However we should welcome the publication in two volumes of Himansu Bhushan Sarkar's 'Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java,' (Calcutta, 1972), giving in one place, in Roman script, 110 inscriptions in Sanskrit and Old-Javanese, with English translation and notes. After his studies on Kakawin *Rāmāyaṇa*, based on the *Bhatti kāvya*, Hoovkaas has given us three volumes, one of these in collaboration with Gourdiaan, of the large mass of Sanskrit devotional writings in Bali, *Āgamatīrtha* (1964), *Sūryasevana* (1966) and *Stuti-Stava* (1971) (all from Amsterdam) which open our eyes to a vista far wider and richer than what Sylvain Lévi gave in his short pioneering 'Sanskrit Texts from Bali' (*GOS* LXVII, 1933). These comprise some texts well-known and current in India, and others of local origin; and as pointed out by their editors, these latter reveal a form of Sanskrit which they call 'Archipelago Sanskrit' similar to, although not so prominent and rampant, as the form which has come to be called 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.'

From history we know that during the height of the Sailendra Empire, Sanskrit study was in full swing in that Kingdom. Chinese

pilgrims underwent a course in Sanskrit at Palembang before they went to Nalanda and other India centres. Contacts with South Indian empires, of the Pallavas, Colas and Pandyas, were also in full swing. Ceylon seemed to have played a central role in this intellectual and cultural commerce with these islands, an activity which seemed to have reduced the ocean here to a mere lake.

Sanskrit literature of Ceylon was an integral part of Indian Sanskrit literature, as the *Jānakīharana* of Kumāradasa bears out. New Epigraphical and other evidences were brought out by the Ceylonese scholars Paranavitana and Godakumbra which throw new light and show the inter-connections of South India, Ceylon and Śrīvijaya, especially in respect to Sanskrit literature. According to these new inscriptions and a chronicle of Śrīvijaya, the poet Kumāradāsa was really Kumāra-Dhātusena, who came to the Pallava Kingdom along with his cousin Mānavarman who had married a Śrīvijaya Princess. Kumāra-Dhātusena, when he was in Kāñcīpura, came under Brāhman influence, changed his name to Kumāradāsa, studied with Daṇḍin, the poet-laureate of the Pallavas, and as a member of the Pallava King's retinue composed part of the *Jānakīharana* there. On Mānavarman's return to the Ceylon-throne with Pallava help, Kumāradāsa, who followed him, completed the JH. at Anurādhapura. Agrabodhi V, son and successor of Mānavarman, was not kind to Kumāradāsa and the poet left for Śrīvijaya, presented his poem to the King there and won his esteem and presents. At the instance of that King, who wanted him to write on a Buddhist theme, Kumāradāsa composed the *Mahākāvya* called *Śrīghanananda* on the same theme as that of Aśvaghosa's *Saundarananda*. Kumāradāsa then returned to Ceylon, lived *incognito* and had a tragic end. Not only were mss. of this second, Buddhist, poem available in Śrīvijaya, Ceylon and South Malabar but five opening verses from it, describing Kapi-lavastu have also been found in a pillar-inscription in Mandilla in Ceylon.¹ I understand that in Java, some verses of the *Jānakīharana* has been found included in a Sanskrit Christomathy in use there. The above is not the only discovery in Ceylon. In a slab inscription of King Mahendra IV, in the Abhayagiri-area another poem

¹ Introduction to the edn. of *Jānakīharana*, Paranavitana and Godakumbra, Ceylon, 1967, pp. lxi-lxvii. Also *Buddhist Yearly*, 1967, Halle, pp. 26-58; from a remark of Paranavitana on p. 56 of the last-mentioned contribution of his, it would appear that some more portions of the *Śrīghana-nanda* poem were also found in the inscriptions referred to above.

called *Sundarī-vṛttānta* has been found which deals with the marriage of the Princess Sundarī and Mahendra of Ceylon, Sundarī being the daughter of the Pandyan Prince Śrīmāra, son of Varaguna; Śrīmāra had left his country, gone to Śrīvijaya and married Guṇavatī, daughter of the King of Śrīvijaya, Guṇārṇava. This poem refers also to the wars between Śrīvijaya and Cambodia and the part Ceylon played therein. The author of this poem is known to be a Brahman named Rājasundara Paṇḍita and his son, bearing the same name, wrote a commentary on the poem.² A further interesting thing found in the inscriptions of Parākramabāhu IV at Maṇḍalagiri Vihāra, is that the texts of the following Buddhist works are incised on stone: *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dignāga with the commentary *Sarala* of Śārīputrācārya of the time of Parākramabāhu I, but written in Śrīvijaya when Śārīputra was there, *Sambandhaparīkṣā*, *Nyāyamañjarī* of Buddhapālita, *Nyāyamañjarī* of Ratnakīrti, and the Buddhist iconography text *Pratimālakṣaṇā* available in print, with a commentary by Ānandasthavira. Śārīputra has his own story to narrate about Dignāga's life: Dignāga, according to him was a Brahman of Kāñcī, son of Sundaramūrtisvāmin, the Purohita of the Pallava King Simhavarman and had come to Śrīvijaya for some time before he went to Nalanda. The *Suvarnapuravamsa*, a history of Śrīvijaya, said to be lost, seems to have been in Sanskrit; in the many things said to have been narrated in it, there are sidelights on South Indian history and particularly noteworthy is the information on the vexed problem of the *Kalabhra*s in Tamil history that they captured power with the help of Suvarnapura (Srivijaya).³

The Javanese Kakawin productions have also an interest for Sanskrit literature. In addition to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, based on the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, a few other Kakawin poems have also been often mentioned. There are at least a hundred of them. These works have themes derived from Sanskrit epics, *Purāṇas*, *Dharma*, *Nīti*, and *Kāvya*s. A study of these is not complete without tracing their Indian sources and this search can sometimes be quite

² See *University of Ceylon Review*, Oct. 1963, XXI.2 pp. 127-8; *Buddhist Yearly*, Halle, 1967, p. 56; *Artibus Asia*, XXVI. 1966, Essays offered to GH Lule, Vol. I pp. 205-12, for its text & translation with notes.

³ *Buddhist Yearly*, Halle, 1967, pp. 54-55.

baffling as in the case of Kakawin *Bhaumāntaka* on the story of Kṛṣṇa's son Sāmba and his re-union with his wife in his former birth as Dharmadeva, viz. Yajñavatī, who came into the custody of Naraka whom Kṛṣṇa has to kill, and on which text Prof. A. Teeuw of Leiden has worked. During my visit to Bali and the Mss. Libraries at Singaraja and at the Udayana University at Denpasar, I noted many of the Sanskrit titles of the works which were quite exciting. The mss. relating to the *Mahābhārata* to some extent, the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāna* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been studied; Dutch scholars, who have a specialisation in this line, Gonda, Hooykaas, Ensink and others, have worked on some of these texts. In India the Greater India Society and its journal in Calcutta served to create interest in this field and led to many pioneering studies by Indian scholars. The International Academy of the late Dr. Raghu Vira and of his equally energetic son Dr. Lokesh Chandra has done a good deal of valuable work on this Sanskrit literature outside India. When I was actively connected with the All-India Oriental Conference, I had a new section devoted to Greater Indian Studies added to the Conference. A great deal of this work is open for young venturesome Indian Sanskritists to take up. Hooykaas has set forth, a number of subjects in his paper 'Greater Indian Studies — Present Desiderata' (1965, Hoshiarpur). I may mention the *Kṛṣṇāyaṇa*, called so on the analogy of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and dealing with the Kṛṣṇa-stories and sculptured in the Kṛṣṇa temple in Prambanan, and the texts on Śaivism. As Hooykaas says in the end the task is enormous but as it involves a great part of India's past and of its territory, the work is fascinating and rewarding.

The restoration of Sanskrit texts from Chinese and Tibetan and studies based on them were in the hands of French and other European scholars. The establishment of a China Bhavan by Tagore in the Santiniketan, the tours and collection of Buddhist mss. or their film copies from Nepal and Tibet by Rahula Sanskritayana form landmarks in the development of Indian work in this field. While work at Visvabharati has slowed down and is at present moribund, at the K P Jayaswal Institute at Patna the work of editing the texts of Buddhist logic and philosophy begun by Rahula Sankritayana has been continued by scholars like Prof. Anantalal Thakur. These texts have enlarged our knowledge of the history of Indian logic; authors who had been mere names for a long time had become realities with the publication of these

works. A galaxy of Brahman logicians has been revealed through the citations and criticisms in these works. From the Jain side, the L. D. Institute of Indology at Ahmedabad and the Jñānapīṭha at Banaras, have made similar contributions to the knowledge of the history of Indian logic. However, the number of young Indian scholars who have training in the work of restoring Tibetan or Chinese texts has so far been very small;⁴ if more of them take to this field of work, they will be helping in the recovery of many texts that are lost in their original Sanskrit and are preserved only in Chinese and/or Tibetan translations. Students of Sanskrit drama will be pleased to know that a counterpart of the play *Nāgānanda*, which had long been known only in the Tibetan, namely the *Lokānanda* of Candragomin, has after all been made available by Michel Kahn (Wiesbaden, 1974). The creation of Departments of Buddhist studies in the Delhi and Banaras Hindu Universities augurs well for the growth of this kind of work. The Ministry of Education in Delhi has recently arranged to send some Sanskritists conversant with this field to Dharmasala and in consultation with His Holiness the Dalai Lama, select some important texts that may be taken up for restoration into Sanskrit and publication.

Regarding the Central Asian Sanskrit mss. fragments, discovered in the expeditions from some of the European countries, I learnt during my recent visit to Berlin East that the collection in the Academy of sciences there on which Luders had worked, have all been studied, edited and catalogued by Waldschmidt and his students. But the same cannot be said about collections of these Central Asian mss. at other centres, like Leningrad.

The work of David Pingree of Chicago on mss. in Middle East has thrown new light on the interconnections and mutual borrowings of Greek, Byzantine, Sassanian, Arab and Indian Astronomy and Astrology; Sanskrit originals of some of the texts in these places and Greek originals of some Sanskrit texts have been found. Apart from their value for the subjects of Astronomy and Astrology, these texts have historical and other interest like the

⁴ One of them, Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya at the Viṣvabharati, trained in Germany, has produced a new critical study of *Aśvagoṣa* (1976) and offered many improvements in the fragments of the Play *Śārīputraprakaraṇa*, first edited by Luders.

vogue of Sanskrit among the Sakas and Greeks. The *Yavanaajāṭaka* of Sphujidhvaja, for example, a Sanskrit metrical version written in 270 A.D. of Yavaneśvara's Sanskrit prose translation of a Greek work written in Alexandria in the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D., throws light on the social conditions and political set-up and administration of the Western Kṣatrapas, adding substantially to what we know meagrely from epigraphical evidence.⁵ Here again is the opening of one more field of work.

This leads us to the general question of Sanskrit mss. on the importance, magnitude and urgency of which I have been writing and speaking on all possible occasions. Sanskrit mss. are spread all over the world and the work of surveying, cataloguing and utilising them needs international collaboration. I became involved in mss. even before the starting of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* at the University of Madras in the middle of the thirties. My collection of materials for this work revealed the magnitude of the task, the existence in public and private possession of numerous collections, big and small, and the difficulty of tracing them, and getting information on them or lists of their mss. These difficulties related also to collections outside India and in 1953-54 during a tour of Europe, I located many of them and prepared an inventory of 20000 mss. in big and small collections in Europe, not surveyed or known through published catalogues. I made similar surveys and inventories of Sanskrit mss. in all the countries I visited, prominently the U.S. I carried on this work in India during my visits to different centres and when the Government of India appointed the Sanskrit Commission in 1956, and the Commission toured the whole country, I had another opportunity to carry out my survey further. Working through the Ministry of Education and its former Indology Committee, and a special Committee of the University Grants Commission on Mss., I was able to bring the matter of the mss. to the attention of the authorities. I produced for the same purpose a brochure called 'Mss. Catalogues, Editions' (1963) through the Ministry, evolved a scheme of publishing catalogues of Mss. collections with cent per cent Government aid, and also prepared a blue-print for setting up a 'Mss. Survey of India'. The Government of India con-

⁵ See Pingree, *JOR.*, Madras, XXXI, pp.16-31. 'The *Yavanaajāṭaka* of Sphujidhvaja'; 'Astronomy and Astrology in India and Iran', *Isis*, LIV, 1963, pp. 229-46.

continues its assistance for publication of Mss. Catalogues, although it has not taken up any comprehensive plan like the one set forth in my Mss. Survey of India. At the IInd International Sanskrit Conference in Turin, I again emphasised the importance of this matter and the two resolutions on this subject that were adopted were strongly supported by scholars from other countries like Prof. Filliozat and Prof. Warder of Toronto. Since then, I have pressed these resolutions with the Central Sanskrit Board (Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan) of our Education Ministry, through its Publication Committee which has accepted the resolutions in principle and will work out the financial details of the proposals.

Even collections which are in well established Libraries or Research Institutes have not been fully examined or catalogued; the large collections in the palaces of former Maharajahs, like those of Jaipur and Bikaner, are not acceptable in some places including Universities, mss. in huge quantities have just been collected and piled up, without listing or arrangement. The Sanskrit University in Banaras has perhaps more than a lakh of mss. but has no funds even to examine and catalogue them not to mention their study and publication. It has not been unusual for scholars with an eye or enthusiasm for it to discover new texts even in the well-known collections in reputed institutions. I may cite my finding Abhinavagupta's *Paryantapañcāsikā* in the Trivandrum University collections and Jayanta Bhatta's *Āgamadambara* in the BORI. collections in Poona. Purposeful and even casual search still yields rare finds which enrich our studies; examples are Bhāskara's *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*, Māyurāja's *Udāttarāghava*, the *Yuktidīpikā* on the *Sāṅkhya Kārikās*, the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* of Bhāsarvajña and the *Mānamamnohara* of Vādi Vāgīsvara. The quality of research and substantial addition to knowledge are both dependent on the discovery of mss. of outstanding works now considered lost, in each branch of Sanskrit studies. There is a deadlock, so to say, without these new texts and younger scholars merely going round and round texts already much dealt with. Sometimes on the same text, more than one thesis appears and there is no machinery to check and eliminate such duplication. Instances of rare texts remaining to be discovered can be given from each branch: the commentaries on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* and Tota's *Kāvya-kautuka* in poetics and dramaturgy, the works of Mātṛgupta and Kohala in dramaturgy, several classical dramas — *Rāmābhyudaya*, *Kṛtyārāvaṇa*, *Chali-*

tarāma etc., Menṭha's *Hayagrīvayadha* and Rājaśekhara's *Haravijaya* among the *Mahākāvya*s: Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* among Prakrit poems and so on. Similar names could be cited in the fields of Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta, Sāmkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.

More arguments are not needed to emphasize the priority which should be given to the search, survey, location, cataloguing etc. of mss. lying in all parts of India. 400 catalogues, lists and Bibliographical works, including those that formed the basis of Aufrecht's original *Catalogus Catalogorum*, formed the basis of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* when it was begun at the Madras University in the middle of the thirties; after the publication of its first volume in 1969, no new catalogues or lists could be added to this corpus. Already in 1963 when I issued the brochure on Mss. and Catalogus, 73 more printed and handwritten catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. had become available. Thanks to the financial assistance of the Ministry, many more catalogues have since been brought out. I myself have on hand several small and large lists of mss. of collections that I have visited and examined, in addition to the larger inventories of mss. in Europe, U.S. etc. which I have prepared. The time is therefore ripe for the compilation of a *IIIrd Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Mss. as proposed in the first resolution adopted at our Turin Conference and as subsequently accepted in principle by the Central Sanskrit Board, Delhi. The International Union of Orientalists has already endorsed this and I hope this Congress will also endorse these resolutions on the Mss. and recommend them to the UNCSCO.

I had also proposed that as part of the work of salvaging the Mss., a special journal of Sanskrit Manuscriptology be started to publish information on Sanskrit Mss. collections, describe individual mss. of importance and also lists of small and stray collections. I am glad to say that this proposal too has been accepted by the Central Sanskrit Board, Delhi.

I may now refer to some fields of work in which sufficient work has not been done and the gaps which remain to be filled. It is not possible to cover the entire field, nor to refer to every project or smaller undertakings at the numerous Universities, Institutes, voluntary organizations, and other centres which have now multiplied in number, in India. The *Āgamas* form as prodigious a mass of literature as the Purāṇas. There is a project for the critical edition of the Purāṇas at the Kasi-Raja Trust, Banaras; work here

is slow for lack of large scale financial support and a larger number of qualified workers on the project. At the Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati, an *Āgamakośa* has been started by the speaker and some progress has been registered on the bringing out of unpublished *Āgama* texts and the compilation of material from the *Pāñcarātra* and *Vaikhānasa* branches for the *Kośa*. The Adyar Library which had pioneered in this field with Schrader's work has brought a few more *Pāñcarātra* texts. Tirupati has not yet taken on hand the *Śaiva Āgamas* which are as numerous as the *Vaiṣṇava* for their *Āgamakośa*. The *Śaiva Āgama* texts that have been printed are fewer than the *Vaiṣṇava* ones; Prof. Filliozat's French Indology Institute at Pondicherry has not only collected available mss. of *Śaivāgamas* but has also edited two of them. A Bibliography and Analysis of the Contents of all *Śaiva Āgamas* like the one Dr. Daniel Smith of Syracuse has done for the printed texts in *Pāñcarātra* (G.O.S. 1976) is a desideratum.

The *Tantra* is a more formidable and varied mass of primary texts and derivative digests. There is no special project relating to them now going. The Sanskrit University of Banaras conducted a *Tantra* Seminar, published its papers and has brought out some texts including a collection of two volumes of passages from *Tāntrik* texts quoted and not yet recovered. Some work has been done in Allahabad and Mithilā on the publication of the *Mahākālasaṃhitā*.

The Kashmir Series of Texts included some *Śaiva Āgamas* and also *Tantra* texts and it is a pity that in the political developments that took place, this series could not be continued. The field of Kashmir Śaivism and South Indian Śaivism deserve greater attention than what they have so far received. The Sanskrit literature bearing on the South Indian *Siddhānta* is a virgin field. *Vīraśaiva* literature in Sanskrit has not fared better.

In *Veda*, the edition of the *Atharva veda - Paippalādasamhitā* by Durgamohan Bhattacharya on the basis of the new mss. discovered in Orissa made little progress after his death; his son at Santiniketan has taken up the work and has given us the second volume. In *Nyāya*, a number of texts and commentaries have been brought out by the Mithilā Institute of Sanskrit Studies and the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad; the Central Sanskrit Institute, Tirupati, has published the *Tattvacintāmaṇī* with *Rucidatta* and the super-commentaries of the Vedāntins Dharmarājadhvarin and his son Rāmakṛṣṇadhvarin, showing the

existence of a South Indian school of *Navya-nyāya*. Reference has already been made to the discovery and publication by Swami Sri Yogīndrānanda of the *Nyāyabhūṣana* of Bhāsarvajña, his commentary on his own *Nyāyasāra*. Bhāsarvajña and his *Bhūṣana* are known for their peculiar views, departing from classical *Nyāya* and they were the target of criticism by Advaitic writers. The same Sādhu brought out also the *Mānamanohara* of Vādi Vāgīśvara, which was also attacked very severely by Advaitins like Citsukha and his commentator, by Ānandānubhava etc. These two new texts offer many topics for detailed studies and dissertations.

In Sāhitya, I am progressing on my critical edition of the encyclopaedic *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhoja, undertaken under the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund and included in the Harvard Oriental Series; I am working also on the revised edition of the *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭya Śāstra* for the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. In *Vyākaraṇa*, Bharṭṛhari and his *Vākyapadīya* have deservedly attracted the attention of scholars in India and other countries. Special mention must be made of the sustained work of Prof. K. A. S. Aiyar of Lucknow on the exposition of Bharṭṛhari and the edition of the *Vākyapadīya* with *Helārājīya*, and the Pandit Raghunatha Sarma attached to the Sanskrit University of Banaras. Among younger scholars, Dr. Aklujkar at Vancouver is also engaged on the *Vākyapadīya*. In the course of my work on the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, as I had already pointed out, a considerable portion of the *VP.*, and portions of the commentaries of Hari himself and Puṇyarāja and Helārāja are quoted or assimilated. Bhoja quotes a good number of *Kārikās* which look like Hari's but are not found in the current *VP.*; at least one missing *Kārikā*, definitely identified as from Hari's *VP.*, has been found during my work. Bharṭṛhari's own commentary on *VP.* in full and his *Śabdahātusamikṣā* remain to be recovered. The publication of all this textural material will be the starting point of further systematic expositions of the linguistic, semantic and philosophical ideas of this great grammarian and pre-Śāṅkara monist philosopher.

In *Dharma Śāstra*, Dr. Derret (SOAS, London) has brought out the old commentary of Manu by Bhāruci. The late Prof. K. V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar edited for the GOS. Baroda, one of the early Smṛti digests, the *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara; three *Kāṇḍas* of this digest remain to be published and it is to be hoped

that, although after the lapse of many years, the GOS will arrange for the edition and publication of the three remaining Kāṇḍas, one of which devoted *Āgama* is unique to this work.

The *Artha Śāstra* of Kauṭalya has aroused worldwide interest; in the enthusiasm that was created soon after its discovery, numerous studies on the work appeared; interest in it has however been growing. Two of its old commentaries, preserved in South Indian mss., the *Jayamaṅgalā* and the *Tikā* of Bhikṣu Prabhamati have been published by the Kuppaswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras; their editor, G. Harihara Sastri, who had worked with the late T. Ganapati Sastri, has added a valuable introduction in which he has shown many improvements in the textual readings and the meanings of a number of words and the technical vocabulary of Kauṭalya. This reveals that there is still ample scope for the detailed critical study of words and meanings in the *Artha Śāstra*. A Kauṭalya - Bibliography has long been due and we are glad it has been compiled by Dr. Sternbach (1973, Hoshiarpur).

Volume III of the *Vedic Bibliography* (BORI., Poona 1973) of Dr. Dandekar keeps to the wide range of the previous volumes of this work. Bruce Long (Cornell University, Ithaca) has been working on a *Mahābhārata* Bibliography. The proposal for a *Rāmāyaṇā* Bibliography has already been referred to. At the K.S.R. Institute at Madras, we are working on a comprehensive Bibliography of the *Bhagavadgītā*, editions of the text, published and unpublished Sanskrit commentaries translations in all languages, monographs and papers. A *Ālīdāsa Bibliography* has recently been brought in Delhi but it requires to be supplemented. Prof. Hajime Nakamura has placed in my hands the materials collected by him for a *Śaṅkara Bibliography* to be completed from the Indian side. The *Jain Bibliography* published from Calcutta in 1945 has to be brought up to date. The *Jinaratnakośa*, Vol. I, by H. D. Velankar (BORI) brought out in 1944, dealing with Works, remains to be completed with Vol. II dealing with Authors. The *Prāci-Jyoti* from Kurukshetra University gives periodical digests of Indological Studies. S. Choudhuri of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, is bringing out the series called 'Index Indo-Asiatics'. Cumulative Indexes have been brought out for the *Indian Historical Quarterly* and *Indian Culture*. The G. Jha Institute, Allahabad has published an Annual Bibliography Of Indology for 1969 and has material for a further volume. One of the most useful publications in this line is the Accession List, India, of the Delhi Office

of the U.S. Library of Congress which gives monthly annotated lists of Indian Publications in all fields and cumulative lists of serials. There have also been published bibliographies of the some individual scholars whose writings have been considerable and in a variety of fields. Universities and research institutions and centres, and publication agencies have multiplied so much in India that it is difficult to keep abreast of all work that is being published, not to mention work that has been done but not published or research subjects being worked upon at universities and institutes. Some university journals publish abstracts of Thesis presented, some research institute reports also give such information about their activities. The presidential addresses of the AIGC sessions usually carry a review of recent work. In the English Journal of the Sah. AIC., a normal review of work done in Sanskrit and Indian languages are given. My latest book "Sanskrit and Allied Indian Studies in N.S.", on the plan of my earlier work of similar life covering Europe, is more full in respect of bibliography and index of scholars, work, and institutions. Despite all this, scholars feel the lack of information or non-availability of journals and books or knowledge of others who might be doing work in the same field. During my visits to many libraries, Universities and other centres of study in Europe, America and Japan, I found large gaps, in respect to many Indian publications. Indian scholars in general have not that access to the non-English journals which they have to the English journals. The case is most prominent in respect to Japanese journals and publications. An undertaking which will be very useful to the Indian research scholars is a periodical detailed abstract in English of papers etc. published in other European languages and also Japanese. At the same time, some methods should be concerted with the co-operation of Government of India and its foreign offices and their cultural departments, the universities, institutes, individual scholars and the commercial Oriental publishers to make the large output of Sanskrit and Indological research in India more widely known abroad.

ANOTHER TYPOLOGICAL FEATURE COMMON TO SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIAN LANGUAGES: IDENTIFIED OBJECT MARKING

Colin P. Masica

One rule of thumb for turning up a topic likely to be of interest to South Asian linguistic typology is to note what strikes an English-speaker (or "Standard Average European"-speaker) as odd. Such a rough-and-ready yardstick obviously has its drawbacks, one of them being the neglect of those features that do not strike an English-speaker as odd but that are nevertheless also typologically important and characteristic. However, we are far from having exhausted the productivity of this *exotica*-criterion.

One such feature in Hindi, for example, would certainly be the fact that direct objects of transitive verbs sometimes take an objective case marker and sometimes do not, that is, they are in the direct or nominative form:^a

1H. Harbans KO nau sāl ke bād māī ne pahlī bār dekhā - 'I saw Harbans for the first time after nine years' (Rakesh 12)^b

2H. pandāji ne Sattidīn kī strī KO dekhā - 'The priest saw/looked at Sattidin's wife' (Nirala 25)

3H. samudra#dehkar jāme se bāhar ho gaye - 'Seeing the sea, he couldn't contain himself' (Nirala 22)

4H. māī ne ek chatnār bāgh#dekhā - 'I saw a sparse garden' (Raghava 7)

5H. kal māī ne sapnā#dekhā hai - 'Yesterday I had (= "saw") a dream' (Nirala 24)

At first glance, the distinction may seem to be between persons and "things," as in the above examples and others:

^a Throughout the remainder of this paper, # will indicate an unmarked object. Object markers will appear in capital letters.

^b For full references for the citations, see the end bibliography.

- 6H. Gobar KO ūkh#gome bhej denā - 'Send G. to hoe the cane' (Premchand 5)
 7H. cār-pāc aurtō ne pherivāle KO gher liyā thā - 'Four or five women had surrounded the peddler' (Nagarjun 6)
 8H. unhē jeb se rumāl#nikālkar sir# dhank lenā parā thā - 'He was compelled to take a handkerchief out of his pocket and cover his head' (Yashpal 59)
 9H. āp ande#lēge na? - 'Won't you have some eggs?' (Vajpeyee 10)

However, it turns out that the object-marker KO may also be attached to "things" when they are in some sense specified or "definite":

- 10H. unhō ne us ke lekh KO sarāhā - 'They praised his article' (Yashpal 52)
 11H. Premchand kī korī upadesātmarktā KO na apnākar Prasād ne vyangyātmak śailī ke kām#liyā - 'Rejecting P.'s crude didacticism, Prasad adopted a satirical style' (Nagendra 187)
 12H. uske cehre KO vah nahī dekh pāī - 'She couldn't see his face' (Nagarjun 6)
 13H. us bāt KO bhūl na jānā! - 'Don't forget that matter!' (Premchand 11)
 14H. dusre ke saujanya se udhār mile naye reśmī rūmāl KO ghī se kaise kharāb kar detā - 'How could he ruin with ghee somebody else's new silk handkerchief lent out of courtesy!' (Yashpal 61)

This definiteness is hard to define. Perhaps, among other things, a long string of modifiers before the object might suffice to make it definite, as in No. 14 above? Not necessarily:

- 15H. pagdandī ke donō or ūkh ke paudō kī laharātī hui hariyālī#dehkar ūsne man mē kahā - 'Seeing the waving green of the sugarcane plants on both sides of the path, he said to himself . . .' (Premchand 6)

Some of us, I'm afraid, are guilty of telling our students that a good rule of thumb is to translate Hindi KO following a noun (excluding proper names and kinship terms) by English *the* — that is, when not (as in Ex. 10-15 above) accompanied by possessive or demonstrative determiners with which *the* is not compatible:

16H. phir bhī, hindī-upanyās KO uske śaiśav se paripakvatā tak viksit karne mē Premchand kā jo anupam yog rahā . . . 'Still, the unparalleled contribution of P. in developing THE Hindi novel from its infancy to full maturity . . .' (Nagendra 187)

17H. vipannatā ke is āyāh sāgar mē sohāg hī vah tm thā, jise pakre hue vah sāgar KO pār kar rahī thī - 'In this fathomless ocean of affliction, non-widowhood alone was the straw grasping which she was crossing THE ocean' (Premchand 6)

18H. . . . Billesur bakriyō KO lekar nikle - 'B. went out taking THE goats' (Nirala 40)

19H. Mangala ne bacce KO . . . sulā diyā hogā - 'M. must have put the child to bed . . .' (Raghava 38)

Because of the many nuances of English usage, this does not always work perfectly, needless to say. However, one function of the English article, that of marking a noun as previously known or identified, would agree with the similarly anaphoric function of pronouns — which also generally take KO (or equivalent -E/Ē/HĒ) as direct objects — in pointing to *prior identification* as one criterion of 'definiteness.'

20H. unKO āp nahī jāntī - 'You don't know her' (Vajpeyee 117)

21H. ek olā usne hāth mē lekar dekhā aur kahā, 'agar māi isKO khā lū to!' - 'Taking a hailstone in her hand she looked at it and said, "What if I should eat this?"' (Vajpeyee 99)

If the pronoun is deictic rather than anaphoric, anticipatory, or deliberately indefinite in reference, it dispenses with the KO:

22H. vah#bhī dikhāiye — 'Please show me that one too'

23H. māi bhī yahī#socne lagtī hū ki uskī jagah agar māi hotī to śāyad māi bhī apne pran#kho detī — 'I also begin to think (this) that if I were in her place I would give up my life too' (Vajpeyee 22)

24H. usne jo kuch#khilāyā, vah#māi ne khā liyā. jo kuch#pīne ko diyā, vah#māi ne pī liyā — 'Whatever she gave me to eat, I ate (that). Whatever she gave me to drink, I drank (that)' (Rakesh 263)

Unfortunately, the *the*-trick does not work in reverse: absence of KO does not always mean absence of *THE*, nor does presence of *THE* always mean presence of KO. This is because identified (or "definite") impersonal objects are not consistently marked with

KO even though impersonal objects so marked are always of this category when thus marked.

25H. vah samācār kā kāgaz# mez par rakh kar thorhī KO mutthī mē liye bahut der tak soctā rahā — 'Putting *THE* (previously mentioned) news sheet on the table he thought for a long time with his chin in his hand' (Yashpal 53)

26H. tum gāy#le jāo, dām#jo cāhe denā — 'You take *THE* (previously mentioned) cow; give whatever price you want for it' (Premchand 9)

27H. :bābā, gāyatrī se baṛā gurumantra aur koī nahī. māī hayī mantra# lūgā.

:are, gāyatrī#to janeū hote vakt tum sun cuke ho.

:māī bhūl gayā hū — 'Baba, there is no mantra greater than the Gayatri. This is *THE* mantra I'll take.' Afe, you've already heard *THE* Gayatri, at the time of your thread ceremony.' 'I've forgotten it.' (Nirala 24)

28H. pahļā parāthā# khatm karke bhābhī ne pānī#piyā — 'Finishing *THE* first paranthā, Bhabhi drank some water' (Nagarjun 95)

On the other hand, the definite and identified status of *persons*, while generally assumed, is not beyond challenge. If they are clearly indefinite (or there is a desire to depersonalize them) they are also subject to demotion to a KO-less condition:

29H. udhar Jayacanda ne Sarhyogitā KO uske is saṅkalp se vicalit karne ke liye kuch dāsiyā# uske sāth rakh dī — 'Meanwhile J. left *some slave girls* with S. to dissuade her from her resolve' (Gupta 99)

30H. . . . Briten ke mantrimandal ne apne tīn pratinidhi#Bhārat bheje the — 'Britain's Cabinet had sent *its three representatives* to India' (Yashpal 56)

31H. māī paramātmā ke sāmne pāpī hū, prophesar sāhab! māī ne baccā# badal diyā — 'I am a sinner before God, Professor Saheb! I switched *children*' (Raghava 39)

There are a number of other qualifications that should be made. Nouns which are part of lexical units with the empty verbalizer *karnā* 'do' (e.g. śikāyat karnā 'complain', bhojan karnā 'eat', paidā karnā 'produce', ādar karnā 'respect', kośīś karnā 'try', intazār karnā 'wait for', etc.), the number of which is legion, do not take KO, nor do an even greater number of what may be

called incompletely lexicalized but nonetheless closely bound customary collocations of noun + verb (e.g. nimantraṅ denā 'invite', madad denā 'help', gālī denā 'abuse', javāb denā 'answer', khānā khānā 'eat', kasmē khānā 'swear', coṭ khānā 'get hurt', golī mārṇā 'shoot', sās lenā 'sigh', pānī pīnā 'drink water', cilam pīnā 'smoke the *hubble-bubble*', uple pāthnā 'make cowdung cakes', sapnā dekhnā 'dream', etc. — under normal conditions.) All this is in accord with the indefinite status of such nouns.

An important fact about the marker KO (and its equivalents -E/Ē/HĒ with certain pronouns) is that it is primarily a *dative* marker. In the case of verbs taking both direct and indirect objects, the latter has priority and precludes the use of KO with the direct object. Thus direct objects of verbs such as 'give', 'tell', 'feed', 'teach', etc. — or their equivalents or paraphrases — never have KO, even when the implied indirect object is not actually mentioned.

On the other hand, verbs taking an object with an object complement, while excluding KO from a nominal complement, do not require (though they may take) it on a non-personal object itself if the complement is adjectival:

32H. bhalā ādmī vahī hai jo dusrō kī bahū-betī KO apnī bahū-betī samjhe — 'He is a good man who thinks of the daughter-in-law and daughter of others as his own daughter-in-law and daughter' (Premchand 8)

33H. unke yathārth citranō KO bhī ādaśonmukhī — banāne mē unkī isī sudhārvrtti kā viśes hāth rahā — 'This same reformist tendency of his had a special hand in making even his realistic portrayals inclined to idealism' (Nagendra 187)

vs.

34H. Māstarjī ne Purī aur Tārā ke liye prātaḥ uṭhne kā niyam# śīthil kar diyā thā — 'Mastarji had relaxed the rule of getting up at dawn for Puri and Tara' (Yashpal 53)

35H. Tārā kī mā aur Māstarjī bhī larī kī sagāi ho jāne par use iṅtar se adhik parhānā#vyarth samājhne lage the — 'Tara's mother as well as Mastarji had begun to consider it useless to educate a girl beyond Intermediate after she had been betrothed' (Yashpal 57)

In the last example, to be sure, the infinitive *parhānā* itself precludes the use of KO, because KO has a different function when attached to infinitives.

All this is merely by way of preliminary orientation, for the purpose of this paper is not to provide rules for the use of Hindi KO, but to describe or at least point to an area and a typological phenomenon that it represents.

Looking beyond Hindi, we see first that all modern Indo-Aryan languages similarly lack a separate accusative case, and all (excepting Sinhalese, with certain qualifications) have extended the use of their new dative case particles (Bengali KE, Oriya KU, Sindhi KHE, Assamese -OK/K, Panjabi NŪ, Rajasthani NAI, Gujarati NE, Nepali LĀĪ, Marathi LĀ/NĀ) to certain classes of direct object, though not all go as far as Hindi in using them to develop a definite/indefinite distinction. In Bengali in particular the use of the dative for this purpose is rather restricted. One reason for this seems to be that the definiteness/identification territory has been preempted by the qualifier -TA and its relatives suffixed to the noun:

36B. tumi ki amar jonne lurop theke aekta kae mera#nie ašbe?
. . . tumi ki kae meraTA taratari cao? — 'Will you bring me a camera from Europe?' 'Do you want the camera right away?' (Dimock et al. 188-89)

37B. ami aekta pakhi nie jacchi . . . 'I'm taking a bird (as a present)' je pakhiTA tumi niccho tar ron ki? — 'What color is THE bird you are taking?' (Dimock et al. 243-44)

It should be emphasized that this TA (ṬI, etc.) marks only definiteness, not object status. It is not a case particle. It can accompany nouns in subject, genitive, and other functions.

OBJ: 38B. ami oi boiṬA porī ni — 'I haven't read that book' (Dimock 246)

SUBJ: 39B. tai boiTA amar aeto šokto lagchilo — 'That's why *the* book seemed so difficult to me' (Dimock 315)

GEN: 40B. boro norom mon cheleṬIr — '*The* child's heart is very tender/ = a child has a very tender heart' (Chakravarty 2)

Bengali KE is generally used with personal direct objects.

41B. tomar striKEo eno — 'Bring your wife, too' (Dimock 359)

42B. ami khabar#khee tomaKE dakbo — 'I will eat and call you' (Dimock 221)

It is not used with personal objects which are indefinite, however:

43B. ami sunlum je tomra Minur biete onek lokJON# khaoabar baebostha korecho — 'I heard that you have made arrangements to feed *many people* at Minu's wedding' (Dimock et al. 367)

44B. dustu biral dat#khicie laphie gache uthe, TuntuniKEo dhorte parlô nâ, chana#o khete paelo na — 'The wicked cat bared her teeth and lept up into the tree but neither was she able to catch Tuntuni nor did she succeed in eating (*his*) young' (Raychoudhury 13)

It is very occasionally extended to non-personal objects for emphasis or clarity:

45B. ami sapKE bhoe kori — 'I'm afraid of snakes' (Dimock et al. 230)

46B. karon tumi to purbo bajlaKE thikbhabe jante cao — (Dimock et al. 358) — 'Because you want to know East Bengal thoroughly'

47B. kintu tar golpo#sune chelera etuku khotiKE khoti mone kore na — 'But hearing his story, children don't think so much harm (can) be harm' (Chakravarty 1)

In contrast with Hindi, Bengali does not use KE with pronoun objects referring to things, even though definite and identified; only with pronoun objects referring to persons:

48B. ami oTA#anbo — 'I shall fetch *it*' (Dimock 94)

49B. ami oKE dekhte cai — 'I want to see *him*' (Dimock 258)

50B. Tuntuni eKE jigges kore taKE jigges kore. sobai bolle "oTA#napit die katie phelo" — 'T. asked *this one* and he asked *that one*. Everyone said, "Have *it* lanced by a barber"' (Raychoudhury 15)

It may finally be added here that the range of functions of Bengali KE is also much narrower than that of Hindi KO. It is, like Hindi KO, the sign of the indirect object. However, other functions of KO, not discussed here, have other correspondences in Bengali, by and large. As a directional postposition 'to', Hindi KO generally corresponds to the Bengali locative in -TE/E. As a marker of 'indirect *subject*' it most often corresponds to a Bengali genitive in -(E)R:

51H/B. usko acchā lagtā hai/ taR bhālo lagche — 'He/she likes it'
52H/B. usko pyās lagī hai/ taR testa peyece — 'He/she is thirsty'

Similar differences in detail in the functions and domains of the dative case particles (often called *dative-accusative* case particles) of the various other modern Indo-Aryan languages could no doubt be established, along with the fundamental parallelisms. For example, I have as yet been unable to find Nepali LAI used with other than personal objects.^c Much work can be done in this area.

Even though investigation of such details may be relevant for our wider purposes also, let us for the present give priority rather to the investigation of the gross distribution of the feature in its essence.

If we define that essence as the case marking of some direct objects and not of others, taking the modern Indo-Aryan employment of a dative particle for this purpose as a secondary feature (and leaving also the precise *basis* of the marking choice as to be defined), we cannot fail to notice a striking parallel in the Dravidian languages. For although these languages maintain a sharp distinction between dative and accusative, the accusative is not employed with all direct objects. Initial native speaker intuition tends to see the basis of the distinction in persons vs. things (or, with more linguistic sophistication, in 'animate' vs. 'inanimate'), but further reflection^d sometimes reaches the conclusion that it is really 'definite' vs. 'indefinite'. Persons are generally definite and marked, while inanimates though typically unmarked (nominative), may also be marked *if definite*. Cf. Tamil:

53Ta. takappan tan makanAI azhāittān — 'The father called his son' (Arden 12)

54Ta. taccan peṭṭi ceyvān — 'The carpenter will make a box' (Arden 12)

^c Since this paper was presented, Muffy Bateson has kindly supplied me with several examples of Nepali LAI with impersonal definite objects, e.g. (from a folk tale): 52aN. harin-le buṭ-LAI āphno aghillo khuṭṭā-tira tānera . . . the deer put *the boots* on his front feet . . .

^d K. Baramasivam, personal communication

55Ta. taccan oru periya peṭṭiyAI ceytān — ‘The carpenter made a large box’ (Arden 12)

(The possibility of tense being a factor in ‘definiteness’ — cf. 54Ta and 55Ta above — is a matter that should be investigated for all the languages.) Some examples of non-personal object with the accusative in, for example, Lisker’s *Spoken Telugu* are found by other native speakers — after considerable hesitation — to be ‘less natural’ than the nominative forms:

56Te. iwāla ē kurālNI kontaru (vs. kurālu) — ‘What *vegetables* will you buy today?’ (Lisker 112)

57Te. amma bidda cētulNU kadugutundi (vs. cētulu) — ‘The mother is washing the child’s *hands*’ (Lisker 112)

Nevertheless, it is not difficult to find such examples in modern authors:

58Te. “ — — — ” annādu śantangānē, kōpānNI cūpakundā — “ — — — ” he said quite calmly, without showing his *anger*’ (Rao 16)

59Te. cēsina tappuNU telusu kōkundā nāku salahā istunnāvā? — ‘Without admitting *the mistake* you made, you are giving me advice?’ (Rao 16)

60Te. ā avamānānNI tapukōvālante bhārya saḥāyam korakatapadu — ‘If he was to escape *that disgrace*, there was no way out of taking his wife’s *help*’ (Rao 21)

Most inanimate objects continue to be unmarked, even if (from an English point of view!) they are ‘definite’. In this sense, the marking is indeed (barring some undiscovered factor) ‘optional’.

61Te. adde ḍabbulu# wādimohāna paḍēstāḍu — ‘He would throw *the rent money* in his face’ (Rao 17)

62Te. a ḍabbu# ekkāḍa peṭṭaew? — ‘Where did you put *that money*?’ (Rao 21)

63Te. mellagā metlu#ekki talupu#ṭisindi — ‘Slowly he climbed *the steps* and knocked on *the door*’ (Rao 219)

64Te. nijam# telusukoṅṭānu — ‘I will find out *the truth*’ (Krishnamurti 4)

65Te. ī vēlō rēpō iwwakapōte illu# khālī ceystādu — ‘If we don’t

give it today or tomorrow he will make us vacate *the house*' (Rao 16)

Telugu and Malayalam speakers, like Bengalis and unlike Hindi-Urdu speakers, prefer pronoun objects with non-personal referents in the nominative case:

66Te. mā nānnaku *idi* (acc. = dānni) tirigipampitē em bāguṇṭundi? — 'What good will it do if we return *this* to my father?' (Rao 16)

67Ma. *ite* (acc. = itine) eṭukkuka — 'Take *this*' (inf. notes)

68Ma. avanekoṇṭe *ite* (acc. = itine) kutippikkuka — 'Make him drink *this*' (inf. notes)

This may not be true of all Dravidian languages, particularly Kannada and written Tamil:

69Ka. adaNNU tegi — 'Take that away' (Ziegler 32)

70Ta. itAI vārāvatu koṇṭuvantu pōttirukka vēntum — 'Someone must have brought it and put it here' (Arden 179)

Thus we see that this decidedly non-Indo-European feature of case usage, foreign also to Sanskrit, is well-established in Dravidian. Before jumping to the usual conclusions regarding its origins in modern Indo-Aryan, however, let us explore further.

In the Munda languages, such a feature, when present at all, is said to be clearly a borrowing from Indo-Aryan, making use even of borrowed suffixes (-KE in Mundari, -KEN in Korku, -TE in Kharia). According to Biligiri, the Kharia -TE, which marks both indirect and direct objects (as well as motion toward and location at, like Bengali -TE), shows some aberrancies of behavior from the Indo-Aryan point of view. Unlike the Aryan particles, it may occur with indirect and direct objects together, rather than only with the former. On the other hand, it is not obligatory with personal direct objects:

71Kh. tuyuTE mĀsTE terog — 'He gave meat to the fox' (Biligiri 81-3)

72Kh. b'Alu beta(TE) yoyog — 'The bear saw the boy' (Biligiri 81-3)

The less Aryanized Santali, which has definite and indefinite "articles" (the former differentiated into animate and inanimate)

as well as object indication (direct or indirect) in the verb by means of incorporated pronouns, has less need for borrowings of this kind. (For good measure, the animate subject is sometimes also marked with -TE 'instrumental' — Bodding 82).

73Sa. janwariñ ñamleKOokhan in aguKOa — '(The) animals-I if-find-THEM-if I shall-bring-THEM' (Bodding)

These incorporated pronouns are not differentiated for case function except by position:

74Sa. uni hoꝛKO tolkedEa — 'That man-THEY bound-HIM' (Bodding 18.30b)

75Sa. ac'ren golameE kolkedEa — (Luke 14:16)

It is possible that a version of our pan-Indian distinction may be present in a different guise in Santali, in that inanimate objects (at least indefinite ones?) appear not to have these incorporated pronoun echoes:

76Sa. jom emakope — 'Give them food' (here the one object slot is occupied by the I.O. *ko* 'them') (Bodding 229)

77Sa. marañ okoc'e kedok' bhøjket' #a — 'He gave a very great supper'

The following sentence may appear to be an exception:

78Sa. putkaKO halañket 'KOa — 'They gathered mushrooms' (Bodding) (= mushrooms-THEY gathered-THEM)

Mushrooms, however, are considered animate in Santali.

Moving further east, we find that the distantly related but syntactically right-branching Khasi language has articles which it makes much more use of than Santali. These indicate gender and number but are not, according to Rabel (p.183), used to make a definite/indefinite distinction. The articles are identical with 3rd person pronouns (m. 'uu, f. ka, pl. kii, dim. 'ii). The latter frequently echo noun subjects in Munda fashion. With "articles" preceding subject and object, and pronouns identical in form with them following the subject — and no differentiation for case in

any of these — the Khasi sentence fairly bristles with 'uu's, ka's and kii's, and the use it makes of a special marker /ya/ (ortho. *ia*) to set off the object is therefore most welcome.

79Khas. kii khna 'knthey kii sa laj YA kii khiw kii siaj baro' —
'THE girls THEY gathered up all THE pots and THE spoons'
(Rabel 210)

This /ya/ seems to give priority to an indirect object, when there is one, and in this respect and in view of the fact that it is often omitted it closely resembles the Indo-Aryan dative-accusative particles, except for being prepositional. However, the criteria for its use or omission are not clear and do not seem to be the same.

Turning now to Tibeto-Burman, despite Grierson's assertion that there is a tendency to put the direct object in the dative (in -LA) in Tibetan (Grierson iii.i.26) and Newari (Grierson iii.i.216) I can find no evidence at all of this in modern standard central Tibetan (as recorded and described by Goldstein & Nornang and Chang & Shefts). Perhaps Grierson was referring to Western Tibetan (Balti and Ladakhi). As ergative languages, Tibetan and its relatives are in general so preoccupied with marking the status of the 'subject'/agent (voluntary vs. involuntary) that the 'object'/patient is left to fend for itself. To put it more exactly, it is in the same case (nominative) as the 'subject' of involuntary verbs and certain intransitives (e.g. 'go'). Definiteness is indicated, where desired, by liberal use of the demonstrative TI 'that' (postposed).

80Ti. eni, puqu TII qhālaà see, cha thūū ezs̄ni šīn qhuquè TI khīni, amee tsāā le lōō chīpereè — 'And the (instr.) boy ate (the) food, drank (the) tea, and bringing *the* crooked stick, returned to (the) presence of (his) mother' (Goldstein-Nornang 162/170)

In Burmese, this ergative construction of the sentence is not present. The language does possess an object marker — of all things, KOU (for both direct and indirect objects: basic meaning 'to') — which moreover is not always used. Okell (p. 224) expresses dissatisfaction with his inability to specify further the conditions for its occurrence, but it is clear that they are not quite the same as in Indo-Aryan. It is not obligatory with definite personal objects:

81Bu. *dămyátei hpàñ-lou mi-yé-là* — ‘Did they catch the da-coits?’ (Okell 347)

82Bu. *bouhcou’ [KOU] cf* — ‘Look at the General’ (Okell 131)

It is not obligatory with indirect objects:

83Bu. *bouhcou’ [KOU] pyo* — ‘Tell the General’ (Okell 131)

Or with personal objects having object complements:

84Bu. *băma-tă-you’ # kahtíká hkáñ* — ‘Appoint a Burman (as) lecturer’ (Okell 147)

vs. 85Bu. *myei-KOU ákáñ lou’* — ‘Make the earth (into) a bank’ (Okell 148)

On the other hand, two KOU’s may occur together:

86Bu. *louñh̄ci-KOU thú-KOU le’ hsañ peī* — ‘Give him a lungi as a present’ (Okell 134)

Burmese also possesses optional subject (or topic) markers, -HA, -KA (cf. Japanese GA). These may co-occur with object-marker KOU:

87Bu. *pa’ wùñciñ-áhlá-HA àèi-dañ-KOU meī-thwà-sei-lau’ -pa-te* — ‘The surrounding beauty was enough to make (one) forget the severe cold’ (Okell 334)

Beyond Burmese, I have so far been unable to find any evidence of a defined object marker feature in any of the languages of further mainland Southeast Asia, Indonesia, or China. On the opposite side of the subcontinent, the Dardic Kashmiri and Shina, as well as the Iranian Pashto, are all, like Tibetan, strongly ergative in tendency. Other things being equal, this would tend to produce ‘objects’ in the nominative case. There is evidence in Bailey’s texts, however, of a use of the dative (in -S/-AS) with definite direct objects in Kashmiri:

88Kash. *su paatshaa tAS p33zAS maarihe ne* — ‘The king would not have killed that hawk. — ’ (Bailey 33)

89Kash. *d3chini athe chu ath pyaalAS thaph k3rith . . .* ‘Having grasped that cup with his right hand . . . ’ (Bailey 33)

I have found no mention or evidence of such a usage for the other two languages. (The Kashmiri dative, so unlike the dative-accusative particles of modern Indo-Aryan, is strangely similar phonetically to the dative-accusative of another mountain-bound quasi-ergative language, namely Georgian:

90Geo. *mama adzlevs seil-S phul-S* — 'The father gives the son the money' (Tschenkéli 5)

However, it is Persian that presents the most striking analogies to the Hindi case. It uses its object-marker *-RĀ* (coll. *-O*) as a finely-tuned instrument for definiteness and identification indication. *RĀ* is general with personal and pronominal objects, and with objects determined by demonstratives or defined by attributes or context. It is omitted with non-particularized or indefinite non-personal objects. These include the customary noun-verb collocations that, as in Indian languages — particularly Hindi — ultimately reach the status of lexicalized compounds, with all stages in between represented. *RĀ* is not incompatible with the Persian indefinite article in *-I*; a thing can be 'indefinite but individualized' (Lazard 178). Lazard devotes thirteen pages of his grammar of modern Persian to exposition of the subtleties of the usage of *RĀ*.

91P. *Bedīshān goft: dām-RĀ be-taraf-e-rāst-e-kashtī be-andāzīd ke xāhad yāft . . . Pas chūn be xoshki amadand āteshī-e-āfrūxte# va māhī#bar ān gozarde va nān# dīdand . . . Āngāh Īsā amad va va nān-RĀ gerefte bedishān dād va ham-chenīn māhī-RĀ*
 'He said' to them: cast THE net on the right side of the boat and you will find some . . . When they got out on dryland they saw a charcoal fire there, and fish lying on it, and bread . . . Jesus came and took THE bread and gave it to them, and likewise THE fish' (John 21:6,9,13)

With regard to other Iranian languages, Ossetic in the Caucasus (the remnant of "Scythian") also makes a distinction on the basis of definiteness between two kinds of direct objects. Ordinary inanimate objects or 'indefinite beings' are in the nominative, while proper nouns, personal pronouns, definite animate beings, and inanimate objects whose definiteness is stressed are put in the genitive in *-f*:

920s. sug# aersaett — 'Chop firewood' (Abaev 17)

930s. mae madf regai nal fedton — 'I haven't seen my mother for a long time' (Abaev 18)

940s. Azau Taimurazi auidta — 'Azau saw Taimuraz' (Abaev 25)

Baluchi direct objects can occur with no suffix, with the indefinite suffix -E (cf. Persian -I), with the 'definite' (though not exclusively objective) singular and plural suffixes -A or -AN/A, with the indefinite and definite singular suffixes combined -EA, with the definite objective suffix -(R)A, or with definite singular -A + -RA. These provide a nicely graded scheme from abstract and indefinite-inanimate all the way to personal pronouns. Barker gives the following examples:

95Ba. mən koh# gyndin — 'I see mountain(s)'

96Ba. mən mwrǵ# jənin — 'I will shoot bird(s)'

97Ba. mən kohE gyndin — 'I see A mountain'

98Ba. mən kohA gyndin — 'I see THE mountain'

99Ba. mən mwrǵA jənin — 'I will shoot THE bird'

100Ba. mən masterA zanin — 'I know THE teacher'

101Ba. mən ayRA gyndim — 'I see HIM'

102Ba. mən əma kohA-RA gyndim — 'I see THAT VERY mountain' (Baker 141)

Although Persian RA is not the sign of the indirect object (for which the preposition BE- 'to' is used), the Baluchi RA has this function also (Barker 142).

Behind all these phenomena is a fact that I think is not irrelevant: namely, that the distinction between definite and indefinite direct objects is a well-established structural category of the Altaic languages — particularly of the Turkic languages, though it is characteristic of modern Mongolic and Tungusic languages as well. (Not, however, of Korean or Japanese, at least not in the same way.) It is found in the oldest recorded Turkic, the Orkhon inscriptions of the early 8th century (Tekin 125-27).

This involves the use of an accusative, not a dative. The two cases are kept distinct in Turkic and Mongolic, as in Dravidian, although there are interesting overlappings phonetically. (The Mongolian accusative in -G/-IG/-IIG resembles the Kirghiz dative in -GE/KE/GA/KA/GO/KO etc. and the Uzbek dative in -GA/KA/QA — and the Old Turkic or Orkhon *accusative* in -G/γ, The

Anatolian Turkish accusative in -IÜ/I/U resembles — insofar as it consists of a vowel — its own dative in -E/A. The resemblance of the former series to the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan datives — Tamil-Malayalam -KU, Kannada -GE, Telugu -KU/KI, Hinki -KO, Bengali -KE, Sindhi -KHE — and of the latter series to the Tamil/Malayalam accusative -AI/E, the Hindi pronominal dative in -E, etc. has been noted at least since the time of Caldwell in the middle of the last century. A further series consists of Telugu acc. -NU/NI, Kannada -NU, Gujarati and Punjabi dat-acc. -NE and -NÜ, and Uzbek acc. -NI, Kirghiz -NI/NU/DI/DU, etc. Can this all be pure coincidence?)

The criteria for use of the Altaic accusatives are similar to those we have been reviewing, with a few slight variations: proper names (including place names), definite persons, pronouns (demonstratives as well as personal pronouns), and last but not least, identified inanimate objects. With indefinite objects and second objects the nominative is used.

103Tu. Hasan 'I tanidim — 'I recognized Hasan immediately' (Lewis 35)

104Tu. buNU niçin yaptın — 'Why have you done this?' (Lewis 35)

105Tu. öküzÜ aldı — 'He bought the ox' (Lewis 36)

106Tu. kitabı okumadım — 'I have not read the book' (Lewis 36)

107Kir. almaNI — yedim — 'I ate the apple' (Hebert & Poppe 12)

108Kir. al menin közümcö bir agak kimizDI tınbastan içip ketti — 'He drank a jug of koumiss before my eyes without taking a breath' (Hebert & Poppe 47)

109Kir. aNI kirkik tügöttü — 'He sheared it' (Hebert & Poppe 48)

110Uz. buNI kördingmi? — 'Did you see that?' (Kononov 95)

111Uz. u meNI tanimadi — 'He didn't recognize me' (Kononov 95)

112Uz. AħmadNI caqiring — 'Call Ahmed!' (Kononov 95)

113Uz. men kitobingNI oldim — 'I took your book' (Kononov 96)

114Mong. bi ter nomIG avna — 'I'm going to buy that book' (Hangin 45)

115Mong. sayşing oroj irseng xünIG tataninuu — 'Do you know the person who just walked in?' (Hangin 70)

- 116Man. bi manjü gisan-BE tačiki — 'I shall learn the Manchu language' (Bese et al. 126)
 117Tu. bilet# satiyorlar — 'They are selling tickets' (Lewis 35)
 118Tu. Ali beş kitap# okudu — 'Ali has read five books' (Bese et al. 125)
 119Tu. öküz# aldı — 'He bought oxen' (Lewis 35)
 120Uz. menga bitta qalam#bering — 'Give me a pen' (Kononov 94)
 121Kir. bir alma#jedim — 'I ate an apple' (Hebert & Poppe 12)
 122Kir. bir kara at#aldım — 'I bought a black horse' (Hebert & Poppe 27)
 123Mong. bi nom# avna — 'I'm going to buy a book' (Hangin 45)
 124Mong. ta yuund mongol xel# surč wain? — 'Why are you studying Mongolian?' (Hangin 77)

In the latter category are included the stable collocations of noun and verb which, as in Persian and Indian languages, are so productive of idioms and lexicalized and semilexicalized compounds, e.g. Uzbek *qabul qiltoq* 'receive,' *javob bertoq* 'answer,' *tuš kömoq* 'dream,' *xat yozmoq* 'write letters,' *čoi içtoq* 'drink tea' etc. (Kononov 94), Mong. *tamxi tat-* 'smoke (tobacco),' *setgel zov-* 'worry (soul),' etc. (Bese et al. 124). As Bese, Dezso, & Gulya put it (p. 118), in these unions the object as such is "irrelevant to the communication" and becomes essentially part of the lexical content of the verb denoting a total action.

They are actually speaking among other things about Hungarian, which may be regarded as a last covert echo of this 'Altaic' category in the west. There the feature of definiteness or 'identification' in the verbal object does not manifest itself in its case ending (which is accusative throughout), but rather in the choice of *verb* conjugation (and partly also in word order).

125H. A fiú olvasSA az újságot [SVO] — 'The boy is reading the newspaper'

126H. A fiú olvas## egy újságot [SVO] — 'The boy is reading a newspaper'

127H. A fiú újságot olvas## [SOV] — 'The boy is "newspaper-reading"' (Bese et al. 118)

The feature of identified object marking is not found in Arabic.

However, it turns up in Amharic — the marker being -N/-IN. This comes as no surprise, since Amharic — for whatever reason — bears strong typological affinities to Indian and Altaic languages in a number of other respects (in contrast to the rest of Africa outside Ethiopia). I can do no better than to quote Leslau:

“In Amharic the direct object is sometimes expressed by a special suffixed element, sometimes not. The expression or non-expression of this marker depends mainly on whether the direct object is determined or not . . . A noun is considered determined either when it is used with the definite article, or when used with possessive elements, or when it is a proper name . . . When there is no -N the function of the noun as a direct object will become clear because of its position in the sentence.” (Leslau 66-67)

Or Gankin:

“The ending of the so-called accusative case — optional in contemporary Amharic — is a particle with the direct object by means of which the object is set off from others of its kind as *known* and *defined* . . .” (Gankin 953 transl.)

128Am. bêt# igazällahu — ‘I shall buy a house’ (Alone-Stokes 34-5)

129Am. anbassā barē-u-N gaddala — ‘A lion killed the ox’ (Alone-Stokes 34-5)

130Am. yihiN iwaddällahu yāN gin ālwaddim — ‘I like this but I do not like that’ (Alone-Stokes 34-5)

131Am. shāyi-u-N wafrām ādrigaw — ‘Make the tea strong’ (Alone-Stokes)

One peculiarity is the placement of the suffix with the adjective-article complex when it is present instead of with the noun:

132Am. wiššāw tinniš-u-N *lij* nakkasa — ‘The dog bit the small *child*’ (Leslau 67)

I have been unable to turn up the category in West African languages such as Hausa and Yoruba. A version of it may possibly lurk as a covert category in Swahili in East Africa, in that there are incorporated pronoun echoes in the verb (as in Santali) when the object is definite — although not always then (Perrott 38-40).

On the other hand, the category is present in Hebrew, both modern and ancient. Its marker is the preposition 'ET' 'to', used before the article with definite direct objects (Nägelsbach 159, Rosen 62-65), personal or impersonal.

132aHeb. hu natan ET-ha-sefer le-Yosek — 'He gave *the* book to Joseph' (Givón 95)

It was noted at the beginning that such a usage of cases is odd from the standpoint of Standard Average European. Is it found then in European languages at all (which then presumably do not qualify as Standard *Average* European)? Yes, in at least two. One is Rumanian. In that language, definite personal objects (including all proper names of persons), stressed pronouns and numerals replacing them, and certain other expressions are preceded by the marker PE (literally 'on'); other objects, including general or less definite references to persons, are not. There is an area of stylistic option.

133Ru. Nu-l cunosc PE Al.Ionescu 'I do not know Al.I.' (Nandriş 172)

134Ru. Ai văzut PE frate-său? 'Have you seen his brother?' (Nandriş 157)

135Ru. Lasa-mă PE mine să mă duc 'Let me go!' (Murrell & St. Dr. 168)

136Ru. A întrebat PE al doilea copil — 'He asked the second child' (Nandriş 172)

vs. 137u. Iubesc copiii# — 'I like children' (Nandriş 174)

138Ru. Trimise soldaţi#să ocupe podul# 'He despatched soldiers to occupy the bridge' (Nandriş 174)

139Ru. Aruncaţi mreaja#în partea dreapta a corabiei . . . (John 21:6) 'Cast the net to the right of the boat. . .'

The many echo-pronouns should be noted. If a language is determined to mark noun objects themselves, this is apparently no obstacle. Most Hebrew grammars say 'ET is a meaningless marker of the definite accusative. There is a preposition 'ET 'mit, bei' (Nägelsbach 255) but it is not clear (to me, a non-Hebraist!) if they should be identified. I made the mistake in the first draft of this paper of identifying it with 'to.' The dative LA *was* used for the definite object by Hebrew writers of Aramaic, according to Nägelsbach 160.

The other language, by happy coincidence, is Spanish. Although we cannot call Rumanian PE a *dative*, the Spanish 'personal A' construction is indeed (A = 'to'), like Hindi KO and Bengali KE, a dative extended to accusative function. Both indirect objects and personal direct objects (and all proper names) are marked by A — providing they are not nonspecific, depersonalized, or unidentified. A favorite contrast to illustrate this is the following:

140Sp. Las gitanas roban A los niños 'Gypsy women rob children' (= children are persons)

141Sp. Las gitanas roban los niños 'Gypsy women steal children' (= children are things that can be stolen)

(quoted in Stockwell et al. 188; also, without the Gypsy women, in Stevenson 105)^f

Cf. also:

142Sp. Yo conocí A su madre y A su hermano de madre, hijo de la vieja, que ya era hombre y mandaba juntamente con la madre A su pueblo, porque el marido postrero de la vieja ya era fallecido 'I knew *her mother* and *her half-brother*, son of the old woman, who was already a man and ruled *their people* jointly with the mother, because the last husband of the old woman was already deceased' (Díaz, 16th century)

143Sp. He vencido AL ángel del sueño . . . — 'I have vanquished *the angel* of sleep' (Neruda)

144Sp. "¡A mi hermano, no! . . . ¡No lo maten, es mi hermano!" . . . Se distinguen en la carnicería Pancracio y el Manteca, rematando A los heridos — "'No! Not *my brother!* . . . Don't kill him, he is my brother . . ." In the carnage Pancracio and el Manteca could be made out, finishing off *the wounded*' (Azucla 67)

^f Gerald Lind informs me that native speakers of Spanish (that is, six he interviewed) do not accept Stockwell's sentence 141Sp. The objection is to the article *los*: they would say *Las gitanas andan robando* (= "go around stealing")#*niños*. The use of *los* here seems to demand a qualifying phrase or clause, i.e. 'of the village' or 'who don't behave well.' This actually more in accord with the principle discussed here. It shows a relation between A and definiteness (also marked by the articles EL, LA, LOS, LAS) and between *absence of A* and indefiniteness (as far as personal nouns are concerned) that is more consistent. Cf. 145Sp. (*un*). There is, incidentally, no parallel in Basque for the Spanish personal A construction (Robert L. Trask, personal communication).

vs.

145Sp. Señor Moctezuma, muy maravillado estoy de vos, siendo tan valeroso príncipe y habiéndose dado por nuestro amigo . . . por haber matado#un español, hermano mío, y#un caballo — ‘Señor Moctezuma, I am very surprised at you, being such a valorous prince, and having given yourself out’ as our friend . . . for having killed a Spaniard, my brother, and a horse.’ (Díaz, quoting Cortés)

It will be seen that Rumanian and Spanish apply the definiteness/identification criterion mainly to personal direct objects, rarely extending it to non-persons. When the Spanish A is extended to animals, things, or abstractions in the role of object, it is less to definitize them than to *personify* them. This is a common literary conceit.

146Sp. Reloj que levantará A la madrugada, escopeta que no matará el hambre, caballo que llevará A la miseria — ‘Clock that will rouse *the dawn*, gun that will not kill hunger, horse that will carry *misery* . . .’ (Jimenez 21-3)

Perhaps the general use of A before place-names owes something to this tendency. They are definite, of course, but also to some extent endowed with personality this way. -

147Sp. ¿Con el alto fin de defender A Francia? ¿Con el propósito magno de salvar el porvenir de Europa? — ‘With the noble end of defending France? With the grand purpose of saving the future of Europe?’ (Ugarte)

This brings us to the end of our journey, as I propose we defer the exploration of native America, Australia, and the Pacific islands to another day. What has been the purpose of making this survey? On the one hand, information and ideas concerning the nature, function, and history of the feature in all its variants wherever it occurs can help throw light on its nature, function, and history in the languages we are most interested in. With a lot more work, a much more detailed comparison could be worked out. The feature needs ultimately to be placed in a universal typological framework. Second, the areal distribution itself of the feature is a fact relevant to the understanding both of its nature

and of its origins. Let us see how much sense we can make out of this much data from both standpoints.

First, general typological considerations. It might be supposed that languages without articles would be the ones with a need and tendency to develop this kind of definition-marking as an alternative. Yet Spanish, Rumanian, Hebrew, and Amharic, which have definite articles, have developed something like it anyway — although it could be argued that the burden of the marker is reduced or altered as a result. (The Khasi case must be excluded from this series, as its 'articles' do not define. The Hungarian case is more relevant, although the marking is of a different kind.) On the other hand, Russian and Chinese and many other languages, which lack articles, get along without it very well.

It might also be supposed that the requirements of modern prose lead to the development of such devices, permitting greater precision. Against this, besides again citing Russian and Chinese, it can be pointed out that Biblical Hebrew is very old, that Orkhon Turkic is hardly modern prose, and that the feature is present, albeit not fully stabilized, in the earliest medieval Spanish (the 12th century *Poema del Mio Cid*). Yet it cannot be denied that in Persian and in Indian languages, at least, this factor has played a role, if not in the invention of the device, at least in its refinement.

In a language without articles, why should attempts at definition focus on objects rather than subjects? Bese et al. suggest (p. 117) that this is because "in declarative sentences having neutral basic segmentation, the *primary new information is carried by the object* placed in the second part of the sentence after the main pause in the three word order types — S#OV, S#VO, and VS#O." This can be roughly confirmed by any search through texts: the variety of objects greatly exceeds the variety of subjects, because of the much higher ratio of recurrence of the latter. Context therefore quickly defines the subject, whereas more *linguistic* specification is needed for the object, for which the possibilities are wider.

We should not forget that definition is only one of the functions of defined object markers. The other is to mark the object — something articles as such cannot do. Or more precisely, to distinguish the object from the subject — that is, the patient from the agent. This becomes important (given the absence or demise of general case marking) especially when: a) both agent and pa-

tient are persons, b) both agent and patient are non-persons, or c) the agent is a non-person and the patient is a person. This is because agents are archetypically persons and patients non-persons. When this situation prevails no marking is needed. The problem posed by the "atypical" situations (abc) can be handled in several ways: 1) by rigid word order, with normal positions for Subject-Agent and Object-Patient — as in English or Chinese; 2) by marking the *agent*, as in ergative languages, e.g. Tibetan; 3) by marking the atypical patient — that is, the personal object (and, by extension, the non-person patient in relation to an atypical non-person agent — a comparatively rare situation) — as in the languages under consideration here.

The two latter expedients permit greater freedom of word order — an advantage tending to confirm them in their use as it is exercised. Here it may be noted that the SOV and VSO basic orders, which juxtapose the two noun phrases, may put greater strains on subject and object identification than the SVO order does. Subject-verb agreement plays a supportive role in identifying the Subject-Agent no doubt, but in SOV languages this comes too late to do more than act as a confirmation after the identification has already been made. In semi-ergative languages like Hindi its value as identifier of the agent (and thus, negatively, of the patient) is further reduced by the fact that agreement is sometimes with the agent, sometimes with the patient.

Here it is interesting to note that the archetypal notion of the atypicality of person-as-patient is so strong that it is marked in languages like Hindi even when, in a quasi-ergative construction, the agent has already been marked (as in examples 1H. and 2H. at the beginning of this paper).

So much for the need for a marker, but why the *dative* in Indo-Aryan, Spanish, etc.? Granted that a language cannot use an accusative if it doesn't have one. Stevenson (p.101) suggests (for Spanish) that "perhaps . . . it was felt that avoidance of directness was more courteous" when applied to persons. Spaulding (p.118) suggests that it grew out of Latin verbs that governed the dative ("help", "believe", etc.) plus "confusion with the indirect object." The former are not that numerous, but it is easy to see how the latter could be an important factor, in Indo-Aryan also. Verbs that take indirect objects (other than 'give' itself) frequently occur with the ostensible direct object unexpressed ('tell', 'show', 'teach', 'feed', etc.) so that the indirect object looks like

a direct object — a matter sometimes of confusion even for a linguist looking for examples! Since indirect objects in such cases are invariably persons, there is developed an association between 'dative', 'person', and 'object'.

Marking of inanimates for definiteness cannot be explained on these grounds, and its source must be sought elsewhere. It is a different phenomenon, as it were superimposed on the person/nonperson distinction, which is in harmony with it. Once such marking is extended to inanimates, however, an additional confirming structural factor comes into play. With "true objects" actually or potentially marked, the way is opened for the great expansion of lexicalized noun+verb combinations that is so characteristic of modern Persian, Indo-Aryan, Altaic, and to a lesser extent also of Dravidian.

Before cataloguing the possible interaction of structural-typological and areal-typological factors, focussing on Indo-Aryan and particularly Hindi, let us lay out a few facts about the known history of the feature in Indo-Aryan.

The objective definite appears quite late in the history of Midland Indo-Aryan (where its development also seems to have gone the farthest.) Such a usage of cases is unknown to Sanskrit or to Middle Indic. It is sometimes pointed out that Sanskrit neuter nouns show identical forms in the nominative and accusative, while masculine and feminine nouns show a contrast, e.g.

	neut.	masc.	fem.
SG. nom.	pāpam	pitā 'father'	devī 'goddess'
		'sin' pitaram	devīm
acc.	pāpam		
PL. nom.	pāpāni	pitāras devyas	
acc.	pāpāni	pitṛṇ devīs	

Therefore, the argument goes, it is only natural that direct objects referring to things should (ordinarily) have no marker in later Indo-Aryan. However, the above chart is deceptive. Gender is not 'natural' in Sanskrit: many nouns referring to "things" are masculine or feminine. "Inanimate" is not equivalent to "neuter". It is true that, conversely, most neuters are inanimates, but even if we grant that from this there could have developed an association of *inanimate* with *neuter* that contributed something to the later use of the unmarked form for inanimate direct objects (and here it should be noted that *animals* are later mostly treated like

inanimates — in other words the category is *non-persons*) this does not explain where the marked forms came from, the criterion of definiteness and its extension to non-persons, or at what point nouns came to be sorted out on this new basis.

It seems in any case that Hīndi KO (or its earlier versions KAHAM, KAHUM, KĀHU, KUM, KAUM) became the established marker very late. In the early Braj Bhasha prose of the 17th century analyzed by McGregor it appears only once. The consolidation in fact of all the Hindi postpositions is late. The category, however, is present, under a different marker. To quote McGregor: "Singular 'indefinite objects' show direct-singular case, singular 'definite objects' oblique case suffixed with -HI(M) . . ." (McGrgeor 232). This -HI(M), though tantamount to a suffix, is not a postposition, but the result of the consolidation of the remaining Middle Indic fragments of the oblique cases (other than the instrumental) into a general oblique case during the Apabhramsa period (7th-12th centuries A.D.)

-HI(M) is also the predominant marker in the Old Awadhi of Tulsidas (late 16th century), where KAHAM etc. is also beginning to make its appearance. Although it is probably not fair to judge from poetry, it would seem from the text of Tulsi's *Rāmacaritamānasa* that the category itself is by no means firmly established yet. Indirect objects and pronominal direct objects are marked, personal direct object nouns are by no means always marked, and non-personal nouns, definite or otherwise, are very rarely marked if at all.

148/OAw. RāmaHI saur̥pi Jānakī# nāi kamala pada mātha# suta KAHŪ rāja#samarpi bana jāi bhajia Raghunātha# — 'Deliver up J. TO R. and bow your head before his lotus feet; Entrust the kingdom TO your son, go to the forest, and worship R.' (RCM.LK.D6)

149/OAw. muniHI dandavata#kīnha mahīsā — 'The king did a prostration TO the sage' (RCM.BK.C308.1)

150/OAw. bhemṭata Bharatu tāHI ati prīti — 'Bharat embraced him with great affection' (RCM.AyK.C.194)

151/OAw. BharataHI dekhi mātu uṭhi dhāi — 'Seeing Bh., the mother (Kausalya) got up and ran (to meet him)' (RCM.AyK.C164.L)

152/OAw. puni SitaHI khojata dvau bhāi — 'The two brothers again sought Sita' (RCM.ArK.C33.2)

- 153/OAw. kar# gahi patiHI bhavana nija ānī — ‘Grasping (his) hand, she led (her) husband into her own chambers’ (RCM.LK.C.6.2)
- 154/OAw. mātā Bharatu# goda baiṭhāre — ‘The mother seated Bh. in her lap’ (RCM.AyK.165.2)
- 155/OAw. taba Rāvana Maya sutā# uṭhāi — ‘Then R. lifted up Maya’s daughter . . .’ (RCM/LK.C8.1)
- 156/OAw. sunahu Umā: te log abhāgi Hari#taji hohirh bisaya anurāgi — ‘Listen, Uma: those people are unfortunate who abandon Hari and become attached to sense-objects’ (RCM.ArK.C33.2)
- 157/OAw. harase Lakhana dekhi dou bhrātā# — ‘Lakshman rejoined to see his two brothers’ (RCM.BK.C308.4)
- 158/OAw. tehi chana Rāma madhya dhanu# torā — ‘At that moment R. broke the bow in half’ (RCM.BK.C261.4)
- 159/OAw. pūraba disā biloki prabhu, dekhā udita mayānka# kahata sabaHI: dekhahu sasiHI mṛgapati sarisa asaṅka! — ‘Looking towards the east, the Lord beheld the risen moon and said TO them all, “Look at the moon, dauntless as the king of beasts”’ (RCM.LK.D116)

The second occurrence of the moon in 159/OAw. is obviously case of personification.)

The feature thus appears to be still in the process of consolidation long after the Muslim invasions of India. Putting together areal, historical, and structural-functional factors, then, and taking care to avoid “reductionist hypotheses”, we might conclude that the features of definite object marking in Hindi as we now know it have been produced by converging areal and general typological factors as follows:

1. Basic use of the nominative for nonpersonal objects may owe something to:
 - a. the identity of nominative and accusative in Sanskrit neuters, later associated with all inanimates, perhaps under the influence of —
 - b. an original (?) animate/inanimate distinction in Dravidian object-marking +
 - c. an animate/inanimate distinction in the use of Munda incorporated object pronouns.
 - d. the development of ergative tendencies in Indo-Aryan, according to which the case of the object should be the same as the case of the subject of intransitives (i.e. nominative)
2. Marking of the personal object may owe something to:
 - a. the need to distinguish personal subject from personal ob-

- ject, especially under SOV word order
- b. the psychological need to specially mark persons when in the atypical role of patients rather than agents (possibly not equally strong in all language families)
 - c. again, the example of Dravidian marking of animates and of Munda animate object incorporation (if this is an old feature)
 - d. the legacy of the Sanskrit masculine and feminine accusative, later associated with animates and persons
3. The use of the *dative* for this purpose may owe something to:
 - a. confusion with indirect objects
 - b. the fact that, after the cases had fallen together in the oblique suffix -HI, dative and accusative were never really separately identifiable (even though its use was sporadic)
 4. The phonetic shape of the particle^f finally settled upon (KO) may owe something to:
 - a. the Dravidian datives in -KU, -GE, -KI
 - b. the Central Asian Turkic datives in -KA/GA, KO/KE/KU, etc.
 - c. the Mongol and Old Turkic accusatives in -G
 5. The extension of marking to definite inanimates and the subsequent revalorization of the distinction from personal/nonpersonal to definite/indefinite may owe something to (bearing in mind that the feature was still in the process of consolidation):
 - a. the well-attested distinction in the languages of the Central Asian Turkish invaders of the Middle Ages
 - b. the example of the medieval North Indian prestige language — Persian
 6. Subsequent refinements in usage may owe something to:
 - a. the innate requirements of modern prose — clarity in long, complex sentences, anaphora in exposition, etc.
 - b. the influence of English.

^f This is regardless of the fact that a Sanskrit *etymology* or etymologies may be found for it.

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**ASAL* = *An anthology of Spanish American literature*, E: Herman Hespelt, ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1946

GRMLT = *Graded readings in modern literary Telugu*. G.N. Reddy and Dan M. Matson (eds.) University of Wisconsin, 1964 (dittoed).

TAMIL'S CONTRIBUTION TO LINGUISTIC THEORIES

A. Subbiah

"At this stage of language science, no point of view, no set of techniques and no conclusions can be categorically designated right to the exclusion of all others . . . It is the author's belief that in science, decisions must always be made. Yet all decisions are tentative and capable of being upset by new evidence or by better interpretation of the evidence already at hand."

A. A. Hill, *Introduction to Linguistic Structures*, 1957.

"Our current information about what a language may be like is based only on a tiny sample of the existing languages of the world . . . We need many, many more facts before we can really make universal statements with confidence, and we have no way of knowing, before we study a language, what it may have to contribute to the total store of linguistic knowledge.

Suzette Haden Elgin, *What is Linguistics?*, 1973.

1. General

The soundness of the above remarks is well brought out by a study of the theories underlying the *Phonoloal Structure* of the Tamil language, which substantially disprove some of the fundamental theories and assumptions current among many modern linguists and which have been raised by them to the status of "*Language Universals*". These language universals are based principally on studies of the Indo-European languages which have over the years developed a considerable dichotomy between their spoken and written forms and on studies of the languages of non-literate communities.

Tamil, on the other hand, has been the language of a highly literate community with a sophisticated literary tradition dating back to the pre-Christian era, its classical literature being as pop-

ular today, if not amongst ordinary people, as in the case of *Kural* referring to which the famous Nobel Prize Winner Albert Schweitzer wrote: "There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find so much lofty wisdom." The compulsions of this literary output must have been one of the factors which enabled the Tamils to maintain successfully a one-to-one correspondence between the spoken and the written form, contributing to the stability of the former and the survival of the latter. *The tamil language thus enjoys the unique distinction of being the only spoken language today, whose phonemic system has remained unchanged for over 2000 years.*

2. Standardization of language and linguistic change

Robert A. Hall Jr. (1960) says:

"Like the work of geological forces, linguistic change is, in the present state of human technology, irresistible . . . The entire attempt to set up absolute standards, rigid norms, for regulating people's languages is destined to failure from the outset, because . . . 1) there is no authority that has either the right or the ability to govern people's usage and 2) such an authority, even when it has been set officially (as were the French and Spanish Academies), can never find valid standards by which to govern usage,"

Hall is patently wrong when he asserts that no authority has the right to govern people's usage; on the other hand, in all areas affecting the welfare of society, it is not merely the right but it is the duty of those who are in power and influence to assist in laying down norms, in the field of language as much as in that of law, in economic and political systems as well as in health, education and other social welfare projects. Karl Popper (1957) has rightly pointed out:

"Norms are man-made in the sense that we must blame nobody but ourselves for them . . . it is our business to improve them as much as we can . . . Standards are not to be found in nature . . . but nature has made us together with our power of altering the world, of foreseeing and of planning for the future, and of making far-reaching decisions"

Language engineering and language planning have no less justification than other types of human engineering. How the mere introduction of a script can transform an entire society was recently brought out by *Unesco Features*:

“Until 1972 a Somali who wanted to write did so in Arabic, Italian or English, but not in his native tongue for which there was no system of writing . . . Accompanying adoption of a script for Somali was an intensive and effective campaign to generate literacy in the new writing. *The amazing result was that in seven months the country’s literacy rate climbed from 5% to 40%.*”

In regard to the question of whether any authority could be found who will have the ability to find valid standards by which to govern usage, the Tamils not only established such standards more than 2000 years ago, but established them so efficiently that they have survived unscathed the ravages of *time* and *space* with what (to modern linguists) would appear as an amazing result, viz. in India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore and other areas where Tamil is spoken by millions of people, Standard Tamil continues to be spoken in the same way as it was spoken two thousand years ago. This is established by comparing the present day Standard Tamil with that described in the earliest extant Tamil grammar, *Tolkappiyam* (4th or 5th Century B.C.). The factors which contributed to this sustained stability of Standard Tamil appear to be:

i) *popularity of literary works* This has been referred to already.

ii) *spoken form anchored to writing* Although, in the absence of bi-lingual inscriptions, the Indus Valley Script cannot yet be considered as having been de-ciphered, computer analysis made by three sets of scholars, Finnish, Russian and Indian strongly point to the probability of its being a proto-Tamil i.e. a proto-Dravidian language. If this be so, the proto-Tamils possessed a system of writing as early as 2000 to 2500 B.C. In any case, the Tamils possessed a Script at the time *Tolkappiyam* was written. Conscious of the evanescent nature of speech and the consequent difficulty of standardizing the spoken form by itself, the Tamils appear to have decided to *link and anchor* the spoken form to a suitably devised written form, on the Bloomfieldian principle of

'one symbol — one phoneme'; in other words, the spoken form had to adhere to the written form which was more permanent, and not drift away from it, as has happened in English and some other European languages. Tamil has hence no spelling problems. As only Standard Tamil was taught in schools, used in literature and in writing and printing, literate persons spoke non-standard colloquial form only in personal conversation with speakers of the same dialect. Even the non-literate Tamil speaker, exposed as he is frequently to the standard form, experiences little difficulty in following the non-standard language, although he may not himself attempt to speak it. Thus while colloquial speech may vary slightly from the standard as in all other languages, the standard form in Tamil remained unchanged. This is a complete refutation of the theory that *all* languages are changing *all* the time.

iii) Articulatory Classification and Description of Phonemes
Articulation is the source of speech, acoustic features and auditory perception being only the intermediate and end phenomena, which are, besides, affected by other extraneous factors. This is the reason why traditionally most languages have been described in articulatory terms. Recently the Generative Phonologists have adopted a system of "distinctive features" based on acoustical terms for classification of speech units. This has not yet found universal acceptance however even among followers of the school; Elgin (1973) points out:

"A major problem for phonologists has been the choice of features and their adequate definition"

Malmberg (1963) says:

"It is a fact that, within one and the same speech community, articulatory variation is slight and that the sounds used in languages are produced in a way which is fairly constant from one individual to another. This implies that the articulatory description of speech sounds is much less inconvenient in practice than it may seem from a theoretical point of view."

In any case, so far as Tamil phonemes are concerned, it is far simpler and more definitive and informative to describe them in articulatory terms than in terms of the distinctive features formulated by the Generative school.

iv) *Principle of Maximum Differentiation between Phonemes*

The concept of phonemes was clearly well understood by the ancient Tamils; Daniel Jones (1950) writes:

“Tamil is a language which illustrates particularly well the grouping of several quite distinct sounds into single phonemes . . . It is noteworthy that Tamil orthography does not show any difference between all these sounds. Those who originally invented this orthography must have had a clear conception of the phoneme idea . . .

Unlike Panini and the grammarians of other Indo-European languages who seem to have adopted an ‘etic’ or atomistic study of the speech units of their languages, thereby rendering the differences between phonemes not always large enough for clear perception, the Tamils adopted an emic approach and followed the principle of ‘maximum differentiation’, while standardizing the phonemes of Tamil. Schasne (1973) says:

“Segments which are maximally differentiated, which are perceptually more opposed to one another, are more stable than those which are less differentiated.”

On this principle, all differentiations of sounds emanating from the same articulatory position, such as ‘voiced - voiceless’, ‘aspirated - unaspirated’, ‘stop - fricative’, ‘nasalized - non-nasalized’ are treated in Tamil as non-distinctive features. Had the Indo-European languages observed this principle, the sound changes known as Grimm’s and Verner’s laws could not have arisen. Schane (1873) points out:

“In languages which have voicing contrasts for obstruents, invariably in clusters, the distinctions are neutralized and all obstruents must agree in voicing. This type of assimilation appears to be a consequence of inherent difficulties in adjusting the glottis for different voicing states for sequences of the same type.”

Similarly, prosodic and suprasegmental features such as *stress*, *accent*, *pitch*, *tone*, *intonation* etc. are all treated by the Tamils as non-distinctive.

This does not mean that voiced, voiceless, aspirated, unaspirated, stop, fricative, nasalized, non-nasalized sounds do not oc-

cur in Tamil but they occur only as contextual or free allophonic varieties.

v) *Classification of Phonemes* The Tamil phonemic system is divided into four classes based on the nature of the opening or the closure of the oral and nasal passages:

(a) *FULL OPENING: VOWELS* The Tamil grammarians describe the vowels not by reference to tongue height but in reference to lip retraction and lip protrusion:

Neutral	a,a:
Lip fully retracted	i,i:
Lip partly retracted	e,e:
Lip fully protruded	u,u:
Lip partly protruded	o,o:
Diphthongs	ai,au

It is interesting to note in this connection that Miller (1961) asks the question "What is the common core of speech sounds that all peoples could be expected to produce and distinguish?" and quotes with approval *Trubetsov's* suggestion of a,i,u,e,o for vowels and ai, au for diphthongs.

(b) *FULL CLOSURE: STOPS* These consist of back palatal, middle palatal, front palatal, dental, bilabial, and retroflex palatal, making in all six stops.

(c) *ORAL CLOSURE WITH NASAL OPENING: NASAL CONTINUANTS* There are six nasal continuants, which are homorganic with the six stops described above.

(d) *PARTIAL ORAL CLOSURE: ORAL CONTINUANTS* These consist of the two glides y, v, two retroflex laterals — one articulated with the lip and the other with the blade of the tongue and two semi-retroflex laterals (alveolar) similarly articulated with the tip and the blade, in all six.

vi) *Vocalic consonants or cv combinations* In actual speech, experiments carried out by Haskins Laboratories and others have established that a CV sequence does not in fact show a consonant followed by a vowel but reveals a mixed sound. This was apparently understood by the Tamils, who accordingly treated CV sequences both in speech and writing as distinct units of sound, distinct both from pure vowels and pure consonants. In poetry the time-measure of a CV sequence is that of the concerned vowel alone, that of the consonant being ignored.

vii) *Avoidance of hiatus* The Tamil grammarians took great care to avoid phoneme clusters which would produce hiatus — a common cause of sound change. Vowel clusters are totally banned; if a word with vowel final is followed by a word with vowel initial the consonant glide 'y' or 'v' has to be interposed to escape the hiatus.

Consonant clusters were also banned from word initial and word final positions. Generally speaking, two consonant clusters only were permissible in medial positions as the syllable final and syllable initial of two successive syllables; most of these took the form of either geminates or nasal followed by a homorganic stop. Rarely three consonant clusters were permitted medially, the initial consonant in such cases being y, r, or the retroflex lateral l sound peculiar to Tamil.

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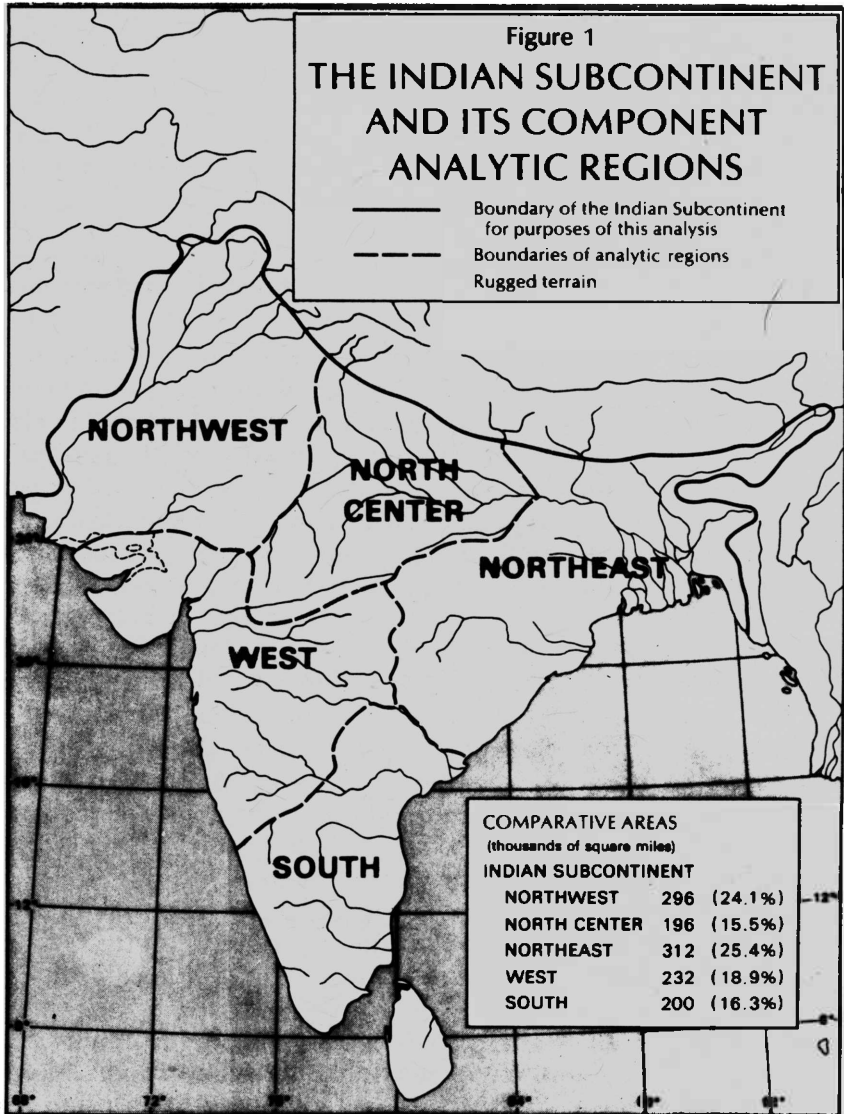
Historical and Cultural Aspects

THE EVOLUTION OF REGIONAL POWER CONFIGURATIONS IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

Joseph E. Schwartzberg

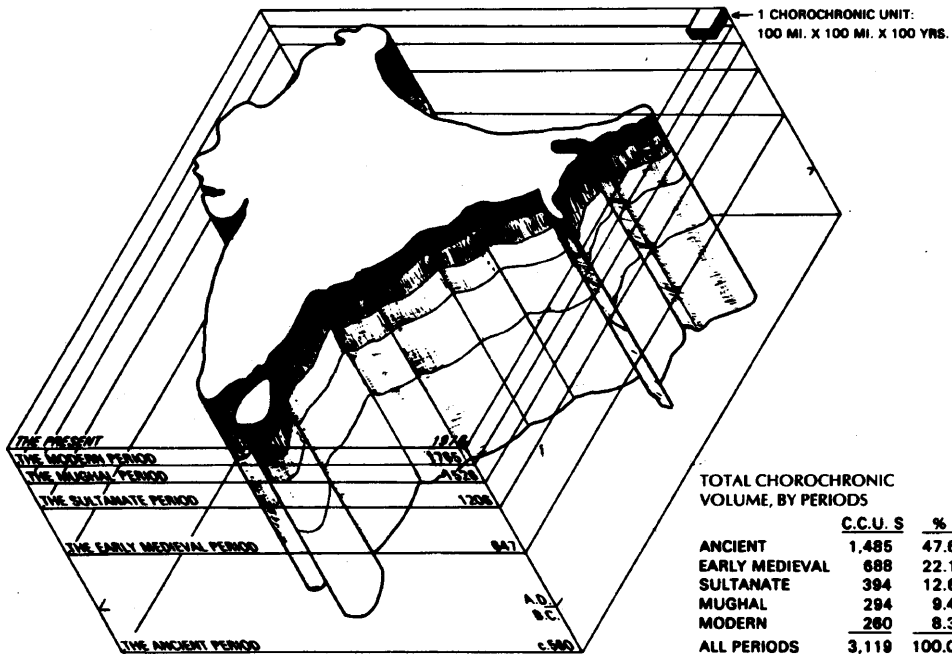
This paper stems from my work on the University of Minnesota South Asia Historical Atlas Project, with which I have been associated for the past twelve years. The Atlas which that Project produced is now in the hands of the University of Chicago Press and should be published some time in 1977. As the Atlas Project neared completion, I repeatedly asked myself two related questions: First, what generalizations, if any, may be made about the spatial configurations of power which have characterized South Asia at different periods of its history? Second, what generalizations may be made about the size and duration of states at different periods? If possible, I hoped to utilize the rich data provided by the Atlas to express whatever generalizations I arrived at in quantitative terms. Although I shall here be able to offer you some sort of quantitative answers to the questions just posed, limitations of space preclude my putting forward an adequate explanation of why the answers are what they are. Rather, I shall attempt no more than to indicate the method I've employed in reaching my conclusions and my general approach in thinking about the problem. Such explanations as I can offer will be found in a lengthy essay which forms a part of the text accompanying the Atlas.

The area of analysis is the Indian Subcontinent as bounded on figure 1. Within that area are five analytic subdivisions, Northwest, North Center, Northeast, West, and South, which, too, are indicated on the map. The periods of the analysis are also five in number: Ancient, Early Medieval, Sultanate, Mughal, and Modern. In figure 2, in which time forms the vertical scale, these are portrayed as slices of the time continuum. In so far as they relate to South Asia only, these periods may be viewed as portions of a given segment of an infinite time-space continuum. In a part of



this analysis, we consider individual states, or powers, in terms of the magnitude of the portion of this time-space continuum which they occupy, which is, obviously, a function of their size at various periods and the duration of their existence. We measure those magnitudes in terms of what we call “choro-chronic

Figure 2
**THE CHOROCHRONIC VOLUME OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
 BY MAJOR HISTORICAL PERIODS, c. 560 B.C.-1976 A.D.**



volume," which we define as area multiplied by time. The unit of measurement we designate as a "choro-chronic unit," arbitrarily set at one million square-mile-years or, for ease of illustration, as shown at the upper right of the diagram, 100 miles X 100 miles X 100 years. In metric terms that comes to roughly 2½ million square kilometer-years.

On many Atlas plates there appear dynastic chronologies similar to the one illustrated by figure 3. The vertical bars representing individual states on these chronologies are of three widths

and change in width over time. The Gupta bar in the illustration is a perfect example. These bar widths signify the extent of the state in question with respect to the five analytic regions of this study. Excluding from consideration bars for powers outside South Asia, included on the chronologies for comparative purposes only, bars of maximum width connote what we shall henceforth designate as "pan-Indian powers," while those of medium width connote what will be termed "supra-regional powers." To be recognized as a pan-Indian power a state must have extended over significant portions of at least four of our five an-

Figure 3

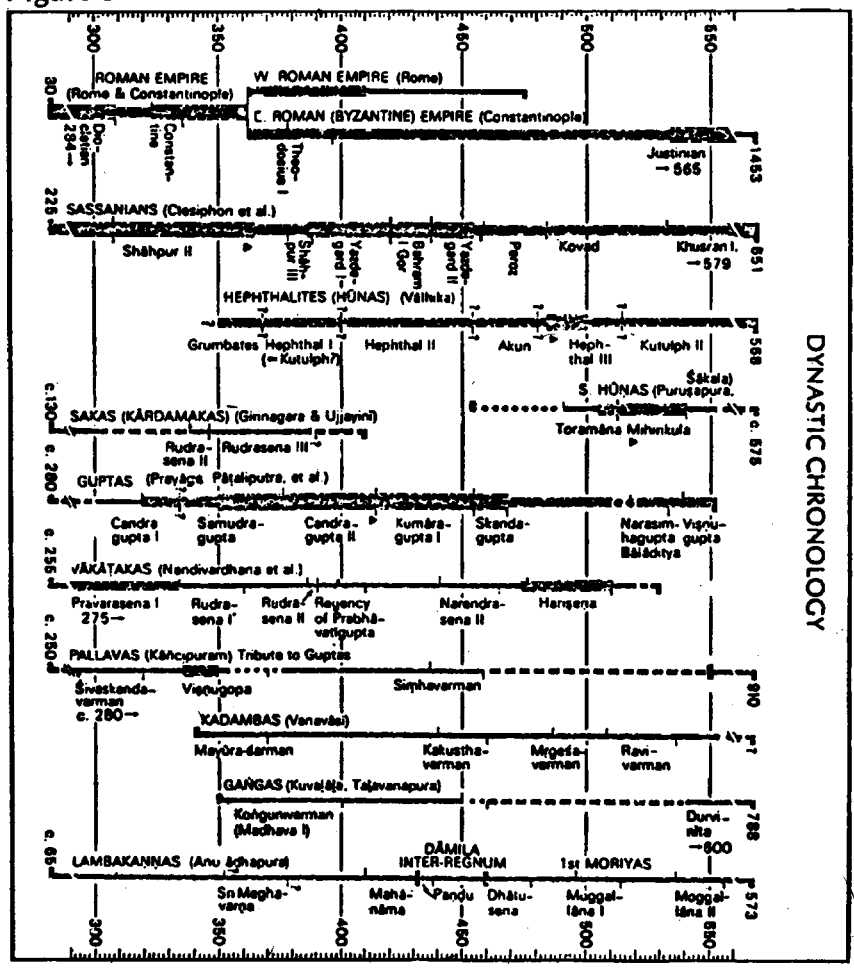
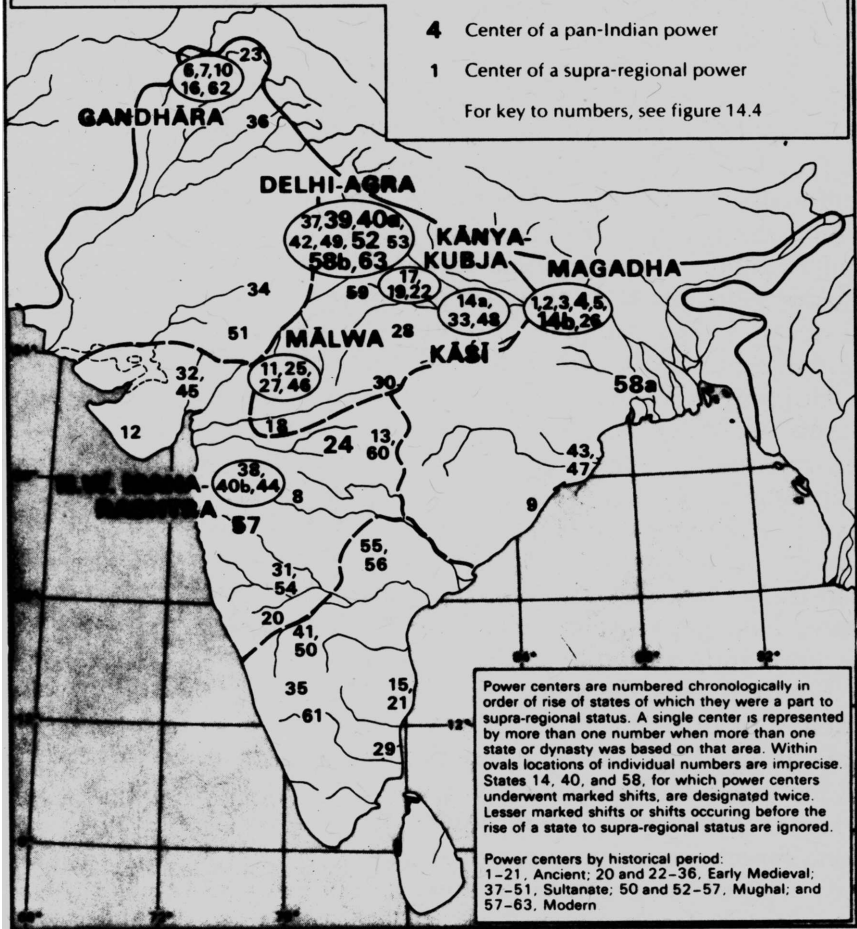


Figure 4
**CHIEF CENTERS OF POWER
 OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT
 FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO THE PRESENT**



alytic regions, while to be a supra-regional power it must have done so for significant portions of only two. Pan-Indian and supra-regional states are jointly designated as “major powers” and the remainder of this analysis focuses on them.

Over the period from the mid-6th Century B.C. to the present

day, South Asia has witnessed the rise of sixty-three states which, by our criteria warrant being called "major powers." In figure 4 the power centers of these states are plotted by key numbers from 1 to 63 in the order in which the powers arose. The large numbers are powers, only nine in all, which for at least one decade could properly be regarded as pan-Indian. The aforementioned Guptas, for example, are power no. 14. Note on the map the prominence of power centers along two major axes: the Indo-Gangetic Plain from Gandhāra to Magadha and on an axis south from the Delhi-Agra area through the Deccan and into Karnataka.

To make figure 4 it was necessary to array the major powers regionally on a single, continuous time scale, as in figure 5 on which the thicker bars represent periods with pan-India powers and all others supra-regional powers. In making these diagrams, the durations of states as major powers were rounded off in terms of decades. For example, the present state of India is shown as beginning in 1950, rather than the true date, 1947.

Utilizing a version of figure 5, power configurations within South Asia, that is, specific combinations of pan-Indian and supra-regional powers were counted off, decade by decade, and statistically aggregated by 500-year periods and for each of our five analytic periods. The 1950-1960 decade, for example, was counted as one in which the power configuration comprised one pan-India power, the state of India itself, plus one supra-regional state, Pakistan, which then had significant power in the North-western and Northeastern regions of analysis.

Figure 6 presents some generalized trends in the relative frequency of different types of power configurations based on the data grouped by 500-year periods. The area from the top margin of the graph to the uppermost curve represents the proportion of decades with a pan-Indian power, with or without one or more contemporaneous supra-regional power. The area from the bottom edge of the graph to the lowest curve represents the proportion of decades in which there was *no* major power, either pan-Indian or supra-regional. Between the lowermost curve and the middle curve is shown the proportion of decades with a single supra-regional power, but no pan-Indian power. Finally, between the middle and the uppermost curve is the proportion of decades with two or more supra-regional powers, but no pan-Indian power.

Summarizing the same set of data by periods we arrive at Figure 7. The darkest pattern represents decades with a pan-Indian

Figure 5

Figure 5 MAJOR POWERS OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT, 500 B.C.-1976 A.D.

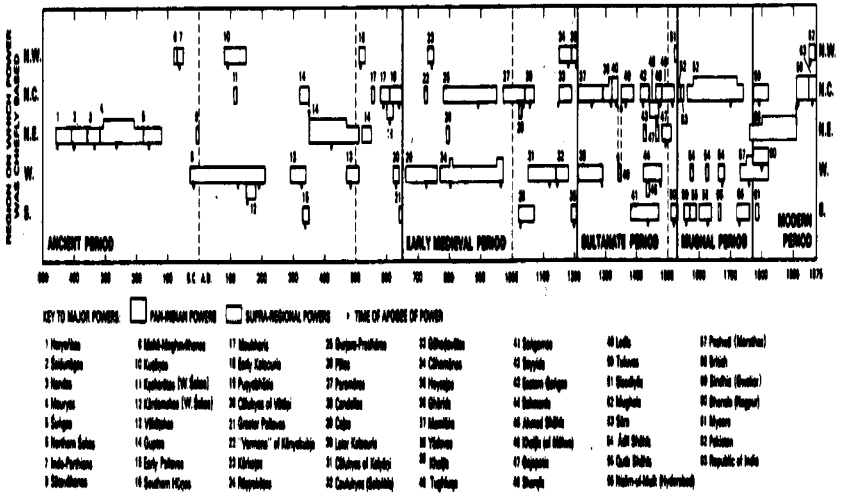


Figure 6 AREA OF LARGEST INDIAN POWER AS A PERCENTAGE OF AREA OF INDIAN SUBCONTINENT, 500 B.C.-1976 A.D.

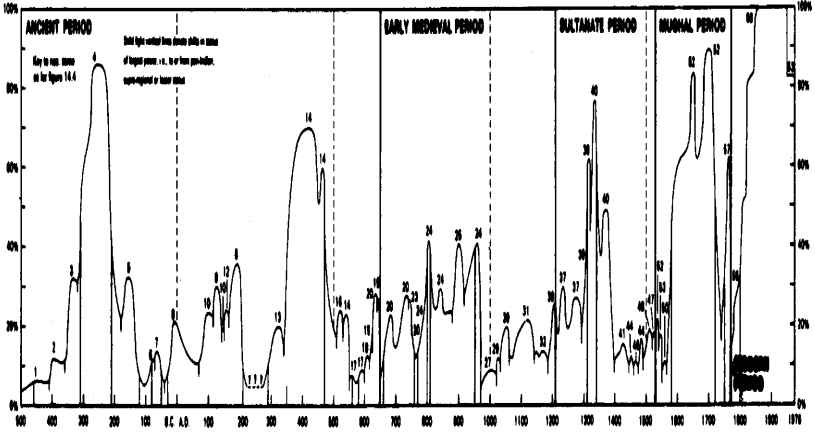


Figure 6 GENERALIZED TENDENCIES TOWARD PARTICULAR REGIONAL POWER CONFIGURATIONS IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT 1000 B.C.-1976 A.D.

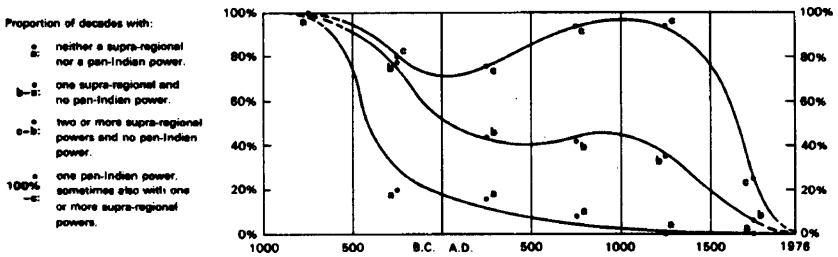
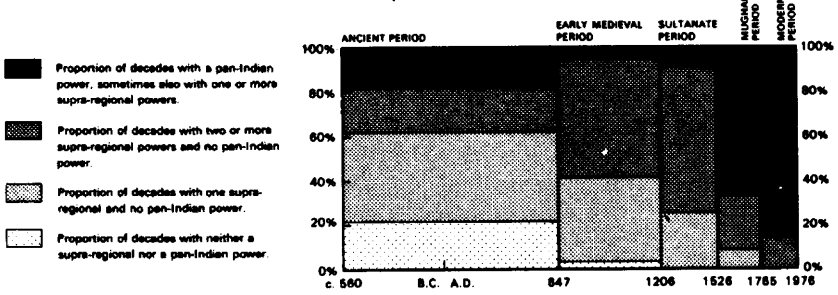


Figure 7 AGGREGATE FREQUENCY OF PARTICULAR REGIONAL POWER CONFIGURATIONS IN THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT, BY MAJOR HISTORICAL PERIODS

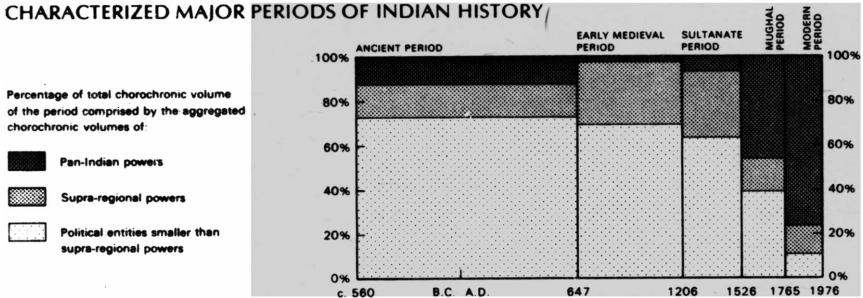


power, the lightest decades with no major power at all, and the two shades in between, decades with one and two or more supra-regional powers (the lower and upper respectively).

Note in both the diagrams just referred to the modest importance of pan-Indian states in the Ancient Period, their almost total absence in the Medieval and Sultanate Periods, their decided dominance in the Mughal Period, and their overwhelming dominance in the Modern. Note too that decades with not a single major power numbered over a fifth of the total during the Ancient Period, but were not once recorded after the Early Medieval. Decades with but a single supra-regional power constitute the most common power configuration in the Ancient Period. The Early Medieval and Sultanate Periods were typified by competition between two or more supra-regional powers, and in the latter there were a number of decades with three or more such powers and even one with as many as five.

Figure 8 shows the proportion of the total chorochronic volume of each of the periods of analysis made up of the aggregated chor-

Figure 8 DEGREE TO WHICH STATES OF PARTICULAR SIZE CATEGORIES CHARACTERIZED MAJOR PERIODS OF INDIAN HISTORY



ochronic volumes of pan-Indian and of supra-regional powers during the decades when particular states enjoyed such status. These are respectively represented by the darkest and medium tones of the diagram. The aggregate chorochronic volume of all the remaining lesser states is represented by the area in the lightest tone. One sees a progressive decline in the aggregate contribution of these lesser states to the total chorochronic volume of the age. This decline, slow through the Sultanate Period, becomes quite rapid in Mughal and Modern times. The determination of the aggregate chorochronic volumes in question involved the graphic summation over time of the changing areas of each of the major powers as represented on curves similiar to, but shorter than, the ones in figure 6. That curve is a composite of portions of the curves for forty-one individual states which at some time in South Asian history were the largest powers of the subcontinent. The proportion of the total of the study area which each of these powers occupied is indicated by the height of the curve: 100%, for example, in the case of the British, or a maximum of not quite ninety percent during the territorial apogee of the Mughals.

Figure 9 is based on a set of summary statistics, by major periods, represented by the first five rectangles, and for the whole of Indian history, up to the year 1947, by the rectangle at the extreme right. The areas of the respective rectangles are proportional to the mean chorochronic volumes of major powers during the periods in question; the heights of the rectangles are proportional to the mean areas of the same set of powers; and the widths of the rectangles are proportional to the mean durations of the powers. In general, if we may permit a bit of over-simplification, small rectangles may be regarded as indicative of relative politi-

Figure 9
MEAN CHOROCHRONIC DIMENSIONS OF MAJOR SOUTH ASIAN STATES BY MAJOR HISTORICAL PERIODS, c. 560 B.C.-1947 A.D.

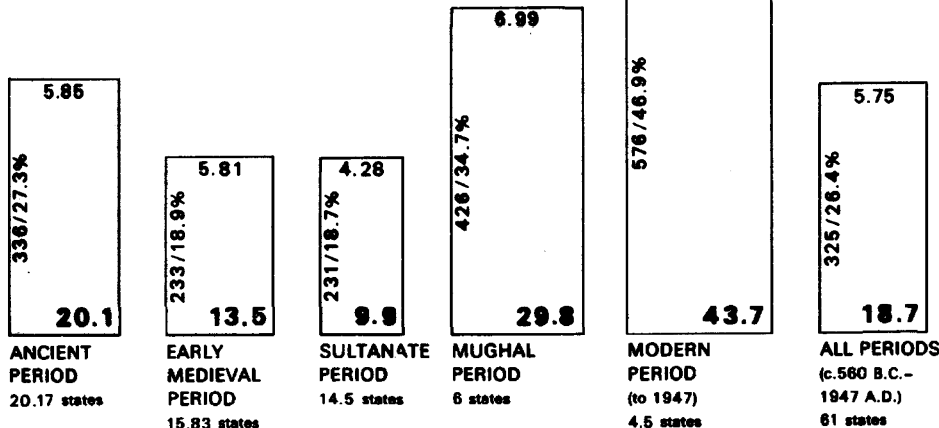
EXPLANATION

Widths of rectangles are proportional to mean duration of major powers (supra-regional or pan-Indian) during the periods specified. These durations, in decades, are indicated by the numbers at the top of each rectangle.

Heights of rectangles are proportional to the mean areas of major powers during those decades of the periods specified when they enjoyed supra-regional or pan-Indian status. These areas are indicated by the two numbers at the left of each rectangle, the former being the area in thousands of square miles and the letter the area as a percentage of the total area of the Indian subcontinent.

The areas of the rectangles are proportional to the mean chorochnic volumes of major powers during those decades of the periods specified when they enjoyed supra-regional or pan-Indian status. The mean volumes in chorochnic units (ccu) are indicated by the bold number in the lower right corner of each rectangle.

The ratio of the vertical to the horizontal scale of the rectangles in this diagram is the same as that of the vertical to the horizontal scale of figure 14.5.



cal instability and high levels of conflict and large rectangles as indicative of relative stability and peace. Thus, it would appear that the stability of the geopolitical system of South Asia declined progressively from the Ancient to the Sultanate Period, when it was at its lowest, and increased progressively and dramatically thereafter.

Viewed regionally the data reveal remarkable contrasts from one part of South Asia to another. The South and the Northwest, for example, never gave rise to any pan-Indian power and the Northeast gave rise to no indigenous pan-Indian power subse-

quent to the Ancient Period, after which it was almost totally eclipsed as a South Asian power center. A very large part of South Asian history is marked by contention between power centers in the North Central and Western regions, particularly the Early Medieval and Sultanate Periods. Overall, the North Central Region gives rise more than any other to major powers; further, after the decline of the Mauryas, in all but three decades of the thirty-two marked by the presence of an indigenous pan-Indian power, the principal power center of India lay in the North Central Region.

How does one attempt to explain the general tendencies or regularities reported in this paper? Is it merely a fortuitous set of events that gave rise to power centers in particular combinations in particular regions at particular periods of South Asian history? Or is there some other mode of explanation? While I am quite prepared to admit that the rise of any given major South Indian state at a particular time and with a particular center of power may be explained largely by specific idiosyncratic or fortuitous events, I would suggest that, in the aggregate, such events reflect changing sets of probabilities that major powers will arise in specific times and regions and in specific combinations, which we have termed power configurations. Returning to figure 6, we have what might be regarded as an *a posteriori* statistical expression of the changing sets of probabilities of specific power configurations arising over the last two and a half millennia.

To explain those changing probabilities, I submit, we must look largely to the changing ecological conditions within which the geopolitical system operated. These include the relative productive capacity of various regions, which is largely a function of the extent to which they were cleared for agricultural purposes; the population density relative to the carrying capacity of the land with a given level of productive technology; and the ease of movement within and between regions, as well as the ease of defense against outside aggression, both of which are functions not only of physiography, but also of the development of transport and military technology. At any moment in history these are the givens of the system within which history is enacted. What is done with the givens, of course, is a function of human will, both individual and collective; but the probability that given circumstances will give rise repeatedly to certain types of historical outcomes appears to me a self-evident proposition. It is along

such lines, I feel that much of South Asia's history will, in the course of time, be better explained. The adequacy of the tentative explanations offered in the text of the *Historical Atlas of South Asia* is something which you yourselves, hopefully, will wish to judge.

GEOGRAPHY AND WAR IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

Jagadish Naryan Sarkar

There is a general feeling even among some distinguished modern scholars, both European and Indian, that the art of war had not flowered in India in the past. With due deference to them it has to be stated that these views need re-thinking. I discussed the general subject of conceptualisation of war in medieval India five years before in a paper submitted to the 28 International Congress of Orientalists in 1971 at Canberra, Australia. Here it is proposed to study, in the background of the views of the experts of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era and Indian theorists, ancient and medieval, how geography conditioned medieval Indian warfare.

Terrain:

It is a platitude to say that a country's history is largely influenced by geography. A country's military history is largely influenced by its strategical topography or terrain, climate, etc. which condition and regulate the movements of the armies and determine the planning of war. Theorists and military experts in all countries through the ages concur in this. Clausewitz states that terrain offers such features as the nature of soil, the configuration of the land, forests, clumps of trees or brushwood, the situation and size of hill ranges, the position, rapidity or depth of rivers, rugged paths, nodal points like junction of roads, distances, etc. According to him terrain offers two advantages: it impedes the enemy's approach and enables placing the troops under cover. Jomini also holds that the configuration of the land may facilitate a formidable national defence, especially in a country which is mountainous or covered with extensive forests. The question is whether the ground is traversed easily or not, open or constricted. This affects planning, use of cavalry or infantry, size of the army,

etc. Irregularities in the terrain are useful in protecting soldiers against artillery fire and skirmishers in assault. The first duty of a general, who expects to win, is to study the theatre of operations carefully. By assessing the relative advantages and disadvantages for the two armies, he can prepare his base, select the most suitable zone of operations and devise the principles of the art of war.¹

How geography dictates strategy

Military geography dictates strategy, defensive and offensive, alike. The influence of the terrain was clearly illustrated not only during the course of Arab and Turkish invasions, but also later. Large rivers, mountains, and mountain passes offered a good line of defence, e.g. against the Arabs in Afghanistan. They then altered the route, following the coastal littoral of Baluchistan, the sea and therefrom up to the Indus.

In the absence of any natural obstacles, an invading cavalry force could easily overrun the level and fertile plains of Northern India, the cradle of empires, from Peshawar to Benegal and the fate of the country was decided in a single gigantic combat. The course of Turkish advance largely determined by terrain, followed a regular plan or a definite pattern or process of raids, invasions, feudatory subordination, and lastly full annexations from the tenth to the seventeenth century. The Turkish base shifted step by step towards the south-east, to Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Bhatinda (180 miles north-west of Delhi). The safety of Hindustan was lost when Mahmud of Ghazni conquered the north-west frontier regions of India, including Afghanistan, the Punjab, Multan (1004), Uch, west of Bhawalpur and also of Und (1005). Thus by breaking the natural geographical defences of India the Turks could easily penetrate to the plains of Hindustan. With the Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore in North Punjab, connected with Afghanistan, the home of hardy and dashing man-power, the safety of the Indo-Gangetic plains was gone. After the fall of the Chauhans at Tarain and the subsequent fall of the Gahadavalas at Chandwar,

¹ Influence of Geography and Geopolitics: Mackinder, *Geographical Pivot of History*; Hillaire Belloc, *Warfare in England*, 10-12 Clausewitz explains the principles for the use of terrain in war; *Principles of War* (Sec. II, 4); *On War*, Bk. V. Ch. 17 (Country & ground); Jomini, 50, 150-1, 159, 71; Panikkar, *Geographical Factors in Indian History: India and the Indian Ocean*, Sarkar, *Mil. Hist. India*, Ch. 1.

the subjugation of the Indo-Gangetic plain up to Bengal by Qutbuddin Aibak and Ikhtiyaruddin Bakhtiyar followed as a matter of course. The Islamic steam-roller pushed on and on till it was checked by the hills, jungles, rivers and the people of Assam. The Mughal cavalry could deploy freely only in an open country, not covered with scrubs or swamps or interspersed with hills or ravines. Hence they failed to outmatch the Afghans in their rocky homeland and became helpless against the nimble Marathas. The Afghan type of defensive war was fully illustrated in the last Mughal-Pathan battle of Daulambapur (5 miles south of Maulavi Bazar in South Sylhet) (1612), whereby making the best use of terrain, Khwaja Usman and his Afghans reduced the regular and fully equipped imperial army with heavy cavalry and artillery guns to impotence in the jungles and swamps of Eastern Bengal. Similarly Mir Jumla tried to overcome the obstacles offered by terrain during the war of succession against Shuja at Teliagarhi and across the Bhagirathi and again during the Assam Campaign.²

Rugged, hilly and forest areas like Rajputana, Assam and the Deccan offered obstacles to the invader and encouraged guerrilla tactics. Thus Rana Pratap Singh took shelter in the rock-fortress of Kumbhalgarh (Kamalmer) amidst hills and forests and made Gogunda his base. The Mughal victory at Haldighati, 'the Thermopylae of Rajasthan' was barren (1576). Gogunda was occupied but only temporarily and the Rana could not be dislodged from his hills. It is, however, a question "whether possession of the mountains controlled the valleys or whether possession of the valleys controlled the mountains."

On the other hand a north to south advance was impossible in the dry and barren Deccan. Here the high Western Ghats and the eastward hill spurs, comparable to the Sierras of Spain, interspersed by parallel deep and stony rivers split the country into small, isolated territorial units, which could resist invaders effectively. Here state policy of both invaders and defenders assumed a form different from the northern plains. The forts in the Deccan were suitable for defence and offence alike. Lofty hill forts, when supplied with provisions and water, could offer shelter to the people of the low lands in pre-artillery days. Amir Khusrau has left

² Sarkar, *Mil. Hist.* chs. IV, XII, XIII; *Mir Jumla*, chs. V, VII.

graphic descriptions of difficulties offered by terrain to the advance of 'Alau'ddin's armies to the Deccan-Warangal, Ma'bar, etc. The hilly areas, undulating ground, the gushing streams, thorny regions, etc., all put obstacles before the Sultan's army. But the latter, fully determined, overcame all these difficulties. The influence of the geographical factors in shaping policy is again clearly illustrated by Jai Singh's two decisions in his campaign against Shivaji in 1665. First, he did not annex all the forts of Shivaji, because "distance from the imperial capital" would create complications in controlling them. Second, he secured the surrender of such of Shivaji's forts, as would 'hem' i.e., surround him by Mughal possessions for eventual annihilation in case of disobedience.³ Shivaji's kingdom was defended by 240 forts and strongholds, some obtained through bribes, strategems, assaults and some newly constructed. He selected the sites of his forts well, e.g. Raigad, Lohgad, etc. But at the same time he destroyed all adulterine forts lest these be used against him. Even in his administration of his forts he provided against treachery. The Marathas learnt to look upon the forts as their mother. Towards the end of the eighteenth century William Henry Tone observed that the dominions of the Peshwa constituted 'a country of great natural strength, interspersed with mountains and defiles, all of which were defended by fortresses that are reserved as depots for treasure or as retreats in the event of ill success or defeat. Perhaps no country on earth is better calculated for the purposes of defensive war; so that, whatever be the fortune of the Mahrattas in the field, we may safely pronounce that in their own country, they will always be impregnable. I have counted in a day's march through Candeish (Khandesh) nearly twenty fortresses all in a sight in different directions. Chandore, Unky Tunky, Saler Rouler, Nassick Trimmuck, Golna and Mongy Tongy are all places of this description. A country so strongly situated is unconquerable; and

³ For the Deccan, Sarkar, *Mil. Hist.* and Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, ch. V; 'Spain was a checkerboard, with divisions and compartments, difficult to penetrate and even more difficult to quit'. Lachouque, *op. cit.* 192; Khazain (Habib), 57-59 (Warangal); 80, 82, 85-86, 87 (Ma'bar), 95-96 (Passes). The road from Malwa to Bayana was difficult on account of hills and rivers; *Ghurra*, E&D. iii. 543. Defile in Deogiri, *Nuh Spihr*, E&D iii. 558. For the Marathas, Tone, p. 16; for the Nizam and Baji Rao, Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. 2; Yusuf Husain Khan, 100-4, 158; G. S. Sardesai, *New History* ii. 97-98. *Haft Anjuman*, 69a, 57b, in my *Mil. Despatches*, 136.

of this truth the Emperor Aurangzeb who made some attempt to subjugate it appeared largely to be convinced.' Again, if the Sayyids fell into the death trap of the Nizam at Ratanpur in 1720, he himself was routed by Baji Rao I at Palkhed. Baji Rao I's Palkhed campaign (1727-28) illustrated the effects of wise utilisation of geography. True, the Nizam was familiar with the area. But the Peshwa's lightning marches and avoidance of pitched battle and clever manoeuvres forced the former into a rugged, broken waterless country where he was completely enveloped. Instances can be easily multiplied.⁴

Seasons and Weather

Military operations are decided not only by terrain but also by natural forces like seasons and weather. India's physical geography prescribed certain inexorable principles for the time and nature of military campaigns. Most works on Dharmasastras and politics agree in holding that the best seasons for launching an expedition are autumn and winter, October-December, and then spring. The reasons for the preference are fully explained by Medhatithi and Sukracharya. Invasions usually began after the rains when roads became dry and rivers fordable or passable, and during the harvest time, facilitating supply of food and fodder. Muslim writers also advise avoidance of war during the rains. Besides the difficulties of transport and encampment there were dangers to weapons as well. Bows became defective and swords rusty. Amir Khusrau says that the rains made the Hindi swords rusty. The rainy season began soon after the siege of Chitor; the besiegers continued battering the ramparts, undaunted by the heavy rains. In Ma'bar the rains hampered the advance of the Sultan's army. On account of floods Malik Kafur could not distinguish the road from a well in his Far South campaign. Jai Singh pointed out to Aurangzeb the difficulties of campaigning during the rainy season in Maharashtra arising from "excessive rains, floods, storms, mud and marshes in Mulkokan." The unsuitability of the rainy season for military purposes was also realised by the Marathas. The Adnyapatra of Ramachandra Amatya prescribes that during the rainy season, oil and wax should be besmeared on guns and doors, the touch-holes of guns be filled with wax, and adequate

⁴ Sen, *Mil. Sys. Marathas*; Dighe, *Baji Rao* ; Sarkar, *Mil. Hist. India*.

front-covers be put on the mouths of guns, so that these be protected from being spoiled.⁵

Disruption of movements of the army, dislocation and distress of the army and loss of property, death of men and animals, caused by rains and floods in the Mughal camps in the Deccan have been graphically described by Bhimsen. The swollen Bhima came up within a yard of Aurangzeb's sleeping tent on a high land (July, 1697), while the flooded Man River reached the emperor's band room at Khawaspur and his right leg was hurt (Aug.

⁵ For timing, see Manusamhita. Manu ordains thus (V. 182): 'Let a king go on a expedition in the clear month Margacirsha or about the (time of) the two months Phalguna and Caitra, according to his forces. This implies the stores of food to be found in the enemy country, the kind of the army advancing, the distance of the journey etc. Yajnavalkya (i. 347-8) directs the campaign to be launched. "When the enemy kingdom is supplied with grain, provisions and when the enemy is weak and the aggressor has spirited men and animals and other advantageous factors" — Burnell & Hopkins, p. 171.

Medhatithi comments as follows: "When he is going to undertake an expedition involving a campaign that might be a long one, in consideration of his own forces and also in that of the king against whom he is marching, — he shall march against the hostile kingdom in the month of *Margashirsa*, when his forces are fully equipped and when his stores are fully replenished with the autumn harvest. Starting about this time, he can easily carry with him the autumn fruits garnered in the house and is cheered by the prospects of the spring-harvest. The time is quite fit for the working of laying siege to fortresses and so forth; and the path also is not beset with deviations and diversions due to the overgrowth of grasses or the over-flowing of rivers; and the season is neither too hot nor too cold. At any other time of the year foodgrains, even though sufficient, cannot be of sufficiently diverse quality, the season of the three harvests being far off; so that the enemy would be likely to take shelter under a powerful king, which would lead to the unnecessary expenditure of the stock of food grains of both parties, and the attacking king's own forces also would become weakened. If, however, the king is desirous only of inflicting some injury on the enemy's territory, or when the expedition is expected to take a short time, and his force is sufficiently strong, then he may start also during the months of Phalguna and Chaitra, specially against a country which is rich in spring harvest. At this time of the year also, he can obtain fodder and at the same time inflict an injury upon the other party by destroying the crops standing in the fields (V. 182)

At other times also, if he perceives certain victory, then he shall pick up a quarrel and march forward; also when some trouble has arisen for the enemy (V. 183).

Jha, *Manubhasyam*, Vol. III; Pt. 2, 390-1.

Kautilya, Bk. IX. Ch. 1; *Kriyakaipataru*, 66; Text, Ch. 14.

Exigencies might require launching of an expedition irrespective of the season. But battles should be avoided during summer and rains. Kautilya, Kamandaka and Agni Purans concur in prescribing that during the hot season only asses, camels and horses were to be used and elephants were to be used during autumn and winter.

Adab, 135b-137b, *Isl. Culture* XI (1937), 480; Yahya, TMS. 127-8; *Khazain* (Habib), 100; Mirza, 19,27; *Akbarnamah*, E&D, VI. 91; *Badshahnamah*, E.&D. VII. 12; *Adnyapatra*, quoted in Sharma, *Founding of Maratha Freedom*.

1700). Not only horses and cattle perished, the condition of porters used in transport also worsened. The elephants losing their energy and speed became lame, as the rear of the army on account of the daily advances had to wade through mud in successive marches.⁶

Dust or sand and inadequate provision of water were sometimes responsible for causing many a disaster. During the campaign at the sandy ground of Umarnot Akbar's army suffered much as the water of the wells was poisoned by the enemy. The situation was, however, relieved by rainfall filling up the dry tanks. Akbar's operations against Jani Beg in Thatta (Sind) were seriously jeopardised by dust raised by a strong wind which not only affected visibility but separated the army, causing commotion in darkness. At Samugarh Dara's men were terribly distressed on account of the summer sun overhead, the sandy plain below, the scorching wind and want of drinking water. On the sandy soil of Jajau (1707) and in the excessive heat of June, Azam's men were blinded by thick dust blown into their faces by the sandstorm which diverted their arrows and even bullets, while men and animals died of thirst. Similarly at the battle of Lahore on the Ravi between Azim us Shan and Jahandar, a sandstorm darkened the sky and affected visibility. As the soldiers, rendered immobile, shut their eyes for safety, the mercenaries plundered the treasure in Azim's camp. On the sandy plain of Plassay (1757), turned into a mud swamp by a tropical thunderstorm, the Bengal Nawab's cavalry floundered, the clumsy wheels of his heavy gun-platforms sank in the ground and the draught oxen could not advance.⁷

Geography and Manpower

Physical features and climatic conditions of a country also have a great bearing on the character of its inhabitants. As Orme observes: "The courage of the people depends on the climate." In the northern parts of the kingdom, firmer fibres produce a proportionable degree of resolution: in the southern "all is sen-

⁶ *Tarikh i Dilkusha*, 61b-62a, 84, 98a; *Nuskha i Dilkusha*, 132a, 128, 134a, 132b, 133b, 98a, 124a; Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 190-1; *Aurangzib*, V. chs. 56 & 51.

Rajgarh (Rajgiri or Great Mountain of Orme) is the name of one out of six forts constituting the entire Jinji fort. See *South Arcot Dt. Gaz.* i, 347-8.

⁷ AN. iii. 605, 609; *Alamgirnamah*, 86; Khafi Khan, ii. 594; E.&D. vii. 398; Irvine, *Later Mughais*, i.; *Siyar* ii. 383; Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, Vol. 2.

sibility; and fear must be predominant in such as are infinitely susceptible of the minutest impressions." The physical features of Maharashtra constituted a natural bulwark. The vigour, sturdiness and simplicity of living of the people inhabiting the valleys and the summit (**ghat-matha**) constituting the superb military assets of Maharashtra, were the gifts of the climate and the physical configuration of the land, while their hills and forts formed their strength. The Mavals trained and inspired by Shivaji may well be compared with the Carbonary under Mazzini. Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier areas constituted a valuable recruiting ground of hardy and courageous soldiers of the Mughal empire.⁸

Principles of Military Encampment

How was the battleground or theatre of war selected? General Montgomery has opined that among the Hindus 'there was probably no fixed plan for military camps but ground near a river was generally chosen, the tents being laid out in rows, sentries posted.'⁹ This is not wholly true.

Theorists of the east had grasped the importance of the terrain as fully as the theorists of the Napoleonic era in Europe. Sun Tzu mentions terrain as one of the important factors of war, as the distances affect planning, the condition of the ground determines the use of infantry or cavalry, as also the size of the army. According to him a general has to assess the value of ground in selecting the site of battle. He who cannot use the ground properly fails as a commander.¹⁰ Both Hindu and Muslim writers prescribed detailed instructions for the site, for dispositions of troops and manner of encampment for men and animals. The ground selected should be such as to put the enemy at a disadvantage. Ancient and medieval Hindu theorists, too, advised that a general who expected to win must first study the theatre of operations carefully. They emphasized that the position of the army in the theatre of war was to be selected by the general on a consideration of four factors: (a) the character and the composition of the army, — men and beasts, — because all are not accustomed to fight in all areas, — deserts, forests, plains, hills or ditches, riv-

⁸ Orme, *Hist. Frag.* p. 419; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. V.

⁹ Montgomery, *History of Warfare*.

¹⁰ Sun Tzu classifies ground according to its nature into six types. Griffiths, 45; Terrain, 124-9; Nine Varieties, 130-40.

ers or marshes; (b) the advantages conferred by the region to the army. To both Kautilya and Sukracharya that country was best or excellent, which provides facilities to one's own soldiers for regular manoeuvres at the right time but none to the enemy, that region was the worst where the enemy alone got the advantage and that country was good or of medium quality were both armies got such facilities. (c) The army must never face the south or the sun which would dazzle the eyes of the soldiers, or stand against the wind. (d) A position where long stay or whence quick retreat was not possible must not be selected. Further, the physical characteristics of the route of march determined the order of march.¹¹

Again, the terrain or the configuration of land increased the power of resistance, by offering obstacles to the enemy, by supporting the flank and strengthening the front and supplying facilities to cover one's army. This was one of the main considerations which weighed with ancient and medieval military strategists in emphasizing the need of a suitable site for encampment. A battle ground should have natural defences or conveniences — a region near a forest (for protecting the flank), near river bank (for independent supply of water for drinking or filling the moat). Muslim theorists and generals also emphasized due consideration of topography and configuration in selecting the site of a battle field. Fakhr i Mudabbir has put great emphasis on the choice of the battlefield and urges great care in its selection. He laid down certain guiding principles for encamping. Stony, dusty, wet and sandy sites were to be avoided. The first would damage the horse-shoes or hoofs, the second would prevent easy visibility of combatants and the last two would hinder the movements of the men and beasts and so affect the mobility of the cavaliers. The ideal site was one, which was spacious and extensive, hard and smooth, neither very close nor very far from habitation, and possessing independent supply of water.

Timur's ideas, which exercised a deep influence on his Indian successors, were also similar. There must be wholesome water near the battlefield; the ground must protect the soldiers; the en-

¹¹ Principles of selections of site. The order to march would depend on the nature of the route. Kautilya, BK. IX. Ch. 1; Bk. X. chs. 2-4; *Sarangadhara Paddhati* 1681-2; Kamandaka, XVI. 38; XX. 10 ff; Agni Purana, 238. 59-60, 28-37; 242.30; *Sivatattaratnakara* V. 14, 25.9; 30; *Sukrenitisara*, Sarkar's Tr. ch. IV. Sec. VII, lines 343-5, 454-9; Dikshitar. 242-4.

emy must be sighted easily; the army must not face the sun; the ground must have spacious front.¹²

In fact the underlying principles would largely depend on a consideration of the influence of terrain on war. Generally speaking, however, the value of most topographical as well as artificial features would depend on the spirit and ability of the general. For on him rests the responsibility of selecting the theatre of war.

Value of Ground for security

Besides the selection of the site of the encampment the general has to study the ground for ensuring the physical security of the camp. Apart from the protective ditches, entrenchments with earth works or sand bags, redoubts, block houses, walls of wooden planks (*Kat-ghar*) or mud which continued to the eighteenth century, efforts were made to seek natural and pre-existing protection. Success would fall to the lot of that general who took the initiative in selecting a relatively better site.

In his battle against Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Khusrau Khan selected a place in Hauz i Alai protected by the citadel in his back and gardens in front. During the rebellion of Ain ul Mulk, governor of Oudh, Muhammad Tughlaq kept his rear guarded by the city of Kanouj and entrenched himself in the fortress which had a good strategic position.¹³

In 1526 Babur's right wing was covered by the houses and suburbs of Panipat, his left side was guarded with ditches filled with branches of trees and the front by gun carriages (*araba*) tied together by twisted bull-hides and mantlets. (*turas*)¹⁴

At the battle of Chausa on the Ganges Sher Khan was the first to choose a more strategic and advantageous site while Humayun's movements and the mobility of his cavalry were considerably hampered by a sloping muddy plain.¹⁵

During Akbar's Gujrat campaign against Sultan Muzaffar the Mughal army, protected two sides by the city of Sarkhej and a river, set up a barricade of wood and stone. But in Jahangir's campaign against Abdullah in Gujrat (1622-3) the choice of the ground was not proper and the Mughal army could not deploy

¹² *Adab*, 135b, 136a, 137b, *Islamic Culture*, XI. (Oct., 1937), 430; *Tuzuk i Timuri*, 191.

¹³ Barani, 417; *Rehla of Ibn Batutah*.

¹⁴ *Babur's Memoirs* (Tr. Mrs. Beveridge).

¹⁵ E.&D. iv. 370n.

freely on account of low ground, thorny bushes and narrow passes.¹⁶

Rani Durgavati of Gadha Katanga had entrenched herself at Narni ravine, surrounded by a mountain and a river front making Asaf Khan's intrusion almost impossible. The latter resorted to the trickery of feigned flight to disarray the enemy.¹⁷

A rough and narrow place of encampment suffered from several defects. While fighting Ibrahim Husain Mirza in Gujrat, Akbar encamped on a rough and thorny ground, filled with cactus bushes, which so narrowed the passage that even two cavaliers could not pass abreast. Akbar, separated from his men by the bushes, could save himself from a sudden assault by making his horse jump over them.¹⁸

Jaswant's selection of the battle ground at Dharmat was also wrong. It was uneven, narrow with ditches and marshes. His army could not deploy properly. There was no order or method in the disposition of the troops. True, he strengthened his camp with an entrenchment and had the ground soaked in water and trodden into mud to check Aurangzeb's charge. But this proved a boomerang on Jaswant's own cavaliers with mettled horses.¹⁹

The occupation of high land conferred definite advantages on its occupier. During 1591-92 Sultan Muzaffar Gujrati was holding a high ground. Khan Azam Mirza Aziz Koka leading the imperialists, on a lower ground found himself in such a difficult position that he had to retreat after a reverse. In 1592-93 the Afghans of Orissa selected a ground protected by a forest and stream for their entrenchment, in order to avoid an open confrontation. But the Mughals occupied a neighbouring eminence (*Sarkob*) and at once began to build their fortifications thereon for cannonading the trenches of the Afghans. The latter were forced to cross the river for a hand to hand fight. At Khajwa Mir Jumla with a born general's instinct seized an elevated ground unwisely vacated by the Shujaites, and dragging his guns kept them ready for action against Shuja's camp (1659).

In the contest between Mir Jumla and Shuja (1659) Shuja set up trenches on the eastern bank of the Ganges at Baqarpur and

¹⁶ *Akbarnamah*, iii. 425; *Tuzuk i Jahangiri*, p. 373.

¹⁷ *Akbarnamah*, ii. 212-3.

¹⁸ AN. ii. 212-3.

¹⁹ *Alamgirnamah*, 28-30.

guarded them with a flotilla and artillery. Lacking in boats Mir Jumla took up quarters at Dogachi, 13 miles south of Rajmahal. Grasping the strategic value of a highland in the mid-stream, forming a half-way house to Baqarpur he formulated his strategy to set up a strong entrenchment with cannon (*top*), with matchlockmen (*banduqchis*) and rocketmen (*bandar*), and to strengthen this strong battery entrenchment (*murchal*) by sending the soldiers on boats to the other side of the Ganges to fight the enemy.²⁰

Success or failure of the General

It is essential to have full topographical details of the theatre of war, to know the obstacles to be faced, natural or artificial and to examine strategic sites or permanent decisive points. The success or otherwise of the contestants would depend on the extent to which they are able to control these. Generally speaking, however, the value of most of these features, would depend on the spirit and ability of the general.

During the war of succession among Shahjahan's sons Dara had seized the well-known fords over the Chambal. But Aurangzeb came to learn of an obscure ford at Bhadoali (40 miles east of Dholpur) with knee-deep water left unguarded by Dara. This fine strategic success enabled Aurangzeb to turn the latter's position and rendered Dara's elaborate trenches and batteries at Dholpur useless.²¹

In his Kuch Bihar campaign, Mir Jumla, the Governor of Bengal, selected neither of the two well-known routes from Mughal territories to that country; the one *via* Ekduar was closely guarded by the Raja, as that place was the sole fortified post between the invaders and Kuch Bihar; the other *via* Khuntaghat, passing near Rangamati, was very narrow, intersected by *nalas* and flanked on both sides with dense jungles. With his characteristic prudence he selected for his advance an obscure way, left unguarded by the Raja, and running along an *al* or embankment much lower than the roads, — news of which was brought by his scouts. The fleet guarded the *nala* flowing from Ghoraghat to the Brahmaputra. To remove the chances of rebellion in the future, the fortified gateway of Ekduar was demolished, the jungle within a radius of 100 yards of it was cut down, and an open plain formed.

²⁰ AN. iii. 594, 611, 612; E.&D. vi. 89; my *Mir Jumla*, 147-50.

²¹ Sarkar, *Mil. Hist.*, 30.

To forestall Mughal advance the Ahoms strengthened Jogigupha at the mouth of the Monas and constructed a new fort at Panchanatan on the opposite bank of the Brahmaputra. Mir Jumla's initial difficulties in his advance through dense jungles and numerous nalas were aggravated by his lack of local topographical knowledge. He very wisely decided to follow the course of the Brahmaputra, the fleet (*nawwara*) cooperating with the land army. After the capture of Jogigupha the General divided the land army into two parts along the two banks, so that there was a three-pronged advance of the Mughals, which proved successful.²²

In those days a river was usually crossed by boats or bridges of boats. But not only was this difficult, it was also difficult to collect boats. Crossing a flooded river with cannon and cavalry was difficult, if not impossible. On the eve of the Third Battle of Panipat Sadashiv Rao Bhau had originally planned to cross the Jamuna near Etawa, isolate Abdali and Shujauddaulah, attack the former in the upper Doab and raid the latter's Oudh territories. The plan was sound. But it miscarried owing to early rains which prevented Govind Ballal from securing boats for the bridge. Again though Bhau left Delhi and captured Kunjapura, lying between Sirhind and Abdali's Doab camp, and containing huge grain stores (October, 1760) he left at Delhi a comparatively small force of newly-recruited second line troops (under Naro Shankar) which was easily crushed by Afghans. So he failed as a general in omitting to provide for his own safety in case of unforeseen defeat. He also failed to guard the fords and ferries of rivers properly. His patrol near Sonpat had no knowledge of the movement of the Afghans who crossed the Jamuna by surprise at Baghpat and cut the Marathas to pieces. Clearly Bhau's tactics, based on a wrong reading of military geography, was wrong.²³

Guerrilla Base areas

Geography also helped the guerrillas in history by supplying suitable base areas. The medieval Indian guerrillas, like their modern counterparts, turned the conditions of terrain and climate

²² My *Mir Jumla*: 227, 228, 231-4; graphic details of difficulties in Talish, *Fathiyya*.

²³ Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*. vol. 2; Sardesai, *New History*, Vol. 2.

and their own society against the enemy in order to obstruct him, but they themselves were not deterred by terrain or weather. Rugged or forest country was most favourable for security and surprise notwithstanding some difficulties in getting supplies and reaching targets. The geographical and social features in Rajputana, Assam, Maharashtra, the Punjab, and Bijapur favoured this sort of warfare.²⁴

²⁴ My *Some Aspects of Military Thinking and Practice in Medieval India* (1974).

REFERENCES TO METAL SURGERY IN THE R̥GVEDA

Manjul Mayank Pantul

The surgical methods, which appear either to have already existed or been known to R̥gvedic people, in which metal was used for human transplantation, are being proposed to be discussed in this paper. From references of some R̥gvedic Verses, we come to know that two prominent metals; gold and iron, were used for the surgical transplantation of human limbs, by the twin-gods, who appear to be more human rather than being divine. The tradition explores their birth from a human lady, known as Saranyu.¹ What appeals to me, is a little introduction about their medicinal achievements, before taking up the exact references of the use of metal in surgery, as found in the R̥gveda and interpreted by its earliest commentator, Skandasvamin.

It can be argued that the Vedic Verses are simply invocations to gods and may have no reference to an era when surgery could have been developed so high. To this I shall submit in two ways! Firstly, divinity is an excellence of deeds to the deeds of common level and any human character becomes divine in expression to show reverence to his unparalleled achievements. This concept of divinity is coming to us from time immemorial. The R̥gvedic verses 1.161.2, 1.20.3 and 1.4.3-9 addressed to R̥bhūs, the three brothers, the sons of a chariotmaker, known as Śudhanvā, were of human origin. They attained divinity² and became divine characters, by making things possible, what was impossible to others. Secondly the Vedic deities are also regarded as anthropomorphic in forms.³ The twin gods, therefore, represent an age, which faded

¹ Brhaddevata — 6.162-163 and 7.1-7.

Yāska's Nirukta — 12.10.

² Ye R̥bhavah Manuṣyāh Santah Karma-Koushalāt Devāh Jatāh. Skandaswamin's R̥gvedic Commentary on 1.20.1.

³ Tadetat Nara — Rāṣṭramiva. Teṣām Manuṣyavaddevatā bhidhānam. Yaska's Nirukta, Chapter 7.

away, long before the Vedic composition about them, especially those, which have been composed by Kakṣhīvān and Ghoṣā. These composers had a faint memory of the achievements of the twin-gods, who had become divine characters, with eagerness to move with them in the present. This is termed as Ārthapatya (panegyrics) of the seer in Vedic language. In the sea-saw role of a civilization, a time comes, when we long for the past achievements of our ancestors, in ambition of a cultural heritage. In my opinion Kakṣhīvān's and Ghoṣā's compositions represent the same age.

The twin-gods cured the king Śuchanti, who has been suffering from Rājanyakṣmā (tuberculosis), mentioned in Rv. 1.112.7. According to Kieth Macdonnell and Ludwig,⁴ Śuchanti was a person, aided by the twin-gods. But they are silent over the nature of aid and actual identification. Even Sāyaṇa has not provided us with details about Śuchanti in his commentary of the Ṛgveda. While treating the word 'Su-Samsadam', as an adjective of 'Śuchantim', Sāyaṇa has regarded Śuchanti as a man having comfortable hope, with the aid of twin-gods.⁵ But Skandaswāmin, explaining 'Suṣamsadam' as 'Shobhanasabham', meaning thereby a king with an assembly, has rightly recognised 'Śuchanti' as a king and the way in which he was aided.⁶

Ghoro, who is connected with Āngirasa-veda, is known to have had a son named 'Syāva' who was a leper, and could not move even a step. His leprosy had made his skin spotted and discoloured.⁷ The name Shyāva was given to him, perhaps, for this very reason. We have references to Shyāva in three places in the Ṛgveda. According to Skandaswamin by the word 'Parāvrijam'⁸ in Rv. 1.112.8, by the word Shyāva in Rv. 1.116.8 and according

⁴ Vedic Index, Vol. II.

Ludwig, Translation of the Ṛgveda, 3.165.

⁵ Samsidanti Asminniti Samsat Gṛham. Shobhana-Samsadamakurutam. Sayana's Commentary on Rv. 1.112.7

⁶ Śuchantirnāma Raja Raj-Yakṣhmaṇā Gṛhitastadvyāvṛttaye Sarvaswam Brāhmaṇebhyo Dadou. Tamaśvinavāgatya Swairbheṣajairanirujam Chakraturiti. Skandaswamin's Commentary of Rv. 1.112.7

^{7,10} Ghoro Namagneh Putrah. Tasya Jyeṣṭhah Putrah Kuṣṭhi Syāva-Varnaḥ Gamānāsamartho Babhūva. Tamaśvinou Vikṛtya Janghayormadhye Śirasi Chhittva Punaścha Sandhāya Gamana-Samartham Hiranya-Twacham Cha Punarujjivayānchakratuh. Tadetadihochyate.

Skandaswamin's Commentary on Rv. 1.112.8

⁸ Parāvrijam, Parāvarjitam Mṛtam Chhinna-Jamgham Vā Santam Ghorasya Jyeṣṭham Putram.

Skandaswamin's Commentary on Rv. 1.112.8.

to modern scholars, by the word Hiranyahasta in⁹ Rv. 1.117.24. According to Skandaswamin Shyāva was Parāvrija, a lifeless creature, due to his fatal leprosy. The twin-gods cured him by operation in three places in the thighs, in the middle and in the head. After this operation his skin became bright and he could walk freely in a normal way again.¹⁰

Keith, Macdonnell and the Indian scholars like Sūryakānt¹¹ and Siddheshwar Shāstri Chitrava,¹² on the authority of Sāyaṇa, have treated Shyāva and Hiranyahasta to be identical with each other. They have also pointed out that a son named Hiranyahasta was given to Vadhrimati, whose husband was impotent. Dyā Dviveda has also imitated Sāyaṇa and his explanation, in my opinion, has no originality. Their speculation bases Rv. 1.116.3 and Rv. 10.65.2, where expressions like “Vadhrimatya Hiranyahastamaśvināvadattam” and “Shyāvam Puttram Vadhrimatya Ajinvatam” occur respectively. In my opinion, out of Shyāva and Hiranya-hasta, Shyāva alone should be taken as the name of Vadhnimati’s son. I shall show reasons for it, later on, when I come to Vadhrimati.

Rjṛāshva, a king, son of Vṛṣāgiri, was cursed to become blind by his own father for his disobedience in feeding the Kasha of twin-gods, who had appeared as a she-wolf in disguise, by killing a hundred sheep daily. After the demise of Vṛṣāgiri, the enemies surrounded Rjṛashvās kingdom, considering him weak due to his blindness. The twin-gods, when invoked for, came and equipped him with eyes.¹³ This has a reference to Rv. 1.112.8 in which the word ‘Prāndha’ and to Rv. 1.116.16,¹⁴ Rv. 1.117.17¹⁵ where the

⁹ Syāva is the name of a protégé of the Aśvins. He may be identical with Hiranyahasta.

Vedic Index, Vol. 11. page 399.

¹⁰ As 7.

¹¹ Vaidik Kosha by Dr. Suryakant.

¹² Prachina Charitra Kosha by Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrava.

¹³ Vṛṣāgiraḥ Rjṛāśvo Nāma. Tamaśvinoḥ Swabhutā Kashā Vṛki Bhūtvā Upatasthau. Sa Tam Divyena Chakṣuṣa Jñātvā Ahnyahani Meśaśatam Tasyai Āhāram Kalpa Yānchakara. Tat Jñātvā Tasmai, Pitā Chukopa. Sa, Tam Śāpenāndham Chakara. Atha Mrte Vṛṣāgiri Rjṛāśvamandham Jñātvā Tat Śatrahavah Tat-Puramuparurudhuh. Tasmai Āgatyāśvinavaksini Dadatuh.

Skandaswamin’s Commentary on Rv. 1.112.8.

compare with Rv. 1.116.16 — Śatam Meśān Vṛkye Chaksadānamrjṛāśvamtam Pitandham Chakāra.

¹⁴ Uto Kavim Purubhuja Yuvam. Rv. 1.116.14.

¹⁵ Yābhīh Kaṇyam Pra-Siṣāsantamāvatam.

Ṛgveda 1.112.5.

above quoted Itihaṣa appears with the verb 'Ādattam' and 'Ādattam', which mean transplanted eyes. Kaṇva was another blind man, whose eyes were transplanted by the twin-gods.¹⁶ According to Skandaswāmi, the work 'Kavi' Rv. 1.116.14, has a reference to Kaṇva, who is already mentioned in Rv. 1.112.5. In Rv. 1.118.7, Kaṇva's blindness and transplantation of his eye is clearly mentioned as follows:

YUVAM KAṆVĀYĀPIRIPTĀYA CHAKṢUḤ PRATYADHATTAM.

Nārṣada, the son of Nṛṣāt Kaṇva, referred to in Rv. 10.31.11 was deaf.¹⁷ His deafness is indicated in Rv. 1.112.8 by the word 'ŚRŌNA' meaning deaf. Nārṣada's deafness was cured by the twin-gods being specifically mentioned by Kaksivān in Rv. 1.117.8 as follows:

YANNĀRSADĀYA ŚRAVO ADHYADHATTAM.

The particle 'Adhi' in the Verb 'Adhyadhattam,' has been considered meaningless by Skandaswamin and the verb itself as Adattam, meaning gave.

Patharvā, a seer, mentioned in Rv. 1.112.17 suffered from a stomach disease, most probably from a chronic indigestion. He grew weak and pale day by day. Due to the proper treatment by the twin-gods, Pattarva's digestive power improved like the glow of a sacrificial fire of a sacrificial altar enflamed with oblation.¹⁸ Ludwig's observation that Patharvā, masculine singular of Patharu,¹⁹ is the name of a fort which was saved by a rain storm from being set on fire, is opposed to Skandaswamin's interpretation. Śkanda has arranged and explained the verse, as follows:

PATHARVĀ JATHARASYA MAJMANĀ JATHARSYĀGNEH

¹⁶ Kanva Ṛṣirandho Aśvinou Tuṣṭāva. Tasyāśvinou Chākṣurdadaturiti.

Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv. 1.116.14

¹⁷ Nārṣada-Ṛṣirbadhiro Babhūva. Soaśvinou Tuṣṭāva. Tasmai Aśvinou Śrotram Dadaturiti.

Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv.1.112.8.

¹⁸ Pathrvā Nāma Ṛṣirāmayāvi Kṛṣo Vivarṇo Babhūva. Tamasvinou Diptāgnim Iva Balavantamatitejasvinam Chakrtuh. Tadetadihochyate.

Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv.1.112.17.

¹⁹ Translation of the Ṛgveda, 3.204.

PRAVṚDHYARTHAM, CHITAH, CHAYANEN SANCHI-
TAH, INDHAH, ĀHUTISAMUHENA — DIPTAH, AGNINA
ADIDET, AGNIRIVA ADĪPYATA,²⁰

that is, the digestive power of Paṭharvā, became as strong as the flame of sacrificial fire. I leave Sayanās unconvincing interpretation for fear of being the paper prolix.

Another miraculous achievement of the twin-gods in the field of medicine, is revival of youth in old chyavān. The story is already known to every student of Veda, I, therefore, leave it here.

Similar achievement was made by the Ṛbhūs, who revived youth in their parents:

YUVĀNĀ PITARA AKRATA.²¹

Now I come to the references of metal surgery, as found in the Ṛgveda.

VADHRIMATI, already mentioned above, was a lady soldier in the army of king Khela, and had lost in a battle her hand which was transplanted by another hand made of gold (Hiranyahasta) by the twin-gods. This is mentioned and supported by Skandaswamin,²² in his commentary on Rv. 1.116.13. Thus the possibility of Hiranyahasta, being the name of her son, is set aside. Shyāva, literally means 'one with spotted skin,' which is opposed to golden colour. To imagine a golden hand of Shyāva on derivative explanation of Hiranyahasta with spotted skin simultaneously, looks unconvincing.

Undoubtedly Shyāva alone can be regarded as the name of Vadhrimati's son. In the Ṛgveda,²³ we find a reference to Vadhrimati's aid by Kākshivati Ghoṣā, which, in no way has any link with Hiranyahasta to prove him to be Shyāva. Similarly Purandhi occurring in the Ṛgveda, being considered another name of Vadhrimati, has also been taken as an adjective, elsewhere,

²⁰ Ṛgveda. 1.20.4.

²¹ Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv. 1.112.17.

²² Atrethāsamāchakshate. Vadhrimati Nāma Yodhri Samgrāme Śatrubīschhinna-hastā Aśvinou Tuṣṭāva. Tasyāh Aśvinou Hiraṇmayam Hastam Dadaturiti. Tadetadihochyate.

Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv. 1.116.13.

²³ Śrutam Havam Vṛṣaṇa Vadhrimatya.

Ṛgveda 6.62.7.

Yuvam Havam Vadhrimatya Agachchatam.

Ṛgveda 10.39.7.

by Skandaswamin, meaning intelligent one. He has considered Purandhi, equally appropriate for Vadhrimati and Kakshivan both.²⁴

This discussion concludes that the twin-gods, the surgeons, gave Vadhrimati, a hand, made of gold. Hiranyahasta-Karā Vadhrimati was the wife of Ghora's elder son. On the evidence of 'YUVAM SHYĀVAYA RUŚATIMADATTAM' appearing in Rv. 1.117.8, Ludwig has assumed that Ruśati, a maiden, was married to Śyāva.²⁵ Indian Scholars have also accepted his view. But Skanda treats 'Ruśatim' as an adjective of 'Twacham' meaning thereby the bright skin given to Śyāva by the Aśvins. Roth²⁶ seems nearer to Skanda as he treats the word in the sense of white.

Vishpala mentioned in Rv. 1.116.15 and 1.118.8, was a lady soldier in the army of King Khela, whose priest was Agastya. While fighting for wealth and foodgrains, Vishpala lost her thigh. The twin-gods invoked for by the priest Agastya, rushed at once and transplanted her thigh with an iron-made thigh, enabling Vishpala to move freely.²⁷ A.Pischel's²⁸ view that a racing horse with a broken limb was miraculously cured by Aśvins, is merely an inference.

²⁴ Purandhih Bahu-Prajñā.

Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv. 1.116.13.

Purandhih Bahu-Prajñā. Kā Asou ?

Vadhrimati. Athavā Kakshivānapi Purandhih.

Skandaswamin's commentary on Rv. 1.117.19.

²⁵ Translation of the Rgveda, 3.150.

²⁶ St. Petersburg Dictionary.

²⁷ Sadyo Janghāmāyasim Vispalayai Dhane hite Sartave Pratyadhattam.

Rv. 1.116.15.

²⁸ *Vedische studien*, 1.171-173.

A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ANCIENT INDIA

G. Pollet

0.1 Introduction. In January 1972, research teams of the departments of Indian studies of the universities of Ghent and Leuven (Belgium) decided to join their efforts with a view to producing a topographical synthesis in the form of a series of monographs entitled *Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae*.¹ The present paper is meant to give the main reasons for attempting such a topographical synthesis, secondly to outline the aim and the stages of the work, in the third place to describe the method used and the first results obtained, and finally to discuss the possibilities of interuniversity and interdisciplinary collaboration.

1. The need

Anybody dealing with the epigraphy, archeology, geography, history, literature or art of Ancient India is regularly faced with a number of topographical problems.

1.1. The location of towns, villages or sites is often vague, not only in the classical Indian, Greek, Roman, Chinese or Arabic sources but also in more recent monographs and periodical literature. In this way place-names have often been located by reference to neighbouring unlocated places which are scarcely better known, or to districts and other administrative units with uncertain boundaries and names, or to ungridded sketch-maps.² As if to add to this confusion, homonyms have always been very common in India, so that an unspecified name like Agar or Agara or Amba may easily refer to ten or more different places.

¹ Ed. A. SCHARPE, J. DELEU, P. EGGERMONT, G. POLLET. Part I, *Epigraphical Find-spots*, by R. STROOBANDT, Ghent, 1974. Part II, *Archeological Place-names*, Leuven, 1977.

² V. A. SMITH, *Index to Cunningham's Reports*, Calcutta, 1887, p. VI; R. STROOBANDT, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. IV.

1.2. The various ways of spelling the Indian place-names may be due to the many languages and alphabets in India, as well as to the more or less consistent transcription systems used abroad.³ It is not always clear at first sight that one and the same place is called Pitaria and Pithadia, or Parham and Padham, or Perâgori and Pedâgadhî, Añjati and Añjanavati, Malige and Malgi, Minḍigal and Mandigallu, Paithan and Pyton, Kalyâni and Kulliannee.

More than a century ago, the need of a uniform spelling was stressed by W. W. Hunter,⁴ the later editor of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*.⁵ Hunter's basically phonetic orthography was adopted by the Survey of India.

1.3. Synonymous place-names. The names of towns and villages have often substantially changed in the course of time. Some of these changes are due to an incessant evolution of the languages. So the name Pratiṣṭhâna was successively changed into Patithâna, Paitthâna and Paithan.⁶ Ancient Puṇḍranagara became Pudnagala,⁷ whereas Pañktipura was later called Pânt(h)ipura, Pânuṃgal and Hângal.⁸ The matter can become still more intricate when a place has been called by two or more entirely different names. So the ancient names Kisuvolal and Raktapuri are synonymous with modern Pat(t)ad(a)kal,⁹ also abridged as Pat-tad. In much the same way Tirunâgeśvaram and Uragapuram have been identified with Pâmbûr.¹⁰

The classical sources outside India added a lengthy series of variants to the existing toponyms. In this way the Greek names Kaspatyron, Kaspapyros and Paskapyros have been referred to the old-Indian town Parshapura, also called Purus(h)apura or Po-

³ A. SCHARPE, *Topographica Indica*, in *Orientalia Gandensia*, II (1965), p. 192

f.

⁴ *Guide to the orthography of Indian proper names, with a list showing the true spelling of all post towns and villages in India*, Calcutta, 1871.

⁵ First edition, 9 vols, 1881.

⁶ Situated at 19°25' N and 75°20' E, Quarter Inch Map 47M7. See *Ancient India*, vol. 15 (1959), p. 69.

⁷ I.e. Mahâst(h)ân, 24°55' N and 89°15' E, Quarter Inch Map 78H5. See *Pakistan Archeology*, vol. 5, p. 278.

⁸ Hângal, 14°45' N and 75°05' E, Quarter Inch Map 48N1. See *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology*, 16, p. 132, and 18, p. 20.

⁹ 15°55' N and 75°45' E, Quarter Inch Map 48M13. See *Ancient India*, 5, p. 50.

¹⁰ *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology*, 11, p. 90. Pâmbûr or Pembur is probably situated at 9°25' N and 78°30' E. Yet, there is also a Tirunâgeśvaram at 10°55' N and 79°25' E.

shapura, i.e. modern Peshâwar.¹¹ Similarly the Islamic rulers used their own language when giving names to their new settlements or when changing the existing toponyms. So, ancient Polusha, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D., was later called Shâhbâz Garhî.¹²

2. Scope of the *Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae*

When conceiving the *Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae*, the general idea was to link the literature with the maps, i.e. to collect the available topographical data in the different fields of research, to arrange the names — with their synonyms and variants — in the alphabetical order and to locate them, as far as possible, on the appended maps.

2.1. Collecting the material. A representative choice is made among the classical and modern sources relating to ancient India, and all relevant topographical data are systematically filed. This material includes all topographical names with their synonyms, variant spellings and notes in connection with the identification and the location. Hypothetical identifications are marked as such. If the obtained information is insufficient or altogether lacking, a series of — mostly modern — auxiliary sources are called in.

2.2. Stages planned. The toponyms of ancient India are spread over so many sources, both Indian and foreign, that it was advisable to divide them into different groups and to deal with each group separately. The following research fields were taken into consideration: epigraphy, archeology, the Vedic and epic literature, Buddhism, Jainism, the classical Indian literature, the Purâṇas, the history and art, the Greek and Latin literature dealing with ancient India, the Asian and European travel stories. Although this list is not necessarily exhaustive, it constitutes already a long-range program and a heavy task.

2.3. Locating the sites. In order to complete the link between the place-names and their exact location, it proved useful to appendix a set of gridded maps to each of the planned volumes. In this way scholars and students in one or more of the research fields mentioned¹³ are provided with a handy instrument for

¹¹ 34°00' N and 71°30' E, Quarter Inch Map 38N12. See *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology*, 15, p. XVIII f.

¹² 34°10' N and 72°10' E, Quarter Inch Map 43B4. See *Pakistan Archeology*, 1, p. 65.

¹³ See above 2.2.

checking the exact position of any particular site listed in the Indices. Furthermore, the maps can also answer the need of getting a global picture of all sites concerned with a specific research field.

Yet, maps cannot be more perfect than the sources from which they are drawn. Whenever these sources allow only an approximate or relative location, the nearest known place is marked on the maps and referred to in the Indices. The maps hence bear the limitation and defects of their sources. Their purpose is just to render as accurately as possible the present state of research in the field of topography and allied sciences. Eventual flaws should be as many motives for further research.

3. Method, with special reference to epigraphy and archeology

3.1. Selecting the sources. It proved useful to start with the research fields in which modern publications formed already a source of topographical information. To an extent these publications leveled already the road between the ancient place-names and their modern synonyms. So doing, a bank of topographical data can gradually be formed before collecting the often more hypothetical data from the classical literature.

Hence the indices of Part I of the *Corpus Topographicum Indiae Antiquae*¹⁴ present the epigraphical material contained in the following publications: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vols I to V, 1925-1963; *Epigraphica Indica*, vols 1 to 37, Calcutta, 1892-1969; R. B. HIRA LAL, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 2nd ed., Nagpur, 1932, and *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, vols 1 to 19, Delhi, 1952-1967. From these sources, some 4.500 names of epigraphical find-spots were collected and located. The toponyms, occurring in the inscriptions themselves, were not considered at this stage.

Part II of the *Corpus Topographicum*¹⁵ is equally based on modern sources, viz. *Ancient India. Bulletin of the Archeological Survey of India*, vols 1 to 20/21, New Delhi, 1946 to 1964-1965; *Ancient Pakistan. Bulletin of the Department of Archeology*, vols 1 to 3, (University of) Peshawar, 1964-1967; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archeology*, vols I to XXI, (Kern Institute) Leiden, 1926 to 1964-66; *Indian Archeology, a Review*, (ed. B. B. LAL, Ar-

¹⁴ R. STROOBANDT, *op. cit.*, p. X. See the above note 1.

¹⁵ See the above note 1.

cheological Survey of India), vols 1 to 17, New Delhi, 1953 to 1968-69; *Pakistan Archeology*, vols I to V, Karachi, 1964-1968. These sources are mentioning over 10.000 archeological place-names and variants.

3.2. Structuring the Indices. It was decided to adopt in principle the authority of the Survey of India for the orthography as well as for the location of the place-names.

3.2.1. Variant readings and spellings. The publications of the Survey of India are based throughout on a coherent system of spelling. They present moreover the widest range of topographical material.¹⁶ Hence, if a place is called by different names or if a name is spelt in different ways in the sources consulted, the name and the spelling of the Survey of India are adopted in the *Corpus Topographicum*. The alternative readings and the variant spellings are listed in the Indices in the alphabetical order and are mutually linked by a system of cross-references.

3.2.2. Referring to the maps. The toponyms, mentioned in the Indices, are followed by a reference to the maps appendix to each volume of the *Corpus Topographicum*. These maps have been based on the Asia One Million Maps of the Survey of India (Hind 5000). Each map covers an area of four degrees by four and is divided into sixteen squares of one degree by one. Each of these sixteen squares, called A to P, corresponds to one sheet of the Quarter Inch (to the mile) Maps of the Survey of India, which have a scale of 1:253.440. Such a one-degree square is again divided into sixteen squares, numbered 1 to 16, of 15' by 15'. A 15' square corresponds to one sheet of the One Inch (to the mile) Maps of the Survey of India, the scale of which is 1:63.360.¹⁷ In Part I of the *Corpus Topographicum*, a 15' square is further subdivided into 5' squares, numbered 1 to 9.

Hence the toponym Antri is referred to in the Indices as 46E.14.4. In this reference, 46E refers to a sheet of the Quarter Inch Maps as well as to the corresponding section of the atlas-part of the *Corpus Topographicum*. The number 14 refers to a sheet of the One Inch Maps and simultaneously to one of the sixteen subsections of the appendix atlas-map. Finally the figure 4 indicates in which of the nine 5' squares the place-name Antri is found on the map.

¹⁶ A. SCHARPE, *art. cit.*, p. 195 and 200.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196 f.; R. STROOBANDT, *op. cit.*, p. XIV.

If a toponym does not appear on the Quarter Inch Maps nor in the *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*,¹⁸ which forms an alphabetical index to the Quarter Inch Maps, it has been looked up in the Half Inch Maps and the One Inch Maps in the first place. If this search remained unsuccessful, other maps were consulted, such as the older *Indian Atlas* (1824-1900) of the Survey of India, the *Army Map Service* series of the U.S. Army (scale 1:250.000), and a series of small-scale regional maps. Each of these auxiliary sources has been duly referred to in the Indices and in the foot-notes.

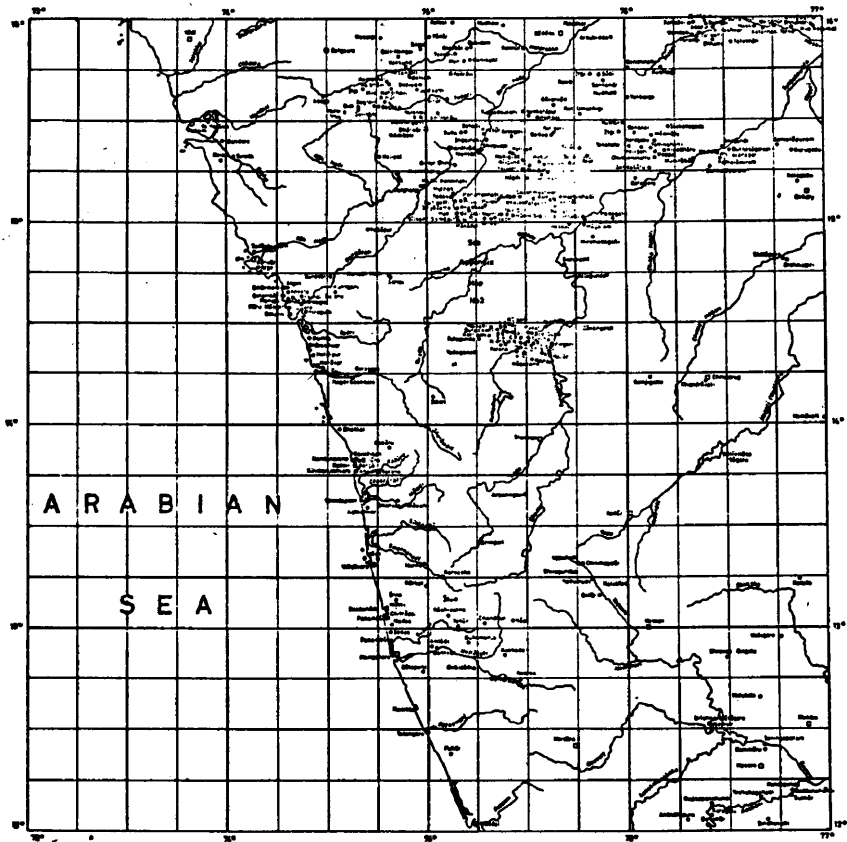
4. Forms of collaboration

Owing to the many fields covered by the project and to the vast material dealt with in each research field, the *Corpus Topographicum* could not be the task of one person nor even of one research-team. Hence it was decided that the work should be carried out jointly by the Departments of Indian Studies of the Universities of Ghent and Leuven. The team of Ghent consists at present of the professors A. Scharpé and J. Deleu and of Dr. R. Stroobandt, while the Leuven group is composed of Prof. P.H.L. Eggermont, myself, Dr. W. Callewaert, Dra M. Van Damme, Mrs. M. Jain, M.A., and Lic. L. Hulstaert. The tasks have been divided among the two universities and further among the members of each team.

The appendix atlas is being realized in collaboration with professional designers belonging to the Centre for Soil Science of the University of Ghent (Director: Prof. R. Tavernier) and to the Cartography Section of the Institute for Soil Sciences of the University of Leuven (Director: Prof. F. Depuydt).

The number of volumes planned for the *Corpus Topographicum* is not necessarily exhaustive. Offers have already been received from other universities to extend the present project to international-participation. Further suggestions of this kind are invited.

¹⁸ 2 vols, Delhi, 1950-1953.



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THE CONCEPT OF THE CITADEL IN THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

-B. K. Thapar

INTRODUCTION

Of the many aspects of the Indus Civilization which have been investigated during the last two decades or so, perhaps the more noteworthy is its origin and upgrowth. Notwithstanding this sustained research, there is an apparent dichotomy of views among the scholars over this vital issue: some of them believe in a developmental sequence in which 'the process which created the civilization on the Indus is considered to be logically the result of processes already underway in the Borderland' (Fairservis Jr., 1971), while to others 'the nucleus of this Civilization appears to spring into being fully-shaped' (Wheeler, 1968) with a high measure of suddenness, notably in such component elements as monumental architecture and the system of writing. The former *inter alia* includes the citadel and the structures contained therein. The present paper discusses the evidence relating to the concept of the citadel in the Indus Civilization.

COMPARATIVE STUDY

Of the excavated sites belonging to this Civilization, the general layout of at least six show the existence of what has been identified as acropolis or citadel: (i) Mohenjo-daro on the right bank of the Indus in Sind; (ii) Harappa on the left bank of the Rair in Panjab; (iii) Sutkagendor on the eastern edge of the vast Dasht river alluvium in the remote vastness of the Makran coast; (iv) Kalibangan on the left bank of the river Ghaggar (ancient Saraswati) in northern Rajasthan; (v) Lothal on the coastal flats at the head of the Gulf of Cambay in Gujarat; and (vi) Surkotada immediately south of the Greater Rann of Kutch. Whether the location of these sites conforms to the pattern of Central Place Theory formulated by Christaller (Christaller, 1966) for the spa-

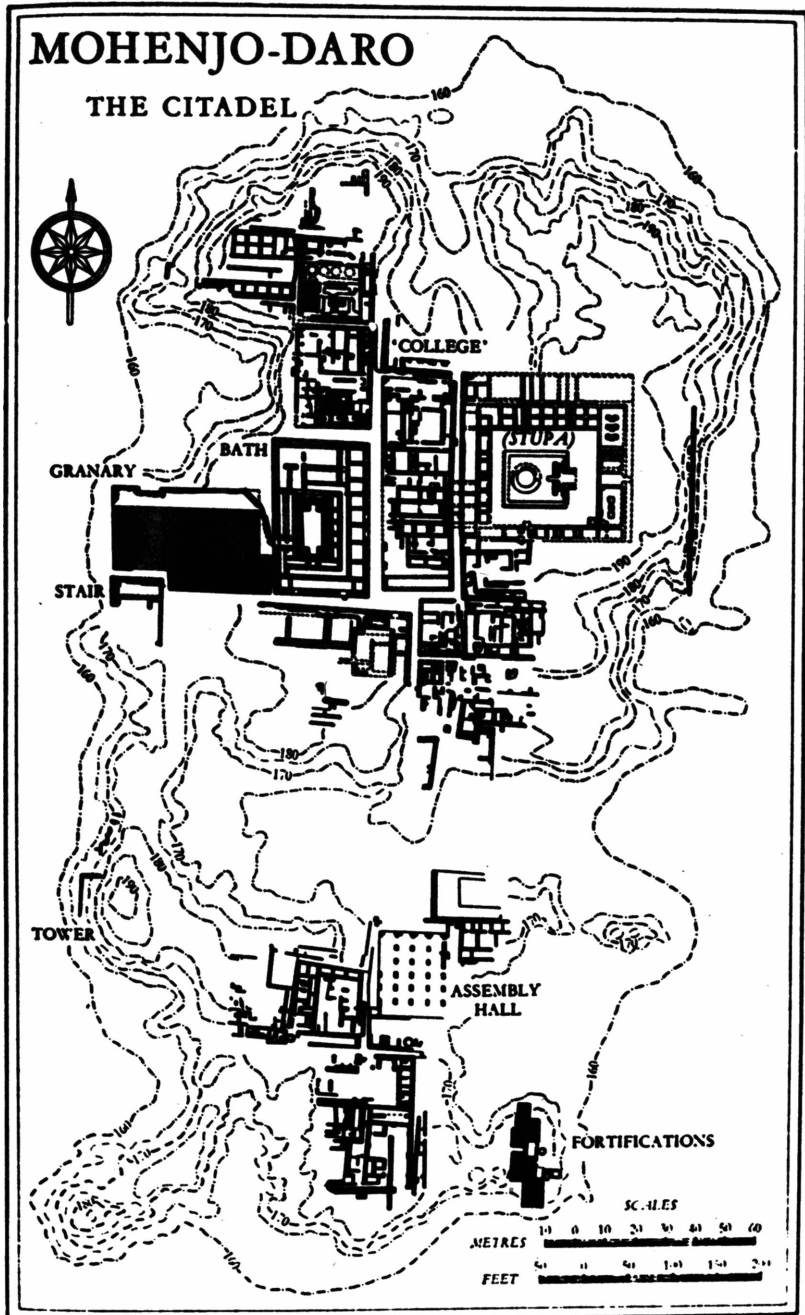
tial organization of the production and distribution of goods and services or is the result of resources localization or other environmental factors are matters which, though worth their while, do not fall within the scope of our present enquiry. Here, we intend to make a comparative study of the structural evidence of the citadel at all these sites with a view to finding out if the facts permit any theory articulation.

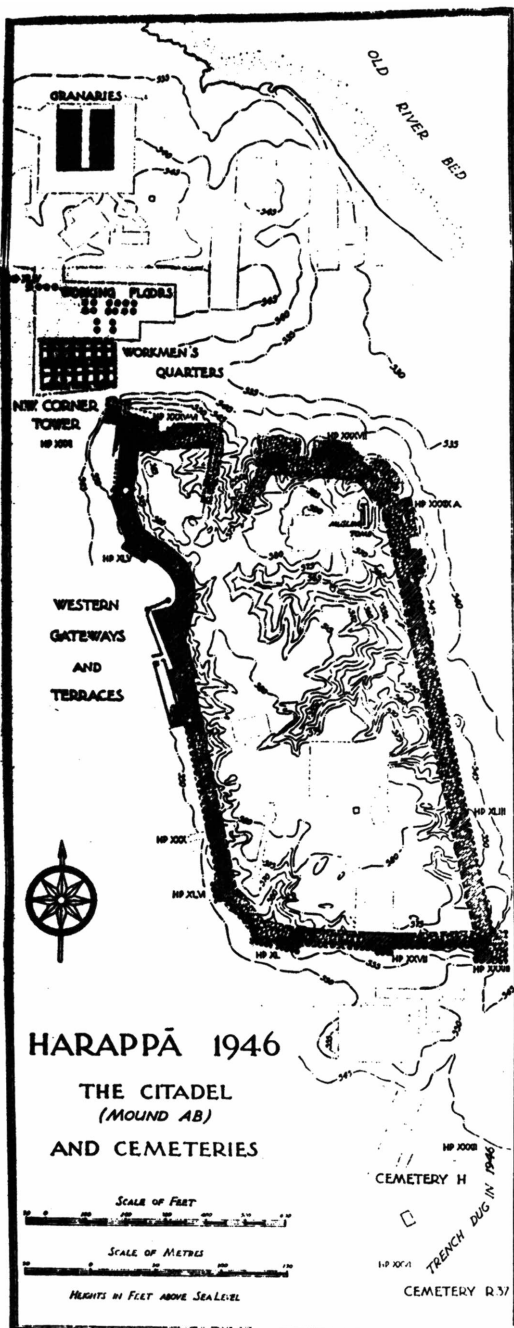
Let us begin with Mohenjo-daro where the citadel has been most extensively excavated. Here, the citadel mound, situated to the west of the larger mound, is found to be a parallelogram some 400-500 yards from north to south and 200-300 yards from east to west (the length being roughly double the width). It is based on an artificial podium of mud and mud-bricks and seems to have been enclosed by a fortification complex, of which remains in the form of solid baked brick bastions with a postern gate at the south-eastern corner and a similar salient with a small postern on the west side have been exposed. Of the excavated buildings within the citadel, the more noteworthy are the Great Bath, the Granary, the Grand Staircase leading to the top of the citadel platform where a small bathroom was provided, the structure identified as College of Priests and the Aisled Assembly Hall.

The citadel mound at Harappa, similarly situated as at Mohenjo-daro to the west of the large mound, is also a parallelogram some 400 yards from north to south and 215 yards from east to west (the length being again double the width). It was based on a raised platform of mud and mud-bricks and seems to have been contained on all sides by massive fortifications. The main bulk of the fortification-wall was of mud-bricks but there was a 4-ft. wide external revetment of baked bricks. The fortification wall was reinforced at frequent intervals with rectangular bastions. The main entrance to the citadel seems to have been on the north, marked by an inlet. It has, however, remained unexplored. On the western side, a curved reentrant, controlled by a bastion, led to a system of processional paths and ramps; and at the end of this system there seems to have been a ramp or stairs leading up on to the citadel. This created a tremendous perspective for the priestly procession. Unfortunately, not much of the area within the citadel has been excavated with the result that no intelligible plans of any building are known, excepting a long covered baked brick drain proceeding eastwards towards the centre of the eastern side and a long line of forty urns buried in a row alongside

MOHENJO-DARO

THE CITADEL



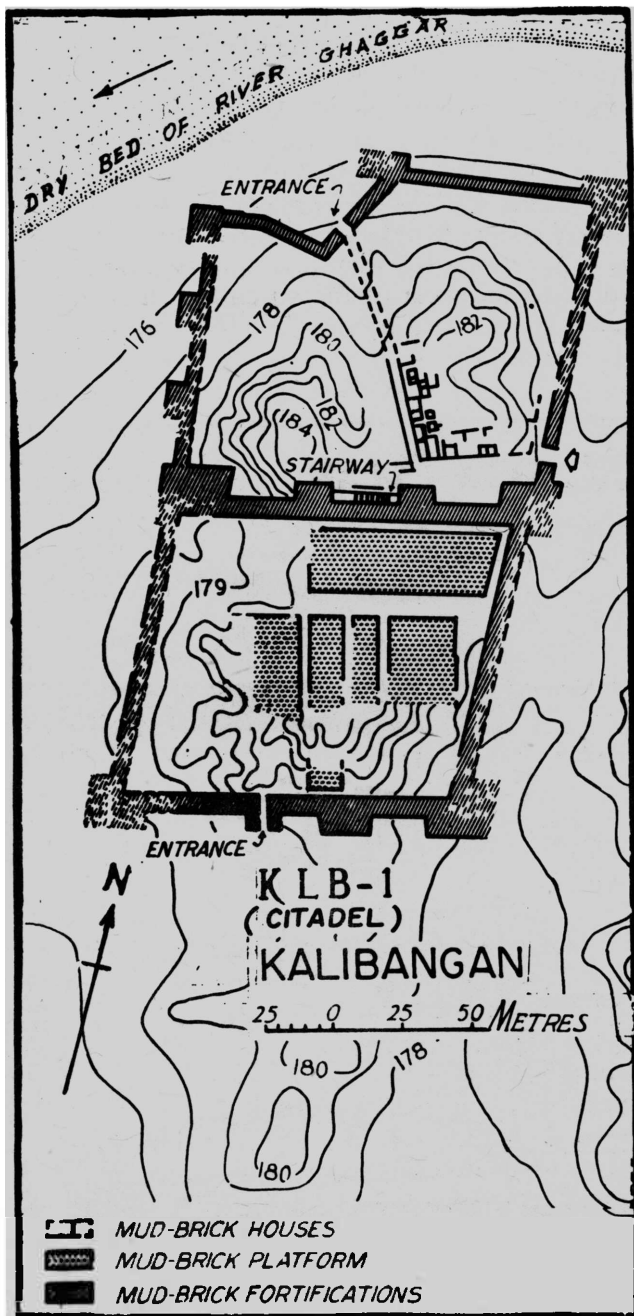


a building overlooked by the citadel. Within the shadow of the citadel to the north lay a double range of granaries built on a 4 ft high revetted platform, row of circular working platforms and barrack-like dwellings.

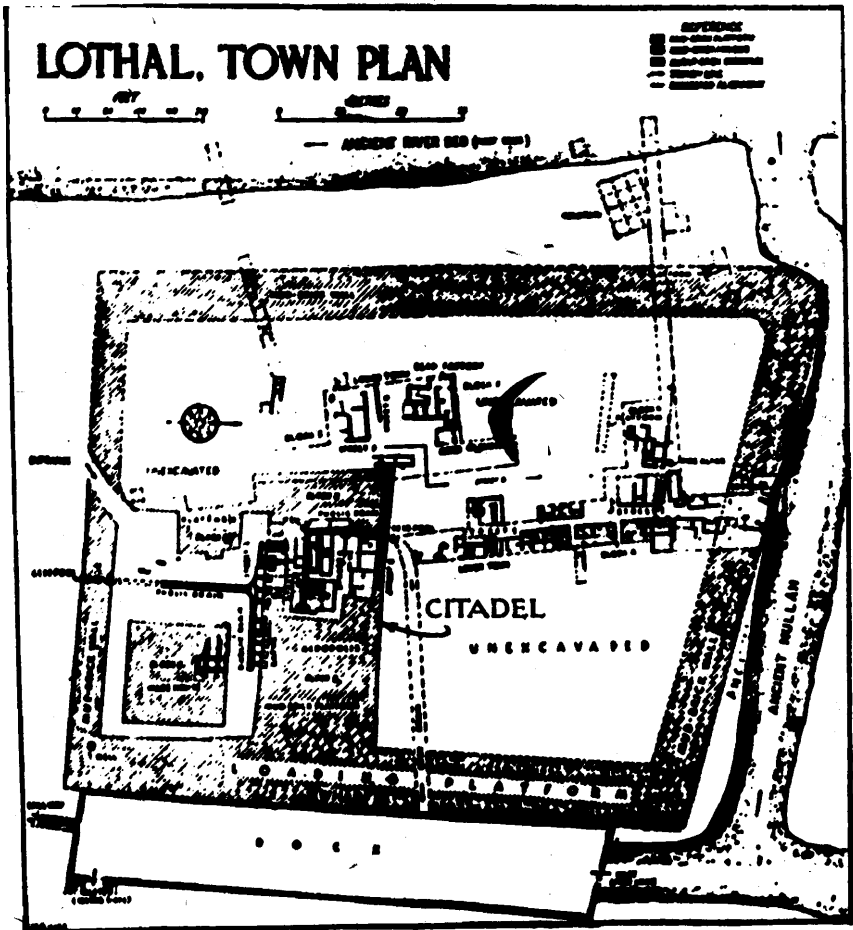
The citadel at Sutkagen-dor (Dales, 62) was contained by a massive fortification-wall of semi-dressed stones, set in mud mortar and re-inforced at places with bastions. It was oriented to the cardinal directions with the longer axis along north-south, and was located to the west of the so called 'lower city'. Being oblong on plan, it enclosed an area reported to be large enough to hold four football fields (app. 190 x 113 yards, the length being double the width). Along the inner face of the western wall, excavation had revealed a 7-ft thick mud-brick platform. The principal entrance to the citadel lay in the south-western corner where it seems to have been guarded by towers. Due to the restricted nature of the excavation, no complete plans of the buildings are available.

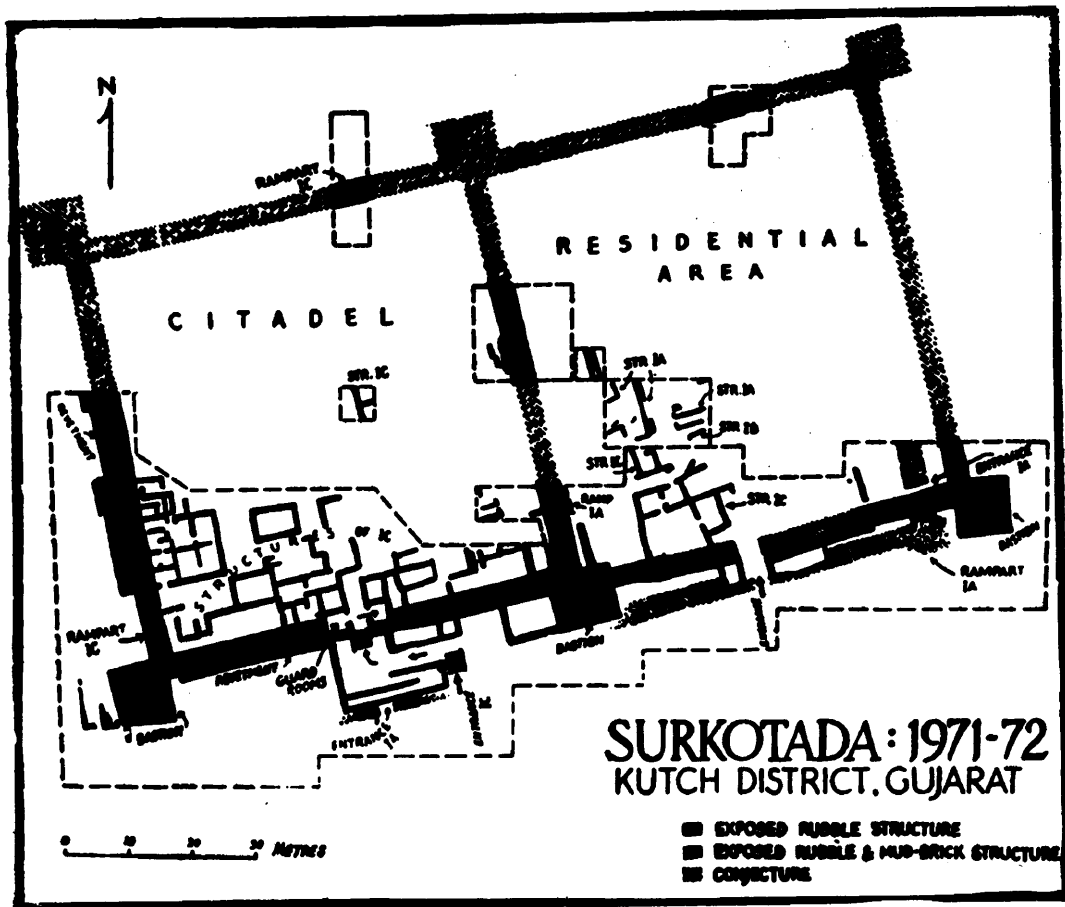
The citadel at Kalibangan (Thapar, 1973, 1975) is roughly a parallelogram, some 240 m from north to south and 120 m from east to west (the length being double the width), and consists of two almost equal but separately patterned parts (each rhomboid on plan). Both parts were surrounded by a mud-brick fortification-wall, reinforced at frequent intervals with rectangular bastions. The citadel complex was located atop the remains of the preceding occupation which was already a mound some 1.60 m in height, thus obviating the necessity of raising an artificial podium.

The southern half of the citadel contained some four to six massive platforms of mud and mud-bricks, each separate from the other and intended for a specific purpose. The size of each of the platforms varied as did the width of the passage separating them. At no point were these platforms joined to the fortification-wall. Of the buildings which stood on these platforms, no intelligible plans are available having been obscured by depredations of brick robbers. Nevertheless, the available remains do indicate that some of these might have been used for religious or ritual purposes. On one of the platforms (with the known complete outline), besides a well and a fire altar, a rectangular pit, lined with baked bricks, containing bones of a bovine and antlers, representing perhaps a sacrifice, was found. On another, seven rectangular 'fire altars' were discovered aligned beside a well. Through



the passages ran baked brick drains. The entrances to this part of the citadel were located on the south and north both of which showed stepped approach leading to a height at which access across the fortification was provided. From the location of the entrances, it is reasonable to argue that the southern entrance may have been intended for the general public from the 'lower city' and the northern entrance for the northern half of the citadel. The structural features of these, however, preclude the possibility of any vehicular traffic within the enclosed area which was possibly considered sacred.





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↑

CITADEL

RESIDENTIAL
AREA

RAMPART 2

STR. 1C

STR. 1A

STR. 1B

STR. 2B

STR. 2A

STR. 2C

STR. 3A

WATER

RAMPART 1C

RAMPART 1B

WELL

CHANG ROOMS

ENTRANCE 1A

RAMPART 1A

0 10 20 30 METRES

SURKOTADA: 1971-72
KUTCH DISTRICT, GUJARAT

- EXPOSED RUBBLE STRUCTURE
- ▨ EXPOSED RUBBLE & MUD-BRICK STRUCTURE
- - - CONJECTURE

The northern half of the citadel, also enclosed by a fortification-wall with bastions, contained residential buildings, perhaps of the elite. There were three entrances to this part of the citadel, each controlled by a bastion, none of which, however, were found to be of the ramp or stairway type. Full details of the street planning in this part have not so far been recovered. Excavations, however, brought to light one of the north-south thoroughfares to a length of over 40 m along with the flanking houses. None of the excavated structures in this part of the citadel was built on artificially raised platform(s).

Coming to Lothal (Rao, 1973), we find that the citadel was located in the south-eastern part of the city and measured approximately 136 x 117 m being almost trapezoidal on plan. Though not defined by an enclosure-wall, it was distinguished by the presence of a deliberately-made mud and mud-brick platform for locating the principal buildings, which included the Residence of the Ruler, the Wharf, the Warehouse and the regimented series of rooms each with a brick-paved bath. Besides, three main east-west running lanes, a well and an underground sewerage system were also exposed to view in this part of the city.

At Surkotada (Joshi, 1972), the citadel, measuring 60 x 60 m was situated adjacent to the 'lower city' on its west, and was enclosed by a fortification-wall of mud and mud-bricks, having a rubble veneer of five to eight courses at its base on the inner side (as testified on its eastern side). Excavation revealed that the buildings within the citadel, of which no complete plans are available (of the early phases, mature Harappa), were raised over an artificially-made 1.5 m high rammed mud platform. A north-south running street was also exposed for a short length of 1.5 m. The entrances to the citadel were located on the south and the east, of which the latter, intended for communicating with the lower city, was of the ramp type and the former providing direct access from the outside showed stepped approach.

ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

From the foregoing it would be apparent that the parameters for determining the pattern of the citadel in the Indus Civilization are not uniform, largely due to differential digging conducted at the sites mentioned above. At Mohenjo-daro, while we have sufficient evidence of the functional aspect of the buildings contained in the citadel, the outline of the fortification-complex

including the gateways, etc., are sadly missing. At Harappa, the position is reverse: we have full details of the fortifications of the citadel but no intelligible plan of the buildings enclosed by it. Furthermore, the location of the granary at both these sites (within the citadel at Mohenjo-daro and outside it at Harappa, within a hundred yards of the river bed) adds a discordant note. At Sutkagen-dor, the position is no better than at Harappa, for we know only about the layout plan of the settlement and the details of the fortification of the citadel. At Kalibangan, outlines of the citadel, showing a bipartite plan and some mud-brick platforms in the southern part and part of a street with flanking structures in the northern part, were exposed to view. Apparently, the plan is different from that of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. At Lothal, the citadel contained important buildings, raised over an artificially made podium. Details of the entrance to the citadel-part as also to the lower city remain unexplored. At Surkotada, the layout plan of the settlement shows that the citadel is located in the partitioned western half of the settlement. Again, the plans of the buildings contained in the citadel are not available with the result that no surmise can be made about the functional aspect.

Of the above sites, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Kalibangan show a similar disposition of the citadel *vis-a-vis* the lower city: the citadel is located to the west of the lower city with a gap in between the two, and is a parallelogram, with its length double the width. The situation at the other three sites is quite different: at Sutkagen-dor, it is not clear whether there was a gap between the citadel and the lower city, although the location of the former to west of the latter and the same proportion of the length to breadth is duly attested; at Lothal the citadel has no separate entity and is located in the south-eastern part of the settlement; and at Surkotada it is shown to occupy the western half of the settlement in a single fortification-complex.

Among the above *disjecta*, however, two recurrent features are clear: (i) the presence of an artificially-made podium or platform of mud and mud-bricks (attested at each of the above-mentioned sites), (ii) the association of at least one of the buildings with the religious or ritual practices, involving plentiful use of water (attested at Mohenjo-daro, Kalibangan and Lothal).

Now the obvious question arises: How did the Harappans formulate these concepts? Did they borrow these from the pre-existing high Civilization of Mesopotamia or did they develop them

indigenously? Of the latter possibility, no definitive evidence has so far been obtained from sites where antecedent cultures have been identified. We may, therefore, examine the available evidence from Mesopotamian sites.

It is widely known that the appearance of the temple marks a significant stage for the development of early monumental architecture. The excavated temples in Mesopotamia, Tepe Gawra, Uruk, Ur, Al 'Ubaid, Khafaje and Al Aquair, belonging to the beginning of the third millennium B.C., are all sited on high terraces approached by steps. Corroborative evidence is provided by a seal from Susa, belonging to the Protoliterate Period, showing a tower-like building rising above a buttressed terrace. The temple was one of the major components of Mesopotamian society, being an integral part of the community which it served. It was responsible for the care of the gods, administration of law, education of scribes and for facilitating trade. It thus played an important role in the community's economic life. In fact, the entire economic life of the time was a temple economy (Postgate, 1972).

Raising the level of the sanctuaries tended to separate them from more secular structures. But it must be realized that "the Ziggurat was a part of the organism of the city. Though it stood within a walled inner court with a forecourt, it still belonged to the city and was involved in its life. In its classic period, as at Ur, the most important civic buildings — the palace of the king, the treasury and the dwelling of the high priests — all stood in close proximity to the Ziggurat." (Giedion, 1964). The monumental architecture at Altin Tepe in the Soviet Union also reflects knowledge of these southern Mesopotamian features. The major structure here was built in a stepped form, an obvious imitation of the Mesopotamian Ziggurats (Masson, 1972). Here in Mesopotamia, therefore, is the germ of the Harappan citadel. Like the idea of Civilization and the idea of writing, the idea of a citadel seems to have come to the land of the Indus from Mesopotamia but the cultural expression of that idea in the former land was strongly localized, conditioned as it was by the *genius loci*. This would also explain the divergent expression of this idea at different sites. The citadels of the Indus Civilization came to be fortified and became not only religious but also civic centres. The fortifications, however, arose out of the concept rather than out of any ostensible necessity for defending against invaders.

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PERSIAN HERITAGE IN PAKISTAN

Ali A. Jafarey

Some Pakistani scholars maintain that when up north in Khurāsān, Rūdaki (d. 940 A.D.), father of Persian poetry, lifted his lute to lilt his lovely lyrics; down south in Baluchistan, Rabi'ah, daughter of an Arabian Amir, also picked Persian to pour her passionate poems. A few even go further and say that it was the Achaemenians (550-323 B.C.), who placed the Persian plant in Pakistan. The Parthians, the Sakas, the Kushans and the Sassanians (200 B.C. to 641 A.D.) watered and watched it grow. All, however, agree that it was the Muslims who tended it into a towering tree. In its sheltering shade, scholars sat to excel all other men of letters in the vast and varied world of Persian between Bursa, Basra, Bokhara and Bengal.

With the fall of the great Moghul dynasty, greatest patrons of Persian, this great tree saw its days of fall. Nevertheless it still stands, less shady but never shaky. Although not the official language for more than a century and half, Persian is remembered by the educated and revered by all. It is spoken by thousands as the mother tongue and frequently quoted by hundreds of thousands to enhance the flavour of their mother tongues. It is taught in schools — old madressahs and modern institutions both. It is preferred for inscriptions in places of admiration and adoration. Scholars research for a millennium of culture and art in Persian remains. Many write their treatises in it. More than 150 living poets have their *diwans* in it. And Urdu and all other languages of Pakistan continue to drink deep at the Persian fountain.

Pakistan, we all know, was born a quarter of a century ago. Unfortunately, the newborn had to face a number of difficulties — the worst being the bloody riots, mass immigration of Indian Muslims and economic crises. Every attention was paid and every effort made to surmount them. Yet the rich cultural heritage

did not lie unattended. Men rose and associations appeared to safeguard and promote it. Some of the associations had definite aims — serve a particular regional literature or a certain national thinker. But since the real riches lay in Persian, service to Persian was simultaneous. For example, the Sindhi Adabi Board has been established to serve the Sindhi Language and Literature, yet it has so far published 27 voluminous books in Persian to expound the Sindhi lore.

Then there are the private and commercial publishers who collectively contribute considerably to Persian publications. It does not include translations and research publications in Urdu and English based on Persian texts.

Moreover, twice literary societies and research circles in Pakistan have rallied to publish scholarly works of theirs in and on Persian. Twenty-seven books were published in Pakistan during the celebrations of the Coronation of the Shahanshah Aryamehr of Iran in October 1967 and again 15 books on the occasion of the Celebration of the 2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus the Great in October 1971.

There are more than one hundred living Pakistani scholars who have either their own books in Persian, or have critically edited older Persian texts, or have translated the texts or transmitted the thought in Urdu or English, or have based their research works on Persian grounds. Far from being depleted, younger brains, mostly with doctorates in Persian from Iranian universities, are joining the association, promising an even brighter future for Persian Studies.

Meanwhile, urged by the Common Cultural Heritage, Iran and Pakistan established in 1970 a joint research centre at Islamabad. It is the Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies (see Appendix).

The combined efforts of the Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies and other institutions as well as those of individual scholars have revealed the Persian Heritage of Pakistan to be much richer in quantity, quality and variety than originally and rather hazily imagined and hastily estimated. This is not only manifested in the vast and sometimes foremost literature on almost every science of the day, but in art and architecture that has its beginning with the Persians of Achaemenian period through the Persianized Greeks, Sakas, Kushanas, Parthians, Sassanians and Turks — a long long period during which the majority of the immigrants who form the bulk of the population flowed down

the western plateau peacefully and very unnoticingly as against the much-talked invading minority that came like occasional floods, only to subside soon on the enriched soil.

The field is so vast and varied that this paper cannot even allude to them. However an instance might give an idea. The Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies has a collection of more than 7000 Persian manuscripts. The detailed catalogue of the first 700 books shows volumes on administration, agriculture, armoury, astrology, calligraphy, cookery, ethics, geography, history, hunting, language, logic, mathematics, medicine, music, painting, philosophy, poetry, prose, religion, science, sex and zoology.

That is why the Pakistani social structure is highly Persianized so much so that should the Iranian scholars want to make a first hand study of their own customs and manners that have suffered extinction, they would have to turn to Pakistan to understand many obscure terms and passages in the Persian Literature, reconstruct many articles of daily use in the near past, learn how to tailor and wear the dresses worn as far back as the First Christian Century by the Parthians or as late as 12th Hijarah Century by the elders, visualize the sufi ways of 'pirs and murshids', watch the excellent evolution of their art and architecture, see their traditional 'Persian' gardens and even prepare the delicacies recorded in mute books.

Pakistan is worthy of its rich Persian Heritage.

APPENDIX

IRAN PAKISTAN INSTITUTE OF PERSIAN STUDIES Islamabad, Pakistan.

Whether planted by the Achaemenians or brought by Muslims, Persian is the better bond binding Iran and Pakistan together. There are other bonds — religion, race, history, geography and many more — some dating from very prehistorical days. Yet it is Persian through which all that is beautiful in Iran and Pakistan has manifested itself in prose and poetry written on diverse subjects from administration to zoology and recorded on distinct materials from paper to tiles with graceful curves of calligraphy. It is the lively language of the Common Cultural Heritage of Iran and Pakistan.

The fall of the Moghul Empire loosened the bonds but the rise of Pakistan tightened them and brought the two countries close, rather closer. With the ever-growing cooperation between the two in various political, social and economical affairs, the co-ordination in the cultural field has reached a significant level.

It was natural, therefore, that a need was simultaneously felt by certain scholars and institutions in Iran and Pakistan to join hands for Persian Studies. There were proposals — low, loud, verbal, written, informal and formal. Finally the conception of the establishment of an institute was translated in the joint communique issued by the Heads of State at the end of the State Visit to Iran by the President of Pakistan on 4th November 1969.

The Ministry of Culture and Art of Iran and the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research (now Ministry of Education and Provincial Co-ordination) of Pakistan were entrusted with the task of drawing and implementing the project. The Ministry of Culture and Art delegated an official to Islamabad for negotiations. He was also proposed as the first Director of the institute. The goodwill and the zeal of co-operation displayed by the authorities responsible was to such an extent that as soon as the bare outlines of the project emerged clear, preliminary steps were taken to implement it. The nucleus of the institute was formed in form of a central office at Rawalpindi and it began functioning with no loss of time.

On 23rd October 1971, the Governments of Iran and Pakistan signed the agreement 'regarding the establishment of the Iran Pakistan Institute of Persian Studies in Pakistan.' The Agreement approved the Constitution. The Institute stood established.

The central office has recently been shifted to Islamabad to meet the requirements of the expanding Institute.

The aim is to throw more and more light on the Common Cultural Heritage, whose sapling was planted in prehistoric days by the peoples of the Iranian Plateau and the Indus Valley, men of a common stock and group. It was nurtured by them through the ages into a gigantic tree, until at present during the Pahlavi Period and since the Independence and Foundation of Pakistan, it has begun a new blooming era.

Aided by Pakistani officials and scholars, the Institute has, during the short span of six years, achieved the following:

Library:

The Library, started with a modest donation of three manuscripts, has this day 7228 manuscripts and 9463 printed books in Arabic, Balochi, English, Hindwi, Pashto, Panjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Turkish, Urdu and above all, Persian. The number of seven thousand manuscripts, purchased and collected little by little, is a record, not only in Iran and Pakistan, but in the entire region.

In addition to collecting and preserving books, the library has undertaken a detailed cataloguing of the manuscripts in Pakistan. The librarian has catalogued 1594 manuscripts in the Institute and his Pakistani colleagues have provided a catalogue of 11960 manuscripts from private and national libraries all over the country. It is first of its kind. The librarian has also visited 274 Pakistani libraries and is having his report printed in form of a book. It shall be a directory for the manuscripts in this Persian promoting Pakistan.

The library has been named the Ganjbakhsh Library in honour of Hazrat Ali ibn Usman Hujveri, the first Persian prose writer of the Sub-Continent.

Some of the Pakistani friends have appreciated the services of the Institute by depositing their manuscripts free or at nominal charges.

Studio:

The newly founded studio named after Mir Sayyid Ali, a master-founder of the Mughal Painting, prepares microfilms of rare books and takes pictures of historical and cultural monuments of Pakistan, particularly those a little off in remote areas and in decaying conditions. This may help repair and preserve them. The studio has 688 (35 m.m.) and 399 coloured slides (120 m.m.), over a thousand black and white photographs and microfilms of 34145 folios of manuscripts. Its future programme provides to supply copies of requested microfilms to major libraries in Iran and Pakistan.

Publications:

The Institute has published 20 books on religion, language, literature, medicine and history, three of them detailed catalogues. It has three other in the press, four ready for the press and six being authored.

The publications are sent to over 200 libraries in Pakistan, Iran and other countries and some 300 Iranian and Pakistani scholars get their copies.

Cooperation:

The Institute cooperates with all Pakistani cultural institutes, particularly the universities and research establishments. It is in contact with more than one hundred Pakistani scholars, forty of them holding doctorate's degree in Persian Language and Literature from Iran. Seven are women.

The Institute is, nevertheless, operated by a staff of two Iranians and fifteen Pakistani personnel. The cooperating scholars are spread from Peshawar to Karachi, all working at their home stations.

Land:

The Rawalpindi building, contrary to expectations, became very congested and the Institute moved to a more spacious building in Islamabad in April 1976. But this too would not suffice the future requirements. Fortunately, in response to a request by H.E. the Ambassador of Iran, and by the order of H.E. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Prime Minister of Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan had donated 11000 s.q. meters of land in a good locality in Islamabad, not far from the Ministry of Education, the Imperial Iranian Embassy and Pakistani culture and art institutions. The Consultant Architect of the Ministry of Culture and Arts of Iran is at present preparing the drawings. It is hoped that with the funds provided by the Government of Iran, a building would rise soon which will have enough space for, among other amenities, 200,000 books, a big hall, a printing press, a small museum, a studio and a guest house.

Current Year:

The current year is momentous. The Iranians are celebrating the 50th Year of the Pahlavi Reign and the Pakistanis the 100th Anniversary of the Birth of the Founder of the Nation. Taking it as a double auspicious occasion, the Institute will publish special books on the cultural relations of the two brotherly countries.

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THE PRINCIPLE OF OPPOSITES IN SANSKRIT TEXTS

Juan Miguel de Mora

Although this paper was especially written for the 30th International Congress of Orientalists, it is the result of several years of general work with the texts and one year's concrete efforts therewith. For this reason, it demands an extension that is impossible to reduce to what could be read in twenty minutes.

Consequently, the complete paper has been made available (in Spanish and English), in a relatively condensed version, to any interested delegates. I shall be reading only a brief selection of fragments as well as the conclusions thereof, unfortunately having to exclude some very important aspects.

I hope you will be tolerant with this reduction which has been much too strict considering the scope of the subject matter.

The Principle of Opposites in Sanskrit Texts

A careful reading of the Ṛg Veda has convinced us that whomever wrote it had a clear notion of the existence of opposites and of their unity and interpenetration, a fact which has already been observed by other researchers, although they did not order nor systematize their observations. Zimmer states: "The *leitmotiv* of Vedic philosophy, from the very beginning of its first philosophical hymns (conserved in the more recent parts of the Ṛg Veda) has been, without change, the search for a basic unit which is the foundation of the multiplicity of the universe. From the beginning, brahmanic thought was centred on the paradox of the simultaneous antagonism and identity of the forces and manifest forms of the phenomenal world".¹

¹ "El *leitmotif* de la filosofía védica, desde el principio de sus primeros himnos filosóficos (conservados en las partes más recientes del Ṛg Veda) ha sido, sin cambios, la búsqueda de una unidad básica que fundamenta la multiplicidad del universo. Desde el comienzo, el pensamiento brahmánico estuvo centrado en la para-

But we differ radically when it comes to thinking that those aspects of brahmanic thought are to be found only in the more recent parts of the Rg Veda.

In hymn number 1 of Maṇḍala II, it is said that fire is “brought to life from out the waters, from the stone: From out the forest trees and herbs that grow on ground. . .”²

We have already referred to the knowledge that Vedic man had, from his earliest expressions, of the process of the evaporation of water and of the fact that lightning (fire) comes from the clouds. Now we see that fire is also born of the rock—they evidently knew that knocking two stones together, sparks would appear—and also of the trees of the forest and of herbs. They knew how to make fire by rubbing two sticks—there are other references to this—and had observed the struggle of opposites which is implied by fire, which needs wood or herbs, but destroys them through combustion.

In the same Mandala, problems so profound as the existence or inexistence of the gods are posed.

Of whom, the Terrible, they ask, Where is He?
or verily they say of him, He is not.
He sweeps away, like birds, the foe's possessions.
Have faith in him, for He, O men, is Indra.

(Rg Veda II. 12. 5)

The metaphysical doubt about the existence of the principal god, the recognition of materialistic attitudes which denied the existence of the gods, the contradiction in the concept regarding the supernatural, nothing less than all of that was already to be found in the oldest part of the Rg Veda. In another old hymn—about fire—it is said that he is “white at birth and red when waxen mighty”, that the Seven sounding Rivers are “ancient and young”, that the fire “set his voices and his streams in motion”, that the same fire “bears in his breast the embryo of the father who engendered him”³, that “Within the house hath sate,

doja del simultáneo antagonismo e identidad de las fuerzas y formas manifiestas del mundo fenoménico. . .” Zimmer, Heinrich: *Filosofías de la India*, page 268.

² All quotations from the Rg Veda are taken from Ralph T.H. Griffith's translation thereof (*The Hymns of the Rgveda*) unless otherwise specified.

³ “. . .) lleva en su seno el embrión que lo engendró”. *El Rig Veda*, Translation by J. M. De Mora, page 180.

the King immortal of mortals” and that “Stablished in every birth is Jatavedas” (III. 1. 4, 6, 9, 10, 13, 21).

In this hymn only, one of the oldest, there are elements enough to establish that the thought of whomever created it had observed the simultaneous antagonism and unity of forces and things, that is, the existence of opposites and their interaction.

In the same group of the oldest hymns, the following are spoken of: “near and far” (III. 40. 9), “few and many” (IV. 25. 5), “all that is fixed and all that moveth” (IV. 17. 10) (VI. 50.7). Fire is considered “Father and Mother of mankind” (VI. 1. 5) (Heraclitus would later state: “This world is and will be eternally living fire”;⁴ “Man’s truth and falsehood” (VII. 49. 3) is mentioned, and it is set down that “The prudent finds it easy to distinguish the true and false: their words oppose each other” (VII. 104. 3). Will it be necessary to wait for Aristotle to explain to us in his *Logic* that false and true are opposites?

Should we want to see how the rigvedic thinker conceived the opposites as welded into a unity, we have but to read: “of different hues and yet one-minded, Night and Dawn” (I. 113. 3) or “Thou, Goddess, ancient, young” (III. 61. 1). Other examples: “The father found the light that lay in darkness” (VII. 76. 4). Can one conceive a clearer image of the unity of opposites? More examples: “Killing the darkness at the light’s foundation” and “He took the light, discerning it from darkness” (III. 39.3, 7); “Brhaspati, seeking light amidst the darkness” (X. 67. 4); calling fire “the Waters’ Child” (X. 8. 5) or saying that “from the motley pair milked oil and water” (X. 12. 3).

The conception of the law of contradiction as well as that of the unity of opposites is distinct, clear as crystal, definitive, whatever the use given to those propositions which, on the other hand, are repeated constantly, as if to prove that there is no question of something accidental due to the poetic vein.

The conception of the interpenetration of opposites —already proved several times in the course of this work— is presented by us here through an irrefutable example: “thou milkest from the moist the dry” (II. 13. 6). Centuries later, Heraclitus will say that “the moist dries, and the dry becomes moist”.⁵ With regards to the R̥g Veda, Griffith suitably ex-

⁴ “Este mundo es y será un fuego eternamente viviente”. Gaos, José: *Antología de la filosofía griega*, page 24.

⁵ “(. . .) lo húmedo se seca y lo seco se hace húmedo”. Gaos, J., *op. cit.*, p.26.

plains in a note: "producest the dry nutritious grain from the moist stalk",⁶ as if to eliminate any doubt that the interaction of opposites was observed by vedic man in nature.

Hegel used to say that dialectic consists of conceiving the opposites as a unity, or the positive as inherent in the negative.⁷ And that is precisely what occurs in many of the Sanskrit texts which we have quoted here: the opposites are conceived as a unity and the positive as inherent in the negative.

But the dialectical evolution of ideas continued in India. After the Vedas came the Upaniṣads, and in them, the problem of the opposites, besides keeping to the real world, grows until it acquires ontological and metaphysical proportions. Zimmer also has noticed this: "Affirming Brahman implies affirming the experience of liberation; affirming liberation automatically implies affirming slavery; and when that pair of opposites have been established, all other pairs of opposites are also established".⁸

In the Upaniṣads, beginning with the earliest one, the principle of opposites is posed, as I have just said, at other levels:

There are two forms of Brahman, the material and the immaterial; the mortal and the immortal, the solid and the fluid, sat (being) and tya (that), (i.e. sat-tya, true).⁹

Brhadāranyaka-Upaniṣad 2, 3.1

Here is unity in contradiction, expounded in a clearly defined manner, a logical consequence of the dialectical evolution of a thought which was already set down in the Rg Veda in all its parts.

⁶ Griffith, R.T.H., *op. cit.*, page 138.

⁷ "La dialectique. . . consiste à concevoir les contraires comme fondus en une unité où le positif comme immanent au négatif. . ." Hegel, G.W.F., *Science de la Logique (Wissenschaft der Logik)* Vol. I, Traduction intégrale par S. Jankélévitch. Aubier. Editions Montaigne, Paris, 1971, page 43.

⁸ "Afirmar el Brahman implica afirmar la experiencia de la liberación; afirmar la liberación implica automáticamente afirmar la esclavitud; y cuando se ha sentado ese par de opuestos se sientan también todos los demás pares de opuestos". Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, page 357.

⁹ *The Upanishads*. Translation by F. Max Müller, Vol. II, page 107.

An in another Upāṇiṣad, we find once again a clearly expressed dialectic concept:

And as a man, driving in a chariot, might look at the two wheels (without being touched by them), thus he will look at day and night, thus at good and evil deeds, and at all pairs (at all correlative things such as light and darkness, heat and cold, etc.).¹⁰

Kauṣītaki-Upāṇiṣad I. 4

That concept of the opposites, as we can see, is not a merely superficial thing. Here is one more element of proof:

Having entered it, he became sat (what is manifest) and tyat (what is not manifest), defined and undefined, supported and not supported, (endowed with) knowledge and without knowledge (as stones), real and unreal.¹¹

Taittiriyaka-Upāṇiṣad II. 6

If we examine hymn 72 of Maṇḍala X, we shall have to remember what Hegel said: "The beginning is not pure nothingness, but a nothingness from which something must emerge; therefore also being is already contained in the beginning. In consequence, the beginning contains both: being and nothingness; it is the unity of being and nothingness, that is, a not-being which at the same time is being, and a being which at the same time is not-being. . ." And he continues saying: "The beginning, in consequence, contains being as something which recedes from not-being or eliminates it, that is, as an opposite of not-being".¹²

The Ṛg Veda sustains the same thesis, repeating it:

Existence, in the earliest age of Gods,
. from Non-existence sprang.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, page 277, Vol. I.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, page 58, Vol II.

¹² "El comienzo no es la nada pura, sino una nada de la cual tiene que surgir algo; luego también el ser está ya contenido en el comienzo. El comienzo contiene, en consecuencia, a ambos; el ser y la nada; es la unidad del ser y la nada, es decir, un no-ser que al mismo tiempo es ser, y un ser que al mismo tiempo es no-ser. . ." "El comienzo, en consecuencia, contiene el ser como algo que se aleja del no-ser o lo elimina, es decir, como un contrario del no-ser". Hegel, G.W.F.: *Ciencia de la lógica*, page 68.

Thereafter were the regions born. This
 sprang from the Productive Power.
 Earth sprang from the Productive Power;
 the regions from the earth were born.
 Dakṣa was born of Aditi, and Aditi was
 Dakṣa's Child.

Rg Veda X. 72. 3, 4

Which is the equivalent of stating the hegelian thesis very clearly: the beginning contains being and not-being, that is, being and nothingness.

Hegel says: "Pure being and pure nothingness are therefore the same thing. What constitutes the truth is neither being nor nothingness, but rather that which does not transfix but has transfixed, that is, being (transfixed) in nothingness and nothingness (transfixed) in being. But at the same time, the truth is not in their indistinctness, but rather in that they are *not the same* (underlined by Hegel) but *absolutely different*, but they are at once unseparated and inseparable and immediately *each one disappears in its opposite*. The truth, then, lies in that *movement* of the immediate disappearance of one in the other; *becoming*; a movement where the two are different, but through a difference which at the same time has been resolved immediately".¹³

And the Rg Veda says:

Dakṣa was born of Aditi, and Aditi was
 Dakṣa's Child.

That is to say that they are *absolutely different*, that each one disappears in its opposite and that "their truth lies in that *movement* of the immediate disappearance of one in the other", etc., etc.

It would be easy to fall into irony and conclude that we pretend to state that rigvedic man was hegelian. This sort of commentary is usually made by those who do not like to analyse the propositions made to

¹³ "El puro ser y la pura nada son por lo tanto la misma cosa. Lo que constituye la verdad no es ni el ser ni la nada, sino aquello que no traspasa sino que ha traspasado, vale decir ser (traspasado) en la nada y la nada (traspasada) en el ser. Pero al mismo tiempo la verdad no es su indistinción sino el que ellos no son lo mismo (subrayados de Hegel) sino que son absolutamente diferentes, pero son a la vez inseparables e inmediatamente cada uno desaparece en su opuesto. Su verdad, pues consiste en ese movimiento del inmediato desaparecer de uno en el otro; el devenir; un movimiento donde los dos son diferentes, pero por la vía de una diferencia que al mismo tiempo se ha resuelto inmediatamente". Hegel, G.W.F., op. cit., pages 77 and 78.

them. What we have proved here is that rigvedic man and the latter Hindus had dialectic thought, without it being necessary that they be acquainted with the hegelian definition of the word "dialectic", although they did have many which allowed them to philosophize.¹⁴

But to continue: the transformation of quantity into quality and viceversa was not invented by Hegel, but is part of nature. The best known example is that of the quantitative change in the temperature of any amount of water whereby it changes its quality. It either changes from liquid to solid (upon reaching 0°C.), or it becomes gaseous from 100° on. But anyway, that is not what we are trying to prove here. The main point is that dialectical thought does not stop, or else it would stop being what it is. As doctor Eli de Gortari explains to us, from the struggle and interpenetration emerges "movement, the sudden jumps, the gradual development of the processes and the interruptions of that development, the reciprocal transformation between opposite poles, the destruction of the decrepit, and the surging of the new".¹⁵

Now, that sense of movement, of change, of the new, is present in all of the Hindu thought belonging to the line we are examining. That is how Alain Danielou understands it, when he writes: "Through his cosmic dance, Shiva creates movement. It is movement which determines the measure and rhythm of the time which allows the world to appear".¹⁶

We read in the Rg Veda: "Night, sent away for Savitar's uprising" (I. 113. 1). Also: "All else that is in motion finds a place of rest: the waters ever flow and ever mounts the Sun" (X. 37. 2) (Heraclitus

¹⁴ *Nyayavidya*, science of the correct, logic, *Tarka*, conjecture, reasoning speculation; *tarkika*, philosopher, dialectician – in the traditional sense–; *Tarkayukta*, which implies a conjecture, which goes along with the philosophical system; *Anvikṣiki*, which besides inquiry, may be used as "logical philosophy" *Anumānōkti*, argument, inference, reasoning; *Nyaya*, method, rule; *Tarkavid*, knower of logic, and many other terms in spite of the fact that, due to Sanskrit words having many meanings, the translations set down *en passant* can in no way give not even a approximate idea of the whole range and width of their meanings in the realm of philosophical speculation.

¹⁵ "el movimiento, los saltos bruscos, el desenvolvimiento gradual de los procesos, y las interrupciones en este desarrollo, la transformación recíproca entre los polos opuestos, la destrucción de lo caduco y el surgimiento de lo nuevo". De Gortari, Eli: *Introducción a la lógica dialéctica*, page 50.

¹⁶ "Par sa danse cosmique Shiva crée le mouvement. C'est le mouvement qui détermine la mesure et le rythme du temps qui permet au monde d'apparaître". Danielou, A., *La sculpture érotique hindoue.*, pages 47 and 48.

said: "Changing, it rests"). Clearly expressed here are the sense of movement, of the development of processes, ones with interruptions, others without them.

For the Rg Veda (III. 55. 11), day and night are sometimes a "variant Pair" making evident the idea of change, and of movement. In another fragment (III. 55. 15), "One common pathway leads in two directions".

But we must insist: none of these ideas is the product of a simple and casual rhetorical zeal. In another hymn, it is said: "The God moves by the upward path, the downward; with two bright Bays, adorable, he journeys". Observe the exactness: The upward path, the downward", that is "one and sole path". (Heraclitus seems to have read this when he says: "The upward and the downward path, one and the same".¹⁷ And in another hymn, this definitely dialectic idea is reiterated, when it is said that: "Those that come hitherward they call departing, those that depart they call directed hither" (I. 164.19). In that verse are expressed the concepts of movement, contradiction and change with complete clarity. It is repeated that "All is and is not".

When from the rain —one thing, water, but in great quantity— come plants, saps, food for man and animals, the process has taken place: the quantitative has converted itself in qualitative, the quantity of water produces qualitative changes in the products of the earth. Which could be said in poetic language, thus: "Nature is flooded with sap when Parjanya (rain personified) awakens the earth with his semen". And that is precisely what the Rg Veda says (V. 83. 4) An agricultural people knows what happens with rain, but a people who thinks expresses this in concrete ideas and dialectically follows the same idea: "Whatever morsel we consume from waters or from plants of earth, . . . wax thou fat thereby" (I. 187. 8). Once again the quantity of water and food is transformed into quality: the body develops. And the change also occurs in the opposite direction, that is, from quality into quantity. For some rigvedic men, Earth and Heaven are the parents of man. They (Earth and Heaven) "who do not walk, have many offspring who do so". Earth (and Heaven) have the quality and from them comes the quantity, many offspring, although they are only two. Only their supreme quality can give rise to such a number of offspring. But on the level of ideas, of concepts, the transformation also takes place: "The foolish brought the ne'er-bewildered forward" (X. 46. 5), The foolish, who are several,

¹⁷ "El camino hacia arriba y hacia abajo, uno y el mismo". Gaos, J., *op. cit.*, page 29.

many, produce one, never bewildered, that is, who has nothing foolish about him. Quantity transforms itself into quality.

The quality of the sun transforms itself into a great many things, food, health, good dreams. Quality into quantity:

O Sūrya, with the light whereby thou scatterest
gloom, and with thy ray impellest every moving thing,
Keep far from us all feeble, worthless sacrifice,
and drive away disease and every evil dream.

Rg Veda X. 37. 4

Conclusions

From what has been stated here, one can conclusively infer that the thesis that philosophy did not exist in ancient India is in no way admissible. It is also untrue that Hindu philosophy is limited to the six orthodox darśanas and sprouts of materialism (Lokāyata, Sarvāka). Neither is everything exclusively religious philosophy. And it is even less true that philosophy does not exist in the Vedas, and more concretely in the Rg.¹⁸

Hindu philosophy begins precisely in the earlier parts of the Rg Veda, where nature, man and his relationship with her are reflected on, which is definitely philosophy (such as we understand it to be in the West), although its authors did not define it with a word similar to ours nor did they systematize, classify and ordain it in the Western manner because they belonged to another way of life and their conscience was determined by a sort of life different from ours.¹⁹

We are certainly not lacking in serious researchers who state that Vedic literature is not philosophical, even when it contains philosophy,

¹⁸ *The Upanishads*. Translation by F. Max Muller. Vol. II, page 41.

¹⁹ "Independently of the content of the philosophies and sciences or pseudo-sciences, the critical analysis of Indian culture reveals a form of speculation quite different from other human mentalities, and which has contributed, more than the geographical isolation or historical vicissitudes, to separate this culture within the vast world". (*Indépendamment du contenu des philosophies et des sciences ou pseudo-sciences, l'analyse critique de la culture indienne révéle une forme de spéculation assez différente des autres mentalités humaines, et qui a contribué bien plus que l'isolement géographique ou que les vicissitudes historiques, à mettre à part cette culture parmi le vaste monde*".) Masson-Oursel, P., *Histoire de la philosophie*, page 113.

because it limits itself to giving principles and not deductions.²⁰ As a consequence of what has been demonstrated in this work, we consider that precisely because it does contain principles in a great part of the earliest texts, it is definitely philosophy. And we believe this not only due to the epistemological implications of the principle as the basis of all knowledge, not due to the fact that a certain philosophical thought can characterize itself by the importance it gives one principle over another. We so believe because it is a question of principles of dialectic logic which are therefore ontological as they would not prevail were they not based on reality, as are decidedly those which have occupied our attention. For in the Sanskrit texts —and concretely in the Rg Veda— it is a matter of such principles as revealed themselves to be of a decisive importance for the understanding of the world and nature, upon the discovery of their laws many centuries later.

Furthermore, as we have proved herein, the Hindu philosophy contained in the earliest texts does imply deductions (not through Aristotelian logic, certainly, but nevertheless with a most clear logical sense), if we consider the dialectic —and analytic— evolution of rigvedic and later thought as such. Those first Hindu lovers of wisdom did not stop upon having understood the existence of opposites, but went on to discover the more important consequences of that fact. Therefore, if it is true that the beginnings of Hindu philosophy do not contain either the reasoning or the discourse linked to the manner of Western philosophy, nor do they contain what we could consider philosophical systems (in the portion of the texts which we have handled here), its later development is sufficiently important for it to give the same facts interpretations different from those of the West, in the opinion of eminent Sanskrit scholars.²¹ But this is so *in its later development*, because in its

²⁰ "It is well established that Vedic literature is not a philosophical literature in the strictest sense of the term, although it has philosophical content; this means that it is literature which contains principles, not deductions, and therefore, assumptions, not discourse of linked reasoning". (*Queda bien establecido que la literatura védica no es una literatura filosófica en el estrictísimo sentido del término, aunque tenga contenido filosófico; esto significa que es literatura que contiene principios, no deducciones y, por tanto, asunciones, no discursos, no razonamientos ligados*.) Vecchiotti, I., *Qué es verdaderamente la filosofía india*, Poncel, Madrid, 1971.

²¹ "Indian thought gives, of the same facts, interpretations different from those Western thought has constructed; this is the proof that it does not exhaust all the possibilities of philosophical representation by itself and eventually shuts itself up within traditional prejudices whose value would have to be questioned". (*La pensée indienne donne des mêmes faits ses interprétations différentes de celles*

beginnings Indian philosophy *does arrive at the same interpretations as the West would later reach of the same facts.*

We have demonstrated that the main stream of philosophical thought, starting from the earliest hymns of the Rg Veda, is that which is based on the principle of opposites and this stream manifests itself not only over a thousand years before Greek thought took its first weak steps in the same direction, but with an initial impulse far superior to what Greece would have in the same field. This is the sphere of dialectic, whose basic laws Hegel discovered and described, which dialectic must in no way be taken for the "art of dialogue" not for what Plato, Aristotle or medieval times took dialectic to mean. It must be understood as the process of reality, as the reflection of the reality of nature and the explanation of all changes produced in her, processes which are also reflected in metaphysical thought.²² Let it be clear, nevertheless, that I do not pretend to reduce Hegel to Indian philosophy, nor vice-versa, but, as I already stated, to demonstrate a series of affinities of great importance to the history of the development of philosophical thought.

Neither do I pretend to deny the enormous importance of the metaphysical preoccupation of the Hindus which characterizes the immense majority of their texts and thought after the Rg Veda. But the metaphysical use given to their observations of nature and to the dialectic concepts they learned from her does not cancel these in any way, as it did not annul that of the Christian theologians and philosophers who recognized the existence and struggle of opposites in order to conceive them in unity and identity with the godhead.

For rigvedic man, that metaphysical preoccupation practically did not exist: he does not mention the transmigration of souls in his texts, nor does he allude to the other life, save for the very isolated and most infrequent references he makes to "going to heaven". Nevertheless, his

que la pensée occidentale a construites; c'est la preuve que celle-ci n'épuise pas à elle seule toutes les possibilités de représentation philosophique et s'enferme éventuellement dans des préjugés traditionnels dont la valeur aurait besoin d'être remise en question") Filliozat, J., in *l'Inde Classique*, page 7.

²² "When mythical thought produces a multitude of forces and divine figures starting from the single and fundamental source or essence, it proceeds according to the dialectic method". ("*Cuando el pensamiento mítico produce una multitud de fuerzas y figuras divinas a partir de la fuente o esencia única y primordial, procede de acuerdo con el método dialéctico*".) Zimmer, H., *op. cit.*, page 280.

dialectic thought, directly linked to the observation of nature, already derived in the R̥g Veda and more so later on toward a metaphysical dialectic.

At this stage, it would be senseless to insist on there being nothing in common between brahmanic thought and ours, as has been repeated so often, for it is already evident that what there is in common, dialectic thought, maintains itself as such in time. We recall that is the beginning, the unity of opposites was limited to examples taken from nature, as Agni, fire, etc., but later on, that duality persists with *purusha* and *prakriti*, person and nature, spirit and matter, etc., etc., already within the orthodox darśanas, several of which interpret the universe starting from two antagonistic and eternal principles.²³ And, as we have already proved, that dual concept has its direct antecedent in the R̥g Veda. And so in the Sankhya, for example, spirit and matter are eternal, in the Vedanta, the opposition atman-brahman is posed. . . One way or another, dualism, opposition, has always left its mark in all Hindu speculations, including the heresies of Hinduism. In the 2nd century A.D., a buddhist doctor, Nagarjuna, sustained a thesis which implied a totally dialectic interpretation of opposition.²⁴

Finally, let us say that to deny a dialectic thought so clearly exposed in the R̥g Veda would be like denying the philosophical contents of the poem which commences thus: "The mares which bear me took me to the goal of my heart. . ." ²⁵, that is, to the poem of Parmenides, of

²³ "From the dualist point of view of the Sankhya and the Yoga, and from the materialist angle of the non-Aryan philosophies of the Jainas and the Gosalas, the universe is interpreted starting from the two antagonistic and eternal principles, PURUSHA and PRAKRITI (or *jīva* not *not-jīva*)". (" . . . desde el punto de vista dualista del Sankhya y del Yoga, y desde el ángulo materialista de las filosofías no arias de los jaina y de Gosala, el universo se interpreta a partir de dos principios antagónicos y eternos, PURUSHA y PRAKRITI (o *Jīva* y no *jīva*). Zimmer, p. 268.

²⁴ "Nagarjuna goes on to demonstrate that all concepts are implicitly and irretrievably contradictory and that, even worse, they presuppose in turn other concepts, bound and conditions by the same antinomies". ("Nagarjuna continúa demostrando que todos los conceptos son implícita e irremisiblemente contradictorios y que, al peor, resuponen a su vez otros conceptos, vinculados y condicionados por las mismas antinomias".) Vecchiotti, I., *op. cit.*, page 135.

²⁵ "Las yeguas que me llevan me condujeron hasta la meta de mi corazón. . ." Gaos, J., *op. cit.*, page 35.

whom Aristotle, judging ideas and not the way in which they were expressed, wrote that: "he seems to speak with a more profound knowledge of things"²⁶

In conclusion: There is nothing strange in the fact that India's most ancient thought is dialectic, for, as the Rg Veda itself states:

Truth is the base that bears the earth. (X. 85. 1)

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²⁶ "parece que habla con un conocimiento más profundo de las cosas". Aristóteles, *Metafísica*, page 16.

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(BUDDHIST) METAL SCULPTURE OF THE GUPTA PERIOD

Stanislaw Czuma

I. *Introduction*

When one uses the term "metal sculpture" in connection with Indian art, it is Chola art which is brought immediately to one's mind. While bronze casting indeed reached its peak under Chola patronage (10th-13th century) in the South, it is obvious, both in terms of aesthetic and technical achievements, that there must have been a long tradition and experience on which Chola success was based. Until recently so few metal sculptures had survived in North India that little research was conducted in this challenging field. During the past decade several new discoveries have provided material which furnishes a more complete picture of bronze production in North India. Since much of this new material finds its way to various museums and private collections and is not well known or published, I thought that the "metal sculpture of North India" would provide a perfect topic for a panel on Indian art I was asked to organize for the meetings of the present Congress. Unfortunately, the panel did not materialize due to the lack of funds for participants.

In a sense this paper is a summary of what you would have heard in greater detail had the panel taken place. Because of the limitations of time I will concentrate on Buddhist metal sculpture of the Gupta period, which is of greatest interest to me personally. I intend to begin, however, with a brief review of some of the most important materials recently brought to light which pre-date the Gupta period.

II. *Review of Known Material*

Before examining the new discoveries let us review the material that was "available" in terms of metal sculpture in North India until recent years. All of us know the earliest examples of Indian metal sculpture, such as the copper figure of a female dancer from Mohenjo-daro, dating from the Indus Valley period (fig. 1) but the National Museum in New Delhi has other Indus Valley bronzes, for instance, the realistically

treated bronze figurine of a short-horned buffalo (fig. 2). Then there was a long gap in the metal production from the Indus Valley civilization until the Gupta period, or rather so-called "Gupta" bronzes (fig. 3) because while they correspond in time with Gupta, in terms of style they still belong to the Gandharan tradition. This is evident upon comparison with the Gandharan Buddha in the Cleveland Museum collection (fig. 4). There are several bronzes of this type, the Jeanneret Buddha (fig. 5) (exhibited in the Royal Academy of Arts in London, 1947 and published in its catalogue *The Art of India and Pakistan* by Leigh Ashton, fig. 26; and Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* pl. 86A) and the Metropolitan Museum Buddha (fig. 6) are good examples. The British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum Buddhas (published by Douglas Barrett "Gandharan Bronzes", *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 102 (1960), pp. 361-365) and the Srinagar Museum Buddha (Museum Handbook by R. C. Kak, p. 69) which we do not show here, represent the same type.

Other well-known metal sculptures from the North include the figure of Brahma from Mirpur Khas in Sindh at the Karachi Museum (fig. 7) and the Buddha from Sultanganj in Bihar presently at the Birmingham Museum in England (fig. 8). This life-size sculpture, traditionally assigned to the 5th century, when compared with the classical 5th century Sarnath sculpture on one hand (fig. 9) and the 9th century Pala sculpture on the other (fig. 10), falls between both traditions. Thus, the 7th century seems a more likely date for it than the traditional 5th century.

The bronze from the Boston Museum collection (fig. 11) (published by Ananda Coomaraswamy *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, pts. 1 & 2, Boston 1923, pl. 21) dates to ca. 6th century and probably comes from Buddhapad, near Bezwada in South India. Another bronze of the same Southern-type is the British Museum Buddha (fig. 12), dated by the British Museum authorities to the 8th century.

Finally, we have three large hoards of Jain bronzes in North India: the Chausa in Bihar, Akota in Gujarat, and Vasantagadh in Rajasthan (see fig. 13).

(They are published by V. P. Shah *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay 1959 and "Bronze Hoard from Vasantagadh," *Lalit Kala* 1-2, 1955/56). The example shown in fig. 14 well illustrates the type. They are stylized, elongated figures with broad shoulders and long arms—typical representations of Jain deities— dating to the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Since our main concern here is Buddhist bronzes we want only to signal the presence of the Jain hoards to make the record complete.

III. *Review of Newly Discovered Material*

In recent years, during the last decade or so, several new important bronzes came to light. One of these is a group of bronzes from Daimabad in Ahmadnagar District, which dates to the Vedic Period (figs. 15-17 and 19). The bronzes were exhibited at the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay (and are published in *Dawn of Civilization in Maharashtra*, Bombay 1975, figs. 43-46). They are all toy-like animals, slightly folkish in style but very much in character with the early Indus Valley material. This may be attested to by a comparison with the Indus Valley terra cottas, such as the bull (fig. 18) or when one compares the elephant from Daimabad (fig. 19) to the Mohenjodaro seal depicting the same subject matter (fig. 20). There is a basic similarity in treatment of the animals. The Daimabad bronzes are dated by M. K. Dhavalikar of the Deccan College to ca. 1300 BC.

As much as the Daimabad bronzes enrich our knowledge of metal production of the Indus Valley and Vedic Periods, the Yakshi figure acquired in 1972-73 by the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (fig. 21), fills the gap which existed between the Indus Valley and the Gupta Periods. Although I have not actually seen the bronze (it is published in the *Ashmolean Museum, Report of the Visitors 1972-73*, pl. 13 between pp. 54-55), it is enough to look at the photograph to see its similarity to some Sunga terra cottas such as the example from the Cleveland Museum (fig. 22).

Another extant bronze of a Yakshi belongs to the Kansas City Museum and dates to the period between the 2nd-3rd century AD (fig. 23). It represents the Kushan, or more likely the Andhra style. The gap that existed before in bronze sculpture of the Kushan period has been filled by the excavations in Sonkh in Uttar Pradesh, lead by Dr. Herbert Hartel, director of the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin. The bronzes reproduced in fig. 24 & 25 were excavated at that site. (They were published in *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 16 (Indien and Südostasien), Berlin 1971, figs. 41a & b.) They date to the 2nd century-early 3rd century and as illustrated by comparison with a warrior, possibly Kartikkeya, (fig. 26) are quite in agreement with the general style of Kushan stone sculpture of that time.

The recent years have also brought to light Gandharan and post-Gandharan style bronzes such as the bronze shown in fig. 27. The majority of these come from the Swat Valley in the Gandhara area. Among them are standing Buddha types, related to the bronze from Dhanesar Khera and other earlier discussed pieces (figs. 3-6) such as the bronze reproduced by Pratapaditya Pal in *Bronzes of Kashmir*, (fig. 71,

p. 190), and a few others, the authenticity of which in some instances remains doubtful.

The group of bronzes from Phopnar in Madhya Pradesh, (figs. 29-32), presently in the National Museum in New Delhi, (published by M. Venkataramayya "Sixth Century Bronzes from Phopnar," *Lalit Kala*, 12 (1962), pp. 16-20, pls. 7-14), echoes still the Gandharan style, traceable in the plastic treatment of the folds of the lower garment with the addition of Southern characteristics. The mode of depicting Buddha with the right shoulder uncovered (figs. 29-20), which is the way four of the six Phopnar bronzes are represented, was at earlier times characteristic for the South. It is found in Amaravati bronzes and in bronzes from Buddhapad, such as the Boston Museum Buddha (fig. 11) or the British Museum Buddha (fig. 12) illustrated earlier. Later, in the Nagapattinam bronzes, for instance, it became less of a Southern characteristic since the other mode, covering both shoulders, gains equal popularity.

The other two Phopnar bronzes (figs. 31-32) introduce the convention of regularly incised folds on the chest, symmetrically arranged, which is found in the Sultanganj Buddha (fig. 8) or the Nalanda bronzes (fig. 10) but also in some Kushan stone sculpture (fig. 48). Features such as the eyes inlaid with silver and black painted pupils that one finds in some of the Phopnar bronzes are found in some of the above mentioned Jain bronzes (fig. 14) and certainly in Kurkihar bronzes (fig. 10) with which the Phopnar bronzes also have in common the somewhat sharp facial features with a hook-like nose. In other words, Phopnar bronzes, which probably date to the 6th century, combine several characteristics of the Northern, the Southern, and the Eastern Schools of Indian metal sculpture. The geographic position of Phopnar in the Middle Provinces, justifies this situation.

IV. Gupta Bronzes: Sarnath

As we have seen from the examples cited so far, with all the variations of types represented, until recent times there were no Buddhist bronzes known which would reflect the Sarnath style *per se*. We mean by that, the classical Sarnath Buddha type which wears transparent *sanghati* closely clinging to the body, displays a face with regular Gupta features and is depicted in a relaxed *tribhanga* posture, so characteristic for that school (fig. 33). During the last decade three such bronzes came to light. They represent a standing Sakyamuni Buddha all repeating the same type as the bronze illustrated in fig. 34 which belongs to

the Cleveland Museum of Art. Two others are in private collections.

At least one of them (figs. 35-36) is known to the public from a show at the Asia Society in New York (*Asian Art from the Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III Collection*, pt. 1. 1970, fig. 2). The frontal position of the figure, which is similar to the Cleveland Museum bronze, is eased by the subtle flexing of the body. The right hand of Buddha is lifted in *abhaya mudra* (gesture of protection), whereas the left one is raised to his waist and holds the hem of the monastic garment. The long robe (*sanghati*) covers both shoulders of the Buddha in the true Sarnath manner revealing the body. The garment is gathered on the sides into a few vertical folds, while around the neck, which is incised with three iconographically proper folds (*trivali*), it is accentuated by a round rim. Through the transparent robe one can detect the presence of the undergarment (*antaravasaka*) which is longer than the *sanghati* and marked by an incision around the hips formed by a cord supporting it. The robe is also indicated by the hem lines around the wrists. The modeling of the body is plastic and round, connoting the fullness of the limbs and the torso. The perfection of the body and the feeling of inner breath (*prana*) reflect the general Gupta tendency idealizing the physical beauty of the figure and endowing it with a spiritual aura.

The faces on all of these pieces are rather full with clearly defined features. They display a high forehead, projecting cheek bones and a weak chin. The eyebrows are softly rounded and the nose is straight with broad nostrils. The lips are fleshy and full, and the eyes with semi-open, heavy eyelids display a well-defined eyeball underneath. The face has a benign expression indicating that the Buddha remains untouched by the earthly emotions of the ordinary mortal. His hair is curly with an *ushnisha* which is not too pronounced. Characteristic is the absence of the *urna* (a whorl of hair between the eyebrows of the Buddha) which seems to be absent in the Sarnath school. A halo (or possibly an umbrella) was originally attached to the back of each of the Buddhas as is indicated by the broken hooks at the back of these images.

The Pasadena Museum Buddha (figs. 37-38), displays the same characteristics as the two examples just discussed. What sets this bronze apart, is the composition of its metal, which contains a great amount of silver in the alloy. The posture of the figure, the positions of the hands, the treatment of the garments and facial features are quite the same as in the other two bronzes. The *ushnisha* may be somewhat smaller here.

The importance of the Cleveland Museum image (figs. 34 & 39) lies in the fact it is inscribed, while the other two bronzes are not. The inscription, engraved on the pedestal of the image (the front of the base

and extending to its right side), is in Sanskrit and bears a date (fig. 40) However, the date causes all kinds of problems: it does not specify the era and in addition the inscription is not clear enough to allow an easy reading. Consequently among the four eminent Sanskritists who read it, none agreed on the reading of the date. (P. Banerjee read it as the year 633 of the Gupta area which corresponds to the year 343 AD; V. V. Mirashi

as the year 553 which corresponds to the 233AD; P. R. Srinivasan

as the year 673 which corresponds to the year 353 AD; and D. C. Sircar

as the year 633 which corresponds to the year 313 AD.) Recently it was published by Mary Shepard-Slusser (in *Archives of Asian Art*, vol. 29 (1975/76), who, along with Vajracharya, claims that the inscription is Nepali (Licchavi) and dates to śamvat 513 equal to the Śaka year 591 AD The arguments presented by Dr. Slusser are convincing and I am inclined to believe that she is right in her presumption that the inscription is Nepalese.

Before we proceed any further let us examine the inscription which roughly translated reads as follows:

“This (image) is the pious gift of the Sakya nun Parisuddhamati who lives in Yamgval convent in Laditagrama. Whatever merit there may be in this (deed), may it lead to the attainment of all sentient beings. Samvat 513. A feast should be provided (from the proceeds of) pindaka at the locale east of Caityakuta Jinabandhu monastery”

(Slusser, p. 93)

Besides the general claim that the paleography of the inscription is Licchavi, Dr. Slusser's arguments are the following:

1) The name of the convent “Yamgval”, an indigenous Nepalese name, is typical for pre-Licchavi Nepal (“gval” meaning place of the deity). In Licchavi inscriptions names like Magval, Tegval, Yugval, etc. appear frequently.

2) Laditagrama (or the village of Ladita) stands for modern Lalitpur or Patan, another name for Kathmandu.

3) The use of the word “pindaka” is frequent in Licchavi inscriptions according to Dr. Slusser. In Nepal it signifies a portion of a crop allocated to a landlord. (In this case the donor stipulated that it was to be used to provide a feast east of the Caityakuta Jinabandhu vihara.)

The arguments seem quite convincing. As far as the reading of the date is concerned we are also convinced, on the basis of comparison with other Licchavi numerals (Slusser footnote 10), that the first digit stands for “5”. The second part, the number “13”, has always been

quite clear to this author. Thus, since Licchavi Nepal used the Śaka era through the reign of Śivadeva I (590-604) until it was replaced by a new Amsuvarman era (follower of Śivadeva) the date of the inscription would be 591 AD.

However, can we assume that this is when the bronze was cast and that it was cast in Nepal because the inscription is Nepalese? As tempting as it would be to think so, I do not think we are justified in jumping to such a conclusion. The bronze is small enough (18 inches) to be easily transported to Nepal and inscribed there. In its general characteristics it relates very closely to two other bronzes (figs. 35 and 37) and like them may have been cast in India proper. The hand gestures are treated exactly the same as in the other two Gupta bronzes and, for that matter, as they are in all Indian bronzes of standing Buddhas, including the Mathura type (a discussion of which will follow) and the Phopnar, Gandharan and Buddhapad bronzes which we have already examined. The left hand which supports the garment is bent at the waist level whereas the right hand, expressing the *abhaya mudra*, is raised to the level of the chest.

In the Nepalese bronzes (figs. 41-44) it is customary that the left hand supporting the garment is raised to shoulder level and is turned upward so that the palm is not revealed. The right hand, expressing the *abhaya mudra* is extended downward. Also, when one compares the general type, representative of Nepalese bronzes, there is a vast difference. The earliest of these bronzes is the bronze from Mr. Ben Heller's collection in New York (fig. 41). It is discussed by Dr. Slusser in her article along with the Cleveland Museum Buddha. The Heller bronze is also inscribed and, although it is not dated, Dr. Slusser attributes it on paleographic grounds to the 7th century, practically the same period as the Cleveland Museum Buddha which dates to 591 AD. Yet the difference in the treatment of the garment, here with regularly incised folds, the very sharp "Nepalese" facial features, and the hand positions set it distinctly apart from the Indian metal sculptures.

Finally, the technique of casting is different. The Nepalese bronzes seem most often to be solid cast, although sometimes they are hollowed, Indian bronzes contain a core armature.

The Cleveland Museum Buddha, (figs. 34 & 39) as seen from the X-ray (fig. 45) was cast in three parts: the head, the body and the base with the feet. The slight difference in the composition of the metal of the main body and the base does not allow ruling out completely the possibility of the base having been added somewhat later, although we consider that highly unlikely.

Dr. D. F. Gibbons of the Metallurgy Department at Case Western Reserve University, who analyzed the bronze, claims that the main body was cast first over the core with pins being used to maintain the position of the core after the wax was melted out of the mold. Openings in the casting were left for the legs and the neck. The molds for the head and the legs were placed in position relative to the main body of casting. Then the whole structure was encased in a final mold, the composite reheated, and the head and legs cast in position. The angle probably was not quite right, which would explain the additional wedge on the base to correct the error. (Published by this author in the *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, Feb. 1970, Appendix p. 65, which discusses the technological aspect of casting this bronze, with the addenda to it in the *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, April 1970.)

As much as we believe that in terms of the metal sculpture, the Nepalese style is quite distinct from that represented by the Cleveland Museum Buddha, we want to be quite objective by introducing two Nepalese stone sculptures which represent the Sarnath idiom of Nepalese style (figs. 46-47). I would not be surprised if they would raise doubt in anyone's mind about the Indian origin of the Cleveland Museum bronze. If the style of Sarnath sculpture can be followed that closely in stone, an analogical situation may have taken place in metal sculpture. However, if my theory concerning the hand gestures is right, one can not fail to notice that both pieces illustrated in figs. 46 & 47 display Nepalese gestures as well as somewhat sharp facial features which to this author have a distinctive Nepalese touch that is missing in the Cleveland Museum Buddha.

One more problem which we would like to touch upon is the problem of "Mathura" style bronzes. The question which we would like to raise is "Are there definite Mathura style bronzes, as there are Sarnath bronzes which we have just discussed?" I feel the answer to this question is in the affirmative. The Mathura school, in the broad understanding of the term as represented by fig. 48 is reflected in the bronze in Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller's collection (fig. 49). (Published: *Asian Art from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd*, Pt. 2, Asia Society New York, 1975, fig. 1). The folds of the *sanghati*, contrary to those in Nepali bronzes, are distributed here from the right shoulder exactly in the same manner as we see it in the Jamalpur Buddha and other stone sculptures of the Mathura Buddhas. The facial features are also very close to Mathura stone photo-types and so is the plastic treatment of the body, the proportions of the figure and its gestures.

There are other Buddhas of this type besides the one in Mr. Rockefeller's collection. One of them is the Metropolitan Museum Buddha (fig. 50), very close to the Rockefeller's in type, although smaller, and the Los Angeles Buddha (fig. 51) which follows the general side-arrangement of Mathura drapery although the pattern of the folds is much less fluid here and the face is quite different. In a sense the Los Angeles Museum Buddha seems to be a borderline piece in transission toward the Nepalese type. The *ushnisha* is more pointed as it is in Nepal, but the hand gestures remain the same as in Indian Buddhas. It was probably this type of Buddha, a variant of the Mathura style but cast in an area further northeast of Mathura, that inspired the Nepalese production.

We can conclude, therefore, that during the Gupta period in India, in view of the material I have presented, there were definite centers of bronze casting which corresponded more or less to general stylistic trends found in stone sculpture. They were the Sarnath, the Mathura, and the Nepalese schools, as well as the Eastern school (represented by such bronzes as the Kurkihar or Nalanda hoards). Besides these there were centers in the South: Amaravati, Buddhapad, and later on Nagapattinam, which do not concern us here since the main purpose of this paper is North Indian production. Although there are still many problems that have to remain open for the time being, considering the fact that a decade ago we did not have most of the bronzes discussed today, we have high hopes that the near future will reveal enough additional material to answer all the questions we cannot answer today.

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Fig. 1

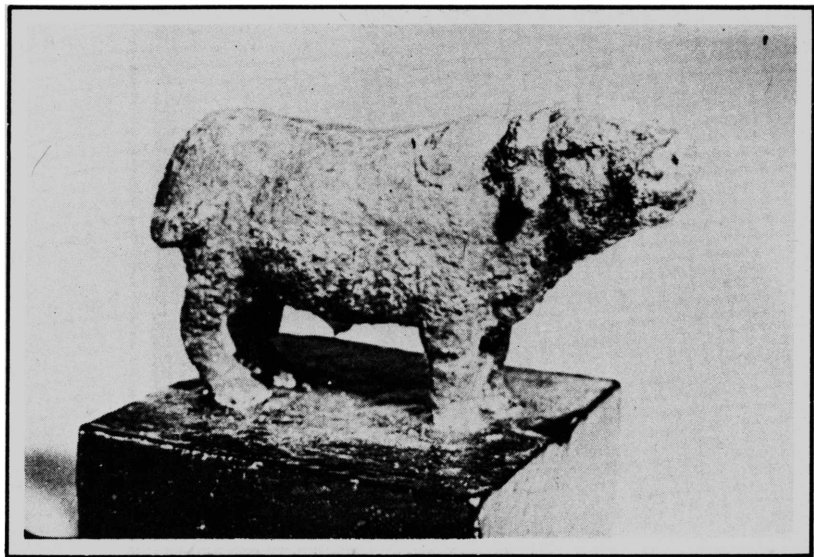


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

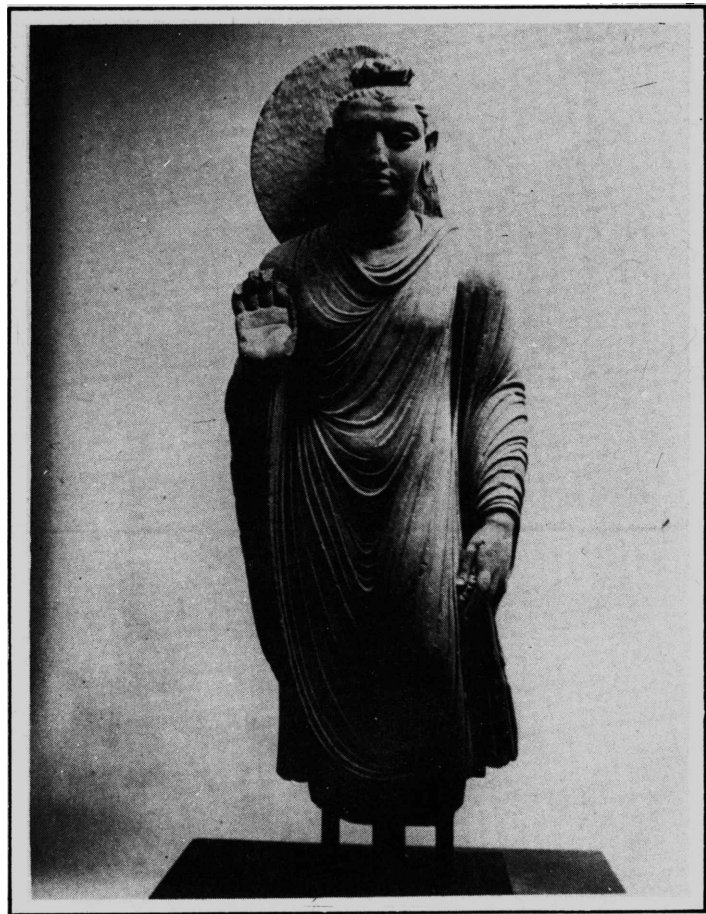


Fig. 4

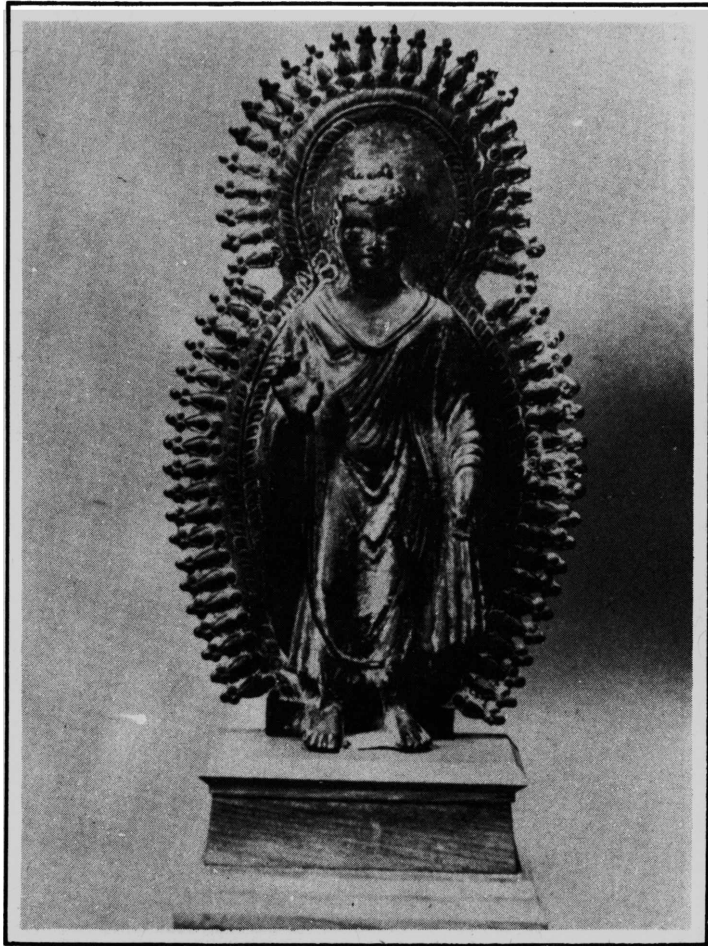


Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

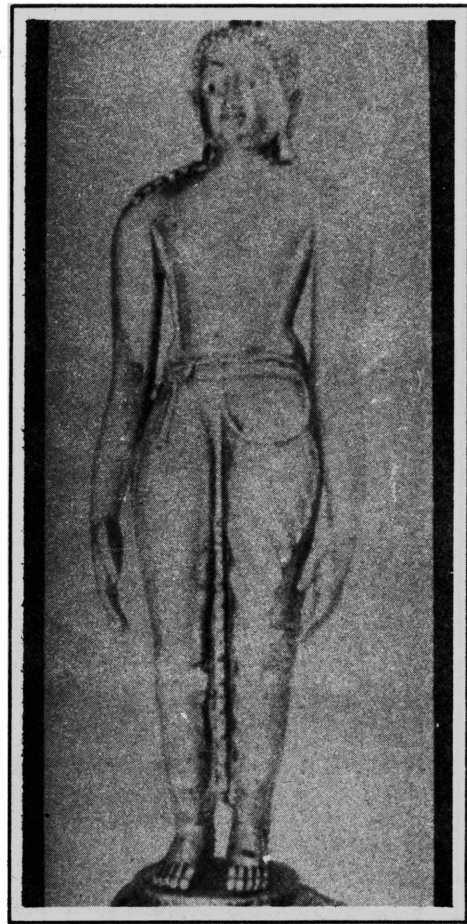
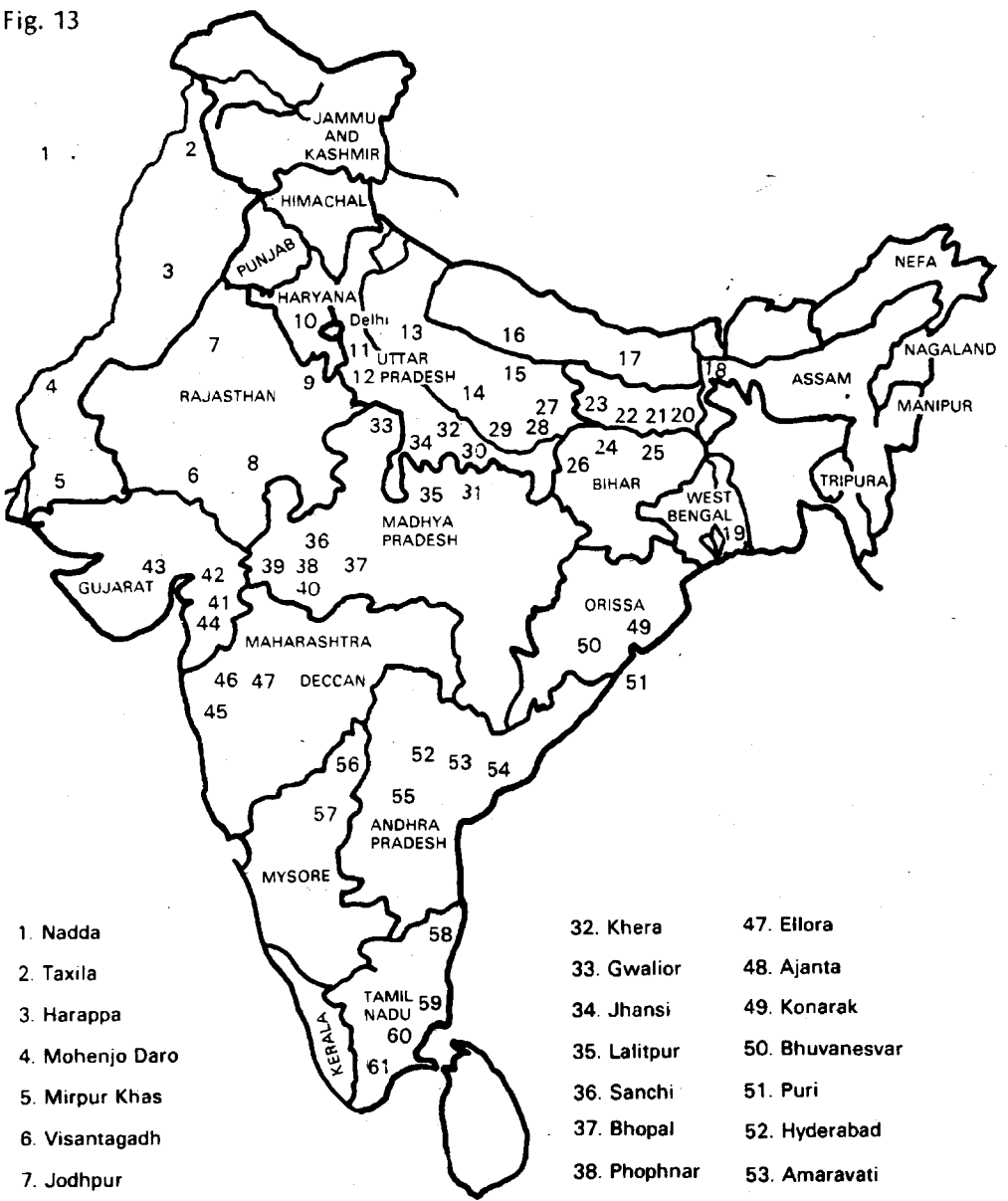


Fig. 14

Fig. 13



- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1. Nadda | 16. Chaitia | 24. Bodhgaya | 32. Khera | 47. Ellora |
| 2. Taxila | 17. Kathmandu | 25. Karkhar | 33. Gwalior | 48. Ajanta |
| 3. Harappa | 18. Darjeeling | 26. Chausa | 34. Jhansi | 49. Konarak |
| 4. Mohenjo Daro | 19. Calcuta | 27. Sarnath | 35. Lalitpur | 50. Bhuvaneshvar |
| 5. Mirpur Khas | 20. Sultanganj | 28. Benares | 36. Sanchi | 51. Puri |
| 6. Visantagadh | 21. Chauta | 29. Allahabad | 37. Bhopal | 52. Hyderabad |
| 7. Jodhpur | 22. Nalanda | 30. Chitrakuta | 38. Pophnar | 53. Amaravati |
| 8. Vdaipar | 23. Patna | 31. Khajuraho | 39. Ujjain | 54. Buddhapad |
| 9. Jaipur | | | 40. Indore | 55. Nagarjunakonda |
| 10. Nueva Delhi | | | 41. Baroda | 56. Aihole |
| 11. Mathura | | | 42. Akota | 57. Vijayanagar |
| 12. Agra | | | 43. Valabhi | 58. Madras |
| 13. Kanauj | | | 44. Broach | 59. Tanjore |
| 14. Lucknow | | | 45. Bombay | 60. Nagapattinam |
| 15. Lalita | | | 46. Nasik | 61. Madura |

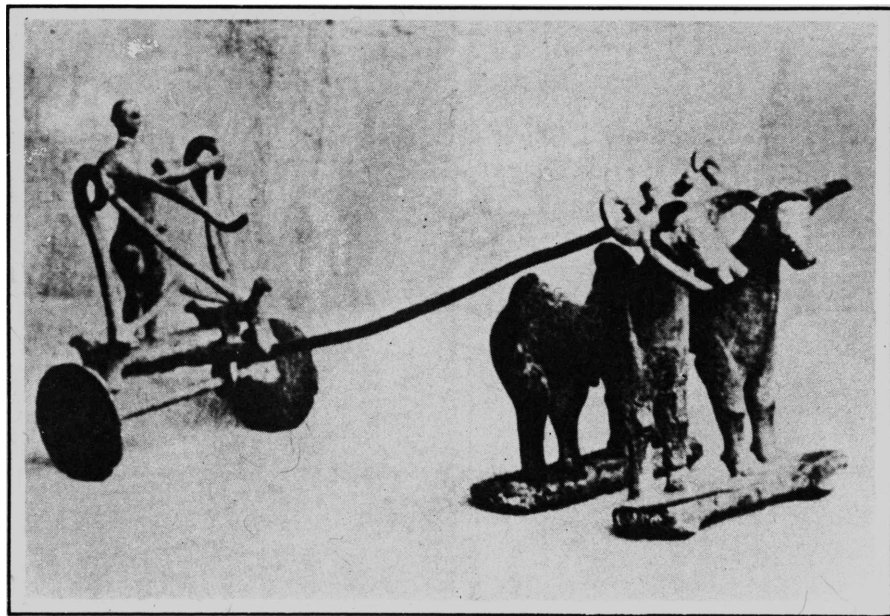


Fig. 15

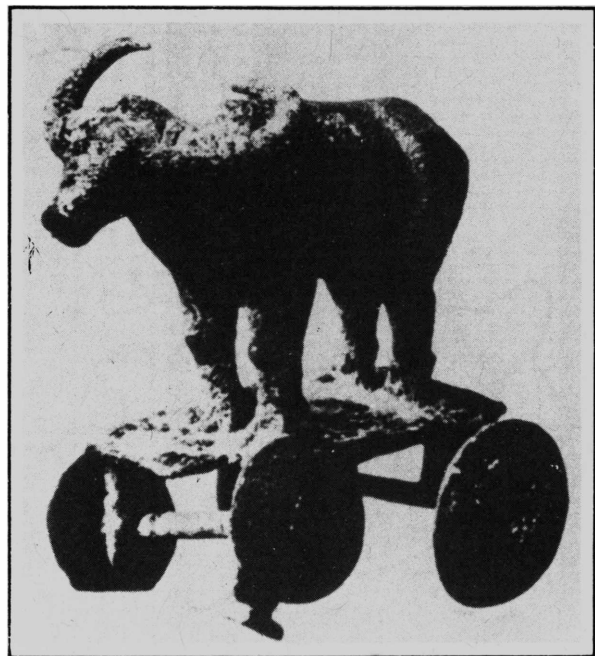


Fig. 16



Fig. 17

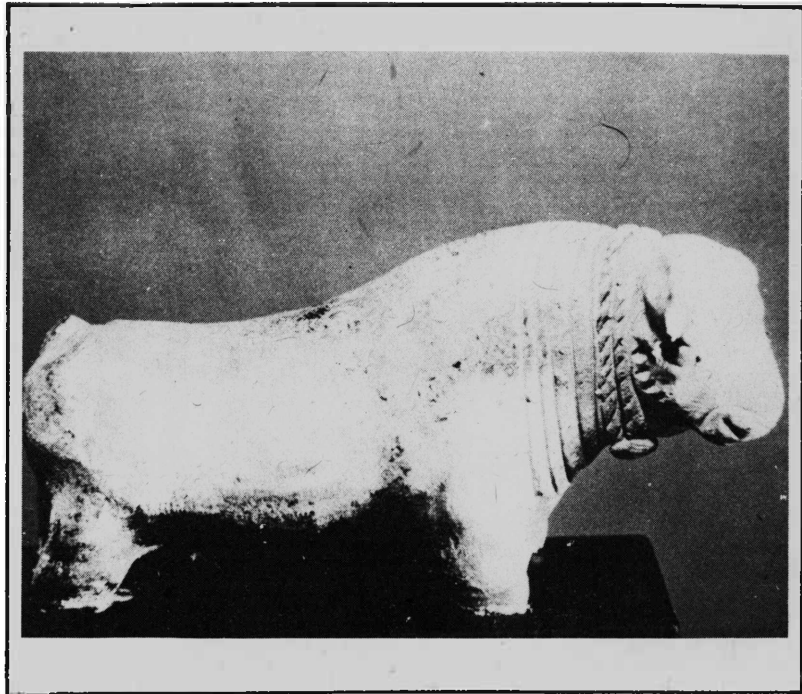


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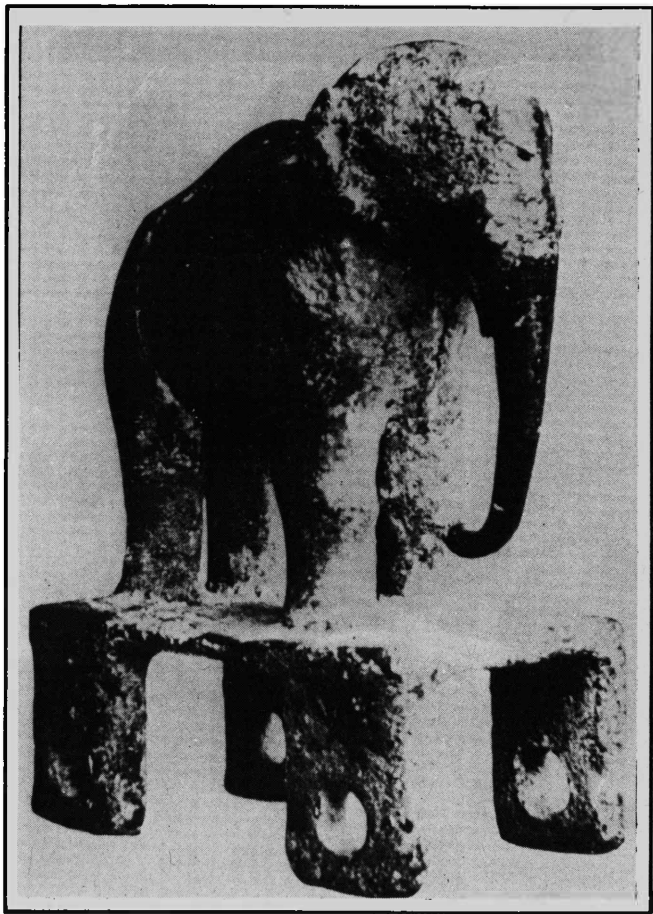


Fig. 19

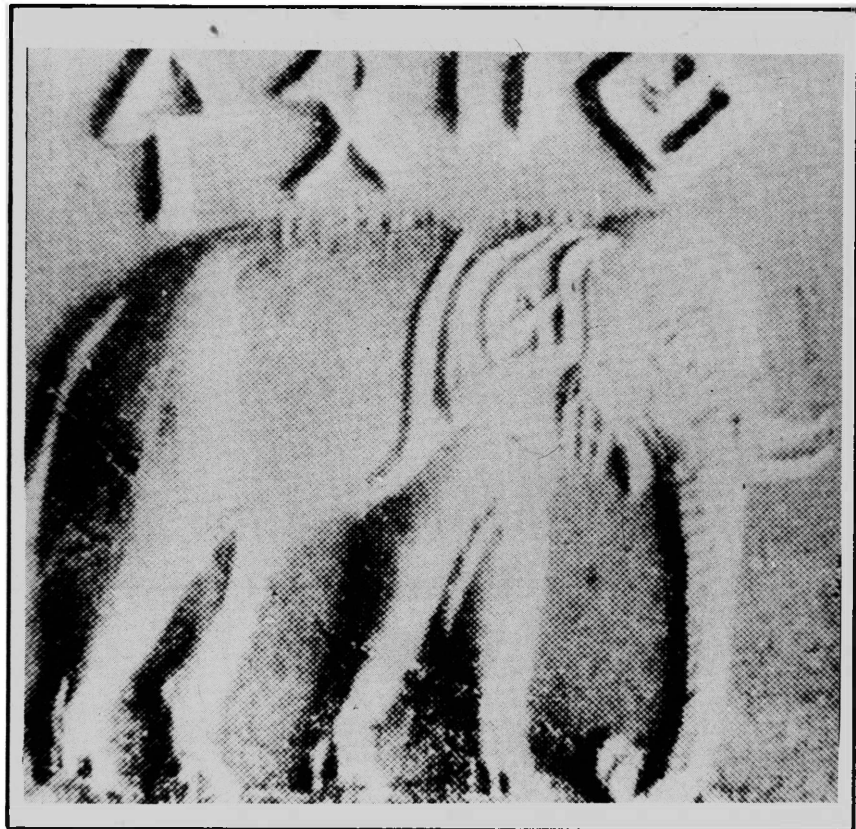


Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

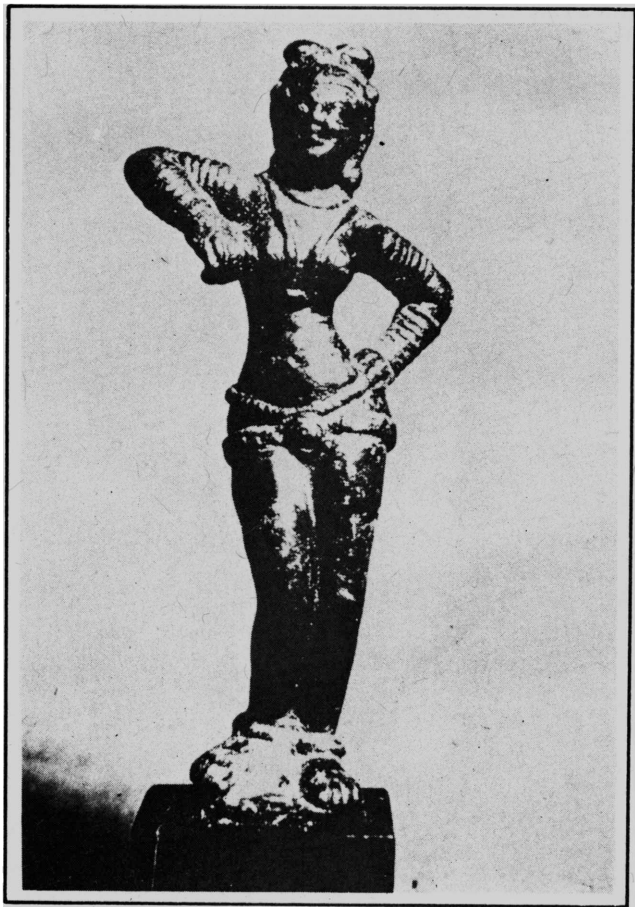


Fig. 23

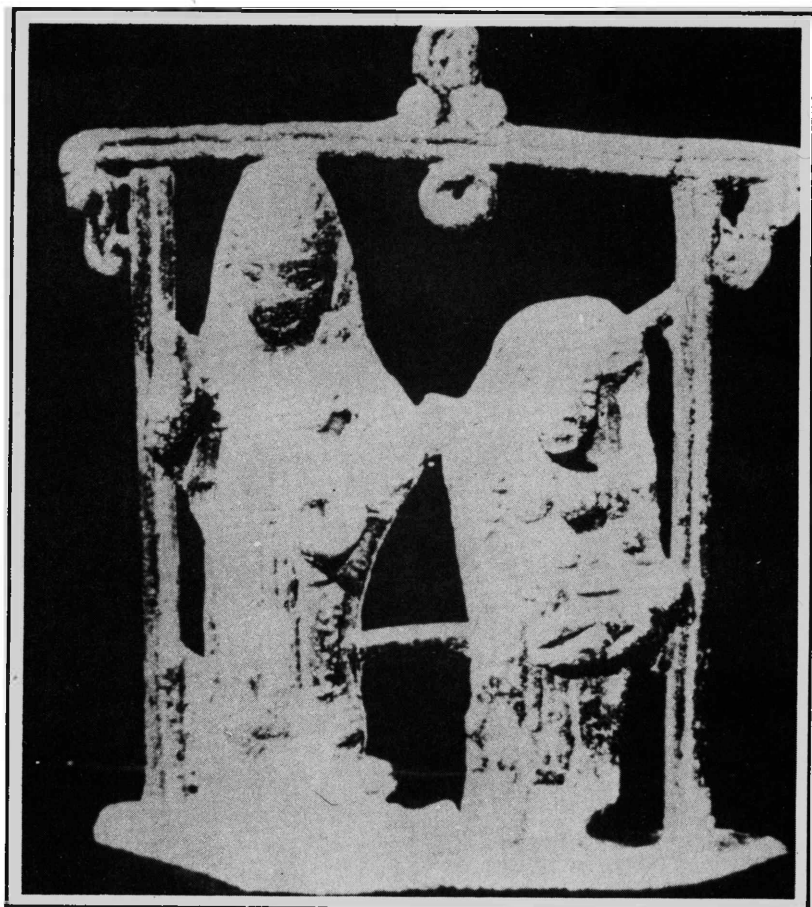


Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35

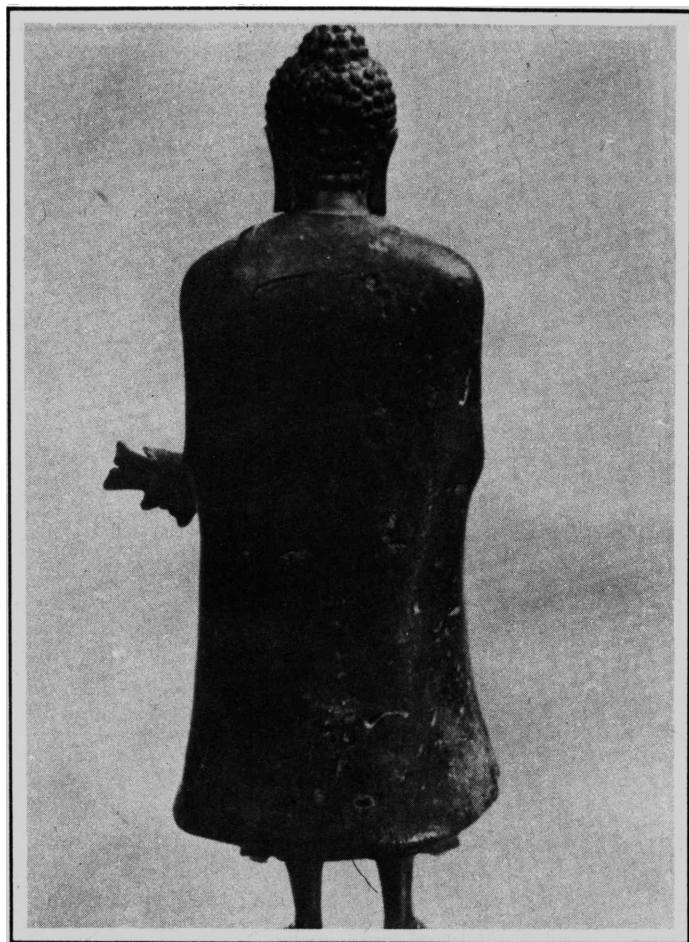


Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39

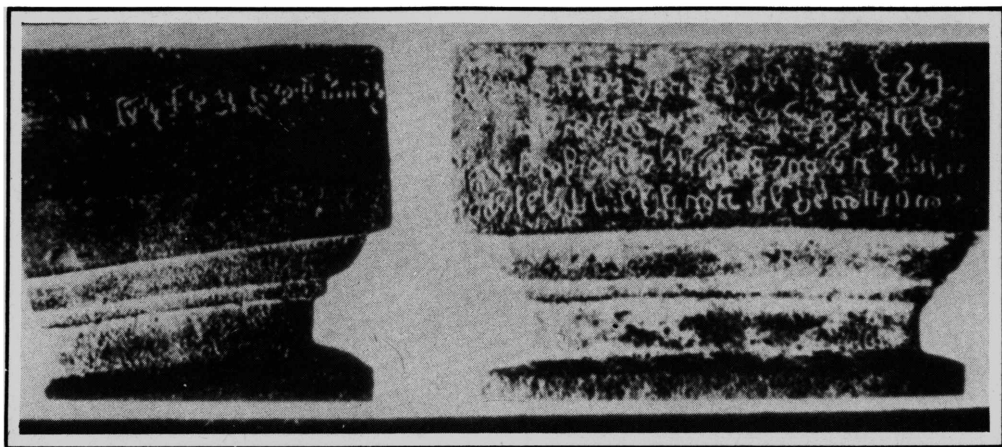


Fig. 40



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49



Fig. 50



Fig. 51

