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The story of Ekaśṛṅga in the Mahāvastu with its parallels

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Abstract
The story of Ekaśṛṅga/Ṛśyaśṛṅga, the youth who has grown as a forest hermit since his birth, and is seduced by a courtesan or princess, is one of the most popular in Indian tradition. In this article, we will analyze the particular version of it found in the Mahāvastu together with its parallels and possible sources that have to do with the mythical figure of the unicorn and of the wild man or master of animals.

Introduction
The Mahāvastu is a poetic biography of the Buddha and at the same time a wonderful collection of Indian stories, in the form of Jātakas, emerging from the main hagiography like branches from the trunk of a tree. Many of them have parallels in Pāli Jātakas, in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya Jātakas, sometimes in the Epics and Purāṇas. One case is the story of Ekaśṛṅga, called 'Nalinī Jātaka', which has parallels in the Mahābhārata (III.110-113), Rāmāyaṇa (I.8-10), Padma Purāṇa and Skanda Purāṇa, in Jain collections, in the Mahāprajñāparamitāśāstra, and can be even compared with stories and figures outside of the Indian tradition. These connections have been already explored in other articles, especially in the detailed analyses of Lüders (1897, 1901, 1940), Schlingloff (1973), Panaino (2001) and Parpola (2012). I will add here a contribution focused on the Mahāvastu, with some new proposals of mythological connections in Near Eastern and Indo-European cultures.

The story starts thus:

   Once upon a time, monks, in a past time, to the north of the city of Benares, in the state of Kāśi, on the slopes of the Himalayas, there was a hermitage called Sāhaṃjanī, peaceful, secluded, aloof from the inhabited country, hidden to men, suitable for meditative retreat. It was endowed with roots, leaves, flowers, fruits and water. There a Ṛṣi named Kāśyapa dwelt, endowed with the five higher knowledges, having achieved the four meditations, of great power and might.[1]

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[1] Mvu III.143.11-14: *bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo atītam adhvānaṃ nagare vārāṇasī kāśijanapade tasya uttareṇa anuhimavante sāhaṃjanī nāma āśramapadaṃ śāntaṃ*

The hermitage Sāhaṃjanī was already mentioned as the hermitage where the Ṛṣi Gautama dwelt in the Śyāmaka Jātaka, a previous story of the Mahāvastu.[2] There it was only said that it was near the Himalayas (*anuhimavante*), but here it is added that it was in the kingdom of Kāśi. Also in the version of the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra (Lamotte 1949: 1009-1012) the Ṛṣi lives in the same kingdom. In a Pāli parallel, the Alambusā Jātaka, the origin of the ascetic is in that realm, but his hermitage is generically in the Himalayas, and in the other parallel in Pāli, the Naḷinikā Jātaka, the king of Kāśi suffers drought because of the son of Kassapa, but the hermitage is beyond the frontier of his kingdom in the Himalayas. In the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, the ascetic leaves the king of Kāśi and builds a hermitage on the mountains not far from the city (Chavannes 1911, II: 282 f.).

   In the versions of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, instead, there is a connection with the eastern kingdom of Aṅga, and in the Mahābhārata we have an explicit geographical description, in the context of the pilgrimage (*tīrthayātra*) of the Pāṇḍavas, placing the hermitage of Kāśyapa, the father of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, on the river Kauśikī,[3] which was in Aṅga and today flows through Nepal and Bihar. However, in the Skandapurāṇa as known to Lüders (1940: 18-20)[4] the dwelling of Vibhāṇḍaka, son of Kāśyapa and father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, is on the river Tuṅgabhadrā near Śṛṅgapura (the present Śṛṅgeri, in Karnataka, where

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pravivktaṃ vigatajanapadaṃ manuṣyarahaseyyakaṃ pratisaṃlayanasāropyaṃ mūlopetaṃ patropetaṃ puṣpopetaṃ phalopetaṃ pānīyopetaṃ // tahiṃ kāśyapo nāma ṛṣiḥ prativasati paṃcābhijño caturdhyānalābhī maharddhiko mahānubhāvo. We have substituted *viviktaṃ* with *pravivktaṃ*, attested by Sa, Sb and M, and changed Sénart's *manuṣyaraheya* on the basis of Mvu III.200.17 and BHSD: 418. Sa and Sb give °*raheyaṃkaṃ* like B and M. We have also added *phalopetaṃ*, in the position given by Sa and Sb, while M puts it after *mūlopetaṃ*. Finally, we have changed the *hapax* *mahānubhogo*, clearly out of place here (*anubhoga* is used for the enjoyment of a grant of land, see MW), into *mahānubhāvo*, which is part of the standard formula after *maharddhiko*. Sa gives *mahānubhāgo*, which is probably the intermediate corruption before *mahānubhogo*.

[2] See Mvu II.210.

[3] MBh III.110.1-2: *eṣā deva nadī puṇyā kauśikī bharatarṣabha / viśvā mitrāśramo ramyo eṣa cātra prakāśate // āśramaś caiva puṇyākhyaḥ kāśyapasya mahātmanaḥ / ṛṣyaśṛṅgaḥ suto yasya tapo vī saṃyatendriyaḥ.*

[4] He finds the story in a synopsis of the SP made by V.N. Narasimmiyengar in Ind. Ant. II, 140 ff.

traditions about the Ṛṣi are still alive); in the published Revākhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa (RKS 89.3-11), instead, we find Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in a grove just to the north of Vārāṇāsī, but the story there is analogous to that of Śyāmaka. On the other hand, Xuan Zang, in his report (Beal 1884: 113), places Ekaśṛṅga's hermitage in the mountains near Peshawar. Another place, which pretends to be where 'Ṛṣi Śṛṅga' performed tapas, is the Banjar valley in Himachal Pradesh, where the cult of the Ṛṣi is still present (Shabab 1996: 75-78). So, it seems that there are different traditions about the place where the famous ascetic lived.[5]

The mythical roots of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga/Ekaśṛṅga

The name Kāśyapa corresponds to what we find in the Pāli Alambusā Jātaka (where the son Isisiṅga is called *Kassapa*, and he calls his father '*Kassapa*'[6]) and in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya,[7] but particularly to the Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic tradition, where the protagonist of this story, Ṛśyaśṛṅga or Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, is regularly connected with the Kāśyapa Gotra (Lüders 1940: 1; Keith and Macdonell 1912, I: 118).[8] Maybe this

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[5] There is also a parallel in the Jain collection of tales *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, which was composed during or before the 6th century AD, and is regarded as a Jain version of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā* (VH 16.16-20.2; see Jain 1977: 570-577). There the story is brought to the time of Mahāvīra, with different names (the protagonist is called Vakkalacīrin), and in connection with the city of Poyaṇapura (Potanapura in Sanskrit), which appears to be near the Godāvarī river (see Jain 1977: 523). In DPPN Pota, Potana, Potala and Potali are presented as different names of the same city in the Kāsi kingdom, capital of the king Assaka, on the basis of the *Assaka Jātaka*, but the Assaka kingdom (Aśmaka in Sanskrit), having as capital Potana, was placed near the southern river Godāvarī (Basak 1960: 17; Rahula 1978: 302).

[6] Ja V 157, 16-18*: *na pañhakālo bhaddan te Kassap' evaṃ gate sati, ehi samma ramissāma ubho amhākaṃ assame, ehi taṃ upagūhissaṃ ratīnaṃ kusalo bhavā ti*. The commentary, in Ja V 157, 19: *tattha Kassapevaṃ gate satī ti Kassapagotta evaṃ*. Ja V 159, 28*: *imāni kira maṃ tāto kassapo anusāsate*.

[7] Chavannes 1911, vol.II: 282, in Chinese *Kia-che*.

[8] In the Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is father of Vibhaṇḍaka and son of Kāśyapa (VB II.26-27): *vibhaṇḍakah kāśyapa ṛṣyaśṛṅgāt kāśyapāt pituḥ // ṛṣyaśṛṅgaḥ kāśyapaḥ kāśyapāt pitur eva*. Inversely, in MBh, R and Purāṇas Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa is the father of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. In JUB III.40, the immortal Gāyatra Sāman was handed down from Indra to Kāśyapa, from this to Ṛśyaśṛṅga Kāśyapa, who passed it on Devataras Śyāvasāyana Kāśyapa. The name Vibhāṇḍaka has no clear meaning, but *vibhāṇḍikā* is a plant, also called *vibhāṇḍī* and *viṣāṇikā* (from *viṣāṇa* 'horn'), identified with Senna obtusa (also called Cassia auriculata), a plant with pods, with medicinal uses. It is interesting that

connection is due to the fact that Kaśyapa ('tortoise'), son of Marīci ('ray of light', one of the Ṛṣi-Prajāpatis, see Mitchiner 2000: 13-15), is a mythical figure responsible for the creation of all animals,[9] and Ṛśyaśṛṅga (a name meaning '(having the) horn of the *nilgai* male antelope') is born from a female deer or antelope (*mṛgī*), and has often animal features like one or two horns, and hoofs.[10] As Kaśyapa is the progenitor of gods, mankind and all creatures, so Ṛśyaśṛṅga is connected with fertility and fecundity: in the epic versions of his story, he is searched for getting rain and sons. Monier-Williams reports in his dictionary about the word *śṛṅga* that it is also the name of a Muni "of whom, in some parts of India, on occasions of drought, earthen images are said to be made and worshipped for rain" (MW: 1087). In the Kullu valley of Himachal Pradesh, in case of drought the other deities of the valley are brought to visit and pay homage to 'Shringi Rishi' to ask for rain,[11] and prayers to 'Rushi Shrunga' for rain

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another plant, Helicteres isora, is called *vibhāṇḍī āvartaṇī*, and also *mṛgaśṛṅgī*. It has pods which can appear similar to a small horn (*śṛṅga*) and a screw (*āvartaṇī*), and has many medicinal uses.

[9] Already in ŚB VII.5.1.5, it is said that all creatures are born from Kaśyapa: *sa yátkūrmo nā́ma // etad vaí rūpáṃ kṛtvā́ prajā́patiḥ prajā́ asṛjata yad ásṛjatắkarot tad yad ákarot tásmāt kūrmáḥ kaśyápo vaí kūrmas tásmād āhuḥ sárvāḥ prajā́ḥ kā́śyapya íti* "And as to its being called 'kūrma' (tortoise); Prajâpati, having assumed that form, created living beings. Now what he created, he made; and inasmuch as he made (kar), he is (called) 'kūrma'; and 'kūrma' being (the same as) 'kaśyapa' (a tortoise), therefore all creatures are said to be descended from Kaśyapa." (translation by Eggeling 1894: 390). Cp. BD V.143-146; MBh I.59.11; XII.200.24-25; KūrP I.18.16. According to BR: 187, *Kaśyapa* is a mythical being close to or identical with Prajāpati, and in the plural the *Kaśyapa*s are spirits connected with the course of the Sun, citing the AV (XIII.3.10; VIII.9.7; XVII.1.27-28; XIX.53.10). Henry 1894: 52, commenting AV VIII.5.14, suggests that Kaśyapa is a solar incarnation and that the Sun was nicknamed 'the turtle' because of its round shape and slow motion. ŚB VII.5.1.6 says: *sa yaḥ kūrmo 'sau sa ādityo* "Now the tortoise is that Sun".

[10] In MBh III.110.17ab, he has one horn of a *ṛśya* antelope: *tasyarśyaśṛṅgaṃ śirasi.. āsīn.* Cp. Lüders 1940: 8 (st.13b: *mūrdhni śṛṅge ajāyatām*) and 18, where in the versions of the Padma and Skanda Purāṇa he has two horns; in the version given in the MPPŚ, he has one horn and hoofs like a deer (Lamotte 1949: 1009). Also in the MSV he has two horns: *tasyāpi vṛddhiṃ gacchataḥ śirasi mṛgaśṛṅge prādurbhūte* (MSV II 38, 14). According to Av-klp 65.18cd he has one horn: *nāmnā prasiddhaḥ śiśur ekaśṛṅgaḥ sa lakṣyamāṇāṅgulamātraśṛṅgaḥ* "the child is well known by the name 'Ekaśṛṅga', [since] he was marked by a horn having the length of a finger."

[11] This is confirmed by a personal communication from Yeshwant Singh, an inhabitant of the valley, author of the blog devoted to the figure of Shringi Rishi in Kullu entitled

are made in Ganjam district in Orissa, on the hill where the saint is believed to live.[12]

We can also see in this figure originally a mythical animal connected with rain, like the unicorn of the *Bundahišn* (19.1-12, cp. Yasna 42.4, West 1880: 67-69; Panaino 2001: 162-173; Parpola 2012: 131-133), who is a gigantic three-legged ass with one horn living in the world-ocean, helping Tištrya (the star Sirius), the deity of rain,[13] to take the water from the cosmic sea Vourukaša, purifying the water by urinating in it, and making pregnant by his cry all good creatures. It is interesting that in the version of the Mahābhārata and Padma Purāṇa Vibhāṇḍaka Kāśyapa lives near a great lake,[14] where his seed falls while bathing and later it fecundates the animal.

In Russian folklore, there is a one-horned beast, mother or father of all beasts, living on the holy mountain, called Indra, Indrik, Vyndrik or Edinrog ('unicorn'), who delivers the world from drought by going under the earth and releasing the waters, and also purifies them (Russell 2009: 177-185). The use of the name Indra for a being that releases the waters like the Vedic god is interesting, however this myth can be influenced by the Siberian myth of the unicorn-mammoth: the tusk of the mammoth often found in Siberia is interpreted by the local populations as a horn, belonging to a subterranean or aquatic beast with one horn, creating rivers and lakes (Janhunen 2012: 198-200). We can also suppose that the mammoth tusks were widely known in Asia, and spread the mythology of the unicorn. Another prehistoric animal that may have influenced the mythology of the unicorn is the Elasmotherium, a sort of massive

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'Rishyashringa' (wwwsrkullu.blogspot.com).

[12] See http://jayasreesaranathan.blogspot.it/2009/09/orissa-connection-to-rishya-shringa-or.html.

[13] Parpola 2012: 133, observes that 'Tištar' in the Iranian tradition is the liberator of waters, and as such he is comparable with Indra. In effect, the fight of Tištrya with Apaoša, the demon of drought, described in Yt 8.20-29 and Bundahišn 7.7-13 (West 1880: 27-28), corresponds to the fight of Indra with Vṛtra, the serpent that blocks the waters.

[14] MBh III.11012-14: *śṛṇu putro yathā jāta ṛśyaśṛṅgaḥ pratāpavān / **mahāhrade** mahātejā bālaḥ sthavirasaṃmataḥ // **mahāhradaṃ** samāsādya kāśyapas tapasi sthitaḥ / dīrghakālaṃ pariśrānta ṛṣir devarṣisaṃmataḥ // tasya retaḥ pracaskanda dṛṣṭvāpsarasam urvaśīm / apsūpaspṛśato rājan mṛgī tac cāpibat tadā*; Lüders 1940, p.7, st.7: **mahāhradaṃ** *samāsādya Kāśyapas tu Vibhāṇḍakaḥ / tapas tepe ciraṃ tasthau dhyāyan brahman sanātanam*. Cp. below, n.21.

rhinoceros with one long horn that lived also in Russia, Caucasus and Central Asia until at least 10000 years ago. But also in historical times, the 10th-century Arab traveler Ibn Fadlan spoke, in his report of the expedition among the Volga Bulgars, of a one-horned beast living in the forests on the Volga river, which seems to correspond to an Elasmotherium (Walker 2012: 7-8).

Fig.1

Fig. 2

An analogous mythical animal can be represented on the Harappan seals (see fig.1),[15] where the most common image is a unicorn, reproduced also

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[15] A connection between the single horn of Ṛśyaśṛṅga and the unicorn of the Indus Valley seals has already been proposed by O'Flaherty 1973: 50. She also compares the idea of the sage with two horns with the image of the 'Paśupati', appearing on a seal from Mohenjo-daro as a seated human with horns, ityphallic, and surrounded by animals. She adds this interpretation: "the horns of the beast-ascetic are indicative of his sexual powers: horned animals (bulls, rams, he-goats, and deer) are noted for their sexual vitality, and the horns on the ascetic's head symbolize the protuberance of the seed that he has drawn up through his spinal column." According to this concept, the horn on the head of the Ṛṣi would be a visible sign of his being *ūrdhvaretas* 'keeping the semen above'. See also Parpola 2012: 143 f.; 163-168, where he maintains the identification of the unicorn of the seals with the *nilgai* antelope or *ṛśya*.

in some clay figurines. It has the form resembling a bull but with a long neck (often with some lines like wrinkles), a peculiar design on the shoulder, similar to a peepal leaf, an antelope-like head, and one long horn on the forehead. Apparently it reproduces a *nilgai*, the 'blue bull' antelope, which is still considered a sacred animal because it is identified as the same as the cow (as the name *nilgai* itself shows), has often wrinkles on the neck, and the skin on the shoulder can create folds composing a shape similar to that found on the unicorn of the seals (fig.2).[16] Only the long horn is remarkably different from the short horns of the *nilgai* (however, they too curve forward), but this can be a sign intended to show that it is not a normal *nilgai* but a unicorn *nilgai*.

The Sanskrit name of the male of this antelope was *ṛśa* or *ṛśya* in Vedic texts and more often *ṛṣya* later on. Ṛśyaśṛṅga/Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, then, could be an anthropomorphous representation of this sacred animal, connected with water and fecundity. It lives in open forests and near water holes, and normally its calves are born in the rainy season (from June to October). It is also remarkable that the *nilgai* bulls are typically solitary, except in the mating season, when they can be seen drinking at water holes with the rest of the herd (Armstrong 2007: 718 f.).[17]

In RV VIII.4.10 Indra is invited to come to drink Soma like a thirsty *nilgai*, and after that he is represented as 'urinating it (the Soma) down', a symbol of rain.[18] In AV IV.4, a charm to restore virile power, we

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[16] Picture by Catherine Ames, from
http://www.redbubble.com/people/cathames/works/6284142-blue-bulls-or-nilgai-of-india.
[17] Cp. Parpola 2012: 166 f., who also remarks that the blue colour of the *nilgai* bull connects it with rainclouds.
[18] *ṛśyo na tṛ́ṣyann avapā́nam ā́ gahi píbā sómaṃ vā́śāṁ ánu / niméghamāno maghavan divé-diva ójiṣṭhaṃ dadhiṣe sáhaḥ*. This is the translation from Geldner 1951, II: 289: "Wie ein dürstender Antilopenbock zur Tränke so komme her! Trinke nach Wunsch den Soma; ihn Tag für Tag herabharnend hast du dir die stärkste Kraft zugelegt, o Gabenreicher." In the participle *niméghamāno* there is a probable allusion to *megha*, the rain-cloud. Geldner in note suggests a comparison with RV II.34.13, where the Rudras (Maruts) urinate down. There (Geldner 1951, I: 320, n.) he adds that also the Soma is their urine, as in IX.74.4d (*náro hitám áva mehanti péravaḥ*). However, we cannot infer a necessary relation between the *ṛśya* and rain in VIII.4.10, since it is simply used in a simile as a drinking animal, but what is important is that he was typically associated with the search for water. In the same hymn (VIII.4.3), there is an analogous comparison with the *gaura*, rightly identified by Parpola and Janhunen (2012: 81-84) with the wild ass. Parpola 2012: 133, remarks about the Zoroastrian mythical Ass: "James Darmesteter has

have the phrase *ārśa vṛṣṇya* for indicating the virile power, then the invitation to approach the woman like the *nilgai* bull his female.[19] According to PB V.4.13-14, during the description of the Mahāvrata (a ritual with clear connections with fertility and water), the *ṛśyasya sāman* ('melody of the nilgai bull') is recited. Then a myth is given where all beings praised the different members of Indra, but only the *ṛśya* praised one member, which the commentator identifies with the sexual organ (Caland 1931: 77 f.; Parpola 2012: 138). Thus, this animal is related again not only to the generative faculty, but also to the god Indra.

Another interesting Vedic tradition about the *ṛśya* is the astral myth found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, where Prajāpati, desiring his daughter (identified either with Heaven, *div*, or with the Dawn, *uṣas*), took the form of a *nilgai* bull (*ṛśya*), while the daughter that of its reddish female (*rohit*), and approached her.[20] The gods, in order to punish or stop him, created a divine being who pierced the antelope with an arrow, and so Prajāpati became the constellation called *mṛga*. That constellation may be wider than the asterism *mṛgaśiras* or *mṛgaśīrṣa* 'head of the wild animal' (constituted by λ, φ1 and φ2 Orionis, see Weber 1860: 331; Keith and Macdonell 1912, I: 415 f.), including a greater part of Orion, while the three stars of the belt of Orion are called *iṣus trikāṇḍā*, the 'arrow with three joints' (like a bamboo). The *nilgai* cow became Rohiṇī (the reddish star Aldebaran, α Tauri), and the archer is the *mṛgavyādha*, identified with Sirius (Weber 1862: 369). So, we find Orion identified with a *ṛśya*, and with Prajāpati, the creator god.[21] Parpola observes about this myth: "If this

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assumed that the Three-legged Ass is a celestial animal, whose urine is rain possessed with the power to kill demons. Darmesteter points out that this mythical animal of Iran thus corresponds to the heavenly bull, which many peoples have imagined as urinating rain."

[19] AV IV.4.5: *apā́ṃ rásaḥ prathamajó 'tho vánaspátīnām / utá sómasya bhrā́tāsy utā́rśam asi vṛ́ṣṇyam*; IV.4.7cd: *krámasvárśa iva rohítam ánavaglāyatā sádā*. Here the form is *ṛśa*, anyway the mention of the *rohít*, the typical reddish female of the *nilgai*, removes any doubt about the identity of the animal.

[20] AB III.33: *Prajāpatir vai svāṃ duhitaram abhyadhyāyad, divam ity anya āhur Uṣasam ity anye. tāṃ ṛśyo bhūtvā rohitam bhūtām abhyait*.

[21] Also in ŚB II.1.2.8-9 it is said that *mṛgaśīrṣa* is the head or the body (*śarīra*) of Prajāpati. It is remarkable that in AB III.33.6-34.2 we have the birth of gods and animals (including the *ṛśya*) from the seed of Prajāpati which had made a lake on earth (III.33.6: *tad vā idam Prajāpate retaḥ siktam adhāvat, tat saro 'bhavat*): this shows that it is also a cosmogonic myth, and the archetype of the lake in the story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga can be

union with the *ṛśya-* initiated rains at the summer solstice [...], the heliacal rising of the *mṛgaśīrṣa-* at the summer solstice could mark this event astronomically, dating it to around 2000 BCE." (Parpola 2012: 163, referring to Simson 1986: 216 and 223-224). We can add that α Orionis or Betelgeuse is called *ārdrā* 'moist' in Sanskrit tradition, evidently because it was associated with the rainy season (Weber 1862: 370).[22] The deity associated with this star is Rudra,[23] who is the archer himself of the myth and a storm god, and Sirius is also associated with *ārdrā*, which is often used in the plural or, with the name *bāhū*, in the dual.[24] This recalls the association with rain of Sirius-Tištrya in Zorastrianism,[25] therefore we can suspect that the connection of the Ṛśya-unicorn with rain was also due to this astronomical context.

The connection of the antelope with water (and Sirius) is attested also in Egypt: there it was believed that the antelope was the first creature to know when Sirius reappeared in the dawn sky around the time of the summer solstice, an event which was linked to the annual flooding of the Nile. According to Aelian, the antelope sneezed when the star ascended. In Upper Egypt, the goddess Satis, giver of water, had a crown with antelope horns (Werness 2006: 11; Bauval 2007: 117-118).

In South Arabia the god Athtar, deity connected with the waters coming from the monsoon, had the antelope as a sacred animal (Robertson Smith 1903: 227). Werner Daum, in his *Ursemitische Religion* (Daum 1985: 27-31; 47-54; 67-78; 101-107; 206-207) and in an article about a particular South Arabian ritual of pre-Islamic origin (Daum 1987), has

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connected with this myth (see above, n.14).

[22] Presently this Nakṣatra corresponds to the end of June and the beginning of July (2°40'-16° Cancer), which is in the beginning of the rainy season in Northern India.

[23] See TS IV.4.10; TB I.5.1.1. The archer is explicitly named 'Rudra' in the version of the myth of Prajāpati's incest (which has no reference to stars but is almost identical to the AB version) in ŚB I.7.4.1-3.

[24] See Weber 1862: 370, 387, which refers to TB I.5.1, where it is said: *rudrásya bāhū́ / mṛgayávaḥ parástād vikṣārò 'vástāt*, thus associating with those two stars 'hunters' (*mṛgayu*) and an 'excellent hit (with the bow)' (*vikṣāra*); Keith and Macdonell 1912, I: 416; Harness 2000: 23 f.

[25] This association, and the fact that the festival of Tištrya (modern Tiregān) is celebrated in summer (Yarshater 1983: 803), suggest that in the past summer rains were more common, probably also for a wider influence of the South Asian monsoon, which still affects ancient Zoroastrian areas like Eastern Afghanistan. See Peregrine and Ember 2003: 160 f.

reconstructed the myth of the matrilocal marriage of Athtar with Shams, the Sun goddess, a myth connected with an ancient ritual for rain and fertility, lasting seven days,[26] and with the cult of a saint, called al-Shamsī ('the sunny one'), described as having one eye in the middle of his forehead and capable of seeing afar, a clear solar symbolism.

In Mesopotamia, the Babylonian water god Ea is called *turāḫu.apsu*, which, according to Elliot Smith means 'antelope of the sea' (Elliot Smith 1919: 130-132), but *turāḫu* is commonly translated as 'wild goat, ibex, Steinbock' (Delitzsch 1900: 191; Black 2000: 410). Ea's symbolic animal had the head of a goat on the body of a fish, a figure which was associated with the constellation of Capricorn (*suhur.máš* 'fish-goat'). The Latin name *Capricornus* is a translation of the Greek Αἰγοκέρως 'having the horn(s) of a goat', a compound analogous to the Sanskrit *ṛśyaśṛṅga*. According to a Greek myth, Αἰγοκέρως was born from Αἰγίπαν (a name of Pan which emphasizes his goatish aspect), and from the goat that nursed Zeus (Fowler 2013: 396-397). According to another myth, Pan himself became the Capricorn while fleeing from Typhon into the Nile, where he changed his hind parts into a fish, and the rest of his body into a goat (Condos 1997: 72). In India, the Capricorn was represented as a *makara*, a sea monster, with the head of an antelope, and is also called *mṛga* 'wild beast, deer, antelope', or *eṇa* 'male *Antilope cervicapra*'. The *makarasaṃkrānti* was originally the festival of the winter solstice, and the month of the Capricorn in the Babylonian calendar was December-January, as in Western astrology. The symbol of the goat can be connected with the 'climbing' of the Sun northwards after the winter solstice, and the fish tail with the watery nature of the winter season (Andrews 2000: 31). The connection of the Capricorn with Pan in Greece is also interesting, because the figure of Pan with its goat horns and goat feet, god of fertility and wilderness, has some affinities with the figure of Ṛśyaśṛṅga. A comparable figure is found also in ancient Iran and Mesopotamia, the 'master of the animals' with the head or horns of an ibex, gazelle or mouflon, that appears on seals, pots and small statues in

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[26] This is deduced from various Yemeni fables, where the marriage of the young hero (identified by Daum with Athtar) is typically celebrated with a feast of seven days, called *walīma*. In the ancient South Arabian inscriptions, it is said that the leader (the Mukarrib) gave a banquet for Athtar, where the word for 'banquet' is linguistically identical to *walīma* (Daum 1985: 52).

the 4th millennium BC in Tepe Giyan in Luristan (fig.3), in Susa, and in Tepe Gawra in northern Mesopotamia, and much later (9th-8th century BC) in Luristan bronzes (Barnett 1966: 259-267; Amiet 1979; Taheri 2013). A horned figure of a 'master of animals' appears also on Harappan seals, as the famous 'Paśupati seal' from Mohenjo-daro (fig.4, cp. n.15).

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

This image shows us a figure in yogic posture with a horned headdress, surrounded by animals. It has been compared with Śiva Paśupati 'lord of animals', and it is apparently a deity because in some images a second figure is represented seated below him in worship (Kenoyer 2010: 49 f.). There are also other analogous figures in Harappan seals, and also hybrid beings represented by human figures with horns and other animal features (Kenoyer 2010: 43 ff.). Another comparable deity is the Celtic Cernunnos, the 'Horned one', the god with stag antlers depicted also on the Gundestrup cauldron in a cross-legged position (fig.5) according to his usual iconography (Green 2003: 88 f.). He too was a 'master of animals', a god of the wilderness and fertility (Green 2003: 92-96). Interestingly, he is also associated with the snake (particularly ram-horned snakes) and the dog as the Iranian horned deity (Green 2003: 92-94; Barnett 1966; Amiet 1979). We can thus suppose an original Indo-European cult of a horned master of animals, connected with fertility, of which Ṛśyaśṛṅga is an

Indian evolution, specifically associated with the *nilgai* (or the mythical unicorn) instead of the wild goat or the stag.

Another similar figure is the Mesopotamian Enkidu, whose story has often been compared to that of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, particularly by Schlingloff in his article about the legend of the unicorn and more recently by Abusch and West in a detailed analysis (Schlingloff 1973: 303-305; Abusch and West 2014). In the Babylonian version of the story, Enkidu is a savage, living with wild animals, eating grass with the gazelles and drinking milk from their teats. In a passage of the epic poem[27] it is said that the mother is a gazelle, and the father a wild ass. In iconography, he is often represented as half human and half animal, with tail, bull's legs and horns (Panaino 2001: 153). He has been identified with the god Šakan/Sumugan/Sumuqan, the 'giver of fecundity', Sumerian and Akkadian guardian of all animal life, protector especially of the gazelle (he was the son of the Sun and a gazelle) and associated with the wild goat like the water god Ea. Enkidu himself is presented as donor of fertilizing water to vegetation, and Albright saw in his luxuriant hair the trait of a vegetation spirit (Albright 1920: 320-327).[28] He is thus close to the Indo-European master of animals, therefore we could think that the mythology of this figure was shared by Sumerians and Indo-Europeans and brought to India in prehistoric periods.[29] However, there are some similarities that suggest a more recent transmission of the story from Mesopotamia to India, as we will see in the following.

Since Enkidu helps the animals against hunting, a hunter asks for help to the king of Uruk, Gilgameš, and the king sends Šamḫat,[30] a

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[27] See George 2003: 651; Panaino 2001: 149, 153.

[28] Albright 1920: 322, cites this passage (from SLT, No.13, rev.13): "Engidu, who makes abundant the irrigating ditches and canals for the herbage, who causes the sesame to grow."; and this one (from GE I, Col.2, 36 f.): "he is decked with hair like a woman: the growth (lit. formation) of his hair is as luxuriant as (standing) grain."

[29] The affinities between Sumerians and Indo-Europeans can be shown also on linguistic grounds (Autran 1925; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 769-773; Whittaker 2008; Sahala 2009-2012) and are also apparent from other mythological and religious themes, as remarked by Albright 1920: 315, 318, 333 f., and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995: 447, 481, 492.

[30] "The name is the feminine of the adjective *šamḫu*, itself deriving from the verb *šamāḫu*, which denotes superlative beauty of the flesh combined with lush grow and physical wellbeing. The adjective occurs in both genders as a personal name. However, there is an allusion to the common noun *šamḫatu*, which is a synonym of *ḫarimtu* and so

prostitute, who seduces Enkidu and has a sexual intercourse with him for six or seven days and seven nights.[31] This detail recalls the seven-day-festival of South Arabia, and can have a parallel in one Buddhist version, where after the seduction of the young hermit Ekaśṛṅga there is a rain lasting seven days and seven nights, and Ekaśṛṅga enjoys pleasures, drinking and food for seven days (Lamotte 1949: 1011).[32] We can suspect an astral symbolism in this recurrent week, and the model for a seven-day-feast connected with a rite for rain and fertility.[33] In Chamba in Himachal Pradesh, the festival of rains is held for a week, starting and ending on a Sunday in the monsoon month of Śrāvaṇa (July-August) (Singh 1992: 68).

Schroeder suggested that the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was originally a popular religious drama in the context of a fertility rite (*Generationsritus*) during the feast of the summer solstice, which he identifies, following Hillebrandt, with the Mahāvrata sacrifice (Schröder 1908: 292-303; Hillebrandt 1889: 331-340).[34] However, the Vedic texts themselves identify the Mahāvrata with the winter solstice and Viṣuvant with the

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marks Šamḫat out as the prostitute *par excellence*." (George 2003: 148). She was probably imagined as a cultic prostitute of the temple of Anu and Ištar of Uruk, because she wants to bring there Enkidu after the seduction.

[31] George 2003: 175, where the Old Babylonian version, vv.48-49, gives seven days and seven nights of sexual intercourse; 549, where the Standard Babylonian Epic, v.194, gives six days and seven nights.

[32] The same version, in the MPPŚ, is apparently the only one that gives the name Śāntā to the courtesan, and not to the princess, who is not present in this version. The similarity of the name with Šamḫat suggests that this version has preserved more faithfully the tradition coming from Mesopotamia, and that the MBh and R shifted the name to the daughter of the king, maybe because she was the main female counterpart of the young hero, leaving the prostitute anonymous, being a mere decoy in those versions of the myth.

[33] Cp. Albright 1920: 330: "As seduction of the male is a very common motive in the cult-legends of Oriental gods of fertility, we may safely assume that the theme was once the subject of mimetic representation in Babylonia."

[34] Schröder (1908: 298) remarks the role of the Brahmacārin and the prostitute in the Mahāvrata ritual, suggesting that the presence of an ascetic was considered particularly effective in the fertility rite, and he identifies that couple with the couple engaged in sexual union, but this is not stated in the ritual texts, where the two couples are mentioned in different contexts; the commentary to KātyŚS 13.3.9 states that they are *mithunau vṛṣalau* 'a couple of Śūdras' (Ranade 1978: 392). JŚS 3.39.19 (unpublished, cited in Parpola 2012: 172, n.71) speaks of the union of a *māgadha* (mixed cast of bards) and a prostitute.

summer solstice, as remarked by Keith (1908: 73-85).[35] It can be significant that Viṣuvant was placed in the middle of a ritual week (Hillebrandt 1889: 301 f.).[36] Anyway, the Vedic tradition is not a central reference for the myth of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, since, as we have seen, only his name is recorded in late Vedic lists of teachers. The living tradition of the Kullu valley, already mentioned, celebrates the sacrifice in honour of 'Shringi Rishi' in May, at the beginning of the summer month of Jyeṣṭha (Shabab 1996: 75 f.; Thakur 1997: 59).[37]

An interesting rite for fecundity was celebrated by the Kalash in autumn, when the herdsmen came back from the pastures. During the last night of the harvest festival, the *Prun* (corresponding to Sanskrit *pūrṇa* 'full, abundant'), a herdsman took part in the dances, disguised as a goat. He wore a pair of horns and, as he passed among the women, he charged them and touched them with his horns in an effort to impregnate them (Loude and Lievre 1988: 65 f.). Symbolic horns are present also in wedding rituals in India, in the object called *bāśiṅga* (corresponding to Sanskrit *dviśṛṅga*, 'having two horns'), tied on the forehead of the bridegroom (Parpola 2012: 144). We can see thus that in South Asian ritual traditions the figure of a man with horns is present, which can suggest that the figure of Ṛśyaśṛṅga was originally an archetype of virility and fecundity possibly connected with rites for rain and sons.

Going back to the Gilgameš epic, Enkidu is then brought by Šamḫat to the human world, giving him bread and beer (George 2003: 177, vv.96-101; 561, vv.44-51), as in the story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga he receives sweets and liquors from the seductress, although in the Babylonian story this is not an act of seduction but of civilizing the savage.

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[35] The clearest text is KB XIX.3, where Viṣuvant and Mahāvrata are connected with the different moments (the solstices) when the sun stops before moving towards south and north.

[36] Viṣuvant is inserted between two series of three Svarasāman days, thus constituting one week. This central week is preceded by a week constituted by six days of Pṛṣṭhya Stotras and one Abhijit day, and followed by an analogous week of one Viśvajit day and six days of Pṛṣṭhya Stotras. On the other hand, AB IV.18 insist on two series of ten days rather than on the concept of the week, which however could be a more ancient structure forgotten at the time of that exegetical treatise.

[37] According to Yeshwant Singh, this sacrifice, meant mainly to have children, is performed in this period because also the *putrakāmeṣṭiyajña* (sacrifice for obtaining children for Daśaratha) made by Ṛśyaśṛṅga in Ayodhyā was made in the same month.

After his full introduction into the human society and the city of Uruk, Enkidu fights with Gilgameš, but neither wins and they become friends. In one of their adventures, they kill the Bull of Heaven, that is the constellation Taurus, which had descended to earth bringing drought to the land of Uruk (George 2003: 11; 625, vv.116-117; 627, v.118).[38]

Schlingloff compares the story of Enkidu with the Jain version, where the ascetic is called Vakkalacīrin, because there the king, who is the brother of the ascetic, wants that he lives with him, and the king Gilgameš, he writes, allures the jungleman to win him over as brother and friend (Schlingloff 1973: 305). But this is wrong: according to the Babylonian poem, the goddess Aruru created Enkidu to counteract the tiranny of Gilgalmeš (George 2003: 543, vv.67-96; 545, vv.97-104), and this king himself sends the prostitute because a hunter asked for help against the savage who protected the wild animals, although according to Abusch the figure of the hunter is a later addition to the original tale (Abusch and West 2014: 85). The friendship of the two heroes is envisaged in the prophetic dreams of Gilgameš (Gorge 2003: 557, vv.288-297), but it is not the purpose of sending the prostitute as in the story of Vakkalacīrin (Jain 1977: 574). A similar purpose is found here in the Mahāvastu (III.146.8-9), where the king of Kāśi wants to make of Ekaśṛṅga his adoptive son and son-in-law.

What is interesting in our context is that, if actually the story comes from the tale of Enkidu, the figure of the savage in the Indian culture was naturally transformed into the figure of the *vānaprastha* Ṛṣi, the ascetic living in the forest, isolated from mankind, with the addition of the fact of being born in the forest without knowing other human beings except his father. The presence of the father makes him more human than Enkidu, and also his Vedic or ascetic training makes of him a more civilized figure, although belonging to a culture completely separate from

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[38] The connection of Taurus with drought is probably due to the fact that the spring is the season of the flood of Tigris and Euphrates, and its beginning was marked by the Taurus constellation before 2000 BC, so if there was a drought it was connected with that constellation. It is also remarkable that a significant aridity arrived around 2200 BC, before the redaction of the Sumerian poem which is the first attestation of this story, belonging to the period Ur III (George 2003: 6). This myth has induced to identify Gilgameš with Orion, the constellation facing the Bull in the sky and represented as an armed giant. Orion, at least in the Greek tradition, was strictly connected with the winter rains and storms.

the common human society. Ekaśṛṅga/Ṛśyaśṛṅga, besides his popular cultic character as a bringer of rain and fecundity, in the literary tradition is a sort of mental experiment of the absolute *vānaprastha*, which finds in the courtesan, perfect manifestation of the hedonistic urban society, his opposite. In the Pāli Jātakas and the Mahāvastu the seductress is the princess, making the contrast somewhat weaker, but all the same she represents the civilized urban world, disguised under external forms of the ascetic world. This contrast is actually a precedent for the contrast between Yaśodharā and Gautama as the Buddha, because this Jātaka here in the Mahāvastu, and also in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, is told after the attempt of seduction of his former husband through sweetmeats (*modaka*) by Yaśodharā, which is presented as a repetition of the use of sweetmeats to allure the Bodhisattva as Ekaśṛṅga by the princess Nalinī or Śāntā, being Yaśodharā herself in a previous life.[39] This parallelism can be a reason why the princess was chosen instead of the prostitute (although in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra Śāntā is the courtesan, who was nonetheless Yaśodharā in a former existence), but in this case the Pāli Naḷinikā Jātaka, where the occasion is simply given by a monk going back to live with his wife, and the princess is a former life of that wife, does not follow the same tradition, although it shares with the Mahāvastu the similar name for the princess.[40] Also there

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[39] Mvu III.143.8-10; at the end of the story, in Mvu III.152.17-18 the 'adorning herself' of Yaśodharā is mentioned instead (*tadāpi eṣā ātmānaṃ alaṃkṛtvā mama pralobheti*). In MSV only the sweets are mentioned, but they are enchanted (*vaśīkaraṇamodaka*, see MSV II 31,18-23; 37,29-33; 40,16-18); analogous is the version of the MPPŚ (Lamotte 1949: 1008; 1012), where those *modaka* are prepared with medicinal herbs (*oṣadhi*) and enchanted with a *mantra*.

[40] We can suppose that they share a common source, different from that of the MBh and the other versions using the name Śāntā, that we have proposed as derived from the Akkadian Šamḫat (see above, n.32). It is interesting that the name Nalinī according to BR: 68 indicates also the heavenly Ganges (the Milky Way) or an arm of it, and that here in the Mvu Ekaśṛṅga's hermitage is along the Ganges, and Nalinī finally takes him on a ship along the Ganges, as the courtesans in the MBh: we can hypothesize an astral symbolism, considering also that the asterism *mṛgaśiras* is on the edge of the Milky Way. According to Barnett 1966: 275, in the Mesopotamian tradition, Orion, identified with the minister of the gods Papsukkal (wearing, as other Babylonian gods, a horned cap), was the gatekeeper of the sky because he occupies the point where the Zodiac enters the Milky Way. Also the Capricorn is close to the Milky Way on the other side of the Zodiac, as is remarked by Porphyry in *De Antro Nympharum*, 31.

the ascetic Isisiṅga corresponds to the Buddhist *bhikkhu* in the present, but he is not the Bodhisattva, while his wise father is identified as a previous existence of the Buddha Gautama, which is obviously more appropriate for him than the figure of the naïve and seduced Ekaśṛṅga/Isisiṅga. In the other Buddhist versions, the story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, so interesting for the topic of asceticism and seduction, was adopted in the context of the attempts of Yaśodharā to win back her former husband, and the prostitute was therefore substituted by the princess. Instead, when the Theravāda Jātakas were redacted in prose on the basis of the Pāli *gāthā*s, this story was not put in relation with the life of the Buddha, which was not followed as in the Mahāvastu or the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, and the character of Isisiṅga could thus be distinguished from the figure of the Bodhisattva and rather identified with a backsliding monk, whereas the princess was kept in the role of the seductress.

The birth of Ekaśṛṅga and the origin of his name

Returning to the text, it is said that the Ṛṣi Kāśyapa, in the last month of summer, eats very sweet fruits and, being thirsty, drinks much water, he has an excess of the bodily elements 'wind' (*vāta*) and heat (*ātapa*),[41] therefore when he urinates (into a stone pot or basin) his urine is mixed with semen. A female deer or antelope (*mṛgī*), being thirsty, drinks it thinking that it is water. Then, she licks the orifice of the uterus and, being infatuated, becomes pregnant.[42] This description, the most rich in

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[41] Cp. BHSD: 476, where Edgerton observes that this passage appears to prove that *ātapa* is here one of the bodily humours of Indian medicine (*dhātu*, *doṣa*), usually named *pitta*, the hot humour, while *vāta*, a humour connected with nervous agitation, is normally known with this name. On the other hand, it is also possible that the constituent elements of air/movement and fire/heat are rather intended here.

[42] Mvu III.143.14-17: *tena grīṣmāṇāṃ paścime māse kṣudrapākāni phalāni bhuktāni tṛṣitena ca bahutaraṃ pānīyaṃ pītaṃ / tasya abhiṣannā vātātapā saṃvṛttā / tena upalakuṇḍake saśukraṃ prasrāvaṃ kṛtaṃ // aparāye mṛgīye tṛṣitāye taṃ prasrāvaṃ pānīyasaṃjñāya pītaṃ // ṛtumatīye tāye mṛgīye aśucim rakṣitena mukhatuṇḍena saśukraṃ yonimukhaṃ jihvāya pralīḍhaṃ / tāye saṃmūrcchayetvā kukṣiṃ pratilabdhaṃ*. The text of Sa and Sb generally agrees with Sénart's text, except for *saṃmūrcchayetvā* instead of Sénart's °*yitvā* (M has also °*yetvā* and B °*yesvā*), and *abhiṣannā*, where Sénart has given *abhiṣyaṇṇā*, whereas B gives *abhipannā* (an easy corruption of °*ṣannā*, due to the similarity of प and ष) and M *abhiṣaṇā*. The form of Sa and Sb is close to the Pāli *abhisanna*, pp. of *abhisandati*, corresponding to Skt. *abhiṣyand* 'to run forward (of liquids), to overflow'.

'scientific' details compared to the others, is very similar to the one found in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya,[43] for some textual elements is close to that of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya,[44] for the detail of the infatuation only to the Alambusā Jātaka,[45] and for mention of the season and the basin there is a comparison with the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra.[46] The mention of the last month of summer is interesting, because it means that this happened just before the rainy season. The detail of the urine is typical of the Buddhist versions, possibly it was necessary to introduce it to allow the animal to drink it, since the lake where the Ṛṣi is washing himself is not mentioned as in the Mahābhārata and Padma Purāṇa; however, it recalls what we have found in the Ṛgveda about the rain identified with the urine of Indra or the Maruts, and the role of the urine of the ass-unicorn in the Zoroastrian myth. Here in the Mahāvastu, there is clearly the will to avoid to present the Ṛṣi as influenced by lustful desire, since the emission of semen is attributed to a mere physiological reason. The same concern can be present in the Pāli Jātaka, and with stronger reasons, since there the father is actually the Bodhisattva, while in the Mahāvastu he is identified as a previous life of Śuddhodana. On the other hand, the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, which does not identify the father in the conclusion, says that the Ṛṣi saw some deer mating while he was urinating and so, being influenced by lustful thoughts, emitted some semen into the basin where the animal later drank.

The mention of the stone basin (*upalakuṇḍaka*)[47] is also possibly reminiscent of a Vedic myth, that of the birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha from

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[43] Chavannes 1911, vol.II, p.283: there the time is the last month of spring, the ascetic has eaten fruits and grains, and the reason for the emission of semen is that all four bodily elements are in disharmony. Then it is added that male and female deers, being in the rut, followed each other in troops; one female deer, searching for water, drank the urine mixed with semen, then she licked her genital organ, and became pregnant.

[44] Cp. MSV II 38,6-7: *tena saśukraḥ prasrāvaḥ kṛtaḥ; sa tayā mṛgyā pītaḥ; strīndriyaṃ jihvayā nirlīḍham.*

[45] Ja V 152,13-14: *ettaken' eva tasmiṃ paṭibaddhacittā gabbhaṃ paṭilabhitvā.*

[46] Lamotte 1949 : 1009: "au second mois de l'automne, il urinait dans sa cuvette à ablutions". We see that the period of the year is different from the Mvu, it should be connected here with the breeding season, since the hermit observes the mating of deer, which however in the MahV is at the end of spring.

[47] This term is apparently used only in the Mvu, in this story and in the analogous following story of Padumavatī. Jones translates literally as 'stone pot'; BHSD: 140, interprets it as a 'chamber pot', but it is unlikely that he used a chamber pot in the forest,

Mitra and Varuṇa: when they see the Apsaras Urvaśī (the same mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas as seen by Vibhaṇḍaka Kāśyapa) their semen falls in a water-jar (*kumbha*, *kalaśa*), where there was water connected with the Soma sacrifice, and from there the Ṛṣi Agastya (sometimes also Vasiṣṭha) is born, so that he is typically styled in Epics and Purāṇas as *kumbhayoni*, *kumbhasambhava*, *kalaśabhū* or *kalaśajanman* 'born in a water-jar'.[48] In the Bṛhaddevatā this myth is told after a genealogy where Kaśyapa has the main role, since, among other gods and living beings, he begot Mitra and Varuṇa by Aditi (BD V.148). After the detailed description of the conception, it is explained why the animal was living so close to him: "That Ṛṣi was abiding in loving kindness, [therefore] wild beasts and birds had no fear of him. Hundreds of wild beasts and birds roamed about and dwelt in the neighborhood of the hermitage."[49] Again, we have the *vānaprastha* Ṛṣi characterized as cultivating *maitrī*, which creates harmony with the animals of the wilderness, in an idyllic atmosphere. It is this absence of fear and closeness between the human ascetic and the animals that makes the birth of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, a being intermediate between the human and the animal realm, possible.

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and that a chamber pot was made of stone (in Pāli we have *passāvadoṇikā* 'a trough for urine', whose name reveals that it was made of wood). However, *kuṇḍa*, besides a water pot, also indicates "a round hole in the ground (for receiving and preserving water or fire, cp. *agni-kuṇḍa*), pit, well, spring or basin of water" (MW: 289). The fact that it is of stone, an unusual material for vessels, can show that it is rather a basin or pit. Moreover, later on the word *upalakuṇḍalaka* is used in most mss., and *kuṇḍalaka*, according to BHSD: 186, is translated in Mvy 9443 in Tibetan and Chinese as 'wash-basin'. Lamotte, as we have seen, translates the corresponding term in the Chinese version as 'cuvette à ablutions', which apparently alludes to the same object. In the Alambusā Jātaka, simply a 'mingeing-place' (*passāvaṭṭhāna*) is mentioned (Ja V 152,12), where the animal eats some herb and drinks some water mixed with semen.

[48] See BR and MW; it is interesting that according to MW *kumbhabhava* is used for the star Canopus, which is called Agastya in Indian astronomy; perhaps, also here we have to do with an astral myth. We also find the compound *kumbharetas* about the semen from which Vasiṣṭha was born in MBh XIII.143.18ab, and as an epithet of Agni in MBh III.209.10d. For the story of the birth of Agastya and Vasiṣṭha, see RV VII.33.10-13; Sarvānukr I.166; Nir V.13-14; BD V.149-152. Cp. Sieg 1902: 105-108.

[49] Mvu III.143.19-144.1: *so ca ṛṣi maitrīvihārī tasya mṛgapakṣī pi na santrasanti mṛgapakṣiśatāni āśramasya parisamante caranti prativasanti ca*. Sa and Sb, instead of *santrasanti*, have *saṃtrasenti*. Cp. Mvu II.210.15-16.

Then it is said that the antelope or deer gives birth to a child, and that the Ṛṣi sees the strange event. Therefore he wonders how is it possible that an animal gives birth to a human offspring. Then, we find this general statement:

After having focused their attention (*samanvāharitvā*), knowledge arises in Ṛṣis.[50]

Jones translates "when seers concentrate their minds knowledge comes to them." However, if we compare the passages where the verb *samanvāhṛ*, present only in Buddhist Sanskrit, appears in the Mahāvastu, 'to pay attention' is the correct meaning, although this implies some concentration. This verb is applied to Ṛṣis also in the call of the king in the Kinnarī Jātaka, where they 'pay heed' to this call (Mvu II.96.1-3). Another instance is in the divine vision of the relative of Kauśika who has become a Gandharva, which follows an act of attention or focusing (*so samanvāharati / paśyati taṃ kauśikaṃ*). But we find used the same verb also for common people, like the inhabitants of Kapilavastu whose attention is attracted by the young Ṛṣis sons of Kola when they arrive at the city (Mvu I.354.16-18). Moreover, it is also used in a negative form again in the Kinnarī Jātaka (II.97.10-11), where the ingenuous ascetic reveals the way of binding a Kinnarī 'without paying attention' (*asamanvāharitvā*) to the consequences of his revelation.

On the other hand, the corresponding Pāli verb *samannāharati* is used also in a meditative context. At the end of the Lomasakassapa Jātaka, the Ṛṣi recovers his ascetic attainments by focusing on an object of meditation (*kasiṇaṃ samannāharitvā*).[51] In the Janavasabha Suttanta of

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[50] Mvu III.144.4-5: *samanvāharitvā ṛṣīṇāṃ jñānaṃ pravartati*. Sa and Sb have *pravarttati*, M *pravartteti*. Cp. MSV II 38,12-13: *sa samanvāhartuṃ pravṛttaḥ kasyāyaṃ putraḥ iti; paśyati, atmanaḥ* "He began to pay attention [wondering]: 'whose son is this?'; he saw, [that it was] his own [son]." Similar is the description in the Mahāsaṃghika Vinaya, as we read in Chavannes 1911, II: 284: "«Comment se fait-il qu'un animal en enfantant puisse enfanter un être humain?» Il entra donc en contemplation et aperçut la cause originelle (de cet événement); c'était ainsi son fils [...]". Similarly in MPPŚ (Lamotte 1949 : 1010): "il réfléchit aux causes anciennes et comprit que c'était son propre fils". Somewhat different is the formulation of the Alambusā Jātaka, which is strangely placed before the birth of the child, and apparently refers to the cause of the pregnancy (Ja V 152,15): *Mahāsatto parigaṇhanto taṃ kāraṇaṃ aññāsi* "The Great Being, examining (into the matter), knew that cause".

[51] Ja III 519,18-19: *kasiṇaṃ samannāharitvā naṭṭhaṃ visesaṃ uppādetvā ākāse pallaṃkena nisīditvā* [...].

the Dīgha Nikāya, Ānanda asks the Buddha why has he not declared the rebirth of his followers from Magadha, and when he has gone away it is said that the Buddha, after focusing with his whole mind (*sabba-cetaso samannāharitvā*) on the destiny of his deceased followers, sees it (*addasā*).[52] Thus shows that, also for the Buddha (the 'great Ṛṣi'), knowledge arises after focusing on the object which is to be known.

Therefore, this sentence of the Mahāvastu, similar to a *sūtra* aphorism, asserts that when Ṛṣis focus their attention on a topic, knowledge about it naturally arises. It is not explained why is it so, but we can suppose that the reason is that Ṛṣis are endowed with *dhyāna*s (particularly the fourth *dhyāna*) and *abhijñā*s, and actually in the corresponding passage of the following Jātaka, it is said that when Ṛṣis who have the five *abhijñā*s focus their attention, knowledge arises.[53]

The object of knowledge here is not typical of one particular *abhijñā*, being the process by which it was possible that a human child was born from a beast: when the Ṛṣi focuses his attention (*so dāni ṛṣi samanvāharati*), he remembers that he ate sweet fruits and drank too much water, so the elements or humours (*dhātu*) overflowed,[54] and the already told facts are repeated, until he realizes that the child comes from his own body.[55] It is a kind of knowledge of the past which is not the same as the

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[52] DN II 204,27-205,1: *māgadhake paricārake ārabbha aṭṭhikatvā manasikatvā sabba-cetaso samannāharitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi: 'gatiṃ tesaṃ jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisamparāyā' ti. addasā kho bhagavā māgadhake paricārake yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yam-abhisamparāyā*. Cp. DN II 205,16-21 and II 207,5-8.

[53] Mvu III.153.19-20: *samanvāharitvā ṛṣiṇāṃ paṃcābhijñānāṃ jñānaṃ pravartati*.

[54] Mvu III.144.5-7: *so dāni ṛṣi samanvāharati / amukaṃ kālaṃ maye adhimātraṃ kṣudrapākāni phalāni parimuktāni bahutarakaṃ ca me pānīyaṃ pītaṃ tato me abhiṣyaṇṇehi dhātūhi upalakuṇḍake saśukraṃ prasrāvaṃ kṛtaṃ*. The participle *abhiṣyaṇṇehi* is an emendation made by Sénart, on the basis of the parallel passages. B and M give *abhīprasavehi*, Sa *ahiprasavehi*, Sb *abhiprasavehi*. This term *abhiprasava* is not attested elsewhere, but *abhiprasru* is found in ŚB I.1.3.5 in the meaning 'to flow forth' (BR: 'ausfliessen'); there is also *prasrava* 'flowing forth, overflow; morbid matter in the body' (MW). Then, here a synonym of *abhiṣyand* was used, although the form is grammatically wrong, perhaps we should suppose *abhipras(r)avantehi*. The term *dhātu* can indicate the 5 constituent elements or the three humours of medicine. Sa, Sb and B have instead of *upalakuṇḍake* the form °*kuṇḍalake*, which has already been discussed above, in n.47.

[55] Mvu III.144.8: *mamaivaiṣo aṃganisrāvo ti*. Sa has *mamaveṣo*, M *mamevai*°. All mss. give °*niśrāvo*, which is however incorrect.

knowledge of past lives, because it involves also another being, the female antelope, and the divine eye in the Buddhist definition is vision of present objects far in space but not in time.

The first of the eighteen special qualities of the Buddha is the knowledge of the past, as it is remarked also in Mvu I.160.8-9, where it is included in the description of the 'Buddha eye' (*buddhacakṣu*).[56] In Ja I 54-55 the *tāpasa* Kāḷa Devala can see 40 ages in the past and in the future.[57] So, it seems that the Buddhist view was that the full knowledge of the past was only possible for a Buddha, but Ṛṣis could also achieve it partially, as they could achieve the five *abhijñā*s. Probably, knowledge of past and future was included in the divine eye for someone who was not a Buddha.

In the tradition of Yoga, in the commentary to YS III.36, the yogi acquires knowledge of past and future from *prātibha*, the enlightened intuition.[58] Also in the root text of Patañjali, YS III.16, we read that through concentration on the transformation of phenomena comes knowledge of past and future.[59] YS III.4-5 states that when the three stages of concentration (*dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*) are achieved, the light of cognition (*prajñāloka*) arises.[60] Vācaspati Miśra, in his commentary to YS III.31, asserts that whatever the yogi wishes to know, he must perform the concentration (*saṃyama*) with reference to that:[61] a statement very close to that of the Mahāvastu. In the Kūrma Purāṇa, it is said that knowledge

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[56] *atīte aṃśe tathāgatasya apratihataṃ jñānadarśanaṃ.*

[57] Ja I 54,31-32: *Tāpaso atīte cattālīsa kappe, anāgate cattālīsā 'ti asīti kappe anussarati.*

[58] YBh on III.36: *Prātibhāt sūkṣma-vyavahita-viprakṛṣṭa-atīta-anāgata-jñānam* "From intuition [comes] knowledge of what is subtle, concealed, distant, past and future."

[59] YS III.16: *pariṇāmatrayasaṃyamād atītānāgatajñānam.* The YBh specifies that the concentration is on the abiding and transformation of the characters of phenomena : *dharmalakṣaṇāvasthāpariṇāmeṣu saṃyamād yogināṃ bhavaty atītānāgatajñānam. dhāraṇādhyānasamādhitrayam ekatra saṃyama uktaḥ. tena pariṇāmatrayaṃ sākṣātkriyamāṇam atītānāgatajñānaṃ teṣu saṃpādayati.*

[60] YS III.4-5: *trayam ekatra saṃyamaḥ // tajjayāt prajñālokaḥ.* YBh on III.4 says that the practice of the three levels of concentration with reference to one object (*viṣaya*) is *saṃyama*: *tad etad dhāraṇādhyānasamādhitrayam ekatra saṃyamaḥ. ekaviṣayāṇi trīṇi sādhanāni saṃyama ity ucyate.* The commentary to III.5 clarifies that the firmer is concentration, the more lucid is meditative cognition: *tasya saṃyamasya jayāt samādhiprajñāyā bhavaty āloko yathā yathā saṃyamaḥ sthirapado bhavati tathā tathā samādhiprajñā viśāradī bhavati.*

[61] *tatra-tatra jijñāsāyāṃ yoginas tatra tatra saṃyamaḥ.*

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originates from Yoga,[62] and something very similar is stated in a stanza of the Dhammapada.[63] As in other instances, we see again that 'Ṛṣi' in Buddhist contexts can be taken as a synonym of yogi. The connection between yogic meditation and knowledge is found also in another passage of the Mahāvastu with terms similar to our aphorism: the Bodhisattvas from the eighth *bhūmi* are masters of profound meditations and in them a purified knowledge arises (*uttaptaṃ jñānaṃ teṣāṃ pravartate*).[64]

After having realized that the child was his son, the ascetic wraps him in his antelope's hide,[65] and carries him to the hermitage. The antelope follows him, and he cuts the umbilical cord, washes the child, makes him suck from the mother's teat, even putting the teat in his mouth.[66] Then it is said:

When the child went on his own feet, then, having grasped by himself the teat of that antelope, drank. "A young (*śṛṅgaka*) who goes

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[62] KūrP II.2.41ab=II.11.3ab: *yogāt saṃjāyate jñānaṃ jñānād yogaḥ pravartate*.

[63] Dhp 79,5∗: *yogā ve jāyati bhūrī ayogā bhūrisaṃkhayo* "From Yoga wisdom arises, from the absence of Yoga the destruction of wisdom."

[64] Mvu I.105.17-106.1: *ataḥ prabhṛti dhyānāni gambhīrāṇi labhanti te / ataḥ prabhṛti uttaptaṃ jñānaṃ teṣāṃ pravartate*.

[65] This detail is found also in the MahV, and also the following help in sucking the mother's teat, as we read in Chavannes 1911, II: 284: "il l'enveloppa d'un vêtement de peau, le prit, le rapporta et l'éleva; l'ascète le soulevait dans ses bras et la biche l'allaitait comme une mère." It is clear that we have here a common textual tradition.

[66] Mvu III.144.9: *tena dāni garbharūpaṃ ajinakena gṛhṇīya taṃ āśramapadaṃ praveśito //sā dāni mṛgī pṛṣṭhato anveti / tena tasya garbharūpasya phalakena nābhi cchinnā tailena ca abhyaṃgito sukhodakena taṃ garbhamalaṃ paridhotaṃ // so ṛṣi taṃ garbharūpaṃ tasya mṛgīye stane allīpeti sā pi mṛgī pāyeti / so pi ṛṣi tasya mṛgīye stanaṃ tasya dārakasya mukhe prakṣipati // yaṃ kālaṃ so dārako āsito bhavati tataḥ sā mṛgī tasya āśramasya parisamantena caritvā pānīyaṃ ca pibitvā puno garbharūpaṃ stanaṃ pāyeti jihvāyeṇa ca naṃ parilehati*. We have made minor changes in Sénart's text, following the mss., the most remarkable is *so pi ṛṣi* instead of *ṛṣiṇāpi*, which is an emendation due to the fact that he adopts the reading *prakṣipyati*, but Sa and Sb have the active *prakṣipati*. B, M and Sb have *so pi riṣi* (or *ṛṣi*) *pi*, but Sa has *so pi riṣi*, then repeats *ṣi* in the following leaf. We have also restored *jihvāyena* instead of *jihvāgreṇa* (cp. BHSG: 65, §9.69) and added *ca* before *naṃ pari°*, because all mss. give *caraṃ pari°*. In the parallel passage of Mvu III.154.16 we have *sā ca naṃ* (M *tāṃ*) *mātā jihvāye parilihati*. The form *caraṃ* can be a corruption influenced by the verse in Mvu II.194.5: *tasya tāmranakhā caraṇāṃ jihvāyā(ṃ) parilehiya*, where *caraṇāṃ* means 'feet', referred to the horse Kaṇṭhaka who licks the feet of Gautama.

alone (*eka-cara*) is born" [thought the Ṛṣi, therefore] he was named *Ekaśṛṅga* by the Ṛṣi.[67]

Sénart proposed the emendation *ekacaraṃ*, on the basis of *ekaṃ caraṃ* given by a manuscript, and he suggested that the name *ekaśṛṅga* is used with reference to the rhinoceros, that is regularly compared with the Pratyekabuddha for his solitary life; he added the remark that both are styled *ekacara*, but he admitted that he could not find a way to extract this meaning from the present text (Sénart 1897: 483).[68] However, the previous sentence, with the stress on the fact that the child went by himself to suck the teat, makes very plausible the use of *ekacara* with the meaning 'walking alone'.

The word *śṛṅga* according to the Böthlingk-Roth dictionary (BR: 288) can mean 'female breast', referring to BhP V.2.11, where actually the term is used in that sense, although in a poetical context rich in metaphors. Also in the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga in the Padma Purāṇa reported by Lüders (Lüders 1940: 10, v.52), the dual *śṛṅge* is used for the female breast (*vakṣasā ca dadhac chṛṅge*), however, by the young ascetic who does not know the anatomy of a woman. But what is most significant is that the corresponding word *siṅga* in Pāli can mean 'the young of an animal, calf' according to the Pāli Text Society dictionary, which refers to a passage of the Jātakas (Ja V 92,16*), where we have *gatasiṅga* for the abode of a cow, explained in the commentary (Ja V 93,6-7) as *nikkhantavacchaka* 'where the calf has gone away'. It refers also to Hemacandra's

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[67] Mvu III.144.15-17: *yaṃ kālaṃ so garbharūpo pādehi pi aṇvito tato svayan tasya mṛgīye stanaṃ gṛhnitvā pibati // ekacaraṃ śṛṅgakaṃ jātaṃ ti ṛṣiṇā ekaśṛṅgo ti nāmaṃ kṛtaṃ.* We have changed some forms according to Sa and Sb; Sa has, instead of *stanaṃ*, the Prakrit form *thanaṃ*, which could be more original. B and Sb have *ekaṃ varaṃ*, M, (possibly) Sa, and the Calcutta ms. *ekaṃ caraṃ*. B and M have *jātan tena*, Sb *jātaṃ tena*, Sa *jātaṃ ti riṣiṇā*, although *ti* has an unusual form, apparently a correction of *te*. Sa, Sb, B and the Calcutta ms. have °*go hi* instead of °*go ti*.

[68] We propose to keep the form *ekaṃ caraṃ*, which stresses the word *eka*, and is attested also in Merutuṅga's *Ṣaḍḍarśananirṇaya* (p.9, st.1): *vimuktaṃ sarvasaṅgebhyo munim ākāśavat sthitam / svastham **ekaṃ caraṃ** śāntaṃ taṃ devā brāhmaṇaṃ viduḥ.* However, the corresponding verse of the MBh (XII.237.22cd) is thus given: *asvam ekacaraṃ śāntaṃ taṃ devā brāhmaṇaṃ viduḥ*, and in the apparatus a variant reading *ekaṃ caraṃ* is not given. We can compare also what we find in the Varanasi edition (Chaubey 1993) of the Dharmasamuccaya (XI.42): *ekaṃ karoti karmāṇi vividhāni calaṃ ca tat / **ekānekaṃ caraṃ** sūkṣmaṃ kṣaṇād ūrdhva na tiṣṭhati.* The Paris edition (Li-Kouang 1969) gives instead *ekānekacaraṃ.*

Deśīnāmamālā, VIII.31, where it is said that the word *siṅgaya* (*siṅgao* in the commentary) means *taruṇa* 'young' (Pischel 1989: 328). We can hypothesize that from the metaphorical meaning of 'breast', there was a derivative in the sense of 'the young who sucks the breast', and in this sense the suffix *-ka* of *śṛṅgaka* could have the function of indicating what is 'provided with or concerning oneself with the concept of the primary word'.[69] Otherwise, if *śṛṅga* is already taken in the sense of 'young', the suffix *-ka* creates a diminutive, with a nuance of affection, like *putraka* or *vatsaka*.[70] It is remarkable that in the following he is mostly called *ekaśṛṅgako*.

We should also compare what seems to be the explanation of the name in the *Alambusā Jātaka*: "The Great Being (the Ṛṣi-Bodhisattva) watched over him (the child) with the affection due to a son, 'Isisiṅga' was his name."[71] Apparently here *isisiṅga* is interpreted as 'young of the Ṛṣi'.[72]

So, unless we adopt the form *ekaṃ varaṃ śṛṅgakaṃ jātaṃ* with the unlikely meaning 'one excellent horn is born' (without further explanation),[73] there is no clear allusion here in the Mahāvastu to a horn on the head of Ekaśṛṅga, who is thus deprived of his animal features and of the identification with the mythical unicorn, although the name has

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[69] Wackernagel-Debrunner 1954: 522 f.: "mit dem Begriff des Grundworts versehen" and "sich mit dem Begriff des Grundworts abgebend".

[70] See Wackernagel-Debrunner 1954: 515-517, and Katre 1989: 603-605, where the functions given to *-ka* are compassion (*anukampā*), being small (*alpa*) and short (*hrasva*).

[71] Ja V 152,16-17: *Mahāsatto taṃ puttasinehena paṭijaggi, Isisiṅgo ti 'ssa nāmaṃ ahosi.*

[72] Differently, the commentary to the *gāthā* V 153,9-10*, where Isisiṅga is mentioned, explains the name from the fact that he had on the head two protuberances shaped like antelope horns (Ja V 153,14-15): *Isisiṅgan ti tassa kira matthake migasiṅgākārena dve cūḷā uṭṭhahiṃsu, tasmā evaṃ vuccati.* There is also the compound *issāsiṅga* or *issasiṅga* in Pāli (CPD: 321; Ja V 425,14; 20*) which is a symbol of something crooked, and *issāmiga* or *issammiga* (CPD: 317; 321) for the animal itself. In Ja V 431,32 a variant from a ms. of *issāmigassa* is *isimigassa*; in an inscription from Bharhut is found *isimigo jataka*, referring to the Nigrodhamiga Jātaka, and the antelope of the relief is recognized as resembling a *nilgai* (Lüders 1963: 127 f.; Pl. XX; XLVII). So, it seems that there was some confusion between *issa* and *isi* for indicating the *ṛśya*, and this probably created misunderstandings about the meaning of *Isisiṅga*. We find even the Sanskritized form *Ṛṣiśṛṅga* in Māy 256.31 (BHSD: 152), just after *Ekaśṛṅga*, as a *maharṣi*.

[73] Jones 1956: 140, n.3, instead, interprets *śṛṅgaka* as 'horned beast' (metaphorically identifying the child with the solitary rhinoceros), without giving any reference for this translation, which is not supported by the dictionaries.

obviously that origin. However, his closeness to the wild animals is stressed in the following description of his life (Mvu III.144.17-145.7), where he, repeatedly called *ekaśṛṅgako ṛṣikumāro*, plays with the animals and their young around the hermitage.

The education of Ekaśṛṅga
After the description of the childhood among the animals of the forest, it is said:

  When Ekaśṛṅga the young Ṛṣi had reached years of discretion, he cleaned and swept the hermitage of the Ṛṣi, fetched roots of various kinds, leaves, water and wood. He massaged and bathed the Ṛṣi and tended the sacred fire. He served the Ṛṣi with various dishes of roots, leaves, flowers and fruits, and supplied him with water. He would first serve the Ṛṣi and his mother, the antelope, then he would take food himself. The Ṛṣi showed to the young Ṛṣi the way to the meditative states and the higher knowledges. Then the young Ṛṣi, by application, practice, exertion and effort in the discipline of wakefulness during the first and last watches of the night, produced the four meditative states and realized the five higher knowledges. Then the young Ṛṣi, having achieved the four meditative states and the five higher knowledges, observing celibacy, became of great miraculous power and spiritual might, well known among gods and men.[74]

  Ekaśṛṅga, like Śyāmaka, is presented as devoted to his father and mother, and as performing the practical works of the hermitage, but it is

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[74] Mvu III.145.7-17: *yaṃ kālaṃ so ekaśṛṃgako ṛṣikumāro āvijñaprāpto saṃjāto tasya ṛṣisya taṃ āśramaṃ siṃcati sanmārjati mūlāni nānāprakārāṇi āneti patrāṇi āneti udakaṃ āneti kāṣṭhāni āneti tam ṛṣiṃ parimardati snāpeti agnihotraṃ paṭijāgaroti / tam ṛṣiṃ parivisati nānāprakārāhi mūlavikṛtīhi patravikṛtīhi puṣpavikṛtīhi phalavikṛtīhi pānīyaṃ upanāmeti / prathamaṃ taṃ ṛṣiṃ parivisitvā tāṃ ca mṛgīṃ mātaraṃ paścāt svayam āhāraṃ karoti // tena ṛṣiṇā tasya ṛṣikumārasya dhyānānāṃ ca abhijñānāṃ ca mārgam upadiṣṭaṃ // tena dāni ṛṣikumāreṇa pūrvarātrāpararātraṃ jāgarikāyogam anuyuktena viharantena ghaṭantena vyāyamantena catvāri dhyānāny utpāditāni paṃca cābhijñā sākṣīkṛtā // so dāni ṛṣikumāro caturdhyānalābhī paṃcābhijño kaumārabrahmacārī maharddhiko mahānubhāvo saṃjāto abhijñāto devamanuṣyāṇām.*
All mss. give the form *āvijñaprāpto*, instead of *vijñaprāpto* which there is in Mvu II.211.18 for Śyāmaka, and that is adopted by Sénart here. We have also changed *pratijāgareti*, apparently attested by M (B has *pratijāgaroti*), into *paṭijāgaroti* attested by Sa and Sb, a Prakrit form. In Pāli the normal form is *paṭijaggati*, but we also find *paṭijāgarenti* (with vl. *paṭijāgaronti*, accepted also by the Comm.), in AN I 142,26, etc., translated by Woodward 1932: 126, as 'keep the vigil'.

also added that he took care of the sacred fire (called with the Brahmanic term *agnihotra*[75]). So, we have here a rare allusion to the Vedic fire cult of the *vānaprastha*s, which was necessary for the narrative because later the father will lament that the youth has not offered to the sacred fire, a detail mentioned also in the *gāthā*s of the Naḷinikā Jātaka and in the Mahābhārata.[76] Also in a relief of Bharhut about this Jātaka, the hermit is represented as attending to the sacred fire, and with the attire of a Brahmanic *vānaprastha* (hair coiled up in braids, long beard, a girdle, a kind of kilt apparently made of bark or *kuśa* grass and the sacred thread over his left shoulder, see Lüders 1963: 134; Pl. XX; XLIII).[77]

However, in the following the usual yogic meditative practice of the Ṛṣis in the Mahāvastu is introduced also here, as it is done also in the other Buddhist versions: in the *Alambusā Jātaka* we find that when he reached years of discretion he was introduced into the religious life, and after the death of his father he sported in meditation on the Himalayas, he practiced a terrible austerity (*ghoratapa*), his senses were completely mortified, and by the power of his virtue the abode of the god Sakka trembled.[78] In the Naḷinikā Jātaka, after he has come of age, his father

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[75] This term is normally used for the ritual offering to the fire, but it is used also in classical Sanskrit with this meaning, see BR.

[76] MBh III.111.21b: *kac cid dhutaṃ cāgnihotraṃ tvayādya*. Ja V 195, 22*: *maññe no aggiṃ hāpeti Isisiṅgo mahiddhiko ti*; V 201, 22*: *huto ca aggi*; V 201,21*: *aggi pi te na hāpito*; V 201, 27*: *ahāpitaggī si*. Cp. Lüders 1940: 67, which remarks that one of these *gāthā*s is used also in other Jātakas, namely the Culla-Nārada Jātaka (Ja IV 221,19-20*) and the Vessāntara Jātaka (Ja VI 565,4-5*), both in the context of the life of the hermitage: *na te kaṭṭhāni bhinnāni, na te udakam ābhataṃ, aggī pi te na hāpito, kin nu mando va jhāyasi*. Also in the Alambusā Jātaka, when Isisiṅga regains consciousness in the abode of the Apsaras, he realizes that he does not oblations to the fire and recitation of *mantra*s (Ja V 158,19*): *na juhe na jape mante, aggihuttaṃ ahāpitaṃ*. The participle *hāpita* is from the causative *hāpeti* of *juhati*, with the meaning 'to sacrifice to, worship, keep up, cultivate' (PTSD: 730); the CPD: 533 f., translates *ahāpita* 'not offered' and *ahāpit'aggi* as 'one who has not performed the fire-offering'. The term *aggihutta*, corresponding to *agnihotra*, is translated as 'the sacrificial fire' in PTSD: 5, but as 'an oblation to the fire' or 'the fire-worship' in CPD: 22 f. Cone 2001: 14, gives both meanings, the oblation and the ritual fire.

[77] The inscription can be reconstructed as *Isisiṃgiya jātakaṃ*. Cp. Lüders 1940: 41. About the kilt of bark, we can remark that in MSV II 38,2-3 the Ṛṣi is described as *mūlaphalāmbubhakṣo 'jinavalkalavāsā*.

[78] Ja V 152,17-18: *Atha naṃ maharatto viññubhāvaṃ pattaṃ* (ChS *viññutappattaṃ*) *pabbājetvā*; V 152,22-24: *Isisiṅgo pi jhānakīḷaṃ kīḷanto Himavantapadese vāsaṃ kappesi*

introduces Isisiṅga into the ascetic life and teaches him the preliminary practices for meditation, so that he realizes the *jhāna*s and *abhiññā*s.[79] In the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, it is said that after the death of his father, being moved by the grief, he realizes the five higher knowledges.[80] Finally, in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, when the child has grown up, is instructed by the father, understands the eighteen kinds of scriptures, practices meditation, including the four immeasurable feelings, and achieves the five higher knowledges (Lamotte 1949: 1010).

The meeting with Nalinī

The detail of his fame among gods and men is clearly added here to explain the following, where the king of Kāśi, being without a son, although he has tried many sacrifices and prayers,[81] hears that on the banks of the Ganges there was a hermitage called Sāhanjanī where lived the royal Ṛṣi Kāśyapa with his son. Then, he thinks to give his daughter, the royal maid Nalinī, to the young Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga, who will be a son to him, as well as a son-in-law.[82] Now, it is remarkable that Kāśyapa is called

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ghoratapo, parimāritindriyo ahosi. Ath'assa sīlatejena Sakkabhavanaṃ kampi.

[79] Ja V 193,13-16: *Atha naṃ pitā vayappattaṃ pabbājetvā kasiṇaparikammaṃ uggaṇhāpesi. So nacirass'eva jhānābhiññaṃ nibbattetvā* (Bd *-ā uppādetvā*) *jhānasukhena kīḷi, ghoratapo parimāritindriyo ahosi, tassa sīlatejena Sakkabhavanaṃ kampi.* It is remarkable that *vayappatta* here corresponds to *viññubhāvaṃ patta* or *viññutappatta* in the parallel Jātaka, thus confirming the identity of the two concepts in Pāli.

[80] MSV II 38,26: *tena pitṛśokābhibhūtena saṃvegāt pañcābhijñāḥ sākṣātkṛtāḥ.*

[81] Mvu III.145.19-20: *vārāṇasīyaṃ ca nagare kāśirājño putro na saṃbhavati // tena dāni bahū yaṣṭopayācitakāni kṛtāni putrārthāya yathā me putro bhaveya na cāsya putro saṃbhavati.* Sénart gives *na bhavati*, based on M (Sb has the same), but we prefer *saṃbhavati* given by B and Sa, repeated below. Sénart also gives the emendation *iṣṭiprakriyāsthānāni*, which in the note at p.483 recognizes as very problematic, particularly in the second part. His ms. B gives *yaṣṭopayākrītakāni*, M the very corrupt form *yaṣṭiupakriyās te tāni*, Sa and Sb *yaṣṭopayākritakāni*. Now, in Mvu III.402.13 he accepted *yaṣṭopayācitaśatāni*, which is used in an analogous context of praying for a son. So, we can simply emend the syllable °kri° into °ci° (the corruption here is probably not a misreading but an attempt of correction due to lack of understanding) and we have 'sacrifices and prayers': *yaṣṭa* is a BHS form for *iṣṭa* (Pāli *yiṭṭha*) recognized by BHSD: 445, and found also in Mvu III.445.5; *upayācitaka* is a Sanskrit word for 'prayer' attested in a lexicon (BR, *upayācita* is the common form).

[82] Mvu III.146.1-5: *tena dāni kāśirājñā śrutaṃ / gaṃgāya kūle sāhaṃjanī nāma āśramapadaṃ tatra kāśyapo nāma ṛṣi prativasati tasya rāja-ṛṣisya tatra āśramapade*

here royal Ṛṣi, a detail which is found again only in the Avadānakalpalatā, based on the Mahāvastu, and which contradicts the Brahmanic name of Kāśyapa and also the version given by the Pāli Jātakas, where the father is born in a Brahmanic family. What is also original is that the reason for attracting Ekaśṛṅga is not the drought but the need for a son. It is true that also in the Rāmāyaṇa the story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga starts with Daśaratha desiring a son, but the reason why he is brought to the king of Aṅga Romapāda and he marries his daughter Śāntā is the drought. Only later, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga performs a sacrifice for getting sons for Daśaratha. Here, instead, the sacrifices have been useless, and the renowned young Ṛṣi is sought not for another sacrifice, but as an adoptive son, thus eliminating all magico-religious elements.[83] In the text, there is a clear connection between *rāja-ṛṣi*, *rājakumārī* and *ṛṣikumāra*. It is because Kāśyapa is a royal Ṛṣi that his son is worthy of the princess Nalinī, as in the case of the sons of the royal Ṛṣi Kola who got Śākyan maidens in marriage (Mvu I.355). Here we have the confirmation that *ṛṣikumāra* is a parallel of *rājakumāra*, and has an equal prestige (at least in the case of the son of a *rājarṣi*).

Then, the king repeats to the Purohita what he has thought and orders him to go and give the royal maid (*rājakanyā*) Nalinī to the young Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga.[84] So, the Purohita places Nalinī and her attendants on a

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prativasantasya mṛgīye sakāśāto ekaśṛṅgako nāma ṛṣikumāro utpanno ti / yaṃ nūnāhaṃ nalinīdhītarāṃ rājakumārīṃ ekaśṛṅgasya ṛṣikumārasya dadeyaṃ so me putro bhaviṣyati jāmātiko ca.

We have changed *rājakulakumārīṃ* into *rājakumārīṃ*, because the first form, although given by B and M (Sb has *rājakujaku°*), is a *hapax*, Sa gives *rājakumariṃ*, and in the repetition of the sentence in III.146.8 we have *rājakumārīṃ* in all mss. (Sa °*kumārī*). Instead of the regular optative *dadeyaṃ*, we find the irregular form *dadyeyaṃ* in Sb and B (Sa has *yadyeyaṃ*). Cp. BHSG: 215.

[83] Another magical element which is absent in the Mvu version is the use of magical Mantras on the sweets given to the ascetic, which is present instead in the MSV, where to the ascetic are given coconuts filled with liquor and enchanted substances (MSV II 40,1-3: *tasya tatra madyapūrṇāni vaśīkaraṇadravyasaṃyuktāni nārikelaphalāni ca dattāni; sa madyamadākṣipto vaśīkaraṇadravyayogāt tayā sārdhaṃ vipratipannaḥ riddhiparihīṇaḥ*).

[84] Mvu III.146.5-12: *atha khalu bhikṣavo sa kāśirāja brahmaṇapurohitam āha // tatra kāśyapo nāma ṛṣiḥ prativasati / tasya rājarṣisya tatra āśramapade prativasantasya mṛgīye sakāśāto ekaśṛṃgako nāma ṛṣikumāro utpanno ti / yaṃ nūnāhaṃ nalinīṃ dhītāṃ rājakumārīṃ ekaśṛṅgasya ṛṣikumārasya dadeyaṃ so me putro bhaviṣyati jāmātiko ca // atha khalu bhikṣavaḥ sa kāśirāja brāhmaṇaṃ purohitaṃ rājācāryaṃ āmantrayati / gacchata purohita tvaṃ imaṃ nalinīṃ rājakanyāṃ ekaśṛṅgasya ṛṣikumārasya detha / so me putro bhaviṣyati jāmātiko ca*. Sa and Sb have *dadyeyaṃ*; we have adopted the

chariot drawn by horses, together with drinks and food (particularly sweetmeats, *modaka*, that as we have seen are the connecting element between the attempt of Yaśodharā and the seduction of the young Ṛṣi).[85] They set out for the hermitage, and stop not far from it. The princess and her friends start playing there, thus frightening the animals: they are a foreign element from a different world. Ekaśṛṅga is therefore curious to see the origin of this agitation, and reaches the place where the maidens play.

He is struck by their beauty and their shining garments, even though he thinks that they are young Ṛṣis.[86] He asks them if the antelope hides, girdles and 'neck-strings' (*kaṇṭhasūtra*) are theirs, interpreting all their attire from the point of view of his *vānaprastha* culture.[87] When he tastes the drinks and the sweetmeats, it is said that he develops greed for their taste and observes that there is no such exquisite food in his hermitage.[88] A similar detail is found also in most of the other versions,

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imperative *gacchata* instead of *gacchatha*, on the basis of Sa, Sb and B; we have inserted *tvaṃ* given by Sa after *purohita*. Sa and Sb have *imānaṃ* instead of *imāṃ*, and this is probably at the origin of *imāṃ nandalīnī* given by B. Sa has *ekaśṛṅgakasya* instead of °*gasya* in the second sentence.

[85] Cp. above, n.39. Also in the MPPŚ the women and sweetmeats are put on carts (Lamotte 1949: 1010 f.). The term *modaka* is found also in R I.9.20c, for the sweets offered by the courtesans to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga.

[86] Mvu III.146.21-147.3: *adrākṣīd bhikṣavaḥ ekaśṛṅgako ṛṣikumāro nalinīṃ rājakumārīṃ sakhīhi sārdhaṃ krīḍantīṃ svalaṃkṛtāṃ subhūṣitāṃ mahārahehi vastrehi / dṛṣṭvā ca punar asya etad abhūṣi // śobhanā khalv ime ṛṣikumārā udārāṇi tāsāṃ ajināni jaṭāni ca ajinamekhalāni ca*. We have made minor changes according to Sa and other mss. Sa has also the remarkable form *sualaṃkṛtāṃ*. Jones 1956: 142, n.1, remarks that the narrator seems to have missed the point when he uses the fem. *tāsāṃ* instead of the masc. *teṣāṃ* though speaking of male young Ṛṣis, but it is also possible that this is a wrong correction made during the transmission of the text.

[87] Mvu III.147.4-5: *so dāni ekaśṛṃgako nalinīṃ pṛcchati // śobhanāni yuṣmākaṃ ajināni mekhalāni ca kaṇṭhāsūtrāṇi ca*. Sénart, on the basis of B and the previous enumerations adds also *jaṭāni* (without following *ca*) after *ajināni*, but M, Sa and Sb do not mention it, and it is logical that he does not ask if their braided hair is theirs.

[88] Mvu III.147.9-14: *tena dāni tāni modakāni paribhuktāni pānakapibānaṃ ca pītaṃ // tasya tahiṃ āśramapade hi kaṭukaṣāyehi phalāphalehi jihvendriyapratyāhatasya tehi modakehi paribhuṃjamānasya atiriva raseṣu āsvādānugṛddhatā // tāni ca pānakapibānāni pītvā so dāni āha // śobhanāni yuṣmākam imāni phalāphalāni pānīyaṃ ca ajinamekhalāni ca kaṇṭhasūtrāṇi ca hastasūtrāṇi ca udārāṇi na bhojanāni asmākaṃ āśrame edṛśāni*.

We have restored *hi* given by all mss., taken as particle, and *āsvādānugṛddhatā* given by

including the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa (but not in the Naḷinikā Jātaka), which suggests that it was an essential part of the folk tale.[89] This recalls the act of giving bread by Šamḫat to Enkidu, who used to eat grass, as a fundamental moment in his passage to the civilized life, but here it is inserted in the Indian and especially Buddhist topic of the attachment to sense-objects and pleasant feelings, thus making of this entrance into the refined world of urban civilization not an evolution but a fall. In this perspective, the meaning of the story is radically different, and we can see in this a fundamental difference between the two civilizations: the Mesopotamian one being centred on the ordered urban life and kingship ordained by the gods,[90] the Indian one having as a higher ideal the ascetic life in the wilderness and the Ṛṣi as a figure superior to the king. According to Édouard Chavannes (1934: 177), commenting the version of the Alambusā Jātaka found in the Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya, the idea that sensual desires destroy the power which is bestowed on a man by his moral superiority is found also in Babylonian literature, however in the poem of Gilgameš Enkidu has no moral superiority but animal innocence and ignorance, which is converted to understanding and civilization by Šamḫat.[91] This topic of ignorance is clearly present also in the figure of Ṛśyaśṛṅga/Ekaśṛṅga, but it is just used to create amusement in the reader, not presented as something negative, because it concerns just worldly

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B, Sa (although with *āśvā°*) and Sb instead of Sénart's *āsvādo anugṛhīto* (M has *āśvādānugṛhītā*). It should be interepreted as an abstract from *anugṛddha* 'greedy after': 'the greediness for tasting flavours (arose in him)'. Cp. Pāli *anugiddha*, e.g. in Th 580c: *rasesu anugiddhassa*. In Pāli we find also *giddhatā*, for instance in *āmisagiddhatāya* in Ja I 427,14, and in Sanskrit we have *gṛddhatā* in the Śikṣāsamuccaya (Bendall 1902: 83). In AKBh 187.4-5 we find the very close parallel *eṣāṃ bhūmirasa āsvādagṛdhānām*. We have also changed Sénart's *pānakaṃ pi ca* into *pānakapibānaṃ ca*, given by Sa.

[89] Cp. MBh III.112.13-14; R I.9.20cd-21: *modakān pradadus tasmai bhakṣyāṃś ca vividhāñ śubhān // tāni cāsvādya tejasvī phalānīti sma manyate / anāsvāditapūrvāṇi vane nityanivāsinām*; MSV II 39,27-40,3 (cp. particularly 39,28-30: *tābhis tāni phalāni paribhujya sa riṣir abhihito: yuṣmākam etāni phalāni kaṭukatiktakaṣāyāni; asmākaṃ tv āśramo jalamadhye yatra phalāny amṛtaprakhyāni*); Lamotte 1949: 1011.

[90] See Henze 1999: 96-98, where it is also remarked that Enkidu reaches the highest level of human existence, side by side with the king who in Mesopotamian society represents the apex of all civilization.

[91] See Abusch 2014: 81, where it is cited this description of the change of Enkidu after his encounter with Šamḫat: "Enkidu was diminished, his running was not as before, but he had *reason*, he [was] wide of understanding."

realities, as his life with the animals is not something negative but idealized by the *vānaprastha* culture.

Thereafter, Nalinī invites Ekaśṛṅga to mount on the 'moving huts' (*uṭayāni saṃcārimāni*), which are their carriages: she uses metaphors from the world known to him in order to persuade him to enter into her unknown world. But he refuses, because – he says – his mother is a female antelope (*mṛgī*) and that carriage is drawn by antelopes or more generally forest animals (*mṛgā*).[92] He interprets the horses as beasts of the same kind as his mother, and his closeness to animals apparently makes their exploitation unbearable to him. A similar confusion between horses and deer/antelopes is also found in the Jain story of Vakkalacīrin, but without the same effect and not in the presence of the princess: he has mounted the wagon of a cartman, and asks why were the deer yoked to the cart; the cartman replies that they are used for that purpose and there was nothing wrong in it. Then, he offers some sweetmeats (*modaga*), and Vakkalacīrin remarks that he has received such fruits from the young Ṛṣis (*risikumāra*).[93] So, it seems that we have a different use of the same topics, forming a sort of repertoire of the common folktale.

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[92] Mvu III.147.15-148.1: *atha khalu bhikṣavo nalinī rājakumārī ekaśṛṅgaṃ ṛṣikumāraṃ etad uvāca // āgaccha ṛṣikumāra idam asmākaṃ uṭayāni saṃcārimāni yena icchāma tena etāni uṭayāni ādāya gacchāma āgaccha atra asmākaṃ uṭayaṃ praviśa āśramaṃ tena upadarśayiṣyāmi // sā dāni nalinī tatra yānaṃ abhiruhitvā ekaśṛṅgasya hastaṃ praṇāmi āgaccha praviśāhi idam asmākaṃ uṭayaṃ āśramaṃ praviṣyāman ti // so dāni tatra yāne aśvāni āyuktāni dṛṣṭvā āha // mama mṛgī mātā imaṃ ca uṭayaṃ mṛgā vahanti nāhaṃ atra praviśāmi.* There are some important changes to Sénart's text: *uṭaja*, the Sanskrit form for 'hut', is substituted by *uṭaya*, previously attested in Sa in the story of Śyāmaka. The AMg form is *uḍaya*, found also in the tale of Vakkalacīrin (Soorideva 1989: 51,12). In the mss. here we have the form *udaya-*, which is probably a wrong correction or reading of *uṭaya* (due to the similarity of ट and द, also in Newari scripts), unless it is a variant like *udumbara* for *uḍumbara*, but it would be identical to *udaya* 'rising'. We have added *atra* attested in Sa and changed Sénart's *te ca upadarśa°* into *tena*, attested by Sa, Sb and B (M has *me na*). Finally, instead of *pravekṣyāma tti*, we have adopted *praviṣyāma tti*; B, M, Sa give *praviṣyāman ti*, Sb *praviṣyāmaṃ ti*. As to the form *tti*, often adopted by Sénart, and sometimes attested in mss., cp. BHSG: 33, §4.19.

[93] Jain 1977: 575; Soorideva 1989: 47,13-48,3: *turage ya bhaṇai - kiṃ ime migā vāhijjaṃti? sārahiṇā bhaṇiyaṃ - kumāra! ee eyammi ceva kajje uvaujjaṃti, na ittha doso / teṇa vi se modagā dinnā / so bhaṇai – poyaṇāsamavāsīhiṃ me risikumārehiṃ eyārisāṇi ceva phalāṇi dattapuvvāṇi tti.* The use of the form *risikumāra* can suggest either a direct inspiration from the Mvu, or the presence of this compound in Prakrit languages.

Nalinī embraces the young Ṛṣi and strives to entice him, and finally wins his confidence and arouses love in him. This is explained by the fact that they were husband and wife for thousand *koṭi*s of births. She gives him again sweetmeats worthy of a king (*rājārhāṇi modakāni*), solid and soft food and beverages, she kisses him and finally mounts on the carriage and returns to Benares.

Ekaśṛṅga then sits in the hermitage thinking of the beauty of Nalinī and does not fulfill his duties: to fetch roots, fruits, water and wood, to sweep the hermitage and to tend the sacred fire.[94]

The father remarks that with a sort of *gāthā* (found almost identical in the Pāli Naḷinikā Jātaka[95]) observing that he has not cut the wood, has

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[94] Mvu III.148.19-20: *naiva mūlaphalāni āneti na udakaṃ na kāṣṭhāni na āśramapadaṃ saṃmārjati agnihotraṃ paṭijāgaroti*. All mss. give *prati°* or *paṭipākaroti*, which is probably a wrong correction of *paṭijāgaroti* attested above in connection with *agnihotra*, see above, n.74, and BHSD: 316.

[95] Mvu III.149.1-2: *na te kāṣṭhāni bhinnāni na te udakaṃ āhṛtaṃ agnihotraṃ na juhitaṃ kiṃ t(u)va(y)yāvadhyāyati*. We have emended the last *pāda* in the sense "what is thought by you?", with instr. *tvayā* and passive with active ending (BHSG: 182) *avadhyāyati*. Sénart emends it with *kin tuvaṃ dhyānaṃ dhyāyasi*, but he suggests also *kintuvaṃ abhidhyāyasi* (Sénart 1897: 484). The mss. give two different readings: M and Sa *kiṃ tu vadhyāvadhyāyati*, maybe to be connected with *vadh* 'to strike, kill', while B and Sb *kintu...* (Sb *kiṃ tuva*) *vyāvadhyāyati*, probably to be connected with *vyābādh/vyāvādh/vyāvadh* (see BHSD: 518) 'to oppress, injure', with the intended meaning "what oppresses you?".

The corresponding Pāli *gāthā* says: *na te kaṭṭhāni bhinnāni, na te udakam ābhataṃ, aggi pi te na hāpito, kin nu mando va jhāyasi*. The term *manda* 'lazy, dull, stupid' is not present in the Mvu text, and apparently there is no trace of it, but the verb *jhāyasi* can be traced in *°dhyāyati*. The verb *avadhyāyati/°dhyāti* is well attested in BHS (BHSD: 72), cp. Divy 432,16; 432,32; 433,16; MSV II 175,18, etc., but apparently it is not attested in other passages of the Mvu, which can explain the confusion of the copyist. In Pāli we have *avajjhāyati* (CPD: 452).

Cp. Lüders 1940: 67, which remarks that this *gāthā* is used also in other Jātakas, namely the Culla-Nārada Jātaka (Ja IV 221,19-20*) and the Vessāntara Jātaka (Ja VI 565,4-5*), both in the context of the life of a hermitage, and it is actually identical (with the exception of *aggī* instead of *aggi*), thus confirming the reading. MBh III.111.20-22 is quite different, but has the verb *dhyai* referred to the youth: *so 'paśyad āsīnam upetya putraṃ; **dhyāyantam** ekaṃ viparītacittam / viniḥśvasantaṃ muhur ūrdhvadṛṣṭiṃ; vibhāṇḍakaḥ putram uvāca dīnam // na kalpyante samidhaḥ kiṃ nu tāta; kac cid dhutaṃ cāgnihotraṃ tvayādya / sunirniktaṃ sruk sruvaṃ homadhenuḥ; kac cit sa vatsā ca kṛtā tvayādya // na vai yathāpūrvam ivāsi putra; cintāparaś cāsi vi cetanaś ca; dīno 'ti mātraṃ tvam ihādya kiṃ nu; pṛcchāmi tvāṃ ka ihādyāgato 'bhūt*. The repetition of *adya*

not brought the water and has not offered to the sacred fire, and asking what is he thinking about. The son replies that a young Ṛṣi has come from another hermitage, with many young Ṛṣis, describing them again with the features of the *vānaprastha*s; he remarks that their fruits and drink are different, and concludes that he is now afflicted remembering him and does not delight anymore in the hermitage without him.[96] The father understands that he is speaking of women, and declares:

Then the Ṛṣi said to the young Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga: «Son, those are not young Ṛṣis, but women. They entice the Ṛṣis and keep them from their austerity. Ṛṣis should keep them at a distance, for they are stumbling-blocks to those who practice chastity. Have nothing to do with them. They are like snakes, like poisonous leaves, like charcoal pits.»[97]

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in this passage is remarkable, and it can suggest a different emendation: *kiṃ tuva 'dyāvadhyāyasi*, with the meaning "what are you thinking about today?".

[96] Mvu III.149.2-9: *ṛṣikumāro āha // iha anyāto āśramāto ṛṣikumāro saṃbahulehi ṛṣikumārehi sārdhaṃ āgato prāsādiko darśanīyo śobhanehi jaṭehi ajinehi śobhanehi kaṇṭhasūtrehi hastasūtrehi śobhanehi muṃjamekhalehi mṛṣṭāni ca sānaṃ phalaphalāni pānīyaṃ ca na edṛśaṃ yathāsmākaṃ mṛgayukte pi uṭaye aṇvanti te mayā āśramasya amukasmiṃ pradeśe dṛṣṭā tena ca me ṛṣikumāreṇa sārdhaṃ prīti saṃjātā kaṇṭhe ca so gṛhya mama prakāśaṃ jaṭehi gṛhyāna ca nāmya vaktreṇa vaktraṃ praṇidhāya śabdaṃ karoti taṃ me janaye praharṣaṃ tam ahaṃ smaranto paridīnavaktro tena vinā na ramāmi āśrame*. As before, we have adopted the form *uṭaye* instead of *uṭaje* (all mss. give *udaye*). We have accepted Sénart's *aṇvanti*, although mss. give *arthanti* (B) or *arthenti* (Sa, Sb) and *artheṃti* (M).

We have added *jaṭehi gṛhyāna ca nāmya* on the basis of the reading of Sa and Sb *jaṭehi gṛhyanavanāmya*, M gives *jaṭehi gṛhya ma va nānya*, B apparently skips the phrase, and Sénart chooses not to insert it in his text. The gerund *gṛhyāna* is attested in Mvu I.99.9 and II.93.14, in II.61.5 there is *gṛhyāṇa*, see also BHSG: 175, §35.45-48.

Also in the Naḷinikā Jātaka and in the MBh we have a similar speech by the young hermit, where the woman is conceived as a *brahmacārin*. Cp. Ja V 202,12-14: *idhāgamā jaṭilo brahmacārī sudassaneyyo sutanū vineti n' evātidīgho na punātirasso*; MBh III.112.1ab: *ihāgato jaṭilo brahmacārī na vai hrasvo nātidīrgho mano vī*. Cp. Lüders 1940: 30 f.

[97] Mvu III.149.11-14: *so dāni ṛṣi taṃ ekaśṛṃgakaṃ ṛṣikumāraṃ āha // putra na te ṛṣikumārā striyās tāvo ṛṣīṇāṃ lobhenti tapāto vārenti / ṛṣibhis tāvo dūrāto parivarjayitavyā antarāyakarāvo brahmacāriṇāṃ / mā tehi sārdhaṃ samaṃ karohi āśīviṣasamā tāvo viṣapatrasamā tāvo aṃgārakarṣopamā tāvo*. We have adopted Sa's *ṛṣīṇāṃ* (Sb, M have *ṛṣīṇā*, B *ṛṣīnā* adopted by Sénart); *vārenti* is an emendation with a Prakrit form (found in Mvu III.71.5: *mārgāto vārenti*; 82.12: *paṃthāto vārenti*) instead of *cāryenti* given by Sa, Sb and B (M has *cāryyaṃti*), emended by Sénart with the Sanskrit causative *vārayanti*. We have a parallel in MBh III.259.21: *tato brahmā svayaṃ gatvā*

This passage shows the tension between the Ṛṣis' asceticism and women, seen as temptresses. The concept of stumbling-block (*antarāyakara*), also referred to women,[98] and the metaphors at the end are typically Buddhist, but those metaphors are normally used as a simile for desires.[99] On the other hand, this passage has a clear parallel in MBh III.113.1-3, where it is said: "They are demons, son, who stalk the earth, in all their wondrously beautiful shapes! They are peerlessly lovely and very cruel, and plot to prevent austerities. Flaunting their beauteous bodies, my son, they seek to seduce with various means; and, dread in their deeds, they drop from their world, and from their welfare, the forest hermits. A self-controlled hermit must not frequent them at all, if he seeks for the worlds of the virtuous. They stop ascetics, and then they delight in spoiling their penance, ascetics should not look at those vicious beings."[100]

We see in both cases the idea that women obstruct the *tapas* of forest ascetics. In the Mahābhārata they are even presented as demons, which is similar to what we find in the Naḷinikā Jātaka, where they are

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tapasas tān nyavārayat / pralobhya varadānena sarvān eva pṛthak pṛthak. We have also adopted the endings in *-āvo* instead of *-āyo*, uniformly given by mss. and finally accepted even by Sénart in his note at the end of the edition (Sénart 1897: 484); cp. BHSG: 67, §9.93.

[98] Cp. particularly Sagāthāvagga-ṭīkā 58: *Itthiyaṃ ti brahmacariyassa antarāyakarāyapi*. Cp. also Ja IV 13,19-21: *araññe me viharato niccaṃ ekavihārino ābādhā na uppajjeyyuṃ antarāyakarā bhusā ti. tattha antarāyakarā ti imassa tapokammassa antarāyakārakā*.

[99] Cp. Śbh 441, referred to desires: *kṛṣṇapakṣapatitā ete kāmāḥ / asthikaṃkālopamā, māṃsapeśyupamāstṛṇolkopamāḥ / aṃgārakarṣūpamāḥ / āśīviṣopamāḥ*. LV 13.73: *[...] kāmaguṇāḥ / asidhārasamā viṣapatranibhā [...]* (cited also in Śikṣāsamuccaya: Bendall 1902: 204). Also in Pāli *aṅgārakāsūpama* is used for desires, e.g. in SN IV 189,3-4: *bhikkhuno aṅgārakāsūpamā kāmā diṭṭhā honti*.

[100] Translation inspired by that of van Buitenen 1975: 438, with some changes particularly at the end, since we have adopted a text different from that of the critical edition. This is the Sanskrit text: *rakṣāṃsi caitāni caranti putra rūpeṇa tenādbhuta darśanena / atulyarūpāṇy ati ghoravanti vighnaṃ sadā tapasaś cintayanti // surūparūpāṇi ca tāni tāta; pralobhayante vividhair upāyaiḥ / sukhāc ca lokāc ca nipātayanti tāny ugrakarmāṇi munīn vaneṣu // na tāni seveta munir yatātmā satāṃ lokān prārthayānaḥ kathaṃ cit / kṛtvā vighnaṃ tāpasānāṃ ramante pāpācāras tapasas tān na paśyet*. For the last pāda we have adopted the reading given by Lüders 1940: 33. Cp. the verse given *ibidem*: 72, from Padma Purāṇa: *rakṣāṃsi balavanti vai; tapovighnaṃ caranti hi*.

called *bhūtāni* 'ghosts', and it is said that a *brahmacārin* is lost near one of them.[101]

In that version, the admonishment is effective: the boy thinks that the woman is a *yakkhinī*, asks for forgiveness, and his father teaches him the *brahmavihāra*s. In that way, he recovers the meditative states and higher knowledges.[102] This end is quite unique, and eliminates all the following evolution of the story, with the actual passage of the young ascetic from the wilderness to the city. In the Mahābhārata, the father's warning has not at all the same effect, since the youth, when he is reached by the woman, decides to follow her on the boat that has the aspect of a hermitage.[103] Similarly, here in the Mahāvastu after the father's admonishment it is said that the king of Kāśi orders his Purohita to plant small woods of Aśoka trees on ships, then sail up the Ganges, go to the hermitage with Nalinī, and bring the young Ṛṣi on the ship.[104] So, the ships are prepared, they arrive near to the hermitage Sāhanjanī, and the Purohita sends Nalinī to fetch the young Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga.

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[101] Ja V 208,17-20*: *Bhūtāni etāni caranti tāta virūparūpena manussaloke. na tāni sevetha naro sapañño, āsajja naṃ nassati brahmacārī ti*. For the last pāda, cp. Lüders 1940: 33, n.1; CPD: 233 f.; Cone 2001: 358. We have adopted the form given by the ChS edition, which is apparently also used in the commentary to this *gāthā*, with the meaning "staying near that (woman) a chaste man is lost".

[102] *So pitu kathaṃ sutvā "yakkhinī kira sā"ti bhīto cittaṃ nivattetvā "tāta, etto na gamissāmi, khamatha me"ti khamāpesi. So pi naṃ samassāsetvā "ehi tvaṃ, māṇava, mettaṃ bhāvehi karuṇaṃ muditaṃ upekkhan"ti brahmavihārabhāvanaṃ ācikkhi. So tathā paṭipajjitvā puna jhānābhiññā nibbattesi*. The PTS edition gives *jhānaṃ nibbattesi*, but in the apparatus Bd has *jhānābhiññā*, which is adopted in the ChS edition. Cp. the similar passage in the Alambusā Jātaka, Ja V 160,15: *So kāmarāgaṃ pahāya* [Bd adds *puna*] *jhānaṃ uppādesi*.

[103] MBh III.113.6-9. The creation of the hermitage-boat (*nāvyāśrama*) is described in III.111.1-3.

Also in the parable of the story of Barlaam and Joasaph, the definition of women as demons (δαίμονας αὐτὰς καλεῖσθαι) does not prevent the boy from preferring them to precious treasures (Lüders 1940: 72; Chalmers 1891: 447).

[104] Mvu III.149.15-17: *dāni kāśirājā taṃ purohitaṃ āha // nāvāsu aśokavanikāni ropetvā puṣpaphalopetehi vṛkṣehi gaṅgāye pratiśrotena taṃ āśramapadaṃ gacchāhi nalinīye saparivārāye sārdhaṃ tato taṃ ṛṣikumāraṃ nāvāyam āruhitvā ānehi*. We have made some corrections to Sénart's text on the basis of Sa and other mss. Sa, Sb and B give *kakṣehi* instead of *vṛkṣehi*, given only by M although apparently more appropriate. Sénart 1897: 484, however, wonders if it would not be better to read *kakṣehi* with the meaning "avec des paquets de fleurs et de fruits".

The marriage and the conclusion

When the princess Nalinī and her companions reach the hermitage, the animals cry and flee again, so that Ekaśṛṅga, remarking the fact, finds the place where the girls are. Nalinī offers him again food and drinks, and brings him on the ship, saying that those hermitages travel over water.[105] They arrive then to Benares, where the young Ṛṣi and Nalinī are married by the Purohita. However, after the marriage he plays with the wife but does not have intercourse with her, since he sees her as a young Ṛṣi who is his friend.[106] This is a particular aspect which is unique of the Mahāvastu (and found again only in the Avadānakalpalatā that versifies the version of the Mahāvastu), and removes the essential moment of the Ṛṣi's loss of the ascetic power derived from chastity, which allowed the release of rain after the drought in the Naḷinikā Jātaka, in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra and in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya.[107] But since the element of the drought is eliminated from the version of the Mahāvastu, also the loss of chastity is no more essential and can be postponed, and so the story can be enriched by a new episode: the new couple go back to the Sāhanjanī hermitage, where the antelope that is the mother of Ekaśṛṅga asks him where has he been. He replies that he has gone to the hermitage of his friend,[108] which alludes to Benares, and describes the ritual of marriage. The mother realizes his misunderstanding and wonders who will make him aware that the princess is not a young Ṛṣi but the daughter of the king of Kāśi who has become his wife.[109] It is remarkable that the Ṛṣi, though

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[105] Mvu III.150.13: *ime asmākaṃ āśramā udake saṃcaranti*. Sénart has emended with *āśrame*, and in the note (Sénart 1897: 484) he explains this as meaning that the vehicles go to the hermitage, but he suggests that he should have read rather *āśramā* meaning 'these hermitages'. B, M and Sb give *āśramo*, Sa *āśramā*.

[106] Mvu III.150.15-16: *so tāye naliṇīye sārdhaṃ āsati krīḍati na vanaṃ saṃyogaṃ gacchati / jānāti vayasyo me eṣo ṛṣikumāro ti*. We have replaced Sénart's emendation *pana* with *vanaṃ* given by Sa and Sb, which can be interpreted as 'desire' (BHSD: 469, cp. also MW, BR and PTSD): "he did not reach desire and (sexual) union." B gives here *vana* (M only *va*), perhaps we can also suppose a compound *vanasaṃyoga* 'union of desire'. We have also added the demonstrative adjective *eṣo*, attested in Sa and Sb.

[107] Cp. Ja V 199.6-11; 201,13-14; Lamotte 1949: 1011; MSV II 40,1-4.

[108] Mvu III.150.20: *imasya me vayasyasya āśramapadaṃ gato ti*. Sénart gives *āśramaṃ*, we have adopted the reading of Sa and Sb.

[109] Mvu III.151.3-4: *tatra ko se ṛṣikumārasya evam arthaṃ saṃbodhaye yathā va na eṣa ṛṣikumāro kāśirājño eṣā dhītā nalinī nāma tatra bhāryā dinnā ti*. We have restored *evam* instead of Sénart's *etam, va* (=*eva*, see BHSD: 466) after *yathā* and the last *tatra* instead

endowed with the *abhijñā*s, does not realize such elementary facts, and needs an education, but it seems that the problem was not perceived by the narrator, who faithfully adhered to the traditional character of the young hermit grown up in the forest unaware of the existence of women. It is also possible that the *abhijñā* was conceived as a mere higher power of perception, not related to intellectual knowledge and discrimination, which is related to the different quality of *prajñā*. This ignorance and confusion in Ekaśṛṅga is removed through a new and unusual element, a hermitage of female ascetics (*tāpasī*):

> But let us go there, below the hermitage of Sāhanjanī, on the banks of the Ganges, to the hermitage of women ascetics true to vows. Having gone there to that hermitage of women ascetics, and being on the point of entering the hermitage of women ascetics, the young Ṛṣi was stopped by the women ascetics: «Do not enter into this hermitage, you are a man, and this is a hermitage of women true to vows and chaste. It is not permitted for a man to enter.»[110]

The term *ṛṣi* is not used here for these female ascetics, but their place is also called *āśramapada*, and they are *brahmacārin-* as men. It is remarkable that a parallel ban for women is not attested in the Mahāvastu in the hermitages of male Ṛṣis, which were apparently open to every guest, including for instance the Kinnarī in Kāśyapa's retreat.

Ekaśṛṅga then asks the female ascetic what is a woman and what is a man, and she explains the attributes of a woman (*strīdharma*), adding that the person who is with him is not a young Ṛṣi (*ṛṣikumāra*) but the princess (*rājakumārī*) Nalinī, daughter of the king of Kāśi and ritually married to him, so that they may not forsake each other.

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of *tava*, apparently attested in M but here out of place because the speech is not addressed to Ekaśṛṅga.

[110] Mvu III.151.4-8: *tatra ca sāhaṃjanisya āśramapadasya heṣṭā gaṅgākūle prativratānāṃ tāpasīnāṃ āśramapadaṃ gacchāma / tena dāni taṃ tāpasīnāṃ āśramapadaṃ gatā tatra ca tāpasīnāṃ āśramapadaṃ praviśanto ṛṣikumāro tāpasīhi vāriyati // mā tuvaṃ atra āśramapade praviśāhi tvaṃ puruṣo eṣa ca strīṇāṃ prativratānāṃ brahmacāriṇīṇāṃ āśramo ti na labhyaṃ atra puruṣeṇa praviśituṃ.* We have added some sentences (from *gacchāma* to *praviśanto*) which Sénart has excluded, following M, but B, Sa and Sb include them, and this makes the narration more complete, adding an invitation by the mother to go to the female hermitage to resolve the issue. In the mss. there is fluctuation between *prati°* and *pati°*, see BHSD: 369. We have replaced Sénart's *eṣo*, not attested, with *eṣa* given by Sa (Sb has *eṣā*, B and M *eṣāṃ*).

Then they go to the hermitage Sāhanjanī in the presence of the father the Ṛṣi Kāśyapa, bow at his feet and relate what has happened. The father understands that they are bound by affection and explains, like the women ascetics, that they are ritually married with the sacred fire as witness, and invites them to go back to Benares. It is noteworthy that, differently from the Mahābhārata version,[111] he does not become angry because his son has been carried away, but calmly accepts the reality.

At Benares, the king offers an abode and a retinue to Ekaśṛṅga and all means of enjoyment, and finally anoints him as heir to the throne.[112] In this way, the young man changes his status and is introduced into the kingly way of life in an urban environment, which is a common element of the story, but the fact that he becomes the heir is unique, and it is probably connected with the identity as Rājarṣi which is admitted only by the Mahāvastu version (including its reflection in the Avadānakalpalatā).

When the king dies, Ekaśṛṅga ascends to the throne, has 32 sons in pairs of twins (exactly like the Rājarṣi Kola in Mvu I.354.5-9) by Nalinī, but more than 100 sons are also born from the other queens.[113] In the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya his affairs with other women aroused the anger of the wife Śāntā, which suddenly convinced Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to go back to his

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[111] See MBh III.113.14-15: *athopāyāt sa muniś caṇḍakopaḥ svam āśramaṃ phalamūlāni gṛhya / anveṣamāṇaś ca na tatra putraṃ dadarśa cukrodha tato bhṛśaṃ saḥ // tataḥ sa kopena vidīryamāṇa āśaṅkamāno nṛpater vidhānam / jagāma campāṃ pradidakṣamāṇas tam aṅgarājaṃ viṣayaṃ ca tasya*. "Now the saint, whose wrath was fierce, came to his hermitage, having gathered fruits and roots. Having searched, he did not see there his son, therefore became vehemently wroth. And he was torn by anger and suspected it to be the doing of the king. Therefore, he went towards the city of Campā, having the intention to burn the king of Aṅga and his whole territory."

[112] Mvu III.152.1-3: *rājñā ṛṣikumārasya anurūpaṃ gṛhaṃ dinnaṃ parivāraṃ ca upastaraṇaprāvaraṇañ ca sarvāṇi ca upabhogaparibhogāni ca yuvarājyenābhiṣikto*. We have adopted the reading of Sa °*prāvaraṇañ* meaning 'cover, cloak, mantle', while Sb and B give °*pratyāvaraṇaṃ*, and M °*pratyācaraṇaṃ*. Sénart emends with °*pratyāstaraṇaṃ*. He proposes in note (Sénart 1897: 484) to suppress the last *ca* or to interpret it as referred to the following word (a use denied by BHSD: 220 f.).

[113] The last detail is not present in Jones' translation (Jones 1956: 147). Mvu III.152.8-9: *tena dāni nalinīye mūlāto yamalā dvātriṃśatputrā jātā / aparāṇāṃ pi devīnāṃ mūlāto sātirekaṃ putraśataṃ jātaṃ*. The reading *yamalā* is given by Sa, and we have adopted it instead of Sénart's conjecture *yamajātā*, probably on the base of *yamapārā* given by M. Sb and B give *mūlāto — matmā*°: it seems that for a misreading, ला has become त्मा (and apparently the first sillable *ya*° was lost).

ascetic life; here it is presented instead as a sort of sign of greatness as he becomes the father of a large royal family.

Having ruled the kingdom in righteousness for a long time, he anoints his eldest son as heir, and again takes up the ascetic life of a Ṛṣi. Thus, engaging in assiduous meditation, he recovers the four meditative states and the five higher knowledges, and after his death he is reborn in the class of the Brahmā Devas.[114]

As already remarked, also in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya there is this return to the ascetic life of yogic meditation, and also in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, where the hermit, living in the luxury of the city as a minister, after few days becomes tired of worldly pleasures and aspires to the joy of meditation, so that the king let him return to his mountain, where he recovers the higher knowledges (Lamotte 1949: 1012). There is something analogous in the Alambusā Jātaka, where Isisiṅga enters again in meditation after living with the Apsaras Alambusā for three years. But this is not only a Buddhist theme, also in the Mahābhārata (III.113.21-24) we find something similar: there the father, having visited the son in Campā, the capital of Aṅga, where he has received donations of cows, fields and villages, enjoins him to go back to the forest once a son has been born. Ṛśyaśṛṅga obeys, returning where the father lives, but attended by his spouse Śāntā, as it was admitted for a category of *vānaprastha*s.[115] It is interesting how the Mahāvastu version is

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[114] Mvu III.152.9-13: *dharmeṇa rājyam anuśāsayitvā ciraṃ dīrgharātraṃ jyeṣṭhaputraṃ rājyenābhiṣiṃcitvā puna ṛṣipravrajyāṃ pravrajito // tena dāni pūrvarātrāpararātraṃ jāgarikāyogasamanuyuktena yujyantena ghaṭantena vyāyamantena bāhitakena mārgeṇa catvāri dhyānāny utpāditāni paṃcābhijñā sākṣātkṛtā // so dāni kāmadhātuṃ samatikramitvā kāyasya bhedāt brāhme devanikāye utpanno.* Sa gives *dīrgham adhvānaṃ* instead of *dīrgharātraṃ*, which is a BHS compound attested also by Sb. The form *rājyenābhiṣiṃcitvā* is given only by Sa, and it is more consistent with the previous *yuvarājyenābhiṣikto* instead of *rājye bhi°* given by the other mss. (M has *°jye'bhi°*). Sa and Sb give *puna* instead of *punaḥ*. Sa has *paṃca ca bhijñā*. Cp. MSV II 40,13-14: *tena vīryam āsthāya punar api pañcābhijñāḥ sākṣātkṛtāḥ.* The reading *brāhme devanikāye* is attested in Sa and Sb (B has *brāhmo de°*, M *brāhmaṇo de°*), and it has a good parallel in EĀ. Trip 18.623: *ābhāsvare devanikāye upapadye / vivartamāne loke śūnye brāhme vimāne upapadye.*

[115] MBh III.113.21c: *jāte putre vanam evāvrajethā*; III.113.24cd: *tathā śāntā ṛśyaśṛṅgaṃ vanasthaṃ prītyā yuktā paryacaran narendra.* See e.g. Manu VI.2-3: *gṛhasthas tu yathā paśyed valīpalitam ātmanaḥ / apatyasyaiva cāpatyaṃ tadāraṇyaṃ samāśrayet // saṃtyajya grāmyam āhāraṃ sarvaṃ caiva paricchadam / putreṣu bhāryāṃ nikṣipya*

close to this one, following a Brahmanic paradigm; however, it is also a typical behaviour of some kings found in the Buddhist texts, as in the Mahāvastu itself in the previous story of the royal Ṛṣi Kola,[116] or in the Makhādeva Sutta (MN II 74 ff.), where it is said that the king of Mithilā Makhādeva renounced the world when he saw the first grey hairs on his head, and invited his eldest son to do the same when the time came. In this way, Ekaśṛṅga appears also as an ideal king, righteous during his reign and ready to renounce the throne in his old age to become an accomplished yogi.

Finally, in the usual ending of the Jātaka, the Ṛṣi Kāśyapa is identified as Śuddhodana in a previous life (differently, as we have seen, from the two Pāli versions where the father is the Bodhisattva and Isisiṅga an anonymous *bhikkhu*[117]), the mother antelope as Mahāprajāpati, the king of Kāśi as the Śākyan Mahānāma, the Bodhisattva himself as Ekaśṛṅga, and Nalinī as Yaśodharā, who, as in the present, tried to allure him by adorning herself.[118]

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vanaṃ gacchet sahaiva vā "When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest. Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her." (Bühler 1886: 198 f.).

[116] Mvu I.355.6-8: *so pi kolo rājarṣi vārāṇasīto jyeṣṭhakumāraṃ rājye 'bhiṣiṃcitvā ṛṣipravrajyāṃ pravrajito diśāsu abhijñātaparijñāto mahātmā rājarṣiḥ* "That royal Ṛṣi Kola was from Benares. Having anointed to the throne the eldest son, he went forth as a Ṛṣi, and he was a royal Ṛṣi of great soul, renowned and celebrated far and wide (lit. in the directions)." We have adopted from Sa *ṛṣipravrajyāṃ pravrajito*, the usual formula in the Mvu, instead of *ṛṣipravrajito* (attested also by Sb, in the form *riṣipravrajito*), which is regarded by Sénart 1882: 626, as a 'composé assez irregulier'.
Sa and Sb give *rājyebhiṣiṃcitvā*, whereas Sénart's text has *rājyābhiṣiṃcitvā*, but in note he wonders if the lecture is exact, and he interprets it as an irregular sandhi for *rājye 'bhiṣiṃcitvā* that we have accepted above.

[117] Ja V 161,17-18: *Tadā Alambusā purāṇadutiyikā ahosi, Isisiṅgo ukkaṇṭhitabhikkhu, pitā mahāisi aham evā ti.* Ja V 209,18-19: *Tadā Naḷinikā purāṇadutiyikā ahosi, Isisiṅgo ukkaṇṭhitabhikkhu, pitā aham evā ti.*

[118] Mvu III.152.14-18: *bhagavān āha // yas tena kālena kāśyapo ṛṣir eṣa sa śuddhodano abhūṣi / yā sā mṛgī eṣā sā bhikṣavo mahāprajāpatī gautamī abhūṣi / yaś ca kāśirājo bhūd eṣaiva mahānāmo śākyo bhūt / yaś caikaśṛṃgako ṛṣikumāras tadāhaṃ eva babhūva / yā ca nalinī nāma rājakanyā eṣaiva yaśodharā abhūṣi // tadāpi eṣā ātmānaṃ alaṃkṛtvā mama pralobheti / etarahiṃ pi eṣātmānaṃ alaṃkṛtvā mama pralobheti.* Sa has here a much longer text, with many repetitions of formulas, but the last sentence from *tadāpi* is identical. We have restored *gautamī*, which was apparently forgotten by mistake by

As we have already observed (n.39), this conclusion is different from the introduction, where the sweetmeats are mentioned. This contradiction appears to be a sudden variation, which deviates from the common tradition found in the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya and in the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra.

In conclusion, this analysis of the Mahāvastu version of the tale of Ṛśyaśṛṅga/Ekaśṛṅga shows how various and rich is the tradition around this figure, with deep roots in the South Asian folklore, involving possible connections with West Asian and Indo-European traditions, and how the more recent Brahmanic and Buddhist worldview interpreted this figure in a new light, according to the paradigm of the forest hermit and ascetic values. But even within the Buddhist tradition, this story has remarkably different versions: the one of the Mahāvastu is characterized by a special narrative development and by a significant rationalization or demythization, eliminating the animal features of Ekaśṛṅga and his magical connection with rain, so important in most versions of the story, being essential aspects of its mythical source. In this way, the tale of the master of animals becomes an acceptable Jātaka where the central topic is not the power of fertility of the man-antelope, but the conflict between ascetic and worldly life. On the other hand, compared to other Buddhist versions the edifying aspect of the story is not particularly pronounced, while the narrator indulges in the descriptions of the confusion of the youth about Nalinī as a disguised ascetic, of his long and complex acquisition of the knowledge of the difference between men and women, and of his fabulous progeny as a king: all this betrays a literary ambition of entertainment typical of the Mahāvastu, a sort of *miscere utile dulci* ("to mingle the useful with the pleasant") which is probably intended to make the work more interesting and popular for a large audience.

Abbreviations
AB: Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (Aufrecht 1879).
AKBh: Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya (Hackett and Lusthaus).
AMg: Ardha-Māgadhī.
Av-klp: Avadānakalpalatā (Vaidya 1959a).
AV: Atharvaveda Saṃhitā, Śaunaka recension (Gippert 2012).

Sénart, since he cites it in the apparatus, and it is confirmed by Sa and Sb.

BD: Bṛhaddevatā (Macdonell 1904).
BhP: Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
BHS: Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit.
BHSD: Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit dictionary (Edgerton 1953b).
BHSG: Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit grammar (Edgerton 1953a).
BR: O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth's Sanskrit dictionary.
ChS: Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana electronic edition of the Tipiṭaka.
CPD: Critical Pāli dictionary.
Dhp: Dhammapada (Hinüber and Norman 1994).
Divy: Divyāvadāna (Vaidya 1959b).
DPPN: Dictionary of Pāli proper names (Malalasekera 1974).
EĀ.Trip: Ekottarāgama based on the ed. Tripathi 1995.
Ind. Ant.: Indian Antiquary.
Ja: The Jātaka together with its Commentary.
JŚS: Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra.
JUB: Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa (Oertel 1896).
KātyŚS: Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra (Ranade 1978).
KB: Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa (Sreekrishna Sarma 1968).
KūrP: Kūrma Purāṇa (Retrieved from http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gret_utf.htm#KurmaP).
LV: Lalitavistara (Vaidya 1958).
MahV: Mahāsāṃghika Vinaya (*Mo-ho-seng-tche-lu*, Chavannes 1911).
Manu: Manusmṛti (Retrieved from http://gretil.sub.uni-goettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/6_sastra/4_dharma/smrti/manu2p_u.htm)
Māy: Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī (Takubo 1972).
MBh: Mahābhārata (Pune critical edition).
MPPŚ: Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra.
MSV: Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavastu (Gnoli 1977 and 1978).
Mvu: Mahāvastu.
Mvy: Mahāvyutpatti.
MW: Monier-Williams Sanskrit dictionary.
Nir: Nirukta (Sarup 1967).
PB: Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (Caland 1931).
RKS: Revākhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa (Giri 1994).
RV: Ṛgveda Saṃhitā
(Retrieved from http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/mt/rv.htm).

Sa: Nepalese Mvu ms. (in *bhujimol* script) published in Yuyama 2001.
Sarvānukr: Sarvānukramaṇī (Macdonell 1886).
Sb: Nepalese Mvu ms. (in *devanāgarī* script) published in Yuyama 2001.
ŚB: Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina recension (Weber 1849).
Śbh: Śrāvakabhūmi (Shukla 1973).
SP: Skanda Purāṇa.
VB: Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa (Gippert 2008).
VH: Vasudevahiṇḍī (Jain 1977).
YBh: Yogabhāṣya (Commentary to YS) (Āgāśe 1904).
YS: Patañjali's Yogasūtra (Āgāśe 1904).
Yt: Yašt.

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-2-
Perceiving the Forest: Early India[1]

Romila Thapar

This essay explores the theme which Günther-Dietz Sontheimer had drawn attention to in his writings, namely the relationship of the forest to the settlement – the *vana* to the *kṣetra*. These could be opposing concepts contrasting the habitat of the ascetic and the renouncer on the one hand, and the established settlement reflecting attempts at a regularly ordered social system, on the other. Or, in some cases, they could be seen as a continuum. The *grāma* (which would fall under the category of 'settlement') was not static, and could include a mobile village or migrating cattle keepers, the emphasis in both being on large numbers of people and domestic animals. The dichotomy as well as the complementarity between the forest and the settlement has often been commented upon. Sontheimer was interested in the application of this duality to historical processes, especially to the construction of the religious articulations such as the parallels between tribal fertility cults and Tantricism or the Devi cults, as also in the relationship of this duality to pastoralism (Sontheimer 1987, 1989). His study of pastoral activities led him to suggest a link between the forest and the settlement, and to attempt to understand the influences on the responses of the *kṣetra* or *grāma* to the *vana* or *araṇya*.

This dichotomy between the *vana* and *grāma* evolved in early times when the village constituted the settlement. With the emergence of

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urban centers, and particularly in the early centuries A.D., there was also growing dichotomy between the *grāma* and the *nagara* – the village and the town respectively. At the same time, *vana* and *araṇya* had an ecology different from that of the settlement, and would have included the desert and the semi-arid pastoral regions as well. Another dichotomy, discussed in the context of ecology and medical knowledge, was that of the *jāṅgala* and the *ānūpa* – the forest and the marshland (Zimmerman 1987). This had a stronger ecological connotation than *vana* and *kṣetra*. There is also the well-known concept of *tiṇai* as set out in Śangam literature, listing five ecological zones. The definition of *vana* and *kṣetra* and the distinction between them gradually absorbed a variety of connotations which enriched the concepts and extended their meaning to well beyond ecology.

I would like to argue that although the duality has existed for many centuries, the perceptions accompanying it were neither static nor uniform. The forest was seen in multiple ways, and historical change altered the focus. Where it was romanticized it became an imagined alternative, a fictive paradise, which expunged the inequities of civilized living. Alternatively, it was seen as the fearful habitat of demons (*Rāmāyaṇa* 2.22.6 8, 2.25. 4 ff., 3.65.3 ff.). Both the romanticism and the demons are found in texts and in folk literature. But the images change, as do their roles. In folk versions, the images are often the reverse of those in texts, and one has to ask why this is so. Where the literary tradition is the only source, the perspective is inevitably of the *grāma*. This is one of many reasons why the collecting of oral traditions is crucial to obtaining a view from the other side. When the demands of civilization begin to impinge on the forest, the perceptions of the forest and its people also change. The forest, therefore, is not a neutral item, that is 'out there'. The images it evokes are significant to the self-understanding of the settlement and these change with time and with intention.

Ideologies focusing on retreat into the wilderness seem to have germinated in the agro- pastoral society referred to in the Vedic corpus but came to fruition in the discussions which took place in urban centres, which ironically could only be established through clearing the forest. Here, in the *kutūhalaśālās*, parks and recreational places on the fringes of towns, people gathered to hear heterodox thinkers – the Buddha and others – who initiated various new ideologies. Such parks or groves became yet another liminal space between the forest retreats eulogized in the Vedic

corpus and the variant philosophical concerns associated with a context of nascent urbanization. Even when the monastic system came to be established, despite the necessity of dependence on alms which linked the monasteries to the *grāma*, the ideal image remained that of monks in forest monasteries. In the Deccan, the early monasteries at nodal points in the Western Ghats were clustered around caves, some natural and some deliberately cut into the volcanic rock. This did not require extensive forest clearance as did the monasteries on the plateau.

Some years ago Charles Malamound argued for a dividing line between the *grāma* and the *araṇya* and linked it to Vedic ideology (Malamound 1976, 1989/1996: 74-91). He maintained that these were not merely spatial differences. Stability in the *grāma* grew out of the cohesion of the group rather than the limitation of space and was maintained by *dharma*, social rules within a world order encapsulated in the ritual of sacrifice. The *araṇya*, by definition, lacked the cohesion of the *grāma*, for not only was it spatially more extensive, but was also the habitat of those who did not live by *dharma*, such as brigands and thieves. The *araṇya* is any wilderness, it interstitial, empty and constitutes 'the other'. Yet, the forest is part of the *araṇya* even though it is not empty space. Whatever is not included in the settlement belongs to the forest. The forest is, thus, not only the space between settlements but is characterized by being strange, remote, wild and different. It teems with creatures but their appearance and behavior is unpredictable. Malamound also remakes that all beings belong to either one or the other, but only man has access to both.

Some scholars have made a further distinction between the two categories. Grāma and araṇya, as more widely inclusive terms, are seen as dichotomous; whereas *vana* and *kṣetra*, being more   specific, are viewed as interactive or even as a continuum. The dichotomy is also suggested by the statement in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that the sacrificial animal at the *yajña* should be from the *grāma*, for while a domesticated animal eliminates the undesirable, the sacrificing of a wild animal from the forest has a negative effect (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13.2.4.1.). The performance of the yajña is linked inherently to the *grāma*. Village animals can, however, graze in the forest, and pasture lands are frequently seen as a category between the two (*Mahābhārata* 12.57.44 ff; *Arthaśāstra* 2.34.6). The two complementary ways of obtaining meat for eating were hunting and the sacrifice (Zimmerman 1987: 60). The meat from hunting was obtained in a

non-ritual context, and since it came from the *vana*, no controls were required. The meat from the ritual of sacrifice was generally that of a prized animal and was, therefore, infrequently available. Hence Yajñavalkya's pleasure at eating a tender cut of beef (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.1.2.2.1.).

The notion of dichotomy is also extended to the major opposition in societal terms, that of the *gr̥hastha* (householder) and the *Saṁnyāsin* (ascetic or renouncer). The householder has to observe the social obligations of the *grāma* and of *dharma*, and has a schedule of daily rites, but the renouncer living in the forest is free of these (Thapar 1978, 1981: 273-98). The logic of the duality was that he who had renounced the practice of social and sacred obligations would have the forest as his habitat, since the forest did not require these. The eventual crystallization of these ideas was the theory of the four stages of life – the four *āśramas* – where, interestingly, a major part of one's life was to be spent, one way or another, in the forest. Perhaps this was a compromise with the demands of monastic life encouraged by Buddhism and Jainism, and urged on the renouncer even from a young age.

Epic literature is among the early compositions which plays on the dichotomy and the complementarity of the *vana* and *kṣetra*, but it also tends to change the orientation somewhat from that of the Vedic corpus. Many forests are mentioned, each by name, suggesting that the forest was not an undifferentiated expanse but had its own categories of identity (*Rāmāyaṇa*, 1.23.12 ff., 3.2.1 ff., 3.20.7, 7.24.42; *Mahābhārata*, 1.89.35-45). In early India, the forest was the context for at least three activities: the hunt, the hermitage, and the place of exile. The descriptions of the hunts of the *rājās* in the *Mahābhārata* have a ferocity which can only be described as their being a surrogate   raid on nature. The narrative of *Śakuntalā* for example, opens with Duḥṣanta hunting in the forest (*Mahābhārata*, 1.62-69). He has a large entourage of heavily armed soldiers and hundreds of horses and elephants, as if going into battle. The *vana* was the unknown territory, peopled by *rākṣasas*. Here the hero slaughtered undiscriminately. Families of tigers and deer were killed, and severely wounded elephants trampled the forest. So fierce was the slaughter of animals that predators and prey took refuge together. One is reminded of another vivid description of the destruction of a forest – the Khāṇḍava *vana* burnt by Agni (*Mahābhārata*, 1.214 ff.). The fire raged for

days and ate everything that came in its way. The heroes were presented with stunningly splendid weapons and the massacre began. Not only did animals and birds lose their lives, but the *gandharvas, yakṣas, rākṣasas* and *nāgas,* all were sought to be killed. Were these the reflections of a vivid mythology, or was this a veiled allusion to the people of the forest? So great was the carnage that even the gods asked whether the moment of *mahāpralaya* – the ultimate destruction of the universe – had arrived. The land was devastated, but cleared of forest, and the settlement of Indraprastha and the chiefdom of the Pāṇḍavas established. Both the ferocity of the hunt and the burning of the forest were necessary preconditions for power, and not just in a symbolic sense.

It is ironic that the burning of forests by Agni is described in the earliest literary source, yet Agni itself is born through the friction of wood (*Ṛgveda*, 2.4.6, 3.6.7, 7.7.2, 2.1.1, 3.1.1.3). It has been argued that the burning of forests was an attempt to destroy the resource base of hunter-gatherers even if forested land was easily available (Gadgil and Guha 1992: 78ff). Or was it an attempt to clear more land in the vicinity of over populated-areas? The burning of the Khāṇḍava *vana* as necessary for establishing Indraprastha suggests the idea of staking a claim on the land as territory. This burning has been viewed as a massive *yajña* for Agni. It is different in intention from Videgha Māthava carrying Agni in his mouth across the Sadānīra/Gandak, possibly to legitimize his settlement (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 1.4.1.14-17). The mood of the two narratives is dissimilar.

In a society of chiefships, where the state had not yet come into being and relationships within and between clans were dominant, claims to territory were made or reiterated more frequently through a raid or through a hunt – the surrogate raid. Even the notion of conquest tended often to be associated with rituals performed on special occasions, such as the *dig-vijaya* required prior to a *yajña*, and even then there is some uncertainty about the exact nature of 'conquest'. In each of the epics, the war that was pivotal to the event was not essentially motivated by the wish to control further territory but by the insistence on the recognition of rights. The hunt was also a mechanism of asserting control over grazing grounds. When the keeping of large herds became the main resource for a clan, then access to grazing grounds became a basic necessity that the chief of the clan had to provide and defend. Domesticated animals grazed

outside the village and in the periphery of the forest and had to be protected (*Mahābhārata*, 12.57.44ff). A fine example of these links occurs in the *ghoṣa-yātra*, the cattle foray described in the *Mahābhārata*. The Kuru clan, in fact, had to brand its herds. The younger members of the clan, together with their friends, women and retainers, their horses, soldiers and huntsmen, took the cattle to the Dvaitavana forest for grazing, where the animals were counted and the calves branded. The forest was an established grazing ground with huts for the cowherds, and the inspecting of cattle became the excuse for a hunt. That it was tied to claiming territory and the legitimacy of the Kurus to rule, is evident from the initial intention to use it as an occasion to attack the Pāṇḍavas. The entourage, apart from the townspeople, is said to have consisted of 8,000 chariots, 9,000 horses, 30,000 elephants and several thousand foot soldiers, as well as carts, traders, prostitutes and thousands of hunters. This, clearly, is an exaggeration, meant undoubtedly to emphasize the power of those taking the offensive. The forest was seemingly close by, so that people could return daily to the settlement. The distribution of gifts on this occasion was lavish, and is another indicator of the status of the Kuru clan. This is followed almost immediately by an altercation with the *gandharvas* over rights to the interior of the forest, which leads to a battle in which the Kurus were eventually defeated (*Mahābhārata*, 3.227-29). Cattle raids and claims over forest lands were essential to chiefdoms. The *gandharvas* in this narrative have an ambiguous identity, for they are likely to have been forest dwellers rather than celestial beings.

Hunting as the activity of chiefs and later of kings was looked upon as an enviable expertise, and the hero's success was measured by his prowess in the hunt. Yet those forest peoples who lived by hunting – the *Vyādha*, *Niṣāda*, and such like – are regarded with contempt, treated as uncouth and sinful, and subordinated to a low-caste status. Ostensibly the explanation for this was that they lived by violence and were devoid of the values of the *grāma*. But more likely, the downgrading was intended to uphold the legitimacy of the royal hunt. The conflict with such groups was constant, as is mentioned in the narrative of Śakuntalā in the *Mahābhārata*. We tend to forget that for hunter-gatherer societies, claims to forests as hunting grounds and the association of particular groups with these claims, continued even after such societies ceased to be dependent on hunting. From the perspective of the *grāma*, if the forest was seen as

the chaotic unknown, the king had to conquer it and refashion the chaos into order (Falk 1973: 1-15).

The hunt introduces us to the forest dwellers. These tended to be either creatures of the imagination such as the *rākṣasas* who are abundant, or else humans with supernatural faculties. *Rākṣasas* have generally been described as demons and as unreal. But given the perceptions of the forest in the epics, they are as likely to be the unfamiliar forest dwellers who obstructed hunting expeditions and harassed those establishing settlements in the forest, for example, *ṛṣis* establishing *āśramas*. Or are they societies contrasted with monarchy, such as the more sophisticated *rākṣasas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*? Moreover, is the hunt also an aspect of the subordination of nature to culture? If the forest is seen as a place which is without order or discipline, then it is required of the *rājā* to control it and the hunt becomes the beginning of such control, even if it is initially chaotic. This subordination was also achieved, perhaps less traumatically, through the setting up of *āśramas* in the forest. In the narrative of Śakuntalā, the ferocity of the hunt is contrasted with the gentle calm of the hermitage, each presenting a different view of nature. The hermitage is set so deep in the forest that it is almost another world, enveloped in a translucent green of sun and trees. This is liminal space, the threshold between the two contrasting ecologies of the *vana* and the *kṣetra*. But at the same time it may be seen as a precursor of what later evolved into *agrahāras* – grants of land to *brāhmaṇas*, either in forests or wastelands, or grants of cultivated land. The *āśramas* is at one level an intrusion into the forest by the people of the *grāma*, an intrusion sought to be stemmed by those living in the forest. Not unexpectedly, the literature is replete with references to *āśramas* being attacked by *rākṣasas* and heroes being requested to repel these attacks. The predators are more often demons rather than wild animals. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa begin their apprenticeship as heroes by defending *ṛṣis* against *rākṣasas*.

The hermitage may have been the vanguard of the encroachment into the forest. But at the same time the choice of the forest, and the symbolic act of going to the forest for purpose of asceticism and renunciation has multiple meanings: there is a distancing from civilization; a seeking of knowledge through isolation and meditation; and a search for the meaning of life through experiencing the unknown. This emphasis on the solitary individual was entirely different from the social interlocking

which the clan required for the performance of sacrificial rituals. There is meant to be an underlying sense of release in going to the forest and a heightening of the feeling of anomie. The early *Upaniṣads* use the dichotomy to differentiate the path of the soul where rebirth is associated with the *grāma* but self-realization in the forest ensures a release from rebirth (*Chāṇḍogya Upaniṣad*, 5.10.1-2; *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6.2.15-16). The movement away from sacrificial ritual invests the retreat in the forest with a different kind of power. The origin of hermitages is not very clear. The preferred choice was a place distant from the settlement so that there would be few intrusions, which is ironic, since the hermitage itself was an intrusion. Its way of life was a denial of that associated with the settlement. Renouncers having renounced social obligations, had to live where such obligations and duties were not required. Rituals were performed, but only for the members of the *āśramas*. Food was gathered from what the forest provided and cultivation was marginal. The attempt was to live in unison with the rhythms of the forest world, even if not in amity with the forest people.

The suggestion for a hermitage could have come from the existing sacred groves, located either on the peripheries, or in the dense areas of the forest. The former would be tended by the settlement and latter by the forest dwellers. A small forest was dedicated to a deity, was left uncut, and had a space for offerings and activities demanded by rituals focusing sometimes on a shrine located in the grove. This would have been consistent with the way in which forest dwellers looked upon forests – as a source of nurture and a territory for sustenance, an appreciation which continuous into later times and forms. The Buddha is often said to have been born in a grove of Sāla trees. For Kālidāsa, the *āśrama* of Kaṇva is a *tapovana*, suggesting a sacred grove (*Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*, I. v. 27/29 ff.). Sacred groves may even have been specially planted since the trees are sometimes specified, and believed to be sacred to particular deities. The protection of the grove was sought by barring entry except on certain occasions. Those infringing the prohibition suffered dire consequences, sometimes as extreme as a change of sex as in the well-known story of Ila/Iḷā. The normal activity of hunting associated with the forest was often forbidden in the grove. Although the large numbers of groves are commented upon even as recently as the nineteenth century, those in the interior of forests had a better chance of survival than the ones on the

periphery. The association with deities afforded only limited protection; when the encroachment came, accompanied by the gods and goddesses of Hinduism, the existing deities would have been subsumed.

The forest was never far away from habitation. For instance, excavations of the settlements at Atranjikhera and Hastinapur, which are not too far from Delhi, have yielded evidence of a large variety of forest trees (Chaudhuri 1977). The Buddhist Canon states that aside from the village and its outskirts, the rest of the land is jungle (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, 1.74). Even as late as the seventh century A.D., the Chinese Buddhist monk Hsuan Tsang writes of forests close to Kauśāmbi, as also of the extensively forested areas in the vicinity of Kapilavastu and Kuśinagara in the *terai* and north Bihar (*Si-yu-ki* I, 234; II, 25, 43). Travelling from one town to another meant going through a forest. Therefore, when in exile, the forest was not a physically distant place, although distant in concept. The exile of heroes in both epics is to the forest. But here the forest takes on a different connotation and is not merely the jungle beyond the settlement. The forest, as the location of the unknown, and the place of exile, became an exploration. It was also necessary to the continuation of the narrative of the epic. Exile was a device used commonly by bards and poets to stretch the story. The forest was where anything could happen and in each retelling of the story or even in each day of the recitation, fresh incidents could be added. The heroes in exile entered the unknown, unpredictable space, where events had strange consequences, for the hierarchies and regulations of the *grāma* were not observed. Exile, thus, became an experience in forging and testing human values.

Every epic has an imagined space which is crucial to the imagery created for the audience and which is then sought to be projected as a reality. This central space signaled the presence of people whose appearance and customs could be alien, and these were viewed either as worth emulating or were rejected through contempt and fear. The space, however, was an extension in the imagination of a geographical reality. In the Indian epics, it was the forest that constituted this imagined space. By way of contrast, the Greek hero Ulysses was tossed into a similar space after the battle of Troy, although for the essentially sea-faring Greeks, this was what Homer describes as the wine-dark seas. The journey from Troy to Ithaca which would at most have taken a few days across the Aegean Sea, took many years, with Ulysses' ships being driven ashore at various

places along the Mediterranean. This provided Homer and the bards with opportunities for introducing exotic men and women, part fantasy, part mythology and in part the mirror which 'the other' presents to the self. Those conjured up in these spaces of the unknown are either contrary to or else ideal projections of the society of the poet.

Such imagined space can, up to a point, be given some geographical location and be used to encourage the cultural appropriation, if not the political subordination, of new areas coming within the ambit of a dominant culture. Associations are sought between the culture of the heroes and that of the people in this space. This often takes the form of myths or expressions of local culture which insist that the heroes had visited a particular region; hence the frequency of the Pandu *lenas* and the Sita *kunds* all over the subcontinent. When some epics are later converted to sacred literature, as the Indian epics were, then this space becomes a matter of sacred geography and there is an even greater insistence on the association of people, deities and location.

If the *āśrama* was a place of penance and purification for the ascetic, the forest provided the same context for aspiring heroes. The hunting and gathering life which they are forced to adopt is a reversal of the life they were born to, but is projected as idyllic and free from the complexities of their normal existence. The heroes bring with them the awareness of social obligations but, as long as they are in the forest, they are permitted to question or even discard these. If this period is as it has been described – 'the liminal context for spiritual transformation' (Parkhill 1995) – then it becomes a threshold condition which prepare them for the eventual denouement. The forest becomes a metaphor for change, subsequent experiences being coloured by the exile in the forest.

Among the most romantic images of the forest are those which occur in the plays of Kālidāsa, as in the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*. This takes us into a different perception of the forest. The duality of settlement and forest is apparent in the contrasting images of the *āśrama* of the *ṛṣi* Kaṇva and the court of Duḥṣanta at Hastināpur. Śakuntalā is essentially a woman of the forest and Duḥṣanta a man of the court, suggesting again the bifurcation of nature and culture. It has been argued that patriarchal ideologies project 'nature' as feminized and 'culture' as masculine, where nature is passive and culture authoritative (Ortner 1974). But the counter argument maintains that notions of nature relate to specific conditions and

that association of gender with culture varies in different situations (Strathern 1995). The distancing between the *āśrama* and the court is made explicit in Kalidasa's play through the comments of the two acolytes from the *āśrama* who accompanied Śakuntalā. Their discomfort is expressed in the feeling that the palace is as if on fire, and the town mired in filth. However, the *āśrama* was not unfamiliar with the ways of the world. Kaṇva knows the mores of upper-caste society and his advice to his foster daughter draws on the axioms appropriate to proper wifely behavior in a patriarchal society. The play also touches subconsciously on the different kinds of authority invested in the *ṛṣi* and the *rājā*. The *ṛṣi* opts out of social obligations and establishes an alternative pattern of life where such obligations have no role. His power is drawn from his individually practiced asceticism, in isolation in the forest, and this power can even threaten the gods. The *rājā* upholds social obligations and protects the *varṇāśramadharma*, believing that the equilibrium of society is thereby maintained. Unlike the *ṛṣi*, he draws his powers from interaction with others, and through governance and various coercive agencies. Yet, his power does not allow him to compete with the gods.

Kālidāsa's play registers a change in the three characteristics related to the forest that I have associated with the epics, and to that extent captures a historical moment which is in some ways transitional to later perceptions of the forest. The opening scene is a less gruesome hunt than in the epic. There is even an elegant verse on the feeling deer chased by the king in his chariot. The hunt is neither a surrogate raid nor a claim to territory, for these are now achieved more effectively through campaigns and battles. The hunt is a royal pastime infused with the axioms of gallantry. On arriving at the *āśrama*, the king removes his royal regalia and enters as an ordinary man. *Āśramas* are now protected by kings, although at the same time they claim to be outside royal jurisdiction. Protection is largely against *rākṣasas*, *pretas*, and *daityas*, all creatures conjured up as poetic fancy. It is, however, equally likely that they are projections of forest people resisting encroachment, who are, therefore, fantasized as demons in order to legitimize their extermination. It is not easy to separate poetic imagery and political reality, but the former can provide a momentary glimpse of the latter. As already noted, the relationship of the *āśrama* with the state is precursor of a greater interlocking in the instituting of the agrahāras – grants of land to

brāhmaṇas – which become common from this time onwards. The activities in the *āśrama*, focusing on the study and recitation of the Vedas, would suggest that it was a support of a conservative nature for the king. The *āśrama* of Kaṇva in the play does not accommodate heterodox beliefs and practices. But being at the intersection of settlement and forest, it could and did sometimes link the knowledge system of both, thus encouraging innovations (similar interactions are discussed in Zimmermann 1987).

This change in attitudes to the forest, different in the play from perceptions in the *Mahābhārata*, hints at other changes in attitude towards the forest and its people. The forest was now less alien and at least on its margins was beginning to be looked upon almost as a variant of a *grāma*; it was slowly becoming the recipient of the discipline and norms associated with those regarded as civilized. Above all, it was being viewed as a resource to be exploited. The perception of the forest as viewed by those who were advisors and authorities of the state, such as Kauṭilya, is entirely unlike those discussed so far. This new perception did not replace what has been depicted so far, but offered a new and different perspective, reflecting the concerns of a different political entity, namely the state. At this juncture, the state took the form of a mature monarchy with a concentration of a political power in a single person, drawing less on kinship loyalties for administrative functioning and more on an impersonal structure backed by coercive authority. Power and authority in the state system became dependent on revenue, among other things. Consequently the legitimate tapping of various sources of revenue was being suggested, and this included the forest.

For purposes of extending agriculture, both in order to bring in a larger revenue and perhaps to support a growing population, Kauṭilya's advice was to settle *śūdra* peasants on wasteland or land which had been deserted (*Arthaśāstra*, 2.1.1). This meant some cutting of forests in order to clear the land. If the desertion of land was due to shifting cultivation this also required constant tree felling. Shifting cultivation permitted a secondary growth but settled cultivation assumed the permanent clearing away of the forest. The granting of tax-free, cultivable land to special categories of persons – learned *brāhmaṇas and* professionals working for the state – was also mentioned. This would either have been cultivated land in villages, or else larger acreages of uncultivated land to be brought

under cultivation by the grantee. The latter would again mean some deforestation. The incidence of this creating what came to be called agrahāras can be traced to the early centuries of the Christian era, when inscriptions attest to kings making such grants. The frequency increases in later times. Forests were also assessed as a source of revenue, both from their natural products, such a timber, elephants, veins of semi-precious stones and mines, and through their transformation into cultivable land (*Arthaśāstra*, 2.17.1 ff.). The clearing of forests had to be kept under firm control – not because Kauṭilya was an environmentalist, but because the state had to be watchful of both the production and the receipt of revenue. The state was also advised to take the initiative in developing forests, especially those featuring particular kinds of forest produce, and to settle people in forests who would be trained to garner this produce and to convert it into items for commerce (*Arthaśāstra*, 2.2.5-11). Elephant forests were especially prized, for not only was the ivory valuable but it was also thought that victory in battle depended principally on the elephant wing of the army. Furthermore, such forests made excellent natural frontiers. That these activities of the state may have met with some opposition from forest dwellers is suggested by Kauṭilya's remark that the king should not tax those areas which had been laid waste by the āṭavika/forest dwellers (*Arthaśāstra*, 2.1.36). What form this opposition took is not specified, but the exemption from tax for those cultivators affected by the activities of the forest people would suggest that perhaps the crops of the cultivators were burnt. He also cautions against forest chieftains who were numerous, visible, brave and could ruin a country. They could be allies or could be used politically to create trouble for neighbouring kingdoms (*Arthaśāstra*, 7.2.19, 8.1.54, 1.16.29). Forest peoples – *araṇyacaracāṭavika* – are a distinct category, known and visible, in the text (*Arthaśāstra*, 8.4.41-48).

Many references to forest chiefs occur in the later sections of the book, dating to the early centuries A.D. In these later portions, too, forest chiefs are seen as potential allies or enemies or as instruments to be used politically to create trouble in neighbouring kingdoms. They are, therefore, depicted as part of the diplomacy of interstate relations (*Arthaśāstra*, 7.2.19, 8.1.54, 1.16.29, 1.12.33, 1.16.29, 5.6.12, 7.2.19, 13.3.17). Some are even said to have pillaged cities (*Arthaśāstra*, 3.12.2). Attacks on caravans were commonly feared by traders, which led to some guilds

maintaining their own militia for defence against such attacks (*Arthaśāstra*, 4.5.15). The frequency of references to forest chiefs and forest peoples in the context of campaigns and of diplomacy would point to their being of greater importance than has been assumed by modern historiography. A hint in another source unexpectedly suggests much the same. The Mauryan emperor Aśoka, ruling in the third century B.C., makes a curious statement in his Major Rock Edict XIII, the same edict in which he expresses remorse for the suffering caused by his campaign in Kalinga (Major Rock Edict XIII: Bloch 1950: 129). We are told that Devānaṃpiya conciliates the forest people, but warns them that he has power even in his remorse and asks them to repent lest they be killed. The reason for demanding their repentance, or for the threat to their lives, remains a mystery. Elsewhere he forbids the wanton burning of forests (Pillar Edict V: Bloch 1950: 166). Was the threat to the forest dwellers a way of preventing illegal clearing of forests and of curbing shifting cultivation? Was Aśoka, being a conscientious Buddhist, trying to wean away the *āṭavikas* from a life of hunting and killing animals, or was the state ensuring that its appropriation of forest produce would not be obstructed by forest dwellers? Or was the state protecting forest dwellers? There was at that time enough forested land for there to be no fear of the disappearance of forests. Shifting cultivation, therefore, may not have been viewed as a disaster, for it also permitted the growth of a secondary forest. Aśoka, it seems, took pride in having trees planted along the roads to provide shade for travelers. This was not a policy of forecasting treeless areas, though Pillar Edict V is much quoted by modern environmentalists arguing for his having been conscious of ecological damage. Aśoka lists those animals that were inviolate, and some were inviolate on particular days. The list is curious, including as it does creatures unlikely to be killed for food, which could suggest their use in medicine, and the mention of particular days links the edict to ritual practices rather than environmental concerns.

The stern policy of Aśoka Maurya towards the forest people takes a further turn under the Guptas. In the 4th century A.D. Samudragupta is said to have reduced the *āṭavika-rājās* or forest chiefs to servitude (Allahabad Posthumous Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta: Fleet 1970: 7). It is likely that the customary use of the forest by the *āṭavika-rājās* was based on privilege rather than on rights. Not only was the use of

the forest by forest communities curtailed, but servitude would also have broken their clan or community identity. Further, the expansion of trade and the opening up of new areas to commercial exchange took routes cutting through forests. Forest dwellers had to be brought under control to safeguard these routes and valuable resources of the forest. Brigands attacking travelers and merchants are a given in Indian history. It was not that the forest people were necessarily brigands but the forest provided shelter for brigandage. Where these areas were conquered, the *āṭavikas* would have been put to work to obtain resources. Centres for the collection of timber and the produce of mines meant further inroads into the forest.

The change in the agrarian economy brought about by grants of land from the Gupta period onwards has been analysed as an innovation in political economy. The impact of this change on the forest and those dwelling within needs further investigation. These are the people who would either have been forced to migrate deeper into the forest, or else, if they remained juxtaposed to the encroaching state system and the cultivation it brought, they would have been inducted into the *jāti* or caste structure. Those who were required to work the forest resources for a conquering state would have undergone a similar experience. Such new *jātis* would be identified by their having retained, to some degree, their kinship patterns and customs. This process has been described as the transition from tribe to caste, from *jana* to *jāti*, a conclusion which obscures the more fundamental transformation, namely, the emergence of a peasant society in erstwhile forest regions. This process would have integrated the deities of Hindu sects into the ritual and belief systems of the new *jātis*, as well as incorporated the cults of the forest into what we recognize as Hindu religions. The process of the transformation of *jana* to *jāti* goes back to earlier times, but given a availability of a larger body of diverse sources at this later time the process is more apparent. These were the less visible ways in which the *vana* entered the nodal points of the *grāma*. In such relationships, the definition of *vana* and *kṣetra* may also have implied the centrality of *jāti* stratification in the *kṣetra*.

Grants of land increased in number with the parallel increase in small states that were dependent on agriculture for revenue, on resources from the forest, and on commerce. Origin myths of local dynasties carry hints of connections with forest clans and some even provide an ancestry.

This would suggest that grantees and adventurers may have married into the families of forest chieftains. As in all such interactions, what resulted was complex. However, this was not always a process of osmosis by which the *āṭavikas* were gently converted to a caste. Where deriving revenue from the forest was at issue, this could become a disjuncture in their lives. A group of inscriptions from Khoh in central India illustrate the process (Khoh CP Inscription of Hastin; Majhgawam CP Inscription; Bhumara Stone Pillar Inscription; Khoh CP Inscription of Saṃkṣobha: Fleet 1970: 93 ff.; 100 ff.; 106 ff.; 110 ff.; 112 ff.). In A.D. 475, a *mahārājā*, Hastin, ruling in Bundelkhand, is recorded as granting a village to a group of *brāhmaṇas*. The king's ancestry is described as being of a *nṛpati parivrājaka kula*, that is, of a kingly ascetic. This may point to an earlier connection with a grant of land for an ancestor – the *Brāhmaṇa* Suśarman. If the grant was large enough to form a foundation for a dynasty, it must surely have included substantial areas of forest land, particularly in Bundelkhand. Twenty years later, another copper-plate inscription from Khoh, issued by the successor to Hastin, records a grant of land to a *Brāhmaṇa*. The king claims that his ancestor was of the *Bhāradvāja gotra*, thus suggesting a *brahma-kṣatra* status, without actually saying so. He also claims as part of his inheritance eighteen *aṭavī rājyas* or forest kingdoms conquered by the family. This was part of the conversion of the Vindhyan region from forest to kingdom, from *vana* to *kṣetra*. This process needs to be investigated in assessing the transmutation of each, and in ascertaining where the change was an accommodation and where it was a contestation.

Some *brāhmaṇas* who received land grants were known to marry into the families of 'tribal' chiefs, as has been discussed by many scholars (as, for example, Apffel-Marglin 1985). Such marriages were not only a mutual backing of status, albeit of two different systems, but were also used to lay claim to the territories traditionally associated with the clan of the chief (Kulke 1978: 321-342). This becomes something of a sub-continental pattern where land grants are common. The Pallavas, for example, claimed descent from a *brāhmaṇa* and a *nāga* woman (*Epigraphia Indica* 1898: 49-53). This, however, did not result in a change of status of the *āṭavikas*. The initial contestation, frequently violent, gradually took the form of cultural and social incorporation and opened up possibilities through ritual and custom for the āṭavika practices to become

part of Puranic Hinduism. Even more crucial are the ensuing political relations between aspirants to kingdoms and forest dwellers when the kingdom is established but the participation of the latter remains essential. State formation was not a simple, linear process exploiting the forest dweller. Although the exploitation cannot be denied, adjustments in other forms also had to be conceded by those who were exploiters. The multiplicity of goddesses and myths, and the emergence of new *jātis* is an indication of these changes.

This is not to suggest that the earlier attitude to the forest and its people was replaced by the new relationships. Many of the earlier attitudes persisted. Some were even romanticized since fresh encroachments into new forests continued to be those of the hermitage and the land grant. The coming of the state was subsequent. There is, therefore, even a certain superimposition of the images, with some more dominant than others. *Rākṣasas* and *apsarās* are less in the forefront in courtly literature than in folk narratives. Frequently, the latter relate a variant narrative which may not be a direct reversal of the classical version, but which, nevertheless, presents the story from a different perspective.

A century later, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacarita* describes a forest in the Vindhyas where the king, Harsa, goes in search of his sister (Cowell and Thomas 1968: sections 255 ff.). What were once the perceptions of the forest in the epic, focusing on the hunt, the hermitage and exile, were now beginning to fade. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's description would pertain to the middle of the first millennium A.D. Villages in the forest as described by Bāṇabhaṭṭa are large and well stocked. In addition to cowpens there are rice paddies and sugarcane fields worked by farming families. Blacksmiths collect wood for charcoal, and hunters, trappers and fowlers are active. Others come with the produce of the forest – bark, cotton from the Simul tree, flex and hemp, honey, waterlily roots, and wax – and women carry baskets of forest fruit to sell at the next village. This is, economically, a different scene from the forests of the epics, and *rākṣasas* and *apsarās* are far less frequent. Yet this is the same Vindhyan forest through which the epic heroes were said to have wandered in exile. The description in the *Harṣacarita* is not too dissimilar to that of Vimalasūri in the *Paumacariyam* – a Jaina version of the narrative of Rāma, where exile in the Vindhyas entails travelling through many more kingdoms, unlike in the Vālmīki version where there are more forests to be traversed through. This

description would pertain to the mid-first millennium A.D. (Chandra 1970: 507 ff.; Thapar 1982).

And what of the forest people? The king Harṣa, travelling in the Vindhyan region, is introduced to the nephew of the Śabara chief (Cowell and Thomas 1968: sections 259 ff.). He is described as dark with blood-shot eyes, a flat nose, a thick lower lip and projecting cheekbones, moving like a *tamāla* tree or a mass of black collyrium or a melting block of iron from the Vindhya. But it is said that he knew every leaf of the forest. The description carries echoes of the earlier descriptions of the Niṣāda, Bhilla, Pulinda and other forest peoples. In short, it appears to be a stereotype. Should it be taken as accurate? The stereotype, it seems, had entered mythology. Puranic myths about the first ruler emphasize the difference between the forest dweller and the cultivator (*Mahābhārata*, 12.59; *Viṣṇu Purāna*, 1.13; *Padma Purāna*, II, 27.42-43). The contempt of the brāhmaṇas for the first is contrasted with the eulogies of the second. Thus, when the rājā, Veṇa, began to oppose the brāhmaṇas and stopped performing sacrifices, they turned on him and killed him. Without a ruler there was chaos in the land, so in desperation they churned the left thigh of Veṇa. A short, ugly, dark man with a flat nose and blood-shot eyes emerged. He was thought to be unfit to rule, and was banished to the forest and given the name Niṣāda, meaning 'to sit' or 'to sink'. Niṣāda, Bhilla, Pulinda and Śabara were to be generic names for those who lived in the forest. Subsequently, when the right arm of Veṇa was churned, there emerged the tall, handsome Pṛthu who introduced cattle rearing and agriculture. The ensuing prosperity so pleased the earth that she took on his name and is hence called Pṛthivī. Implicit in this imagery is the opposition between the civilized and those belonging to the forest. The opposition was not new, for the description of Śabara resembles earlier descriptions of the rākṣasas, but the relationship has changed. The Śabara was neither feared nor allowed to forget that he had to be subservient. The myth encapsulates an opposition between the *vana* and *kṣetra*.

And so the story continuous for many centuries up to the present. There is a constant mingling of all these perceptions, but some either lie dormant or surface dramatically. The epics, for instance, continue to be recited, and their narratives have generated multiple and varying local versions in folk literature. Sometimes the imagery coincides with that of the hegemonic epic, but often, it is contrary to it and becomes a way of

contesting the former. The Indian past provides us with multiple perceptions of the forest and those who live there. Perceptions and contexts alter over time. In many cases, we do not know who the original inhabitants of the forest may have been, for much of the present mythology speaks of migrations and the shuffling of peoples. It has now also begun to reflect the intertwining of the mythologies of forest and settlement. A juxtaposition of the images, those of the settlement and the self-images of the forest peoples, could encourage a dialogue on perceptions.

We cannot say that the Indian tradition insisted on the conservation of forests, or alternatively, that there was little comprehension of ecology and that forests were devastated. There were times when some forests were devastated, there were times when some were conserved, whatever the reason. But it would be illuminating to attempt to know the reason. What does, however, become apparent is that even on recognizing the dichotomy of the *vana* and the *kṣetra*, their complementarity immediately surfaces. The historical role, the historical interaction, and the imagery of the one is essential to the reconstruction of the other. In the absence of the one, the reality of the other is diminished.

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-3-

The Contributions of Peshawar Teachers in Development of Mahayana Buddhism in Gandhāra (1ˢᵗ-6ᵗʰ cent. CE)

Alia Jawad
M. Farooq Swati

Abtract

The present paper highlights the intellectual contributions of ancient Peshawar with special reference to eminent teachers in Mahayana Buddhism. It extracted data from the archives of National Library of Beijing and Peking University, China. It consists of the Chinese Royal histories, the oldest extant biographies of Buddhist teachers, and anthologies of the Chinese pilgrims to Gandhāra. Furthermore, an extensive literature review of renowned scholars; and other chronicles, e.g., the dictionaries of Chinese and Pali Buddhist terms, is also referred to in the study. The presen paper pinpoints Peshawar as a place of origin for renowned Mahayanists who had previously been placed under the generic name 'India'. It details the distinct Kavya style of Aśvaghosa; the philosophical contributions of Yogacāra school of Asanga and Vasubandhu, and intellectual contributions of Jinangupta who travelled to China in 6ᵗʰ century CE, and translated a number of scriptures from Gandhari Prakrit to the Chinese language.

Introduction

Hsuan Tsang describes Peshawar as the core of Kaniśka's Empire with its northern extension to Swat and Buner Districts and eastern extension along the River Indus (Ingholt 1957:13). It has variously been described as Kukkuta in some Jataka and Vinaya texts and *paccantimam-nagara*, i.e. a frontier town, in the empire of the King Mahākappina in Apadāna.II.469. Mahākappina is said to have sent men from its four gates to look for the learned men. A trade route existed between the city of Sāvathi and Kukkuta on which the merchants frequently transversed. The Dictionary of Pali proper names (1.850) and *Dhammapada.II.116ff* (Sarao 2010:160) mentions that three rivers had to be crossed to reach Sāvathi, i.e., *Aravacchā*, the *Nilavāhanā* and the *Candabhāgā*, i.e, Chenab. Al-Bīrūnī describes the Kaniśka Tope as the *Vihara* of *Purushāvar*, built by King Kaniśka *Kanika-Mahā-Vihara* of Kittoes inscription where the best teachers were to be found (Watters 1904:208). *Shah-ji-ki-Dheri* at Peshawar was a great Buddhist educational centre, where the Buddhist teachers of exceptional fame and intellect lived.

The word 'Peshawar' appears in Ara inscription (Dani 1995:55). Fa Hsien described it as a 'City of Heroes'. The Chinese chronicle *Su-kao-seng-chuan* describes Peshawar as *Chang-fu-kung* (Hero's place)[1]. Hsuan Tsang places Narayana Deva, *Wu-cho* or Asanga P'usa, *Shih-ch'in* or Vasubandhu P'usa, Dharmatrata, Manoratha and *Po-li-ssu-fo* or Pārśva the Venerable, Vasumitra (*Chung-shih-fen*), a composer of *Abhidharmaprakana-pāda* and Dharmakrāta, who composed *Samkyuktābhū Dharma Śāstra* as native of the Peshawar District. No treatise of Pārśva is preserved. However, Manoratha is said to have composed Vibhāsha lun in 150 CE. Dharmatrata compiled *Tsa-Abhidharma lun* (Beal 2004). Hsuan Tsang mentioned the chamber of Parsvika where Vasubandhu prepared his *Abhidharma-kosa Śāstra*, and Manorhita composed Vibhasa Śāstra (Dani 1995:51). The Chinese chronicles inscribe a total number of twenty eight patriarchs of Buddhism, among whom Aśvaghosa is described as the 12ᵗʰ – only next to Punyatayaśa, and Vasubandhu as 21ˢᵗ patriarch. In Japan Aśvaghosa is regarded as a teacher of Pure Land School, the first patriarch of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* Sect and twelfth of the Contemplatist School (Soothill & Lewis 2004:22; Watters 1904:104, 214 & 274).

Mahayanist teachers of Peshawar

We provide a succinct description of the innovatory contributions of four eminent Mahayanists of Peshawar, i.e., Aśvaghosa, Vasubadhu, Asanga, and Jinangupta in following section.

Aśvaghosa[2]

Aśvaghosa (*ca*. 100 CE), the disciple of Pārśva the elder, the author of Buddhacharita, was among the celebrities of the Kaniśka's Empire. Ettione Lamotte, the earliest translator of Buddhacharita, gives him the dates 128-51 CE, while Richard Robinson, William Johnson and Thanissaro Bhikku assign him to the Kaniśka reign, at the beginning of the Christian Era (Hiltebeitel 2006:233). He is considered as the India's greatest poet before Kalidasa, and also the 'Father of the Indian Drama'.

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[1] The hero being Viśnu, the conquerer of Asura.

[2] Sanskrit meaning 'Horse's Voice'; the *Maming Pusa* of Huan Tsang.

The legendary accounts narrate that he belonged to *Madhyadeśa*[3], but was given to Kaniśka as war booty. Merium-Webster Encyclopedia (1995:80) maintains that he either belonged to Ayodhya or Peshawar. However, Warder (1990:180) believed that he belonged to Gandhāra on account of ample references to the country his *Buddhacarita*. The Chinese translations of his biography reveal that he preached the *Dharma* (doctrine) extensively in North India (Chaudhuri 2008:18).

The drama, the actors and the school of actors (i.e., *Śailālins*) perhaps existed in Gandhāra since Vedic Period and *Vedas* served as a model for *kavya* literature (Patton 2008:1). Páńini described the Prakritized form of *Nataka*. He described the existence of distinct Nata Sūtras, the manuals for the use of *natas*, and attributed one to Śilalin and other to Kriśaśva. Their adherents were called as *Śilalinas* and *Kriśaśviras* respectively. Kautilya and Patanjali also provide reference to the theatrical companies. Drama and puppet plays were well developed in the wake of the Alexander's invasion in Gandhāra (Chaturvedi 1985:92; Warder 1990:76, Weber 1904:197).

Anyhow Aśvaghosa is described as the progenitor of the Sanskrit drama as he is the first Sanskrit poet whose Kavya is extant. His *Buddhacarita* is a forerunner of the Nātyaśāstra. His *Kavya* reveals the metaphorical style consisted of *sloka, upajāti, the sālini, vanśasthā, praharsini*, etc. He wrote down his kavya for the common people in simple language, but he does not leave the logical arrangement of the plot and the dialogues. The oldest version of *Buddhacarita* dates back to 2nd century CE. The existing versions of *Budhacarita* in Sanskrit are incomplete. However, their Chinese versions are complete. The *Buddhacarita* is also known through the medium of Tibetan literature. The Turfan manuscript includes excerpts from the writings of *Budhacarita* and

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[3] The term *Madhyadeśa* was traditionally used by the Buddhists for the whole North India from Punjab to Bihar (Bagchi 1981: 41). In the wake of the British Colonisation, the whole North India was called as Madhyadeśa to distinguish it from Himalayan Ranges or the Southern plains (Risley 1977: 32). Later on the British scholars translated the same term as Central India. However, recently the scholars have largely challenged the traditional rendering of the term Madhyadeśa to the geographical territory. They rather suggested the term *Maddhyoddeśika/Madhy'yddeśika* meaning 'Intermediate language/recitation' referring to Gandhari Prakrit (Yuyuma 2001: xviii).

also from the two other dramas, known as *Sariputra-prakarana* and *Saundaranaenda,* belonging to the court poetry. The *Rashtrapalanataka* is also attributed to him. The manuscript reveals that the history of dramatic form of Sanskrit was firmly established by this time, and there were abundant precedents as a guide (Keith 1992:90; Nakamura 1989:133; Farley, Darius & Phillip 1993:53).

Later, Aśvaghosa's style influenced *kavya* writers, e.g., Mātrceta, Sūra, Bhāsa, Iśvaradatta, Kalidasa and Bana. The popular literature attributes the origins of new idealism Vijnānavāda or *Tathā* philosophy to him (Ganga 1992:754; Litvinski, Zhang &Shabani 1999:441; Sutton 1991:128; Warder 1990:181).

Aśvaghosa used the similes and metaphors related to music, architecture and sculpture borrowed from Vedic literature, i.e., *Vedangas*, National Epics, *Purānas*, the philosophy of the Samkhya yoge, Dharmaśāstra, Kamaśāstra. He used comparison and the semantic extensions, the philosophy of life and religion, and sciences in his *kavya* literature. The Aśvaghosa's Saundarānanda was widely illustrated in Gandhāra. The chronicles of I-Ching and Hsuan Tsang refer to the popularity of Aśvaghosa all over India. I-Ching reported *Saundarananda* to be narrated and understood by a large number of listeners in front of Buddhist shrines. Later, his *Buddhacarita* was widely read in Samatra, Java, and the neighboring islands for several centuries (Datta 2001:252; Patton 2008:7).

Vasubadhu and Asanga

Vasubadhu and Asanga (4ᵗʰ century CE), the founding figures of Yogācāra School, gave revolutionary turn to Buddhism. According to the Māhayāna traditions Asanga is said to have attained a highest mastery in yoge practices, and reached the *prabhākari* (light giving one), i.e., the third stage of boddhissatvahood (King 1999:100). The *Yogācāra* School systematized the Buddha's teachings into three stages, i.e., *Abhidharma* is the first Wheel of Law, *Prajna Sūtra* the second, and *Vijnanavada* (*Yogācāra* School) is the last Wheel of Law (Morgan 1956:167). *Yogācāra Bhumi Śāstra* is supposed to be dictated to Asanga by Meitreya, during a meditative trance. It synthesized the best points of all previous Māhayāna and Hinayana traditions. Of seventeen volumes of *Yogācāra Bhumi* the

fifteenth, i.e., *Boddhissattvabhumi*[4] is the most famous. His *Māhayāna-Samgraha* (Compendium of Māhayāna) is an abbreviated summary of *Boddhissattvabhumi*. Asanga classified Sūtras in direct (*nita-artha*) and indirect (*neya artha*) meanings (Joshi 1986:260; Roerish 1979:34).

Asanga introduced various modifications in mystic and ritualistic Māhayāna and developed it into a systematic school of thought. His *Sūtra Alamkara*[5]describes the stages on the path of aspirant, actions, thought, and the studies that should accompany every stage. *Vidyāmātra Siddhi* was a standard manual for all students of the *Yogācāra* system. It was also considered necessary for all priests of other schools to have read through it. It was a clear, concise and logic form of exposition that asserted the principle of accepting only those things which could be proved by reason or experience (Mc. Govern 2000: 20, 35).

The details of the Vasubandhu's life are known from several biographies in Chinese and Tibetan, the earliest of which is Paramārtha's *P'o-su-p'an-tou-fa-shih chuan* (6th century CE) (Kritzer 2005: xxii; Vasubandhu and Stafon 1998:11). Hsuan Tsang, Bāna Bhatta, and Vāmana also variously refer to Vasubandhu's works. According to these biographies, Vasubandhu was born in *Purushapura* (present day Peshawar in Pakistan), around the year 316 CE. Hsuan Tsang mentions his house in the middle of *Purushapura* that was marked by a tablet. According to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, Vasubandhu's father was a Hindu Brāhman, and a court priest who was well versed in *Vedas*. Vasubandhu turned to a Māhayānist after reading the *Śatesāhasrikāprajñā-pāramitra Sūtra* of his half brother Asanga. His commentary on *Aksayamatinirdeśa-Sūtra,* and the *Daśa-bhūmika* may be his earliest Māhayāna works, followed by a series of Māhayāna Sūtras and treatises. *Ju-shih Lun* (*Tarka Śāstra*) survives in Chinese, translated by Parāmartha in 6th century CE. Paramārtha belonging to Ujjiyani was a great proponent of the doctrines of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharma-kośa* and Asanga's *Māhayāna-Samparigraha* in China. The *K'ai-yuan shih-chia-lu* catalogues that Dharmagupta studied *Ju-shih Lun* and other texts at the local monasteries of the kingdom of

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[4] translated into Chinese by Dharmaksema in 418 CE

[5] Though Aśvaghoṣa also written *Sūtra Alamkara*, but his contents were totally different than the *Sūtra Alamkara* by Asanga.

Sha-lö (present Hsin-chian), while he stayed there for two years (Vasubandhu and Stafon 1998:16; Vassiliev 1937:1016).

The Vasubandhu's logical works mark a new period of the Buddhist literature. The original Vasubandhu's works have disappeared, but the quotations and fragments refer to his original works. Moreover, his treatises have variously been re-written in the Indian subcontinent, and translated across Asia. The *Abhidharmakosa* covers almost all the philosophical topics of the Sarvāstivadan Abhidharma books. The *Abhidharma-kosa* profoundly influenced subsequent Buddhism. The study of *Abhidharma-kosa* and commentaries on it became a major activity of the Abhidharma researchers. Vasumitra wrote a commentary on *Abhidharma-kosa* (Hirakawa & Paul 1993:137). Huan Tsang translated the Vasubandhu's verses into Chinese[6] (Waymen 1997:115). The Yogācāra practices developed after Asanga and Vasubandhu are followed in the Far Eastern countries till today. The *Vidyā-matra-Siddhi* of Vasubandhu became text of commentaries by a number of Buddhist scholars and a standard manual for all priests as well as students of the *yogācārin* system (Jee Loo 2006: 220; Mc. Govern 2000:35).

Jinangupta

Jinangupta (557 CE), a *Kṣatrya* of *Purushapura,* belonging to an affluent aristocrat family, visited to Badakhshan and Wakhan in 6ᵗʰ century CE. Jinayasa was his *upadhyaya* and Juanbhadra was his *acharya*. At the age of twenty seven, he is said to have joined his teachers to form a company of ten travellers to China, of whom only four names survived, i.e., Yosagupta in addition to Jinangupta and his two teachers already mentioned. He reached China through Khotan, stayed at Mahayana monastery and worked arduously for the propagation of Buddhism till his death. Different numbers of translations are attributed to him. Kumar (2005:140) describes four works to him, while Bakhshi & Mahajan (2000: 256-257) attribute thirty six Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures to him. According to Bagchi (1981:268) he first translated four, while later he translated thirty nine texts in Chinese language, including a rendering

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[6] i.e., *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, Vimshatika Vijnapti* (Proof in Twenty (verses) of Representations Only) and *Trimshika Vijnapti* (Proof in Thirty (verses) of Representations Only)

of *Buddhacarita Samgraha Sūtra*[7] and *Suddharma Pundarika*. However, it is commonly held that he along with his group of two teachers caused a renaissance of study of Buddhism in China under Sui Dynasty (Yuyuma 2001: xxvii).

Synthesis and conclusions

We attempted to highlight some significant intellectual contributions of Peshawar teachers to Mahayana Buddhism in first six centuries of the Christian era. We first focussed on the country of origin of four eminent Mahayana teachers, i.e., Aśvaghoṣa, Asanga, Vasubandhu, and Jinangupta, who proved to be turning point in the Mahayana literature from 1st to 6th century CE. Their contributions were also pivotal in spread of Mahayana Buddhism throughout the Indian subcontinent and also other parts of Asia. The paper dealt with the country of origin of Aśvaghoṣa, and his contribution in development of *Kavya* (poetry and drama), and spread of Mahayana concepts through this charming form of literature. His *Buddhacarita* is extant in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan languages, and also some excerpts in Turfan manuscript. He was influenced by previous poetic styles of Gandhāra; in turn he influenced the Indian *Kavya* literature for several centuries. Vasubandhu and Asanga, the renowned Mahayanists of 4th century CE, were the founders of famous Yogacara School; later to be widely followed all over Asia. Asanga, the progenitor of the cult of Boddhissattva Meitreya, the author of Yogācāra Bhumi Śāstra; and the great master of *Yoge* practices, was a great systemizer. He synthesized all focal points of the previous Mahayana and Hinayana precepts into his yogācāra literature, and classified them into three stages. Later on, his compendia were read and followed as standard manual of *Yogācārins* all over the Indian subcontinent, China and other parts of Asia for several centuries. Finally, we pointed out Jinangupta's contributions to highlight the role of Gandhāra teachers in development and spread of some widely known Mahayana scriptures, e.g., *Samgraha Sūtra* and *Suddharma Pundarika*.

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[7] Chinese: *Fo-pen-hsing-chi-ching*

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-4-

Androgyny as a Metaphorical Practice in South Asian Sufi Culture

Tanvir Anjum

Abstract

As a phenomenon, androgyny is an ability to display both male and female characteristics in human identity through dress, ornaments, speech, body language and actions. Traditionally, androgynous behaviour is seen as a breach of standards of sexual norms and values, and gender-specific behaviour, and consequently, condemned and discouraged, but throughout human history, androgynous practices have existed in many cultures and religious traditions, wherein transformation of gender is viewed as a source of spiritual awakening. It exists as a symbolic practice in sufi culture, and is particularly associated with the socially non-conformist male sufis who take on the persona of women. Cross-dressed pilgrims can be seen at some of the sufi shrines as well. In South Asia, its most glaring example is Shaykh Musa 'Sadā Suhāg' (d. 1449) of Gujarat, who always dressed up as a female and wore female ornaments. However, some of the male sufis only occasionally adopted a feminine persona. Such androgyne sufis try to transcend normative gender categories, and redefine the concept of masculinity. Historically, some of them enjoyed popular esteem. Their androgynous behaviour was a metaphorical practice, which symbolized the idea of God's bride. In other words, it was a practical manifestation of that very idea.

Introduction

The word androgyny is derived from two ancient Greek words: *andro* meaning man and *gyne* meaning woman. As a phenomenon, androgyny is defined by the psychologists as an ability to display both male and female characteristics in human identity (Kalat 2011: 183). It is understood both in biological or physical and psychological or behavioural sense. An androgynous person who displays such characteristics can be labelled either as male or female in biological terms. Sometimes, the term is specifically used for biological males who display female characteristics or behaviour patterns, while another term *gynandry* is used to refer to those biological females who exhibit male behaviour or characteristics (Reber 1985: 34).

In sociological, anthropological, psychological, and gender studies literature dealing with lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people, concepts related to androgyny such as transvestism/transvestite (also referred to as transvestitism), transgenderism/transgender,

transsexualism/ transsexual, gender reversal/inversion, and cross-dressing, etc. have also been employed, but many of these terms are debated and contested. These terms are used in a variety of senses, and historically, some of these terms have even acquired somewhat different connotations from what they originally meant. Nonetheless, the term closest to androgyny in meaning is cross-dressing, though androgyny may include those aspects of human behaviour and actions which may not be included in the rather restrictive term cross-dressing.

By definition, a cross-dressed person, also referred to as cross-dresser, is an individual 'who dresses as member of a gender other than their societally-assigned gender. The term is generally used more broadly than transvestite, drag queen or drag king, and does not connote any particular reason for dressing or indeed the gender orientation of the individual concerned' (Thompson & Pond 2012: 117). It has been asserted that cross-dressing is a neutral term which allows for multiple interpretive possibilities. In linguistic terms, it 'marks a very simple act—the crossing of cultural boundaries related to the wearing of various articles of gender-specific clothing' (Flanagan 2013: 3). So linguistically, cross-dressing and androgyny are more generalized and less problematic terms in contrast to others, and hence, these terms have been employed in the present study.

The social construction of gender constitutes one of the important themes in contemporary literature pertaining to sociology, anthropology, and gender studies. It explores how varied societies create standards of sexual norms and values, and how gender-specific behaviour is enforced in them, forcing people to conform to the constructed rules of gender-specific behaviour. Traditionally, androgynous behaviour is seen as a breach of these norms and rules, and consequently, condemned and discouraged through restriction or punishment. But interestingly, cross-dressing or androgynous behaviour is closely linked to religious traditions. So before exploring it in sufi culture, it seems pertinent to have a brief overview of androgynous practices found in varied religious traditions of the world.

Androgynous practices in world religious traditions
Throughout human history, androgynous practices have existed in many cultures, and as a phenomenon, androgyny has received quite diverse responses from the societies. On the one hand, it has been viewed as a

detestable and abominable practice, while on the other hand, it has been interpreted as a prerequisite for spiritual advancement. Cross-dressed religious-spiritual leaders in so-called 'primitive' societies have been common features in Eastern as well as ancient Western cultures. Such people often viewed crossed-sex tendencies as something normal, and even necessary for one's spiritual development. Bolich discusses the cross-dressing practices in ancient, medieval and modern times in both Western and non-Western societies (2007). It can be inferred that many religious mythologies and rituals, especially in non-Western religious traditions, gender reversal or androgyny has played a very important role (Bullough and Bullough 1993: 6). In fact, 'religious systems have often seen the transformation of gender as linked with the process of coming closer to the Godhead, however is it construed' (Ramet 1996: 5).

Seen from another perspective, the exoteric aspects of world religions generally aim at regulating and civilizing the body, while their mystical or esoteric cores see body as a means of expressing, or at times achieving, affinity with God. That is why many rituals in esotericism allow performance and embodied expression of body. Androgyny as an expression of one's spirituality and association with God is found in the mystical traditions of many world religions. By uniting the masculine and feminine powers hidden within an individual, androgyny plays a very central role in mystical-spiritual practices associated with varied religious traditions.

In early Christianity, for instance, one finds a number of instances when women saints cast off their feminine attire in favour of a male garb in order to achieve proximity with God. They shunned their womanhood to become males for the purpose of spiritual attainment (Torjesen in Ramet 1996: 79-91). There is evidence of cross-dressed shaman priests in Siberia (Balzer in Ramet 1996: 164-82). In Mahayana Buddhism, transcending one's gender is seen as desirable for one's spiritual realization and growth (Humes in Ramet 1996: 123-37). Similarly, in Theravada tradition of Buddhism in Burma, cross-dressing behaviour does exist.

Androgynous practices are strongly associated with popular Hindu devotionalism. In some Hindu cults, especially the Tantric sects, androgyny is highly valued, and even idealized. Gender modification is considered a means of attaining salvation. Frembgen attests an 'archaic,

ritual transvestite tradition' among the Hindus in India (2008: 101). For instance, androgynous practices are prevalent among the Sakhi-bhavaka (a sub-group of the Sahajiyya-Bauls in Bengal), whose male members identify themselves with Radha, the lover of Lord Krishna. These male Sakhi Bhavas assume the female dress and also wear female ornaments (Dimock 1991; Bhava 2012). Such androgynous ideas could be traced back to the Shaivite tradition in Hinduism (Frembgen 2008: 101). Moreover, in Vaishnavite cults in Hinduism, the goal of one's spiritual pursuit is to surrender before Lord Krishna, and this surrender is expressed through the metaphor of submission of a woman or wife before her Husband-Lord (Hawley 1986: 236). That is why, male members of these Hindu cults express it through the practice of cross-dressing. One of the practices of popular devotion (*bhakti*) in the Gaudiya Vaisnava tradition of Braj (north India) and Bengal is imitation or role-playing/acting, which is seen as a primary means of attaining salvation. The male devotees assume a particular role in the drama of Krishna and his associates—the *gopīs* (milkmaids or herdswomen), and thereby outwardly embody the female roles. Thus imitation as a central mode of religious action becomes eternal for these devotees. (Haberman 2001).

In the Ahmedabad region in the Indian State of Gujarat, the worshippers of Bechara Devi (also known as Bahuchara Mata) are cross-dressed. One can find numerous male Hindu ascetics associated with the temple of Bechara Devi in women's clothing. The male devotees of this cult are required to self-castrate and remain celibate throughout the rest of their lives (Abott 2001: 329) Far from being a sign of social deviance, these cross-dressed devotees are seen as participating in a ritual, as they themselves see their cross-dressing as a devotional technique like their counterparts in some other Hindu cults (Sen 1974: 31). Bechara Devi or Bahuchara Mata is a Hindu Goddess who is seen as a patroness of the *hījřā* (the third gender) community in India. Originally built in 1783, her Temple is located in Bahucharaji town in District Mehsana, in the State of Gujarat, India.

In spiritual discipline of yoga in Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, androgyny is seen as a vehicle for self-discovery on the path of liberation. The androgynous yogis believe that their desire for sexual transformation may serve as a powerful tool, and eventually lead to spiritual transformation. In fact, the principles of yoga require the engagement of

all aspects of one's personality, especially the opposite and complementary life energies, which exist in everyone. Similar ideas of 'androgynous soul' can be found in other religious traditions including Taoism, Gnosticism, Kabbalah, Tibetan Tantra, and Kundalini Yoga (Singer 2000).

Androgyny as a symbolic practice in sufi culture
The concept and treatment of body in orthodox Islam is quite contrary to its imagination in sufi Islam. While in the former, the whole emphasis is on regulating the body through control and restrictions, the latter imagines body in quite contrary terms. It considers body as a means of expressing its proximity with God through its performative role. It is for this reason that sufi rituals allow performance and embodied expression involving the body (Kugle 2007). The androgyny in vogue among the socially non-conformist antinomian or *be-shar'*(literally meaning without law) sufis is not rare a phenomenon in Muslim societies. These *be-shar'*sufis are known for their deliberate and flagrant transgression against legal and social norms, being free of all social constraints (Karamustafa 2015: 101-24). They are also referred to as *qalandar*s or *malangs*, which are umbrella terms used in various parts of the Islamicate world including South Asia. They often have peripatetic lifestyles. Most of these antinomian sufi groups observe celibacy (Elizabeth 2001: 195), while some of them practice castration or its varied forms (Jamali 1893: 66). Such practices indicate their wilful renunciation of all sexual pleasures and gratification.

Androgyny is practised in some of these non-conformist sufi cults or groups, whose members take on the persona of women. Sufis with androgynous behaviour blend the conventional masculine and feminine characteristics, and exhibit ambiguous sexual identity. There can be one or more forms of expressing the androgynous behaviour ranging from long hair, bright coloured clothes (usually red which is traditionally worn by married Indian women in general, and brides in particular), female ornaments (such as nosepins, glass or metallic bangles, ankle rings), rings in fingers, and earrings, to female dance and putting on henna. However, such sufis having androgynous behaviour should not be confused with intersex individuals known as the third gender. In South Asia, the intersex individuals are often referred to as *hījřā* (derived from a Persian word *hīch gāh* meaning nowhere). Though *hījřā*s have often been traditionally associated with some of the sufi shrines in South Asia, the present study

does not deal with their practices or behaviour. Interestingly, the *hījřā*s may at times include those individuals who are male by birth and only dress up as women. Such people are often counted among the *hījřā*s, yet they constitute a separate category.

Cross-dressed individuals or androgynes can be seen around some of the major sufi shrines in South Asia, though they may not be confined to such sacred sites. Some of them have their own camps or *derā*s. However, it is important to note that such cross-dressed individuals (including the sufis, their devotees or pilgrims) are generally more to be found in the vicinity of the shrines of those sufi masters who themselves adopted a non-conformist lifestyle in their life time, or those having some association with non-conformism, though such individuals are not confined to these shrines. It must be remembered that all androgynes are not necessarily intersex, and thus not the cases of congenital intersexuality. In South Asian sufi shrine culture, one can find male pilgrims in female clothing visiting the sufi shrines. Some of the male devotees who ordinarily dress up as males in their daily life, take on the female persona while making a pilgrimage to sufi shrines. Their temporary state of androgyny symbolizes their 'womanly' devotion to the sufi master buried there. Choudhary's study of the shrine culture at Bari Imam in Islamabad also reveals that the '*urs* ('joyful celebration' of a sufi's death anniversary) participants included those who were fully male in biological terms but wore woman's clothes and walked and behaved like woman (2010: 17). Moreover, the pilgrims visiting the Bari Imam shrine included the *khusrey* (the third gender) in addition to *malang*s (mendicants) and prostitutes (Choudhary 2010: 16-22).

Similarly, an ethnographic study of the shrine of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (d. 1274) in Sehwan Sharif (Sindh) also reveals that there were pilgrims with androgynous behaviour, who mentioned that 'they dress up as male members in their daily life and change demeanors to perform at musical functions on weekends or at nights. Most of them belong to the lower income group doing menial jobs during the day and doing dance performances at night. . . . Transgender participants also visit [the shrine] during normal days' (Shehram 2012: 51-52). Such pilgrims can be seen at the shrine of Shah Husayn (d. 1593) of Lahore, a renowned sixteenth-century non-conformist sufi poet of the Punjab, who is better remembered as Madhu Lal Husayn. He donned red clothes; the red colour is

traditionally worn by brides in South Asia. The three-day annual 'festival of lights' or *melā chirāghāñ* is celebrated at his shrine to mark his *'urs*. Androgyne *malang*s can also be found at the shrine of Shah Jamal (d. 1671) in Lahore. Ewing interviewed and observed sufis with androgynous behaviour in Lahore (1997: 209-17). She also studied the *qalandar*s and *malang*s (the wandering mendicants) in Punjab who were cross-dressed (Ewing 1984: 362-63).

Historically speaking, in the Islamicate world, some of the sufis did dress up like women, and their androgynous lifestyle was enduring. In South Asia, its most glaring example is that of Shaykh Musa 'Sadā Suhāg' (d. 1449) of Gujarat, who dressed up as a female, and also adorned himself with female ornaments. His case has been discussed in detail later. Some of the non-conformist sufis even believed in swathing or going naked. One of its most striking and renowned example is Muhammad Said Sarmad Kashani (executed in 1661). Son of an Amenian Jewish merchant, he embraced Islam and settled in India. He was a free-thinker, and a close friend of the Mughal Prince Dara Shikoh (d. 1659). After Dara's defeat and assassination in 1659 at the orders of his brother, Aurangzeb Alamgir (d. 1707), Sarmad was also assassinated for political reasons, though on the pretext of his infidelity, heresy and non-conformist lifestyle (Cook 2007: 80).

Though androgynous behaviour is adopted by these non-conformist sufi groups or individuals as a lifestyle, however, one comes across numerous examples when some of the male sufis (who ordinarily wore male attire) donned feminine clothing temporarily or on some occasions. For instance, a twelfth-century Moroccan sufi named Abu Yi'zza (d. 1177), a disciple of Abu Shu'ayb al-Sanhaji, a Shaykh of *Silsilah* Nuriyya, founded by Abul Hasan Nuri (d. 907), adopted the practice of malamatiyya tradition, whose sufis believe in self-blame and deliberately violate the norms of *shari'ah* and society to invite criticism, and see it as a means of spiritual development. Since he had no facial hair, he cross-dressed as a female slave. Completely inverting his gender role, he worked for one year in gender-disguised manner in the house of his companion for the latter and his wife (El Hamel 2013: 88). The *'ulema* (scholars) of Fez were, however, critical of his non-conformist behaviour.

In the Islamicate South Asia, one comes across many examples of occasional androgynous performances by the sufis. The Chishti sufi poet,

historian, musician and music theorist, Amir Khusrau (d. 1325) of Delhi once dressed up and danced like courtesans in order to please his spiritual mentor, Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya', who was grieved due to his nephew's death (Sharma 2006: 77-78). Similarly, a Qadiri-Shattari sufi, Bulhe Shah of Qasur (d. 1758), is said to have fascination for the brides. He saw them as symbol of the seekers of Divine love, wedded to the One and the Eternal God. On one occasion, Bulhe Shah arranged for his hairdo like that of a newly-wedded bride (Duggal 1996: 6-7). Interestingly, he himself remained celibate throughout his life. Once his mentor, Shah 'Inayat Qadiri (d. 1728), got displeased with him. Since Bulhe Shah had very deep emotional and spiritual association with him, he could not stand his displeasure any longer. So he decided to dress up as a woman, and dance in order to win the favour of the former (Krishna 1938: 48). The strategy successfully worked, and they were united once again. It must be remembered that such androgynous performances indicate the idea of extreme submission and devotion of the sufi seekers to their spiritual guides or *murshid*. Moreover, the androgynous appearance of Amir Khusrau and Bulhe Shah was occasional, and not enduring.

The case of a cross-dressed sufi--Shaykh Musa 'Sadā Suhāg'
Shaykh Musa 'Sadā Suhāg' (d. 1449) is the founder of Sadā Suhāgiyya *Silsilah*. His tomb is situated in Bagh-i Shahi in Ahmedabad, Gujarat. It is reported that he donned female attire, wore ornaments including glass bangles in arms and a nose-ring. Therefore, his followers and devotees also dressed up as females, wore red clothes like the traditional Indian brides, and adorned themselves with ornaments, especially the glass bangles (Bahadur 1930: 73-74; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Ahmedabad* 1878: 281; and *Gujarat State Gazetteers*: 18, 1984: 219). Reportedly, Shaykh Musa shunned the company of the common people, and preferred to live among the street dancers and eunuchs. He also used to sing songs and play on musical instruments. He was affiliated with Chishti *Silsilah*, and was a sober sufi in the initial phase of his life, who strictly conformed to the norms of society and *shari'ah*, but at a later stage in his life, he underwent a profound spiritual experience, after which he permanently adopted a non-conformist lifestyle characterized by androgynous appearance.

The story has it that once Shaykh Musa visited the shrine of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya' (d. 1325) in Delhi before leaving for Makkah for *hajj* or pilgrimage, since it was customary among the Chishti sufis to visit the shrine of a Chishti sufi master before departing for *hajj*. While visiting the shrine in Delhi, he noticed some female courtesans and prostitutes singing and dancing out of devotion in its courtyard. He condemned it, considering it inappropriate for such women to enter the sacred shrine, and sing and dance unabashedly. He then left India, performed hajj in Makkah, but when he was leaving for Medinah to visit the shrine of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), he heard a voice asking him how he could dare visit the Prophet's shrine when Shaykh Nizam al-Din in Delhi was displeased with him. He recalled his condemnation of the courtesans and prostitutes, and rushed back to Delhi without visiting Medinah. All the way he was thinking of ways and means of seeking pardon from the Chishti Shaykh. Thereupon, he recalled the story of the famous Chishti sufi musician, poet and historian, Amir Khusrau (d 1325), one of the favourite disciples of Shaykh Nizam al-Din, who once dressed up and danced like the courtesans whom he had seen celebrating the *basant* festival (celebrated annually in wheat harvesting season), singing, dancing and taking mustard flowers as an offering to the deity. Khusrau's performance was meant to cheer up his mentor, Shaykh Nizam al-Din, who was otherwise grieved owing to his nephew's death (Sharma 2006: 77-78). Thus, following the footsteps of Khusrau, Shaykh Musa also put on feminine attire and glass bangles, and danced before the Shaykh's tomb in order to win back his favour. While dancing, he fell in ecstasy and experienced spiritual awakening and enlightenment. From then onwards, he decided never to take off his female clothing (Mutala 1993, 1: 209-11). So in the words of Kugle, what 'began as a play act of supplication became a permanent state of gender transgression' (2010: 255). He also adopted the nickname of 'Sadā Suhāg,' meaning the eternal bride.

Reportedly, once the *qāzī* (the judicial officer) of Ahmedabad ran into Shaykh Musa, who was admonished by the former for his cross-dressing. The *qāzī* insisted that he put off his ornaments and feminine attire, and go to mosque with him for prayers. Shaykh Musa succumbed, and accompanied him to the mosque. When the Imam (the prayer leader) called *Allāh-o Akbar* (Allah is the Greatest of all), Shaykh Musa cried: 'My Husband is Eternal, Who will never die; these people are making me

widow.' While uttering these words, the same female clothing and ornaments appeared on his body (Khan n.d., 2: 84). It is said that he observed celibacy in physical terms, though he was perpetually or eternally wedded to God in spiritual terms. His followers also observe celibacy (Arnold 1908: 70) but interestingly, issueless couples flock his tomb for vows (*mannat*) in order to have children. Before his death, Shaykh Musa had instructed his devotees to bury him with the glass-bangles on his arm. However, the *shari'ah*-minded 'ulema of the city insisted that the glass-bangles be removed from the corpse before burial. Thanks to the recognition of Shaykh Musa's spiritual eminence by his contemporary influential Suhrawardi sufi, Saiyyid Muhammad Shah 'Alam Bukhari of Rasulabad (1415-75) that the burial went trouble-free, as Shaykh Musa was buried with the glass-bangles on his arms (Hanif 2000: 246). These glass-bangles, in fact, symbolize wifehood or *suhāg* in South Asian cultural context, since the act of deliberately breaking glass bangles by a married woman indicates the death of her husband and her consequent state of becoming widow.

What motivated Shaykh Musa to adopt an enduring androgynous appearance was his transcendent experience of union (often referred to as *fanā'* or *waṣl*) with the divine, metaphorically expressed as spiritual marriage between a sufi and God. So the motivating factor for continuing with his symbolic practice of cross-dressing was his belief in the concept of spiritual marriage between the soul-bride and the Divine-Groom. In fact, his spiritual experience that enlightened and awakened his soul to the mysteries of divine love and union must have confirmed his belief. His androgynous appearance symbolizes that he became devoted and permanently linked to God like a wife is devoted and enduringly attached to her husband.

The androgynous behaviour of Shaykh Musa, and consequently that of his devotees, might have been partly influenced by the beliefs and practices of androgynous Hindu cults, particularly that of a similar Hindu cult that lived in the same region. As mentioned earlier, in the Ahmedabad region (Gujarat), the worshippers of Bechara Devi or Bahuchara Mata are cross-dressed. The peculiar Indian social context of Shaykh Musa's androgynous behaviour is also evident from his self-assumed soubriquet 'Sadā Suhāg', which later on became part of the name of Sadā Suhāgiyya *Silsilah* he founded. In Hindi-Sanskrit literary tradition, *sadā* literally

means eternal, while *suhāg* may mean bride, as well as wifehood or a state of marital bliss. It is interesting to note that it is related to the concept of *suhāgan*, which refers to a happily married woman, having achieved the love and favours of her husband. So *sadā suhāgan* refers to an eternally wedded wife who enjoys the state of wifehood till her death, which means that the wife dying during the lifetime of her husband. In Indian social and cultural context, it denotes a woman who never experiences widowhood. In metaphorical terms, it suggests that a *sadā suhāgan* sufi has no fear of being divorced or widowed, having married to an Eternal Husband, i.e. God.

Interpreting the androgynous behaviour in sufi culture
The question of androgynous behaviour of an individual or a group can only be interpreted in its peculiar socio-cultural setting, and more particularly, the 'gender culture' of that setting. To Ramet, gender culture is a society's understanding of what it is possible, proper, and perverse in gender-linked behaviour, and more specifically, that set of values, mores, and assumptions which establishes which behaviours are to be seen as gender-linked, with which gender or genders they are to be seen as linked, what is a society's understanding to gender in the first place, and, consequently, how many genders there are (1996: 2).

Gender cultures also define the limits of social tolerance in terms of cross-dressing, i.e. how far it is acceptable in a society to breach these gender-specific dressing regulations. Therefore, in order to study and appreciate the question of androgyny in South Asian sufi culture, it needs to be studied keeping in view the socio-cultural and historical context. It may come as a surprise to some of the modern readers that despite his antinomian and anti-normative behaviour expressed through cross-dressing, Shaykh Musa was venerated by the common people, though the *shari'ah*-minded 'ulema had problems with him. His miraculous powers, especially the power to bring rain, had made him quite popular not only among the common people but among the local rulers of Ahmedabad, Gujarat. Since people believed in his spirituality, his closeness to God, and the consequent powers he had, they came to him for granting of prayers and seeking his blessings. It is interesting to note that in South Asia, as elsewhere in the Islamicate world, many non-conformist sufis like Shaykh Musa enjoyed popular esteem. In fact, 'their ability to get away with

breaching social norms was itself a reflection of the power and prestige which Sufism held . . .' (Green 2012: 6). It seems that it was through their antinomian practices that these sufis had carved an alternative space for themselves in the society. In fact, they had created alternative sources of social power and prestige among the people at large.

As mentioned earlier, the androgynous practices in South Asian Sufism can only be understood in context of the gender culture prevalent in South Asia at large, and particularly with reference to the limits to tolerate such behaviour. It will be interesting to note that in South Asian sufi culture, as in many other cultures in non-Western societies, the cross-dressed persons have not been treated or are still not seen as 'the other' to the conventional gender categories of male and female (Ramet 1996: 5). Such people are not merely tolerated, some of them are revered and seen as 'holy.' Their sacredness is rooted in their spirituality and their close connection with God. They command respect and devotion in public, though the more religiously-oriented and reformist-minded Muslims, including the conventional religious scholars, would frown upon such individuals. To them, gender conformism is desirable, which needs to be strictly enforced through law and mechanisms of social control. Any breach of rigid or conventional gender-specific clothing and behaviour is condemned by them. The case of Shaykh Musa amply illustrates this point that despite the fact that common people believed in his spirituality and extraordinary powers, the *qāzī* (the custodian of law or *shar'*) persuaded the Shaykh to conform to gender-specific clothing but to no avail. Some of the scholars tend to view Shaykh Musa's behaviour through puritanical lens, and interpret it as 'vulgarization' of sufi practices in Indian social milieu (Ahmad 1964: 161), and believe that these ideas 'apparently go back to Shaivite influence' (Frembgen 2008: 101). So for some, these androgyne sufis are exalted ones; for others, they are loathsome.

Literature on Sufism and other social sciences reveal the usage of a wide variety of terminology for androgynous behaviour of sufis. For instance, the phenomenon has been branded as a form of 'psychic transvestism' by Bullough and Bullough (1993: 13) or simply as transvestite tradition by Frembgen (2008: 101). The term transvestism was coined as late as the 1910s by a renowned physician, sexologist and gay rights activist, Magnus Hirschfeld (d. 1935), and was derived from two Latin words: *trans* meaning 'across, over' and *vestitus* meaning 'dressed'.

He used the term to refer to the sexual interest in cross-dressing (Hirschfeld 1991). The term transvestite has traditionally been used to refer to a (usually, but not exclusively) male-identified individual who chooses to dress in female clothing for fetishistic purposes. In more modern usage, the fetishistic aspect has been largely decoupled from the term, and the boundary between transvestism and transsexuality has become increasingly blurred as it becomes more societally acceptable to define oneself as one sees fit. . . describing someone who identifies as transsexual as a transvestite will often be regarded as offensive (Thompson & Pond 2012: 118).

In contemporary usage, the term transvestite is considered outdated and derogatory, since as a concept, transvestism is associated with sexuality and eroticism, and seen as an obsession with sexual gratification (Flanagan 2013: 3) Kugle refers to the 'transgender' behaviour of the sufis (2007: 209), while Shehram also uses the term transgender for the cross-dressed pilgrims at a sufi shrine (Shehram 2012: 51-52). By definition, transgenderism refers to a social movement that fights for the rights of transgender individuals. The term transgender is used as an umbrella term to refer to gender identity of those individuals whose gender does not match the assigned sex. It is defined as phenomena pertaining to identification as a gender that differs from that which has been societally assigned either currently or previously. Historically, transgender has been a wide catch-all term that includes a wide range of gender-variant identifications and behaviours. Note that to describe someone as, 'a trans-gender,' is widely regarded as a pejorative term and should be avoided (Thompson & Pond 2012: 117).

Another term 'transsexual', though less frequently invoked, is also employed to refer to the androgynous sufi behaviour. The term transsexualism was coined by the American endocrinologist and sexologist Harry Benjamin in 1953 (Chiland 2003: 11), though the German term *transsexualismus* had already been introduced by Hirschfeld in 1923. Transsexual persons may be described as transsexual 'if they have a gender identification that is not conformant with their body. It is not necessary for them to have sought out medical intervention in the form of hormonal or surgical treatment in order for them to be regarded as transsexual' (Thompson & Pond 2012: 118). Moreover, the term is

associated with a psychological condition characterized by sexual perversion (Flanagan 2013: 3).

So the phenomenon of androgynous sufis cannot be explained with the help of the concepts of transvestism, transgenderism or transsexualism. Sabrina Ramet employs the term or expression 'gender reversal' in her cultural history to refer to varying forms of transvestite and transsexual practices. She argues that the terms such as 'transvestism' and 'transsexual' are inaccurate and inadequate since these expressions carry medicalized connotations in contemporary usage. However, their alternative term 'gender reversal' or 'cross-dressing' seem more neutral, less value loaded, non-judgmental, and hence, less problematic. To her, these latter terms take into account the historical-social diversity of such practices. (1996: 1-21)

It is important to note that sexuality is one of the central ideas in this entire debate. Ewing interprets sexuality among the *qalandar*s and *malang*s as a symbol of man-God relationship, since their sexuality is bound to God. Like a woman or a wife, a *malang* rejects the 'outside' social world, and places himself 'inside' the spiritual world in constant relationship with God, not shuttling between the outer and the inner realms (Ewing 1984: 362-63). The androgynous sufis represent gender liminality, as these liminal individuals are between the two sexes. Kugle views the sufi *khānqāh*s (sufi dwellings) and shrines as places of transformation, or a 'liminal space' borrowing the concept from Victor Turner (Turner 1969). To him, this space is a theatre where masculine norms are questioned and reaffirmed, abandoned and reinforced, inverted and tempered….The rituals at the *khanqah* help devotees, mainly adult men, to suspend (or shed) the values of autonomy, independence, mastery, and assertiveness that the patriarchal social order demands of them, giving them space to perform alternative values of dependence, reciprocity, servitude, and humble deference (Kugle 2010: 249-50).

Keeping in view the patriarchal social set up in South Asia, and the fact that masculinity as a social and cultural construct is seen as a source of honour and pride for men, the identification of the male sufis with the feminine is quite meaningful. By purposely acquiring a female persona, these sufis try to transcend normative gender categories, and thus, redefine the concept of manliness or masculinity. They not only deliberately abandon the patriarchal prerogatives of maleness but also give up their

actual maleness. Their androgynous behavior represents a temporary or permanent transgression of gender norms and boundaries. Analyzing the non-conformist Sufism at length, Karamustafa views such non-conformist sufi behaviour as a kind of guised social protest against the established societal norms as well as against the institutionalized Sufism (Karamustafa 1994).

Androgyny as a practical manifestation of the idea of God's bride
It must be remembered that androgynous behaviour among the sufis was a metaphorical practice, which symbolized an idea—the idea of God's bride. Their behaviour was, in fact, a practical manifestation of that very idea. In metaphorical terms, the sufis imagine their relationship with God as a marital or matrimonial relationship. Since traditionally, God is generally perceived in masculine terms, therefore, the human beings identify themselves with the feminine. The human soul has come to be seen as a wife or bride, whereas God has been perceived as a Husband or Groom. The idea is present in many religious traditions. In addition to Sufism or the mystical/esoteric tradition of Islam, the idea is found in the Old and New Testaments, as well as in Catholicism, Judaism, Vaishnavite Hinduism, Bhakti tradition and Sikhism.

Among the Muslim sufis, the ninth-century Persian ecstatic sufi, Bayazid of Bistam (d. 874) was the first one to refer to the sufis as the 'brides of God' (Ernst 1997: 60). Later in the thirteenth-century, the Andalusian/Spanish sufi theorist and poet, Muhiyy al-Din Muhammad b. 'Ali Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240) alluded to it in his works (Shaikh 2012: 130-31; Chittick 1989: 272). In the same century, the renowned sufi poet, Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) in his monumental work, *Mathnawī'-yi Ma'anwī* employed the wedding metaphors to describe the spiritual union of the human soul with God—'the Primordial Beloved' (Schimmel 2003: 110-11; Austin 1991: 233-46).

Schimmel attests that 'genuine bridal mysticism' emerged in South Asia which is particularly renowned for it (Schimmel 2003: 110), since the idea of God's bride has found its strong articulation in South Asian Sufism, particularly in the poetic compositions of sufi poets. Bridal symbolism is a well-attested tradition in South Asian sufi poetry in Indo-Persian, Hindavi, Urdu and many vernacular languages. The South Asian sufi poets identified themselves and the human souls with the feminine,

while God has been presented in masculine form. Such kind of gender reversal or switching of masculine and feminine positions, i.e. the male sufis writing and singing in female personas is a common characteristic of South Asian sufi poetry (Abbas 2002; Petievich 2007). In particular, the bridal symbolism has ingeniously been evoked by the South Asian sufis in their poetry in order to refer to the relationship of the sufis with God in metaphorical language (Anjum 2013: 1-16).

The idea of God's bride is not merely expressed through poetic compositions of sufi poets but also in certain sufi practices associated with the sufi culture, including the shrine culture. Nonetheless, such practices need to be appreciated and analyzed in the region's peculiar socio-cultural context. As the renowned American anthropologist Clifford Geertz reminds us that the religious practices of people reflect their peculiar socio-cultural requirements (Geertz 1973: 89), and thus, culture and religious practices are invariably interlinked. Religious practices do not take place in a vacuum; these are very much informed by the cultural traditions in a given setting, though at the same time, it cannot be denied that religious doctrines and beliefs may also mould and affect the cultural expressions in a given locale. The sufi culture and practices are very much inextricably linked with the social beliefs and cultural traditions of the people, which are well-reflected in them. In South Asian society, the relationship of a woman to the society in general, and more particularly, the relationship of a wife to her husband is that of extreme submission, surrender and dedication. Therefore, the husband-wife or bridal metaphors can well explain the relationship of a sufi seeker with God.

It is also worth-noting that in South Asian shrine culture, the term '*urs* (derived from an Arabic word meaning nuptials or wedding) traditionally refers to the death anniversary of a sufi. This is a joyful occasion celebrated with festivity and rejoicing by disciples and devotees. In symbolical terms, the physical death of the sufi is seen as the moment of spiritual marriage or *wişāl*, i.e. union of the soul of the departed sufi with God. As a God's bride, the soul of the departed sufi is believe to leave for its eternal abode, i.e. the house of the Divine Groom or Husband. It may also be noted that in sufi literature, the Primordial Covenant, referred to as *yawm-i alast* (the day when Lord asked the souls about Lordship, and the souls affirmed it), is interpreted as Divine betrothal to

the human souls, promising spiritual marriage or unitive experience to them.

The androgynous appearance of the sufis suggests a practical manifestation of the gendered characterization of the imagery of soul-God relationship, and the notion of God's bride. These sufis view their relationship with God in matrimonial terms, imagining God as a husband or groom, and assigning themselves the status of a devoted, humble and subservient wife or bride. Their feminine clothing has a symbolic significance, and it needs to be interpreted with reference to the idea of a sufi being the bride of God. It must be remembered that such androgynous behaviour among the sufis may not be necessarily born out of any sexual perversion or erotic drive. The case of Shaykh Musa Sadā Suhāg evidently manifests it. His transformation from a *shari'ah*-minded sober sufi to a non-conformist sufi with a permanent androgynous lifestyle was caused by a profound spiritual experience in a state of androgyny.

Owing to their androgynous behaviour, most of these sufis remain marginalized in society at large. They live in a society where the patriarchal social structures are deeply entrenched, and regulate and control social behaviours, particularly the gender roles in a conservative manner. The *shari'ah*-oriented reformist-minded people try to 'reform' their conduct, but often without success. However, their social marginality is relative. Despite their breach of social norms, these androgyne sufis are respected by those associated with the sufi culture. Some are revered for their miraculous powers, while others are feared owing to their curses in a wrathful mood.

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-5-

Ahmad Hasan Dani's popularization of history/archaeology
Its praxes, context and outcomes

Rafiullah Khan
Ifqut Shaheen

Abstract
Knowledge is generally produced for the benefit of society. Scientists have always been in need of postive response from the public. For this purpose, scientific and technical knowledge is dissiminated in a reletable manner so that the required reciprocality concerning the general public be achieved. In this context, this study examins Ahmad Hasan Dani's efforts towards the popularization of history/archaeology. The praxes adopted by him for the purpose have been explored followed by an attempt to present a contextual analysis of the whole programme.

Introduction
Both history and archaeology are sister disciplines having complementary dimensions in terms of subject matter and also in relation to theoretical and methodological praxes (Khan 2012).[1] For a considerable span of time this relationship remained intact and archaeological activity was done in the framework of culture-history.[2] In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, with the arrival of British, the discipline of history gathered momentum while that of archaeology started from scratch. By 1947, both had fared tremendously to the effect that a great galaxy of indigenous scholars was present to inherit the colonial legacies in the two states of Pakistan and India.

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[1] It should be noted that some hardcore archaeologists argue for a completely separate nature and hence identity of archaeology having no intimacy with the discipline of history (Binford 1968; Clarke 1968/1971: 3-42). Such writers mostly belong to the New Archaeology aka processual archaeology. However, post-processual archaeologists do not sever relationship with history as it is needed in archaeological interpretations they make (Hodder 1991).

[2] Culture-history is an important approach in archaeology. Its main features are the concepts of migration diffusionism and innovation and change in archaeological assemblages is attributed to them. Stratigraphy, taxonomy and analogy are used for establishing chronology and progress in culture. The approach dominated the scene in archaeology for a long time till the emergence of New Archaeology in 1960s. New Archaeology brought the discipline closer to the methodology of hard sciences. It was viewed as more akin to anthropology rather than history.

The newly created state of Pakistan had fewer historians and archaeologists among whom Ahmad Hasan Dani became the most popular and influential figure. Dani's services and contributions turned him into a popular maestro in the fields of history and archaeology. He published a great number of works, established many institutions and started research journals of a great standard. One of the professional tasks and scholarly interests, which Dani remained committed to till his last, was his relentless promotion of the popularization of history/archaeology. Popularization is to be defined as the process and activity of disseminating scientific knowledge to non-specialists and lay men and women in their own languages. In other words, it is the simplification of knowledge for the concerned sections other than belonging to the field and for the masses at large.[3] The purposes behind it obviously vary. Accordingly, different tools are used for the purpose. Popular literature in the form of books, pamphlets and articles, delivering lectures and sermons from different forums, making exhibitions and expositions and using media all contribute to the popularization of scientific knowledge.

Dani's popularization of history/archaeology had a great context and, therefore, it served as a profound concept. This paper deals with this subject and contextualizes it against the backdrop of Dani's training in the field of archaeology and cultural history. Pecuniary considerations have also been taken into account. It is also posited that the politics of history and archaeology acted as a substantial determinant in Dani's popular history/archaeology. His ideal of Asian man assumes meaning in the framework of geohistory. Finally, both the strengths and weaknesses of these popularizing pursuits have been analyzed.

Dani's praxes of history/archaeology popularization
Ahmad Hasan Dani made good use of various media for popularization purposes. The praxes ranged from using archaeological excavations and sites as a space for popularization to producing popular literature, founding museums, delivering lectures, receiving delegations,

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[3] Important philosophical studies have recently appeared in the field. They question such a simplistic understanding of science popularization (Bensaude-Vincent 2009; Daum 2009; O'Connor 2009; Pandora 2009; Topham 2009). However, in the context of Dani's archaeology/history popularization, these polemic and highly theoretical debates have purposely been avoided.

spearheading cultural caravans, etc.

Archaeological excavation as popularization-space
In his early professional career Dani carried out many archaeological excavations in Charsadda, Dir and Gomal valley. He succeeded in getting academicians, administrators and other dignitaries to the excavation sites. During the Shaikhan-dherai excavations in 1963-64, the elite of Peshawar University visited the site many times. Dani particularly mentions it in the report; 'On the administrative side I am obliged to my Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Mohammad Ali, the then Registrar Maulana Ahmad Hasan and the Treasurer, Mr. M. A. Khan, who not only accepted my proposal for excavation and provided funds but also paid several visits to the site to encourage my staff and students' (Dani 1965-66b: 21). The report of the excavation also includes a picture showing them participating in digging. They are holding excavation tools such as picks, shovels and baskets respectively (Dani 1965-66b: pl. III, fig. 2). Another picture relates to the Training Camp at Shaikhan-Dherai (Dani 1965-66b: pl. III, fig. 1) which reminds one of the famous Taxila Training School of Mortimer Wheeler and its visual documentation. One of those colonial period pictures shows Dani being trained at Taxila (fig. 1).

On another occasion, dignitaries such as the Governor of North-West Frontier Province (now Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province), Lt. General K. M. Azhar Khan, visited the excavations. Dani observes that '[a]s this was the first archaeological excavation conducted in Dera Ismail Khan district, the local gentry took great interest in the work' (Dani 1970-71: 35).

It is clear by now that Dani expediently managed to get both socio-political leaders and the institutional elite to his excavation sites. All of this was not without reason. Issues of patronage and sponsorship were dispensed with via popularization tactics.
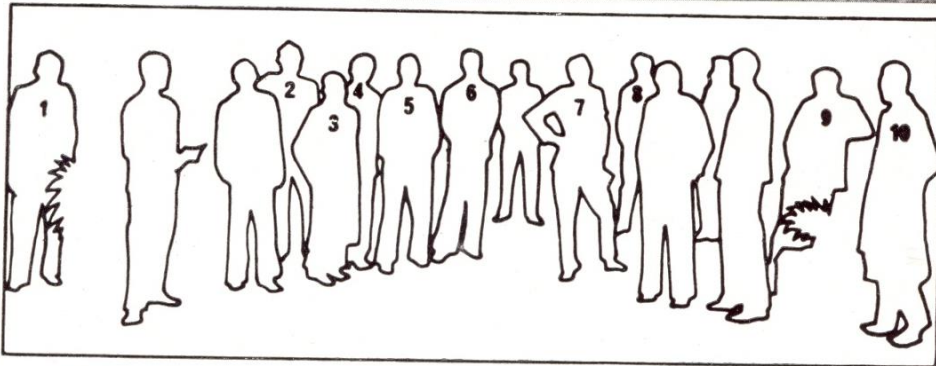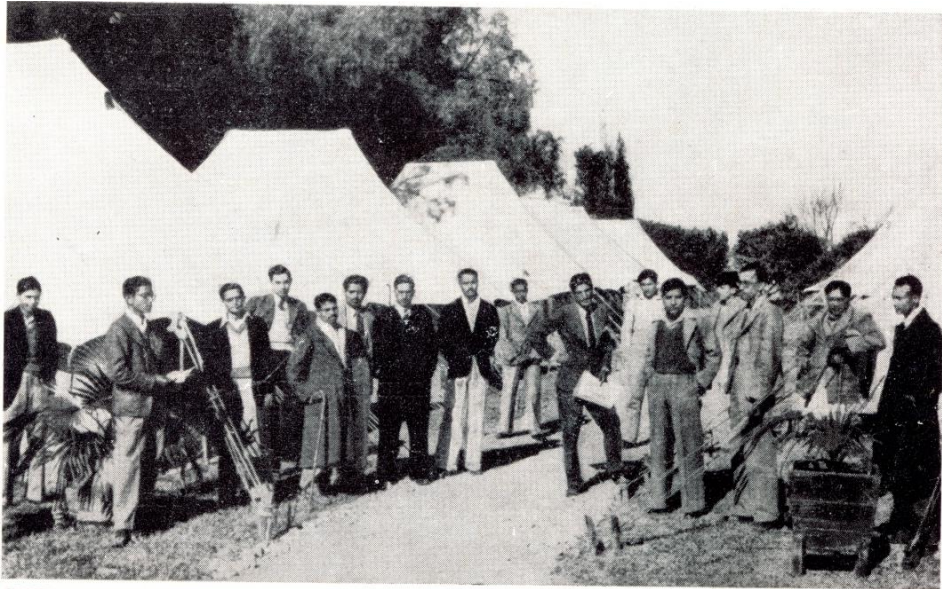
5. The Taxila School of Archaeology 1944. Key to names, giving subsequent academic posts: 1. Dr P. Banerjee, formerly Assistant Director, National Museum, New Delhi; 2. Dr Ajit Mookerjee, formerly Director, Crafts Museum, New Delhi; 3. Professor S. R. Das, Head of the Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta; 4. S. C. Chandra, d. 1961 while a Superintending Archaeologist of the Survey; 5. Professor B. N. Puri, formerly Head of the Department of Ancient History, Lucknow University; 6. Prabhas Majumdar, formerly of the University of Calcutta; 7. B. K. Thapar, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India; 8. Professor A. H. Dani, Head, Department of Social Sciences, Islamabad; 9. Dr D. R. Patil, formerly Superintending Archaeologist of the Survey; 10. Dr Bhanot, formerly of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Punjab, Chandigarh

Figure 1: Key to the picture shows Ahmad Hasan Dani as no. 8 at Taxila Training School 1944-45 (After Clark 1979: fig. 5; courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi)

Popular literature

Popularization of any discipline needs large scale production of popular literature. Dani left no stone unturned in this respect. He made appropriate[4] simplifications of historical/archaeological science. Considerable popular literature ranging from books to journals and newspaper articles, tourist/museum guides and so on was produced (see the chart below). Understandably, in such works Dani avoided using a professional elitist style including the use of disciplinary jargons especially of prehistoric archaeology. Contrarily, his excavations reports and historical investigations (1964, 1965-66b, 1967, 1968-69, 1970-71, 1978) are full of technical terms and disciplinary concepts and could not be comprehended save by professional archaeologists and ancient history experts. The following chart, exhaustive by no means, gives a look into three genres of Dani's works:

Scientific works	Popular works	Scientific/popular works
Prehistory and protohistory of Eastern India (1960)	*Human record on Karakorum Highway* (1983a)	*Dacca: a record of its changing fortunes* (1962)[5]
Muslim architecture in Bengal (1961)	*Recent archaeological discoveries in Pakistan* (1988)	*Thatta: Islamic architecture* (1982)
Ancient Pakistan (Bulletin of the Dept. of Archaeology, Uni. of Peshawar) (for various excavation reports, 1964, 1965-1966b, 1967, 1968-1969,	*Perspectives of Pakistan*[6](1989a)	*Chilas: the city of Nanga Parvat* (1983b)

[4] I shall use 'appropriate' reluctantly as science popularization undoubtedly runs the risk of transformation. Some would desperately term it as distortion (listen for example to Dani's TV programme, Iftikhar Chaudri-with Prof Ahmed Dani on archeology).

[5] 'Several friends asked me to write a book on Dacca in order to serve the need of those who would like to something about the origin and development of this city and also to provide a guide-book to the foreign visitors who daily pour into this city in large number' (Dani 1962: iii).

[6] Dedication of this book is intriguing indicating that it aims to address a wider public audience: 'For the understanding of the new generation born in Pakistan among whom are my children Fauziya, Anis, Nawed and Junaid'.

1970-1971)		
Kharoshthi primer (1979)	*Peshawar: historic city of the Frontier* (1995)	*Islamic architecture: the wooden style of Northern Pakistan* (1989b)
The sacred rock of Hunza (1985a)	*New light on Central Asia* (1996a)	*The historic city of Taxila* (1991)
Indian palaeography (1986)	*Central Asia today* (1996b)	*History of Northern Areas of Pakistan: upto 2000 AD*[7] (2001)
	Romance of the Khyber Pass (1997)	
	A new solution of Kashmir (n.d.)	
	A short guide to Taxila (2000)	
	History of Pakistan: Pakistan through ages[8] (2008)	

Besides popular books, booklets and guides, Dani also contributed to Pakistani newspapers on diverse themes. Some of the articles, dealing with the Kashmir issue (Dani n.d.) and Central Asia in the wake of Soviet Union's dismemberment (1996a-b), were collected and published. He passionately shared his latest research with the wider public without delay (see for example Dani 1987). Similarly, he also contributed articles to popular magazines. One fine example in this regard is 'Origins of Bronze Age cultures in the Indus basin: a geographic perspective' in *Expedition Magazine* (1975), the popular magazine of Penn Museum, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. On the request of the Assistant Editor, Encyclopaedia Iranica,[9] Dani sent his contribution on Bannu and Buner for publication.[10]

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[7] An important sentence from the Preface of the book may be noted; 'In order to keep the book within readable limits of *a general reader* the details of the cultural history have been avoided' (Dani 2001) (our italics).

[8] According to some scholars this last work of Dani totally entails his popularization programme (L. M. Olivieri, personal communication). Some others consider it as synthesis of Dani's half a century extensive and intensive researches.

[9] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter no. nil dated 8 April 1987 from Prods O. Skjaervo, Sr. Assistant Editor, Encyclopaedia Iranica, to Dr. A. H. Dani, Director, Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

[10] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter no. nil dated 25 April 1987 from Dr. A. H.

Museums and Archaeology/History Departments at universities
Museums aim to serve different purposes. They preserve cultural heritage on the one hand and provide space for learning, education and researches on the other. Sometimes museums are visited for recreational activities or out of curiosity.

Museums were founded in British India, throughout the colonial period, for either of such purposes (Guha-Thakurta 2004; Ray 2008). Dani continued with this idea and established a number of museums in Pakistan. 'He was an able organizer of museum displays (1947-1949, Veranda Museum, Rajshahi; 1950-1962, Dhaka Museum; 1962-1971: Peshawar Museum, Lahore Museum; 1993: Islamabad Museum)' (Olivieri 2009: 380). He did not consider museums as silent collections of residues of the past but as living spaces for education and learning, national identity and human beings' lofty accomplishments. Dani appreciated the process of cultural evolution in Pakistan right from the Soan people. He enumerated cultural achievements of different epochs and wrote:

> All these human strivings are our heritage. They are a part of human experience and knowledge. We learn them in order to profit by them and strengthen our future steps. We preserve them for our posterity and display them for our own understanding, as well as for others, who could perchance catch a glimpse of our identity (Dani 1970: 20).

Besides museums, another hallmark achievement of Dani was the establishment of the Archaeology Department at the University of Peshawar in 1962. He appreciated the timely appearance of the Department in two respects. First, that Peshawar is situated in the land of ancient Gandhara which is replete with archaeological heritage. Second, that Peshawar could offer great prospects for training of students which, in turn, would lead to development of indigenous perspectives on history and archaeology of the region (Dani 1964: 1; 1967: 11-12). Luca M. Olivieri, a field archaeology veteran in Pakistan, observes that 'in the short spa[n]e of a few years [the Department] was to become the cutting edge of archaeological studies in Pakistan. Here Dani not only lectured: here he succeeded in setting up a school of studies and, together with his pupils, who later became professors in the same Department, he promoted

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Dani to Prof. Prods O. Skjaervo, Sr. Assistant Editor, Encyclopaedia Iranica, 450 Riverside Drive, # 4, Columbia University, New York, Y. N. 10027, U.S.A.

important excavation campaigns in the North West Frontier Province' (Olivieri 2009: 380). Dani also established the Department of History (with the great help of Waheed-uz-Zaman, Professor of the Department) and Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia (which later became Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, hereafter TIAC) in 1970s at Quaid-i-Azam University (hereafter QAU), Islamabad. The idea of the establishment of university departments had its genesis in Wheeler's programme for Indian archaeology. He made persistent efforts to engage Indian universities in the field of archaeological research. Dani was aware of the fact that archaeology could prosper and gain wide currency if it was made a university discipline. He undoubtedly achieved immense success in this pursuit.

Reception of delegations

Being a popular icon of civilizational studies, Dani was regularly visited by national and international delegations. Delegations of myriad professional fields such as academia, media, foreign affairs, Buddhist clergy, etc. would be received by Dani, especially in his office at TIAC, QAU. A chaotic collection of photographs at TIAC indicates delegates, particularly from Central Asia and Buddhist countries, having academic and official meetings with Dani (figs. 2-3). Such kind of contacts he viewed as necessary for advancement of knowledge and mutual understanding.

Figure 2: Dani with Buddhist monks and other professionals at TIAC
(Courtesy: TIAC, QAU)

Academic activities and professional distinctions

Ahmad Hasan Dani remained actively involved in a great many academic and professional activities. He started the well-known *Ancient Pakistan*, Research Bulletin of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar and its first issue appeared in 1964. The Department has been publishing the Bulletin regularly since then. Similarly *Journal of Asian Civilizations* (formerly known as *Journal of Central Asia*), the biannual journal of TIAC, is another influential contribution of Dani, especially in terms of civilizational studies in the context of Central and South Asia. The journal gained the attention of famous scholars on the region's history, archaeology, science and philosophy. Their worthy contributions have added to the strength and popularity of the journal across the world. Another similar, but less known, association of Dani was with the biannual *Journal of History* of the Social Science Faculty of QAU. Dani was Dean of Social Sciences and Naeem Qureshi was Chairman of History Department at that time.[11] A number of scholars, from Pakistan and abroad, were contacted for their consent to include their names on the Board of Advisors/Editorial Board. They sent consent letters as addressed to Dani.[12]

Dani served the cause of history/archaeology in other capacities as well. 'He often held management positions on committees and scholarly societies where, as an important interlocutor, he was able to bring the needs of research closer to civil society' (Olivieri 2009: 380). Olivieri, thus, enumerates:

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[11] 'As there is a dire need for a good research journal of history, the teachers of the Department of History [Dani was Professor of History at that time as well as Dean of Social Sciences] recently met and expressed the opinion that the University of Islamabad [now Quaid-i-Azam University] should undertake this venture. The Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences also concurred and its was unanimously agreed that a bi-annual journal devoted to History, Archaeology, Civilizations and History of Sciences should be published through the University of Islamabad Press. The project was also discussed with prominent historians of Pakistan on the occasion of the Second Congress on History and Culture of Pakistan held at Hyderabad in April 1975, and some of them have agreed even to become the members of the Advisory Board.' QAU File no. 6-1 (HI)/76: Subject, Publication of 'Bi-Annual Journal of History, University of Islamabad. Letter dated August 13, 1975 issued by (Dr.) Naeem Qureshi, Chairman, Department of History, University of Isamabad to Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences.

[12] See, QAU File no. 6-1 (HI)/76: Subject, Publication of 'Bi-Annual Journal of History, University of Islamabad.

- 1950:   Secretary General of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan
- 1955:   President of the National Committee for Museums
- 1970:   Chairman of the Research Society, University of Peshawar
- 1979:   President Archaeological and Historical Association of Pakistan
- 1992-96:   Advisor on Archaeology to the Ministry of Culture
- 1994-98:   Chairman of National Funds for Cultural Heritage
- 1978-2007:   Director, and later Honourary Director of the Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia (renamed as TIAC, QAU).

The last point of Olivieri needs correction. In QAU Dani served as follows:

- 1971-77:   Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
- 1971-80:   Professor of History
- 1980-2009:   Professor Emeritus (simultaneously as Honourary Director for the Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia/TIAC[13]

Furthermore, in 1987, Dani was nominated as a member of the Board of Governors of Pakistan National Council of the Arts (Idara Saqafat-e-Pakistan) by the Federal Government.[14] Dani replied that 'I will be happy to be a member of the Board of Governors and try to give some of my ideas whenever required.'[15] The same year he was appointed as a member of a 'Committee on categorization and allocation of Sites and Monuments for maintenance by the Federal and the Provincial Governments and the

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[13] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: 1987 Summer Schools, at the University of London, Institute of Archaeology.

[14] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter Ref. no. 1-32/83-Secy dated July 22nd 1987 from Mr. Rafat Javed Khan, Secretary, to Dr. A. H. Dani, H. No. 17, St. 10, F-8/3, Islamabad.

[15] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter no. CAS/PF-3-382/87 dated July 28, 1987 from Dr. A. H. Dani to Mr. Rafat Javed Khan, Secretary, Pakistan National Council of the Arts, 73, F-6/2, Islamabad.

Local Bodies, respectively.'[16]

Likewise, Dani was also approached by institutions such as Civil Services Academy of Pakistan and Pakistan Television Academy for lectures to their trainees. The former invited him to speak to its probationers of the 15th Common Training Programme on 'Pakistani culture'[17] and Dani confirmed his lecture on December 17 of 1987 in Lahore.[18] Pakistan Television Academy also invited Dani to deliver 'two lectures to our trainee Producers on Tuesday, the 25th of November 1986 at 9.30 AM and 11.30 AM on the subject of "LINGUISTIC, ETHNIC AND CULTURAL SENSITIVITIES".' It was hoped that Dani's lectures 'will make a substantial impression on our Producers, in not only making them understand this important subject, but also help them in projecting it in their programmes, as part of their professional assignments.'[19] However, Dani regretted the request as he was not available until February 1987 due to his engagements 'with UNESCO project, and Buddhist exhibition in Japan.'[20]

Cultural caravans

The cultural caravan was a well-thought-out praxis concerning popularizing history/archaeology. It was aimed at creating public awareness about cultural heritage of Pakistan. Cultural caravans would be organized under the aegis of the Archaeological and Historical Association (hereafter AHA) of which Dani was the founder chairman/president.

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[16] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Notification, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs Division), The Manager, Gazette of Pakistan, Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, University Road, Karachi dated (Islamabad) 3rd March 1987.

[17] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter no. D. O. No. CSA-PS/3608 dated November 22, 1987 from A. Z. Faruqui, Director General, to Dr. A. H. Dani, Director, Centre for Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

[18] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter no. nil, dated November 26, 1987 from Prof. D. A. H. Dani to Mr. A. Z. Faruqui, Director General, Civil Services Academy, Walton, Lahore-12.

[19] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Ref. no. O. PTVA/N&CA-3/66 dated October 19, 1986 from Zaman Ali Khan, Controller Programmes to Dr. A. H. Dani, H. No. 17, St. No. 10, F-8/3, Islamabad.

[20] QAU File no. CAS/PF/3/86/1987: Letter no. CAS/PF/3/976/86 dated October 25, 1986 from M. Salim, Assistant Director, to Mr. Zaman Ali Khan, Controller Programmes, Pakistan Television Academy, 242, St. 23, F-7, Islamabad.

Similarly some cultural caravans of children were also accompanied by Ahmad Hasan Dani.

The AHA organized caravans took place regularly to which national and international writers, scholars, politicians, diplomates and delegates would be invited for participation. Documents show that the various culturally and archaeologically significant areas of Potohar such as the Salt Range, Taxila, etc. would be visited by a medley of socio-political and other professional elites. They would be briefed on history and archaeology of the country. This activity clearly reflects in the following casual list of some caravans (dates and the sites visited have been shown):

- March 9, 1996 – Islamabad
- October 11, 1996 – Jhelum (among other places the battle site of Alexander and Porus has also been mentioned in the letter of invitation. It is also interesting to note that Dani has written his four pages long note, titled 'Cultural caravan follows Alexander's march to Jhelum, battle with Porus B.C. 327', with respect to the destination of caravan's visit).
- February 14, 1999 – Taxila and Wah
- January 2, 2005 – Gandhara civilization (implying Taxila)
- March 3, 2006 – Islamabad

A cultural caravan in 2006 visited the Salt Range. It included, among others, 'the ambassadors and diplomates of 13 different countries including Russia, Germany, Bangladesh, Finland, Japan, Canada, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and other countires.' On this occasion, Dani 'briefed the participants about the historical background of Katas Raj. The cultural caravan on its last leg of visit went to Kallar Kahar and saw Takht-e-Babree and Kallar Kahar Lake' (Govt. pays special attention to protect cultural heritage).

Some of the children's caravans, led by A. H. Dani, were organized by the Funkor Child Art Centre, Islamabad. One such caravan visited the shrine of saint Bari Imam, Islamabad, in 2007. Participating children were enlightened about the legend of the saint and the surrounding historico-cultural landscape such as the then disappeared Shiva temple and the culturally important banyan trees (Minallah 2007a). The same year,

another children's trip was led by Dani, in the company of Tomoko Watanabe, a famous peace activist and Executive Director of Asian Network of Trust (Hiroshima), to Buddhist Caves at Shah Allah Ditta, Islamabad.
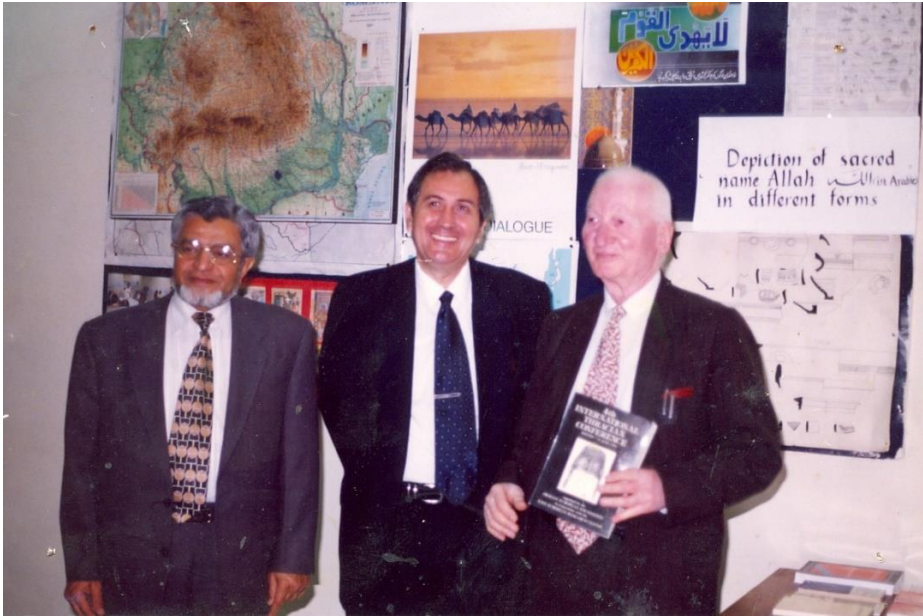

Figure 3: Dani with the Ambassador of Romania at TIAC
(Courtesy: TIAC, QAU)

The children were briefed on the cultural and historical importance of the site (Minallah 2007b).

The Silk Road saga
Two separate developments of a similar nature are of great interest here. They are, (1) the project of Ethnological Research in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and (2) Integral Study of Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue. Both these academic-cum-cultural missions have complementary dimensions as far as Dani's historical re/constructions and civilizational ideals are concerned. They also had tremendous bearings on his popularizing mission.

The Ethnological Research was a joint venture of the Pak-German Team and was directed by Ahmad Hasan Dani and Karl Jettmar. The five

years programme, as approved by the Government of Pakistan, was the outcome of the opening of the Karakoram Highway in 1978. The Team documented and investigated history and cultural heritage of Northern Areas of Pakistan (now Gilgit-Baltistan). The other project in 1990s – Integral Study of Silk Roads – was initiated under UNESCO's auspices aiming at

> . . . reminding those living in the present day of the necessity for renewed dialogue and mutual understanding. Furthermore, our project attempts to unearth the history of the international exchange as different civilizations met to benefit each civilization along Silk Roads, and to rediscover the value of the true spirit of tolerance that made this exchange possible through recognition of different cultures and values (Umesao and Sugimura 1992: i).

The various features of the project included interdisciplinarity, field visits, multinational composition, the project-personnel and local scholars-and-scientists' coordination, during- and after-campaign seminars at different places and addressing not only scholars but *the general public* as well. The expedition achieved these objectives while traversing Pakistan, Central Asia, China and Japan (see, Dani and Pingfang 1990; Dani, Askarov and Gubin 1991; Umesao and Sugimura 1992).

Dani integrated the results of Ethnological Research in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and Integral Study of Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue. He explained and examined the cultural heritage and history of Gilgit-Baltistan within the framework of Karakoram as being a crossroads as well as against the backdrop of the larger Silk Road network. In the wider context of East-West interaction sphere *the ideal of Asian man* was both politically and idealistically propagated. And it is here that rhetoric and pedagogy has added popular taste to Dani's civilizational studies. Empiricism and factualism have been superseded by speculative representations and synthetic vulgar summations of spatio- temporal developments in a historical perspective. Given the popular form and style of his writing Ahmad Hasan Dani successfully approached the target audience, the general public (for example see, Dani 1983a-b, 1988, 1989a, 1991, 1992, 2001, 2008). A conference entitled International Conference on Karakorum Culture (24th-30th September 1983), at Gilgit, was also organized so that the recent discoveries and researches were to be shared with multiple audiences (Proceedings of the International Conference on Karakorum Culture (24th-30th September 1983) 1985; Dani 1985b).

Figure 4: Dani with national and international delegates at Sirkap, Taxila
(Courtesy: TIAC, QAU)

A great number of scholars from Pakistan and abroad participated in the conference among whom scholars of the Italian Archaeological Mission from Swat (Olivieri 2009: 383) deserve special mention due to the close proximity of their research, in terms of themes and geographical approximation, to that of the Pak-German Study Group. It was also envisaged that the conference would benefit Pakistan and its people, especially the people of Gilgit-Baltistan. Dani wrote in his letter about worth of organizing the conference to the Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Pakistan:

> Although we have built the [Karakoram] Highway, still we have not so far taken advantage of penetrating into the different valleys, understanding the problems of the people and bring them to the general pattern of cultural life of the country. As these people had been isolated in the past, there has been little attempt made so far to infuse into them a new spirit of cultural revival and to boost them to come up to a level of understanding their own value and respecting their own worth in building the country. Such an international Conference is bound to boost the

morale of the people and focus the attention of other Pakistanis to this region.[21]

Dani also explicated the value of the proposed conference from a tourism point of view:

> So far Karakorum Highway has not been able to attract a wide range of tourists as the Himalayan region deserves. Only mountain climbers and trekkers have been visiting. Actually we have not been able to make provision for the ordinary tourists nor do the tourists know about the new attractions and the facilities available here. For example the newly discovered Buddhist remains in this part will be a great hit in Japan if properly channeled through tour operators. It is therefore necessary that we should invite scholars from Japan, Thailand, Sri Lanka and Nepal. China should be specially invited so that they realise the importance of this route from the tourist point of view. If concerted effort is made, I do not see why tourists will not choose this attractive area in their programme. It is for us to prepare such a programme and publicise it.
> . . . . The object is to take this opportunity for a wide publicity of the Himalayan attractions to scholars as well as tourists.[22]

Discussion and conclusions

As scientific and scholarly practices carry with themselves both academic (internal) and socio-political (external) contexts Dani's history/archaeology popularization needs a contextual analysis. His popularizing activity may arguably be contextualized against the backdrop of the academic tradition of Indo-Pakistani archaeology, pecuniary matters and political considerations.

Concerning the academic context of Dani's archaeology/history popularization, Sir Mortimer Wheeler's legacy at once comes to mind. Wheeler bequeathed, inter alia, a subtle concept and practice of popularization to his students-cum-successors in the subcontinent. He was aware of the fact that in modern times the public greatly matter in financial affairs. It is their taxes as well as donations which make it possible to do archaeology. This manifest archaeology-public interface necessitated the publicity of archaeology. Given the fact that the publicity

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[21] QAU File no. CAS/PUB/2/82: Subject; International Conference on the Hindukush and Himalayan Culture along the Karakorum Highway. Letter no. CAS/PF-4/82 dated (Islamabad) May 20, 1982 from Dr. A. H. Dani, Director, to Mr. Masud-un-Nabi Noor, Secretary, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2.

[22] Ibid., 2-3.

of archaeology, in turn, needed some new structural formulations, Wheeler approached Indian archaeology with several innovative ideas. He emphasized the need to move away from the technical mode of presentation in favour of a simpler style and academic precision so that the wider public could successfully be reached. *Ancient India*, bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, and numerous other works produced by Wheeler (see for example 1950/1992, 1954, 1959, 1962) epitomized this approach. Similarly, museums were either founded or strengthened throughout the subcontinent. Academicians and socio-political elites were sensitized vis-à-vis archaeological heritage. Moreover, media were made good use of in popularizing archaeology and archaeological knowledge.[23]

This makes the academic background of Dani's concept and practice of popular archaeology/history. He spoke to multiple groups of people through his popular publications and media. He used archaeological excavations and heritage sites as a space for disseminating historical/archaeological knowledge to non-specialists. Personal and institutional affiliations were forged with resourceful individuals and professional bodies of clout in order to make it easier to proceed with scholastic and scientific pursuits.

The above-mentioned last point entails concerns with respect to pecuniary matters in archaeological practice. Archaeology cannot be done, in terms of logistics, without generous institutional and political support. Popular archaeology by Dani, not unlike his teacher, Sir Mortimer, and a colleague, H.D. Sankalia, was an astute strategy to get the required patronage for the science of archaeology in Pakistan. His various scientific and scholarly campaigns were supported by socio-political and institutional elites.[24]

Pakistan, in fact, came into being in the name of Islam. Notwithstanding internal ideological narratives and conflict between Islamist and secular poles, just three years after 1947 Mortimer Wheeler published his *Five thousand years of Pakistan* (1950/1992). He argued for the deep historical basis of Pakistan which had always made the land distinct from the rest of India. History was viewed in the context of mid-

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[23] This summary is based on a recent study on Sir Mortimer Wheeler's concept and practice of archaeology popularization in the Indo-Pakistani context by Rafiullah Khan and Ifqut Shaheen (submitted for publication).

[24] On the interplay between money and patronage and science (see Andersen et al. 2012).

twentieth century politics of the subcontinent. This idea was taken up, developed into subtlety and propagated passionately by Ahmad Hasan Dani. He believed all his life in its absolute strength and power. It is manifest from the following two quotes belonging to early years of Dani's career and years just little before his death.

In his Editorial to *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, in the wake of the 1965 war between India and Pakistan, Dani opines:

> Whatever may be the future course, the country has come to understand its deeper foundations rooted in the long historical perspective – a perspective that has shed new light on its present status and, much more than that, in its new relation with the wider humanity. When we are digging in a corner of Pakistan, we are touching a chord of this human relationship. Its tune is bound to affect the historical movements of the world. On our part we are at the dig to discharge our responsibility – to lay bare the remnants of civilizations that humanity has left over the ravages of time. In this field of reconstruction and realization, we hope, we have the goodwill of all and cooperation of all those who believe in the common destiny of man (Dani 1965-66a: 3).

Following quote from Dani's last book expresses a similar belief:

> . . . the two geographical zones [are] far different from each other. The Indus land is present Pakistan – the home chosen by the Muslims of the subcontinent – and the Ganges, the holy river of the Hindus in Bharat(-khand) (Dani 2008: 2).

Through such sophisticated representations Dani astutely delineated the structure of Pakistan's historical actuality. Since this view needed dissemination, it led to what may be termed as Dani's sole prerogative in Pakistan e.g. history/archaeology popularization.

Furthermore, it is highly appropriate to estimate the extent to which Dani's popularization was a success. Available data shows that the programme was limited in scope as the target audience were mostly from elite circles. Common people do not appear anywhere at any time as of any interest to Dani. All his popular publications are in English and are beyond the reach of the majority of Pakistanis. Cultural caravans would invariably include politicians, the educational and professional elite, foreign diplomates and other such respectable delegates. Similarly, the above-mentioned two schoolchildren caravans were not from ordinary or government schools. Rather, elitist educational institutions, namely Bloomfield Hall School, Islamabad, and Khaldunia High School,

Islamabad, were engaged in the programme. Still the picture which appears does exhibit considerable success in the minus-*vulgus* sphere of Pakistani society. The largescale awareness programme inspired, in the long run, potential individuals such as socio-cultural activists, professionals etc. to appreciate the cultural and national value of archaeology and history.[25] 'It was his paper "Islamabad and the Soan, The Golden River, story of the oldest living place in the world",' observes Fauzia Minallah, 'which inspired me to photograph all the heritage sites of Islamabad he had mentioned and ultimately ended up producing the coffee table book' (Minallah 2009). Similarly, the AHA and Society of Asian Civilizations originated under Dani's patronage and worked in close collaboration with him in the field of culture, history and archaeology. Perhaps, Aitzaz Ahsan's *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (1996), which represents secular discourse, was inspired by Ahmad Hasan Dani's narrative of the historical actuality of Pakistan.

There is also another dimension of appreciation to Dani's popularization programme e.g. pan-Asian ideal and cultural tourism (fig. 4). From this standpoint, his target audience are much more diverse. He wanted to revive an era of socio-cultural contacts, which had long been dead, between the peoples of Asia and it needed the willingness of socio-political elites of different states. Thus Dani's popular writings seem as a persuasion tool so that a common cultural and political understanding, in the best interest of the people, may be developed. In the whole ideal, to 'create new ideas and new understanding of the ways as to how to lead Asian man towards a new world of progress and advance', Dani gave special importance to the region of Gandhara. 'Gandhara has the potential of reviving the dead channels of history. . . . Let Gandhara of the past stand as a solid foundation for the better Gandhara of the future' (Dani 1998: 155).

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[25] Farid Khan, retired Professor of Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, on the occasion of Dani's funeral ceremony spoke to Kashif Rehman Kashif, Aaj News reporter, that one of Dani's important contributions was taking archaeology to the common people, an awareness wanting in before (Ahmad Hasan Dani funeral report). It may be clarified that Dani's popularization was hardly different from the one initiated by Wheeler. The former's only vantage point was his vernacularity which the latter utterly lacked.

Acknowledgements

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Trends in Muslim Education in India: An Analysis of the Intellectual Traditions of Madrasah Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, and Madrasah Rahimiyah, Delhi

Irfanullah Khan

Abstract

This article investigates the link between the socio-economic and political conditions and the varying emphasis on the proportion of maqulat (rational sciences) and manqulat (revealed sciences) in the syllabus of Islamic education in India in the eighteenth century. The article compares the two popular syllabi of Islamic education taught at Madrassah Rahimiyah, Delhi and that of Madrassah Farangi Mahal, Lucknow in terms of the proportion of maqulat and manqulat and argues that the differing ratio of maqulat and manqulat in the two is due to the particular socio-economic and political conditions prevalent in Delhi and Lucknow in the eighteenth century. It also demonstrates that maqulat and manqulat represented diametrically opposite intellectual trends and that these intellectual traditions fostered differing approach towards society and politics. While the maqulat tradition inculcated an inclusive and tolerant approach the manqulat tradition taught an exclusive and militant view.

Introduction

Education in the Islamic tradition began with the study of the Quran which enjoins the Muslims to its study to acquire knowledge of the God's words to conduct themselves properly in the world. With the expansion of the Muslim rule the scope of education in Islam was vastly expanded and came to encompass the study of a large number of subjects related to the mundane affairs of life. The inclusion of such subjects led to the division of Muslim education into two categories, *manqulat* or the transmitted sciences such as *tafsir* (exegesis), *hadith* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH) and *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *maqulat* or the rational sciences such as *mantiq* (logic), *hikmat* (philosophy) and *kalam* (theology). Ever since their inclusion *maqulat* have always remained an important part of the syllabus of Muslim education. Their proportion in the syllabus, however, has varied from time to time and context to context. In India too, as elsewhere in the Islamic world, there existed varying tendencies with regard to an increase or decrease in the proportion of *maqulat* in the syllabus of Islamic education. In his study on the syllabi of Islamic education in the Ottoman, Safawid and Mughal kingdoms Francis

Robinson suggested a link between the shifting balances of *maqulat* and *manqulat* and the distinct socio-economic and political conditions (Robinson 2002: 211-239). Similarly, Jamal Malik also regards the revival of *manqulat* in eighteenth century India as an outcome of the socio-economic and political conditions and presents it as an indigenous or alternative modernity (Malik 2003: 227-243). In Malik's view the supporters of *manqulat* sought to create individually responsible persons for the maintenance of order at societal level, in the absence of political stability, through the study of *hadith*.

Following the above line of thinking this article attempts to find out that to what extent are differing trends towards the *maqulat* and the *manqulat* in the syllabus of Muslim education linked with socio-economic conditions during the Muslim rule in India? We in particular will be looking at the crystallization of these varying trends in the syllabi of Madrasah Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, and Madrasah Rahimiyah, Delhi, and to find out that to what extent are these syllabi being the outcome of the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing during the eighteenth century in India?

In addition, we will also analyze *ulamas'* own view regarding the dominance of *maqulat* during the eighteenth century in India. In *ulamas'* view too the trend towards *maqulat* was an outcome of the prevalent socio-economic and political conditions (Bilgrami 1910: 222-223). They also regard the increasing emphasis on the study of *maqulat* as an unwelcome aberration and not a norm, the norm being the dominance of *manqulat* in India (Gilani 2006: 137-152).

Further, by undertaking a comparative analysis of the syllabi of Madrasah Farangi Mahal and Madrasah Rahimiyah we hope to explore the role of the differing balance of *maqulat* and *manqulat* in these syllabi in the production of divergent worldviews as they do. The knowledge thus gained, it is hoped, will be of some benefit in the more recent concern regarding the reform of *madrasah* education.

Trends in education and the Muslim society and politics in India
Different trends and attitudes to education that have been fashioned during long Muslim rule in India came to be crystalized in the eighteenth century in the *manqulat* ridden syllabus of Madrasah Rahimiyah and the *maqulat* oriented syllabus of Madrasah Farangi Mahal. The emphasis on *manqulat*

and *maqulat* in the syllabus of Islamic education has varied with changes in the socio-economic and political conditions. The emphasis on the study of *manqulat* in Delhi and that of the *maqulat* in Lucknow was due to the particular socio-economic and political conditions prevalent in the eighteenth century in these areas.

The empire which the last of the 'Great Mughals', Aurangzeb, had so assiduously tried to expand started falling apart at his death in 1707. The weak and incompetent successors of Aurangzeb were not able to reign in the divisive forces and within short time Bengal, Awadh, Punjab and Deccan emerged as independent states. The internecine war of succession among the various claimants to the Mughal throne also cleared way for the Marathas, Sikhs, Rohillas and Jats to carve out new kingdoms reducing the Mughal rule to Delhi and its suburbs. While the political power of the Mughal court was reaching its lowest ebb the Muslim society in Delhi was touching the heights of wastefulness and extravagance. Even Nadir Shah's invasion and looting of Delhi in 1739 failed to dissuade the Mughal rulers and nobility from slipping back to their former levity and dissipation (Rizvi 1980: 179). The political and social decay that had set in in Delhi brought forth yet another attack from the orthodox circles opposed to the scholastic and intellectual traditions nourished by the Mughals during the height of their imperial power. The bad lot that had befallen the Muslims was attributed by the Muslim orthodoxy to the syncretic tendencies and moral laxity or degeneration of the Mughal court which in turn was regarded as the outcome of the study of *maqulat* and philosophy. The revival of *manqulat* is considered by Jamal Malik as an attempt on the part of a section of the Muslim orthodoxy to find new and religiously sanctioned ways for coping with the prevalent political instability and societal decay (Malik 2003: 227-243).

The *ulama* of the north and north western India have historically been hostile to the study of *maqulat* and philosophy. One probable reason behind the *ulama's* aversion to the study of philosophy and *maqualt* was the association of these disciplines with the political program of the Carmathian (Qarmatian)[1] and by extension that of the religious ideas of

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[1] The Carmathians was the name used for the Ismailis who established their rule in Sind about 900 A.D. and were politically allied with the Fathmid dynasty in Egypt (r. 969-1171). They were staunch opponent of Sunni orthodoxy and posed political threat to the Sunni rule especially after the establishment of Fathmid dynasty. The compatibility of

the Shias. The *ulama* who came to India during the earlier Muslim rule hailed mainly from Central and Western Asia and as such had harsh experience of the militant activities of the Carmathians (Jalandhri 2004: 71). The expansion and consolidation of the Muslim rule and the need for better trained men for undertaking various responsibilities in the administrative machinery of the state and the supposedly important role that the study of *maqualt* plays in the production of such men paved way for an increase in the proportion of *maqulat* in the syllabus. It was thus in the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (r. 1489-1517), that is, almost two hundred years after the establishment of Muslim rule in India that the study of *maqulat* gained prominence (Gilani 2006: 189). Whatever the estimation of the Lodi's rule with respect to political control and administrative management in intellectual and educational circles his rule is remembered, with regard to excellence in the field of education, as one the golden periods in Indian history (Dihlawi 1997: 307). Here we need to point to the fact that the Muslim orthodoxy with all their efforts to suppress the study of *maqulat* were not able to banish it completely. There were always men whose natural curiosity led them to indulge in the study of philosophy and the rational sciences. Two such men were Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Azizullah, who in the reign of Sikandar Lodi left Multan on account of the occurrence of some disturbances and settled down in Delhi (Badauni 1868: 323; Bilgrami 1910: 191). The two brothers were regarded as experts in the field of *maqulat* and it was Sheikh Abdullah who included books on logic, rhetoric and scholastics in the syllabus of Islamic education (Sufi 1977: 32-33). The Study of *maqulat* which was limited to the study of *Qutbi* in logic and *sharhi sahaif* in scholastics before the arrival of the sheikh brothers (Badauni 1868: 324; Bilgrami 1910: 191) was afterwards further enhanced by the addition of the works of Mir Sayyid Sharif Jurjani and Sadrud Din Taftazani (Sufi 1977: 32-33). The complete dominance of the *maqulat*, however, was attained during the rule of the Mughal emperor Akbar the Great. The enormous shift towards the study of *maqulat* during this period was the result of coming together of a number of factors.

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philosophical theories with Ismaili esoteric doctrines was alarming to the orthodox Sunni scholars and explains their aversion to philosophy which came to be seen as the vocation of the Carmathians and which was regarded as a cover for their political program (see Ahmad 1969: 21-26; Schimmel 2003: 6-7; 70-74; Rizvi 1980: 59; 379).

The first factor which led to an increased interest in the study of philosophy and rational sciences was the arrival in the sixteenth century of a large number of Iranian scholars, poets and painters in the northern and central India. Secondly the peace and prosperity prevalent during Akbar's reign created conditions necessary for the thriving of rational sciences and arts. Thirdly the economic incentive in the form of an employment opportunity in the ever expanding Mughal administration also boasted interest in gaining expertise in *maqulat*. Finally the personal predilections and propensities of the Mughal Emperor Akbar transformed the status of *maqulat* in the sixteenth century in India. The man who became an instrument for the realization of the reforms Akbar had envisioned in the field of education was none other than the polymath Mir Fathullah Shirazi (Sufi 1977: 52-56).

Mir Fathullah Shirazi first came to India at the special invitation of Sultan Adil Shah of Bijapur (South India), whence he, at Sultan's death, reached Akbar's court. While discussing the role of Mir Fathullah Shirazi in the sustained influence of *maqulat* in India Manazar Ahsan Gilani points out that in addition to the support he received from Akbar the enormous success that the Mir achieved in this regard was his unusual practice of personally teaching the young Mughal princes and the sons of the nobility. And it was these princes and sons of the nobility who in the long run ensured the continued dominance of *maqulat* in the syllabus of Islamic education (Gilani 2006: 202). The enormous increase in the proportion of rational sciences in the syllabus and the alleged link between the rising syncretic tendencies and latitudinarian approach of Akbar and Jahangir and these disciplines brought forth a strong reaction from the Muslim orthodoxy of Delhi. The result was a renewed emphasis on the study of *manqulat*, revealed sciences (Robinson 2002: 14).

The man behind this reorientation towards *manqulat* was Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi who in order to avoid being involved in the so-called frivolous religious debates of the times had undertaken a journey to the Hijaz in 1587. He probably was the first of the *ulama* who taking advantage of the opening up of sea routs after Akbar's annexation of Gujrat in 1574 embarked on journey to the Hijaz not only for performing the pilgrimage but also for quenching his trust for the study of *hadith* (Ikram 2005: 349-351). Sheikh Abdul Haq on his return launched a movement for revitalizing *hadith* study in India with new methods he had

learnt from the Haramayn group of *hadith* scholars (Voll 1982: 66; Robinson 2002: 14). Though he was not able to significantly reduce the influence of *maqulat* he at least gave direction to the Muslim orthodoxy which they would follow latter on to deal with the social and political decay of the eighteenth century India.

Driven by a concern to revitalize the soul of the decadent Muslim community Shah Waliullah retraced the steps of Shaikh Abdul Haq. Shah Waliullah, trained under the same Haramayn group of *hadith* scholars, believed that the disaster towards which the Muslims were heading could only be averted by emphasizing the study of *haith*. The greatest threat to Muslim political power in Shah Waliullah estimation was the Marathas and the unity among Muslims which was needed for dealing with it could, in his view, be established by strengthening the faith, which in turn could be achieved, first, by recognizing the superiority of the transmitted sciences to the rational sciences and then affecting coherence between transmitted and rational sciences (Malik 2003: 232). The particular views of Shah Waliullah regarding the superiority of transmitted sciences and its importance in finding solutions to contemporary problems did not go unchallenged as there were polemical discussions and debates between him and the supports of the rational sciences (Waliullah 1970: 282-288). It was mainly through his efforts that Delhi became a center of *hadith* learning as at least one of Shah Waliullah's disciples would in a short while be playing an important role in revitalizing the study of *hadith* in the very heartland of Islam itself (Robinson 2002: 224-225). The success of Shah Waliullah's efforts in boasting the influence of *manqulat* was not just the result of his great intellectual skills. The role that the socio-economic and political conditions obtained during the eighteenth century Delhi played in this regard is no less important.

The crumbling of the political power at the imperial heartland ended the royal patronage as well as the economic incentive of an employment in the imperial bureaucracy for the study of *maqulat*, also the socio-economic decay in the eighteenth century Delhi eliminated the conditions necessary for the thriving of philosophy and rational sciences. The effort to revive the study of *hadith* was vehemently supported by the 'emerging class of urban traders whose profit-thinking and credit-worthiness, in Malik's view, called for moral behavior and action that required legitimation' (Malik 2003: 232). While the conditions were not

suitable for a sustained interest in the study of *maqulat* the impulse to safeguard the community and the intellectual heritage of the faith without the protection of a Muslim court propelled the Muslim orthodoxy to look for other alternatives for the fulfillment of the said objective (Metcalf 1982: 29). This community of individually responsible believers, in the estimation of the orthodoxy, could only be created by a focus on the revealed sciences. It was to this end that Shah Waliullah rose to popularize the study of *hadith* in Delhi. The decadent soul of the Muslim community in Shah Waliullah's view could only be revitalized by the subordination of all knowledge to the study of the Quran and *hadith*. *Maqualt* thus finally cleared stage for the *manqulat*, at least in Delhi.

While *manqulat* were gaining prominence in Dehli the study of *maqulat* was reaching its high water mark in the eastern parts of the empire called *Purab*. The name *Purab* is often used for the regions of Awadh, Allahabad and Bihar and it was in these areas that the study of *maqualt*, according to Manazar Ahsan Gilani, was highly emphasized in the eighteenth century (Gilani 2006: 213). The reason for the popularity of *maqulat* in *Purab* was that while the heartland of the empire was wreathing with disorder and chaos and Mughal rulers therein were either not willing or not able to lend support to the study of *maqulat* the rulers of the newly emergent eastern states, imbued as they were with the high culture of the Mughal court, extended wholehearted support to the study of *maqulat*. Discussing the reason for the increase in the proportion of *maqulat* in the syllabus, Manazar Ahsan Gilani expounds that the main impetus behind the importance of *maqulat* in *Purab* was the fact that it was the only way to curry favors with the rulers of these states and thereby obtain the much needed economic support (Gilani 2006: 230-231). The flourishing of *maqulat* was therefor due to the patronage of the rulers and the economic incentive of an employment opportunity in the administrative set up of the states like, Awadh, Arcot, Allahabad and Hyderabad etc.

In addition to the factors enumerated above the cherishing of *maqulat* in states like, Murshidabad, Azimabad and Lucknow was also due to the influence of newly arrived Iranian and Iraqi scholars after the collapse of the Safawid Empire in 1720s. The fact that these states were Shia further enhanced the status of the Iranian scholarship which was mainly related to fields of rational sciences and philosophy (Robinson

2002: 221-223). Thus seeds sown by travelling scholars in the fertile soil of these states had, according to Robinson, led to the development of *madrasah* curriculum which achieved a new balance of transmitted and intellectual subjects and had much in common with that taught in Safawid Iran (Robinson 2002: 221).

A comparative analysis of the intellectual traditions of Madrasah Rahimiyah and Madrasah Farangi Mahal

Thus far we shed some light on the causes of the increase or decrease in the proportion *maqulat* and *manqulat* in the syllabus of Islamic education in India we will now turn to an analysis of the syllabi that came to formalize the trends towards their study in the eighteenth century. This analysis we hope will afford us with an opportunity to assess the divergent worldviews these syllabi helped to foster.

Prior to undertaking an analysis of these syllabi it is regarded pertinent to refer briefly to the political and societal implications associated with the aforementioned trends in Islamic education. The administrative, cultural, and social institutions of the Mughals, in Rizvi's view, led to the crystallization of two different attitudes and propensities among the governing classes of northern India (Rizvi 1980: 393-394). One of these groups favored the conciliatory policies of Akbar and as such believed in the positive effects of the co-option of all the indigenous religious elites for the effective functioning of the centralized Mughal Empire. The source of inspiration of this group, it is said, was Iran and the Perso-Islamic culture as evolved in India under the Mughals (Rizvi 1980: 394). For the other group the continued existence of the Muslim Empire in India rested on the military strength and distinctiveness of the Muslims. Any degree of conciliation towards or intermingling with the indigenous population was thus regarded as symptomatic of weakness. This group looked to the Hijaz for guidance and idealized the rule of the orthodox caliphs. Of these groups the former has been termed as the conciliatory group while the latter has been labeled as the militant group (Rizvi 1980: 394). Also important in this context are Annemarie Schimmel´s (1922-2003) descriptions of "Mecca-oriented" and "India-oriented Islam" (Schimmel 2008: 11-23), Carl Ernst´s notion of the over layering of sacred maps that give different meanings to the same geographical area (Ernst 1992: 238), and David Gilmartin´s perception of place as "the vessel

through which Muslims participated in a larger moral order" (Gilmartin 1998: 1083).

Madrasah Farangi Mahal and its intellectual tradition

In 1695 a family of *ulama* moved to the house of a European merchant in Lucknow, called Farangi Mahal, which had been granted by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb to the family as compensation for the murder of the its patriarch, Mulla Qutbud Din Sihalwi. It was to be by the name of Farangi Mahal that the family was subsequently known (Metcalf 1982: 29-30). The Farangi Mahal *ulama* were famous for their learning and piety and it was a scion of this family, Mulla Nizamud Din who formulated the famed Darsi Nizami syllabus. *Darsi Nizami* has since then been stuck and is still followed with some alterations and modifications in almost all *madrasahs* in South Asia. The Darsi Nizami syllabus framed by Mulla Nizamud Din was as follows (Sufi 1977: 73-75):

Grammar-etymology-syntax (*Sarf wa Nahw*)
Mizan
Munshaib
Sarf Mir
Punj Gujni
Zubdah
Fusul-i-Akbari
Shafiyah
Nahw Mir
Sharh-i-Miat Amil
Hidayatun Nahw
Sharh Jami

Mathematics
Euclide
Tashrihul Aflak
Qaushjiyyah
Sharhi Chaghmini

Principles of Jurisprudence (*Usuli Fiqh*)
Nurul Anwar
Hisab
Tawdih Talwih
Musallamut Thubut

Philosophy (*Hikmat*)

Rhetoric (*Balaghat*)
Mukhtasarul Maani
Mutawwal

Traditions (H*adith*)
Mishkatul Masabih

Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*)
Sharh-i-Waqaya
Hidayah

Logic (*Mantiq*)
Sharh-i-Shamsiyyah
Sullamul Ulum
Risala Mir Zahid
Mulla Jalal
Sughra
Kubra
Isaghoji
Tahdhib
Sharh Tahdhib
Qutbi
Mir Qutbi

Scholasticism (*Kalam*)
Sharh-i Mawaqif

Sharh-i-Hidayat al-Hikma	*Mir Zahid*
Shamsul Bazigha	*Sharh Aqaid of Nasafi*
Sadra	
	Exegesis (*Tafsir*)
	Jalalayn

Darsi Nizami syllabus was the consolidation of the trend towards the study of *maqulat* which, as already mentioned has existed in India, at least, from the time of Sultan Skindar Lodi (r. 1489-1517) and achieved complete prominence during Akbar's reign (r. 1556-1605). The framing of Darsi Nizami was in reality the culmination of the influence of Mir Fathullah Shirazi.

Mir Fathullah Shirazi was a polymath, expert in all sciences dependent upon reasoning (*maqul*), such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmetic, the preparation of talismans, and mechanics, as well as in Arabic, *hadith* and *tafsir* (Rizvi 1980: 379-380). The proposed syllabus in the *Ain-i Akbari*, which covered all these subjects, is said to have originated under his influence (Rizvi 1980: 379). The interest in *maqulat* that Fathullah Shirazi popularized was sustained through the large number of students he trained down to the times of Mulla Nizamuddin, who, true to his training in the said tradition, gave an enormously large space to *maqulat* in Darsi Nizami. Manazir Ahsan Gilani, while giving an account of the huge proportion of *maqulat* in Darsi Nizami indicates that out of the forty four books included in Darsi Nizami only five or six fall in the category of *manqulat* (Gilani 2006: 212). It needs to be pointed out here that the intellectual tradition of *maqulat* that Darsi Nizami represented drew mostly on the Iranian and Central Asian scholarship in these fields. This said the Darsi Nizami syllabus of Farangi Mahal in the words of Francis Robinson was instinct with the rationalist tradition. By encouraging students to think rather than merely to learn by rote the syllabus enabled them to get through the usual run of *madrasa* learning with greater speed, while they came to be noted for their capacity to get to the heart of a matter, to present an argument, and to be flexible in their approach to jurisprudence (Robinson 2002: 14-15).

The emphasis on *maqulat* in the Darsi Nizami was, in Robinson's view, due to the superior training it offered prospective lawyers, judges and administrators (Robinson 2002: 53). But, as we noted above, the period during which the Darsi Nizami was framed was certainly not the

zenith of Muslim power in India. So where exactly were these prospective lawyers, judges and administrators employed?

According to Robinson the administrative system that evolved under the long rule of the Mughals was kept intact by the emerging provincial Muslim states like Murshidabad, Hyderabad, Arcot, Mysore, Awadh, Shahjahanpur and Rampur, which came to be established in the wake of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. The same pattern was also followed by the Sikh and Maratha kingdoms (Robinson 2002: 20). Even the British, after they had obtained from Shah Alam the permit for revenue collection and the incumbent administration, proclaimed that the administration of the provinces will be run, as previously, in accordance with the Hanafi *fiqh* (Ghazi 2002: 66). The skills that the Darsi Nizami offered were regarded useful by the rulers of the princely states and the British for training personnel for the various administrative and judicial posts. The Darsi Nizami thus became a standard curriculum. Its popularity received a further boast when Warren Hastings adopted it as a curriculum for the Calcutta Madrasah.

While summing up the reasons behind the success and popularity of the Darsi Nizami, Rizvi enumerated the following factors:

Firstly, the Mulla (Nizamud Din) was able to teach the syllabus himself continuously for over forty years, training his own relations as well as other students. Consecutive generations of those who studied under this syllabus went to serve as teachers all over India for at least two centuries. Secondly, the syllabus included such outstanding works on different branches of theology, logic and metaphysics as the *ulama* found indispensable in their careers as teachers and civil servants of the Muslim government. Thirdly, the syllabus represented the scholarly traditions of Mulla Qutb al-Din Razi, Jurjani, Dawani and Fath-Allah Shirazi, who were undisputed authorities in learning and sciences from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards. . . . The syllabus also considerably shortened the duration of studies (Rizvi 1980: 388-389).

The emphasis on *maqulat,* besides ensuring employment outside the domain of religion and independence at an early age, was also a means to the development of rational faculties which in turn prevented one from being taken in by obscurantism and dogmatism (Rizvi 1980: 391). This balance of approach has been commented upon by Robinson in the following words:

Bigotry was not evident. Shias and Hindus were taught in Farangi Mahal, as well as Sunnis, and the worst that Inayat Allah would say of Ibn Saud, of whose actions in Medina he so strongly disapproved, was to accuse him of 'independent views'. Even when a Farangi Mahalli did seem to go too far, as when Abd al-Bari spoke so violently on Khilafat issues that his colleagues begged him not to speak in public, it was noticeable that his fiery tone was belied by the judiciousness of his actions (Robinson 2002: 89-90).

The trend towards *maqulat* instituted by Sheikh Abdullah and formalized by Mulla Qutbu Din and his family, in Mawlana Shibli's view, reduced the harshness and strictness usually exhibited by experts in *fiqh*. The extent of the difference in approach becomes evident when the chapter on apostasy in *Fatawa Almgheria* is compared with Mawlana Bahrul Ullum Farangi Mahalli's discussion on the same topic in his book *Arkan-e Arbaa* (Shibli 2002: 588).

The Darsi Nizami with its emphasis on *maqulat* and the inculcation of the judiciousness and tolerance of approach represented fully the highest and refined traditions of the Mughal court during its times of zenith. By offering introduction to the sophisticated religious approaches that existed in the *maqulat* tradition it had the potential of the continued possibility of a truly understanding interaction with other religious traditions that existed in the region, whether Shia or Hindu (Robinson 2002: 54).

As a system of education the Darsi Nizami focused on sharpening the intellect of the students rather than learning by rote. The latter Farangi Mahalli referred to the alumni of Deoband as sheep as their education involved merely learning by rote (Robinson 2002: 167). The Farangi Mahalli greatly emphasized comprehension in learning. The principle on which the Darsi Nizami was framed was that the one most difficult and comprehensive book on any subject and in some cases only certain parts of a book should be the text for instruction (Shibli 2002: 587). Mulla Nizamud Din, himself, however, did not give much importance to the actual number of books listed in his curriculum. In actual practice he would teach the two most difficult books in each subject on the grounds that once they have been mastered the rest would present few problems (Robinson 2002: 46). This said much attention was focused on the

meaning of scripture and the classical sources rather than on their literal content.

The Darsi Nizami was also very much in tune with the pace and needs of its times. It was framed in a way that ensured the unity of the education system. It was not just a syllabus of Islamic studies. It contained books and subjects that provided sufficient training for the fulfillment of the worldly needs of the times. This, according to Manazir Ahsan Gilani, had been an important characteristic of the Islamic system of education in India even before the Darsi Nizami (Gilani 2006: 137-256). The purely religious content of the Darsi Nizami in Gilani's view was limited only to the teaching of three or four books on *tafsir, hadith* and *fiqh* and the whole of the remaining field was left open for the *maqulat* (Gilani 2006: 255-256). So much emphasis on *maqulat* in the Darsi Nizami syllabus was to impart the requisite training for supporting Islam in power (Robinson 2002: 37). The disappearance of Muslim power, thus, instituted a shift towards training for Islamic survival in a world where Muslims had no power (Robinson 2002: 37). The result was that the interest in *maqulat* came to be replaced by an increased emphasis on *manqulat*. The emphasis on *manqulat*, however, was not just an outcome of the loss of Muslim power as there has remained a tradition of resistance to the influence of *maqulat*, which had been regarded as a source of deviation from the central teachings of Islam and the resultant disintegration of the Muslim rule and society. It is to the scholarly activities of this resistance group that we will now turn our attention.

Madrasah Rahimiyah and its Scholastic Tradition

The syllabus taught at Madrasah Rahimiyah was inclined towards the study of *manqulat* and as such represented the militant or the resistance group. In the foregoing we discussed at some length the syllabus that represented the conciliatory group, that is, the Darsi Nizami. It is thus the scholarly tradition and intellectual activities of the militant group that we will discuss in the following.

The syllabus of Madrasah Rahimiyah as given by Shah Waliullah in his book *Juzul Latif* was the following:

Philosophy	**Jurisprudence**
Commentary on: Hidayatul Hikmah	*Husami*
	Taudihut Talwih

Scholasticism
Commentary on:
Al Aqaid of Nasafi
Notes and comments of Khayali
Mawaqif

Mysticism
Awarif
Treatises of Naqshbandiya school
Commentary on the Rubayyat of Jami
Introduction to the commentary of Lamat
Introduction to Naqdun Nusus

Astronomy and mathematics
Several treatises

Medicine
Abridgement of Abu Ali Ibn Sina's Qanun

Grammar
Kafiyah
Sharh Jami

Rhetoric
Mukhtasar
Mutawwal
Mishkatul Masabih
Shamayil by Tarmizi
Sahihul Bukhari

Islamic Law
Sharhul Wiqayah
Hidayah

Logic
Commentary on:
Shamsiyyah
Matali

Commentary (*Tafsir*)
Madarik
Baizawi

The syllabus of Madrasah Rahimiyah given by Shah Waliullah in his *Wasiyyat Nama* mentions some additional books in the fields of tradition and commentary that is the *manqulat*. In the field of tradition he mentions the study of *Muwatta* of Imam Malik and the *Sahihain* (Six authentic books on *Haith*). In the field of commentary *Jalalain* were studied in addition to *Madarik* and *Baizawi* (Sufi 1977: 68-70).

The conciliatory policies of Akbar were attributed by the militant group to the influence of the supporters of *maqulat* at his court. In a bid to check the integrationist tendencies of Akbar, Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhadith initiated a struggle for the assertion of *manqulat* and through his efforts popularized the study of *hadith* in India. The efforts of Skeikh Ahmad Sirhindi were also geared towards the same objective. The emphasis on *manqulat*, however, received a formidable boost only when Shah Abd-ur-Rahim accorded much more space to the *Qur'an* and *hadith* in the syllabus he taught at his *madrasah* in Delhi. It was the family of Shah Abd-ur-Rahim that played major roles in the popularity of the study of *hadith* in India. According to Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, almost every noted

scholar and teacher of *hadith* in South Asia traces his academic genealogy to Shah Waliullah (Ghazi 2002: 162). The religious revivalist movements of the nineteenth century with their focus on *manqulat* also claim to be in direct line from Shah Waliullah.

In addition to emphasizing *hadith,* Shah Waliullah also gave impetus to the study of the *Qur'an*. His approach to the study of the *Qur'an* was that guidance should be derived directly from the *Qur'an* and not through some commentary, which was a common practice of the times. In Shah Waliullah's view, exegesis or *tafsir* written by unorthodox Mutazilas, philosophers, and Shi'as, inculcated impiety in ordinary Sunnis (Rizvi 1982: 103-104). To this end, Shah Waliullah translated the *Qur'an* into Persian, a language that was commonly understood by Muslims in India. This translation, to which he also appended short explanatory notes in the margins, as Ghazi tells us, was included in the syllabus of Madrasah Rahimiyah by Shah Waliullah (Ghazi 2002: 160). He also wrote a book entitled *Al-Fawzul Kabir fi Usul Al-Tafsir*, which outlines rules for the interpretation of the *Qur'an*, which should be mastered before committing oneself to the study of an exegesis of the *Qur'an* (Ghazi 2002: 159-160).

The work of Shah Waliullah was diligently taken up by his sons who regarded the propagation of the teachings of their fathers as their mission (Rizvi 1982: 103). The sons of Shah Waliullah, after they had realized that the future of Persian language was bleak in India, tended to translate the *Qur'an* into Urdu, as not to do so would defeat their father's very purpose of the translation into Persian, for the promotion of an understanding of the *Qur'an* (Rizvi 1982: 104). Shah Abdul Aziz and his brothers also played an important role in popularizing *manqulat*, especially, *hadith*. Students would travel great distances to study *hadith* with them (Metcalf 1982: 47). In issuing *fatawa* Shah Abdul Aziz would refer frequently to valid *hadith*. The decisions in the books on *fiqh* were accorded marginal and secondary place in his *fatawa* (Metcalf 1982: 47-48).

For our purposes in this study it seems illuminating to allude to the observation that the 'Sultanate empires' of Muslims in India as well as elsewhere during the times of glory have tended to lay emphasis on the eclectic, tolerant and adaptationist style of Islam, while the times of downfall and disintegration have generally been associated with the emergence of literalist, exclusionist and fundamentalist approaches (Voll

1982: 37-38). In the field of education the former tendencies are tied to the study of *maqulat* while the latter with that of *manqulat*. Following this pattern the period of the great Mughals in India is characterized by eclecticism and general tolerance of a wide diversity of local customs and the incumbent emphasis on *maqulat*. The eighteenth century, which was a period of downfall and disintegration, on the other hand, aroused a reforming spirit that regarded the adaptationism and eclecticism of the Mughals as the dilution of Islam and called for a return to Islam as defined by a literal interpretation of the *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet (Voll 1982: 38). It was in this context that Shah Waliullah insisted on abiding by the *shariah* and abandoning of all those popular customs that have been tainted even with a slight Hindu or Shia influence. To Shah Waliullah the survival of Islam as a community in India rested on this exclusiveness and distinctiveness (Sikand 2005: 50). Since *maqulat* were associated with social permissiveness and skepticism their study was regarded, by the Shah, as undesirable and at best kept to minimum possible level. In Sikand's view the need, if there is any at all, for the study of *maqulat,* according to the Shah, will be satisfied by studying just one book, the *Shara-i Mulla Qutbi* (Sikand 2005: 50). The attitude of Shah Waliullah to the study of *maqulat* has been described by Rizvi in the following words

Shah Wali-Allah considered fortunate only those people who studied Arabic *sarf wa nahwa*, Arabic literary works, the *hadith* and the *Qur'an*. To him the study of Persian and Hindi works of poetry, speculative rationalism (*maqul*), histories of kings and countries and the works containing an account of the disputes of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad [PBUH] were nothing but perversion and aberration. Should their study be unavoidable due to worldly reasons, only the absolute minimum that was indispensable should be learnt, the reader continuously expressing regrets and seeking pardon from God for indulging in an unholy activity (Rizvi 1980: 385-386).

We would, perhaps, be going too far if we regard Shah Waliullah as a religious bigot and too strict in determining the boundaries of the true faith. But the over enthusiasm and extraordinary zeal with which his followers took up this business of redrawing the boundaries of true faith certainly intensified intra as well as inter-religious antagonism in India. In this regard it is also important to note that the first popular militant Islamic

reform movement, the *mujahidin* movement of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (d. 1831), traces its origin to the teachings of Shah Waliullah.

The period during which the study of *manqulat* came to be increasingly emphasized in India is also a period of renewed interest in *hadith* scholarship in Arabia. We cannot say for sure as to what extent the latter might have instigated the former. But as we mentioned earlier those who supported *manqulat* in India looked to the Hijaz for inspiration. We need to explore whatever connection their might be between the two. The link between Arabia and India during the period in question is found in the very person of Shah Waliullah.

According to Voll, Makkah and Madinah were in the eighteenth century home to an influential group of *hadith* scholars. Though not militant activists, these scholars were generally more fundamentalist than conservative or adaptationist in style. This scholarly tradition, as Voll tells us, may not have been the cause of the eighteenth century Islamic revivalism but it had connections with such movements, in addition to connections with al-Bakri, Wali Allah, and al-Zabidi (Voll 1982: 59).

Shah Waliullah traveled to the Hijaz around 1730 to perform *hajj*. He stayed there till 1732 and besides performing *hajj* twice studied *hadith* with the Haramayn scholars. Among his teachers he specifically mentions Shaykh Abu Tahir Muhammad who not only taught him *hadith* but also acted as Sufi master initiating him into multiple *silsilahs* (Baljon 1986: 5-6). Upon his return to India Shah Waliullah became the most significant teacher of *hadith*. Such was the case with al-Bakri and al-Zabidi, who, after studying *hadith* with the Haramayn scholars, became chief figures in the revivalist Khalwatiyyah movement in Egypt (Voll 1982: 59). Voll also traces the holy war in West Africa and the *jihad* movement of Sayyid Ahmad Brelwi in India to the influence of the Haramayn tradition (Voll 1982: 59). In establishing a link between the *jihad* movement of Sayyid Ahmad Brelwi and the Haramayn tradition Voll is most probably referring to the influence of Shah Waliullah on the movement as the direct connection between the two is hard to establish.

Whatever role the influence of the Haramayn scholars might have played in the revival of *hadith* scholarship the particular socio-economic and political conditions in India in the eighteenth century were of no less importance. The shift towards *manqulat* in the heartland of the Mughal Empire in the eighteenth century, as is evident from the support base of

Shah Waliullah's movement for reforming his society through an emphasis on the study of *manqulat*, was the outcome of the prevalent socio-economic and political conditions (Waliullah 1970: 282-288).

Conclusion

The study depicts that there could be found a strong correlation between the shifting balances in the proportion of *maqulat* and *manqulat* in the syllabus of Muslim education and the particular socio-economic and political conditions in eighteenth century India. While the socio-economic and political conditions during the eighteenth century in Delhi were factors that resulted in the revival of *manqulat*, the consolidation of Muslim rule in the newly emergent regional kingdoms created conditions necessary for the flourishing of *maqulat*.

The two popular syllabi of Islamic studies in India, which are the Dars-i Nizami studied at the Farangi Mahal and the curriculum studied at the Madrasah Rahimiyah, represented different scholastic traditions and that these scholastic traditions foster different approaches towards religion and politics. The Dars-i Nizami with its emphasis on *maqulat* would inculcate an understanding of religion that is not dogmatic and extreme. The emphasis on *manqulat* in the Madrasah Rahimiyah, on the other hand, proved a source of dogmatic and extreme religion.

The Dars-i Nizami with its emphasis on *maqulat* would inculcate an understanding of religion that is not dogmatic and extreme. In the realm of politics the *maqulat* tradition stood for a somewhat inclusive rule involving other religious communities with *ulama* playing only an indirect role in matters of government. The political system envisioned by the *manqulat* tradition of Madrasah Rahimiyah favored an exclusive Muslim rule without giving any share or a position of trust to other religious communities and strengthening of Muslim political dominance not by co-opting other communities but by maintaining a sheer military posture.

What is there then that we could, possibly, learn from the relationship that had existed between the socio-economic and political conditions and the differing balances of *maqulat* and *manqulat* in the syllabus of Islamic education and the role they had played in the production of divergent worldviews for the recent initiatives for reform of *madrasah* education? The first and foremost lesson that could be learnt is obviously an acknowledgement of the fact that during the Muslim rule in

India there existed a link between the Islamic education and the economy and politics. As a result of the existence of this linkage the content of the Islamic education was never without relevance for the state and society. Secondly one could know that an increase or decrease in the proportion of *maqulat* or *manqulat* results in the production of an accommodative or rejectionist worldview.

Turning to the issue of reform of *madrasah* education we may ask that why a need for reform is there in the first place? The need for reform is precisely for the reason that what is being taught in *madrasah* is considered of little or no value for our present requirements of both the state and society. The best way to reform the *madrasah* education would be to reestablish the link between it and our present state and economy. The relinking, however, would not be possible without taking into account the historical circumstances that resulted in the severance of the link. It is only by understanding and taking into consideration the reasons behind the *ulama's* resistance to reform of *madrasah* education that a better strategy could be adopted. And while devising this strategy the aforementioned effects of the study of *maqulat* and *manqulat* must also be contemplated upon.

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Scanning Electron Microscopy in Archaeology: The Analysis of Unknown Specimen Recovered from District Shangla, Pakistan

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Abstract

Scanning Electron Microscopy is a modern analytical technique used in archaeology all over the world. In this technique a scanning electron microscope, equipped with EDS detector, gives us high resolution images and elemental composition of a specimen, which makes it very helpful to answer many archaeological questions. Therefore, it is important to use this analytical method in the archaeological investigations carried out in Pakistan. The present paper focusses on the importance of SEM in archaeology and its use in the analysis of an unknown specimen recovered from the archaeological site of District Shangla, Pakistan. The use of SEM will make it possible to acquire empirical data in the archaeological investigations carried out in District Shangla, Pakistan.

The application of the physical and chemical sciences in archaeology has made it possible to solve some of the problems and questions of archaeology. In 1888 the first specialized laboratory was established in Berlin called *the Chemisches Labor der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Dom´enech-Carb´o et al. 2009:1). By 20th century, the application of scientific methods and principles in archaeology further characterized cultural materials (Artioli 2010:1).

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the implementation of scientific philosophy in social sciences played an important role in the development of new directions, in which ''New Archaeology[1]'' is one of the best example. New Archaeology acquired many scientific techniques and resulted in a new branch of archaeology called "archaeometry" in which archaeological study was based on 'the documentation of culture contact on the basis of hard evidence, rather than on supposed similarities of form' (Price and Burton 2012: 2).

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[1] A reorientation of archaeology, dating from the 1960s, that emphasizes an explicitly scientific, problem-oriented, deductive approach to research (http://www.dictionary.com/browse/new-archaeology).

Furthermore,

> It is a specialized branch of archaeological science that involves the measurement of the physical or chemical properties of archaeological materials (Price and Burton 2012: 2).

These scientific developments in archaeology enforced archaeologists to get experienced with the scientific techniques and methods to analyze the *Hard Evidence* (Pollard et al. 2007: 5-10).

In archaeology, the application of analytical chemistry has made it possible to carry out an analytical research by using a specific analytical method, in order to get the required result from the archaeological *Hard Evidence*.

Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM) is one of such analytical technique used for the study of archaeological material. Cambridge Scientific Instrument Company has the credit to develop first commercial Scanning Electron Microscope. It was applied for the first time in archaeology for the study of pollens by Jonathan Pilcher (1968). Later on, Don Brothwell (1969) became well known of the importance of Scanning Electron Microscope in archaeology and initiated the use of SEM for the study of different archaeological materials. By 1985, the use of SEM became very broad in the field of archaeology (Brothwell 1969: 564-66; Freestone 1987: 21-31).

Fig. 1. Scanning Electron Microscope (JSM 6490LA) Equipped with EDS Analyzer
(Courtesy: School of Chemical & Materials Engineering (SCME), National University of
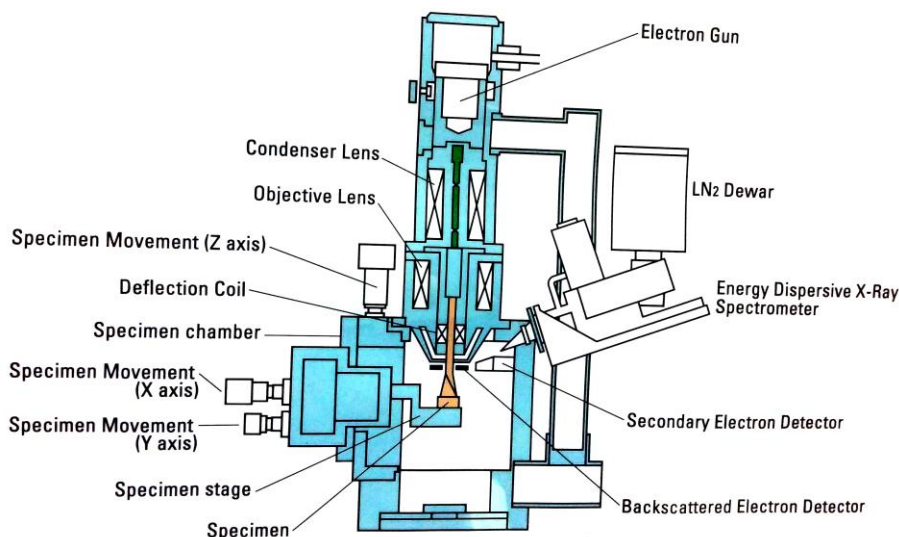Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad, Pakistan.)

Fig. 2. Schematic of a Scanning Electron Microscope
(Courtesy: School of Chemical & Materials Engineering (SCME), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad, Pakistan.)

Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) is capable of scanning a specimen to give us a high magnification image of the specimen. Different components of a Scanning Electron Microscope work together, to produce a high magnification image. Electron Gun of SEM produces electron beams. The diameter of electron beams are adjusted with the help of condenser lens and objective lens, placed below the electron gun. The vacuum inside the specimen chamber is kept at a high vacuum of 10^{-3} to 10^{-4} Pa. Specimen is placed on a firmly supporting stage that can be moved in any direction. As the electron beams come into contact with the specimen, the specimen emits secondary electrons. These secondary electrons are detected by the secondary electron detector. The secondary electron detector transfers the output to the display unit. The image is produced in a digital format and can be observed on the LCD (www.jeol.co.jp).

The Scanning Electron Microscope is also equipped with EDS (Energy-Dispersive X-Ray Spectroscopy). EDS analysis is a technique which uses specific x-rays emitted from the atoms of a sample. Atoms of the sample emit these specific x-rays as the electrons jumps into the lower orbitals. When high energy electrons strike with electrons of the atoms in

the sample, it force the electrons to jump from inner shells of the atoms so that this create vacancies. These vacancies are then filled by the electrons from higher orbits which cause emission of x-rays with different energies and each energy x-ray is unique for each element in a sample. This makes it possible for the EDS detector to measure and compare the energy with the standard values of various elements. Through this technique we become able to know the elemental composition of a specimen (Shindo and Oikawa 2002:83-85). An example of an EDS spectrum is shown in figure 1.2.

As we know that Scanning Electron Microscope (equipped with EDS) is capable to produce high resolution images and it is broadly used for quantitative elemental analysis that provide many application in archaeological investigations. In the view of Freestone and Middleton (1987), SEM is useful in archaeology for,

> (1) the characterization of the material from which an object was made (2) the reconstruction of the technology involved in its manufacture, (3) the inference of the place of manufacture or source of raw materials and (4) the changes that have occurred in the object during burial or storage. Such information can be useful in the evaluation of cultural and economic aspects of past societies (Freestone and Middleton 1987: 21).

The point of our interest is the characterization of the material from which an object was made.

This is also very important to develop an interdisciplinary methodology of analytical chemistry and archaeology in which SEM can be placed. This is necessary in the archaeological research to identify unidentified specimens, acquired from survey or excavation, through a valid analytical methodology. The choice of an analytical method depends on the information needed to be acquired. A suitable analytical method is selected for the sampling of a specimen and after sampling a suitable method is selected for the analysis of that sample. As our interest is to identify the unknown archaeological specimen so we have selected Scanning Electron Microscopy for the elemental analysis of the specimen. The experimental data obtained from experiment is further verified by repeating the experiment. The experimental data is then analyzed to obtain final results. The results are then available for archaeologists to make a conclusion. Figure 3 illustrates the interdisciplinary methodology of archaeology and analytical chemistry.
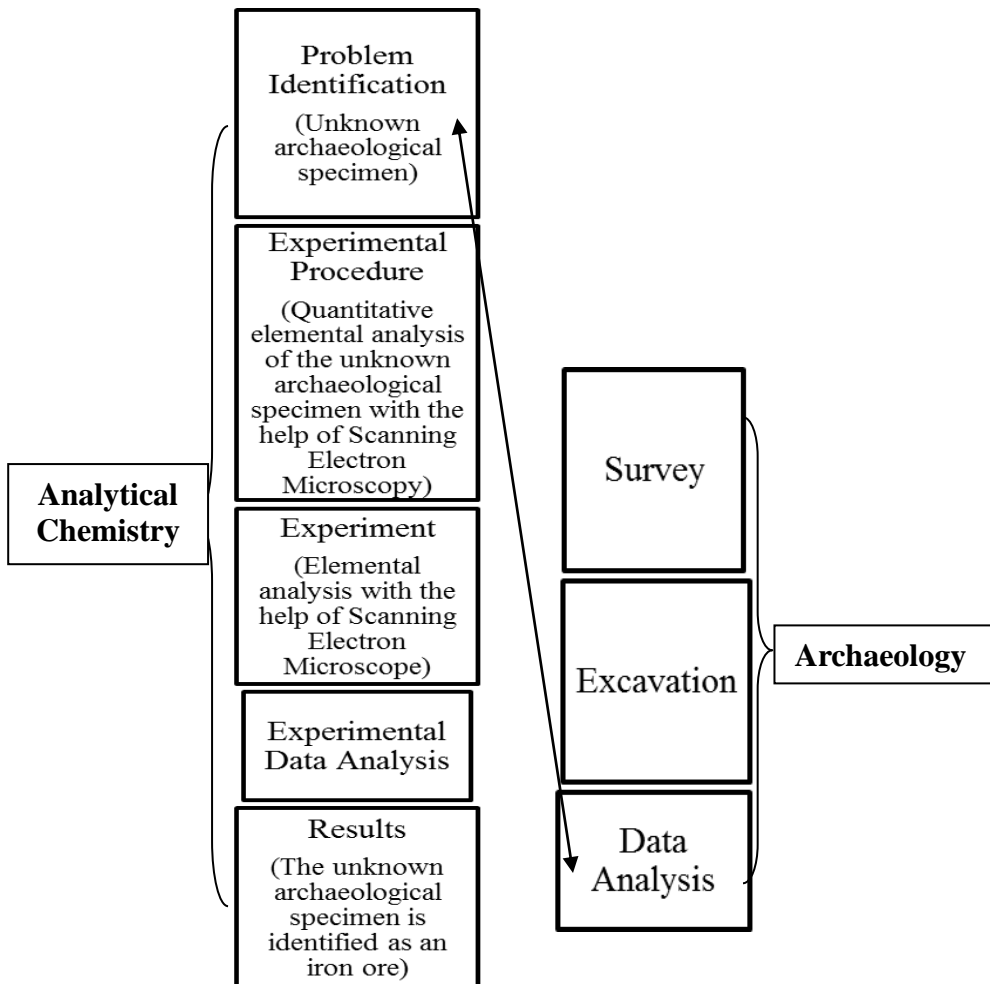
Fig. 3. Interdisciplinary Methodology of Archaeology and Analytical Chemistry as Conceptualized by the researchers

The area of interest

Shangla District is located in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. The district headquarters are located at Alpurai. It was previously a subdivision of Swat District, but was upgraded to the status of a district on July 10, 1995. The total area of the district is 1,586 square kilometres. Shangla comprises two sub divisions, Alpurai and Puran Tehsils.

Research has been conducted for the archaeological survey of District Shangla since July 2012 funded by the University Research Fund (URF) and sites have been documented from Alpurai and Puran tehsils of District Shangla. We have used Scanning Electron Microscopy for the elemental analysis of an unknown archaeological specimen obtained from the Kandaro Site, Bilkanai (Pirkhana), Tahsil Alpurai, District Shangla.

Fig. 4. Archaeological Specimen
(Recovered by Ghani-ur-Rahman)

Objectives of the experiment[2]
The main objective of the experiment is to confirm the presence of iron (Fe) in the sample. The confirmation of iron in the specimen will prove our view that there were metallurgical activities in the archaeological site of Kandaro, Tehsil Alpurai, District Shangla, and for that purpose iron ores were used.

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[2] The experiment has been conducted in the Specialized Research Lab of the School of Chemical & Materials Engineering (SCME), National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad, Pakistan. A modern Scanning Electron Microscope equipped with EDS analyzer is available in the Specialized Research Lab of SCME.

Methodology: sampling and characterization

Sample was obtained in the form of solid rock from the area of interest. Before subjecting to EDS analysis, sample was ground to powder to make it homogenous. Little amount of powdered sample was placed on a silicon wafer. Thus prepared slide was subjected to JSM 6490LA Scanning Electron Microscope equipped with EDS analyzer for EDS analysis to check the percentage of different elements present in the sample. Sample was scanned at voltage of 20 kV. ZAF Method (Standardless) was used to calculate the percentage of elements from the result obtained from EDS analyzer.

Results

The result obtained in the form of energy peaks (Fig. 1.2) shows that the rock sample contains 41.82 % of iron (Fe) in addition to Aluminium (Al) and Silicon (Si). Aluminium and Silicon may be present in the form of Alumina (Al_2O_3) and Silica (SiO_2). High percentage of Fe makes it suitable for iron extraction and thus can be categorized as an ore of Iron because ore is not a pure material and it can contain any element along with Fe. The next possible interpretation is mineral Grossular Ca_3Al_2 $(SiO_4)_3$, because it contains a good amount of Aluminium. But our interest was to confirm the presence of iron (Fe) and it indicates metallurgical activities at the archaeological site of Kandaro, District Shangla. SEM image and EDS graph of the sample are given as follow:
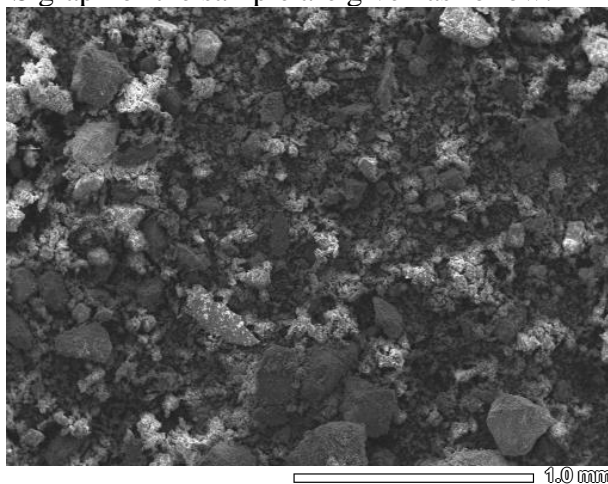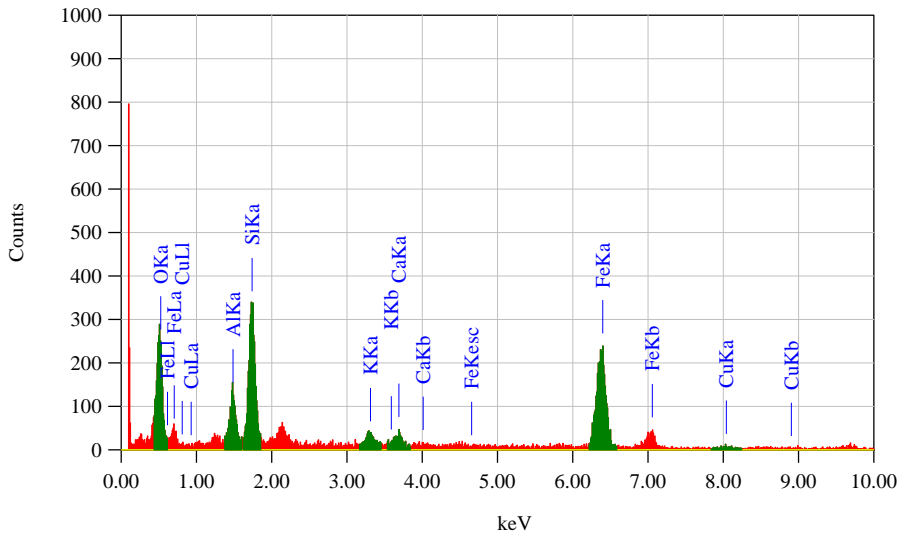

Fig. 5. SEM Image of the Sample

Fig. 6. EDS Graph of the Sample

Element	(keV)	Mass%	Error%	Atom%
O K	0.525	28.42	0.80	50.40
Al K	1.486	6.94	0.71	7.30
Si K	1.739	17.63	0.68	17.81
K K	3.312	1.54	0.68	1.12
Ca K	3.690	1.89	0.77	1.34
Fe K	6.398	41.82	1.66	21.25
Cu K	8.040	1.76	3.55	0.79
Total	100.00	100.00		

Table 1. Percentage of elements
(ZAF method standardless quantitative analysis)
Fitting Coefficient: 0.6296

Conclusion

Scanning Electron Microscopy[1] is very useful research method in the modern archaeology. The elemental analysis of archaeological materials by using modern analytical methods answer many archaeological questions as we have identified the archaeological specimen with the help of SEM to confirm the metallurgical activity on the site. The confirmation of iron ore points toward more metallurgical traces on the archaeological

site. Excavation might lead to exploring more metal ores, iron products and structural remains of a possible kiln, which are another important aspects of the research.

Acknowledgements

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Shindo, D. and T. Oikawa. (2002) *Analytical electron microscopy for material science*. Tokyo: Springer.

[1] According to P Biagi, 'It is true that SEM-EDS has never been used by Pakistani archaeologists even in the recent past. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that such a method has been employed for the study of historic and prehistoric materials (pottery etc…) in Sindh since the end of the 1990s by the Italian Archaeological Mission. It was applied to the study of Kot Dijian and Buddhist pottery recovered from sites in Upper Sindh. Consequently this archaeometrical methodology was introduced to the country by myself and my colleagues. It should be kept in mind that the Italian Archaeological Mission was operative in those times together with the Institute of Archaeology of Khairpur University, although SEM-EDS analyses were never applied to the study of archaeological finds by Sindhi archaeologists after we

left." Regarding SEM-EDS analyses applied to Sindhi archaeological finds, see for example the following bibliographical references:

1) Spataro, M. 1998-1999 – An Archaeometric Analysis of the Kot Dijian Pottery Assemblage of Ganero 8 in the Thar Desert (Thari, Sindh, Pakistan). *Ancient Sindh*, 5: 77-91. Khairpur.

2) Biagi P, Spataro M. and Nisbet R. 2002 – A Buddhist town at Seeraj in Upper Sindh (Khairpur, Pakistan). Historical, Chronological, Archaeometrical and Archaeobotanical Aspects. *Rivista di Archeologia*, XXVI: 16-29. Venezia.

3) Spataro, M. 2013 – Multiple Technological Choices for the Ceramic Bangles of the Early and Mature Indus Civilization (Pakistan). In Starnini E. (ed.) *Unconformist Archaeology Papers in honour of Paolo Biagi*. BAR International Series 2528: 131-144. Oxford: Archaeopress.'

-8-

Bodhesar Mosque: A Unique Religious Building at Nagar Parkar, Sindh, Pakistan

Shakirullah
Tanveer Qurashi

Abstract

The Bodhesar mosque located at Bodhesar village is a unique religious building of its kind in the entire Nagar Parkar area. It is a masjid (place of offering prayers by Muslims) but its architecture is based upon Hindu model, particularly the nearby Jain temples, built a century earlier than this mosque. Curiously, the masjid is there, but there is nobody in the entire neighbourhood to offer prayers. Even more curiously, some local Hindu families use it for the worship of their own deities. In the present paper an attempt is made to correct some earlier reports regarding this monument and to study its architecture and decorative features.

Introduction

Bodhesar (meaning Bodhe's water reservoir) is situated five kilometers north-west of Nagar Parkar town on Mithi-Badin highway. According to the Consensus Report 2009, the total population of the village is about 800 persons living in 50 houses. Their subsistence economy is based on cattle breeding. The source of water supply is an old tank (350 x 150 m) with a copper base built some six hundred years ago to the west of the village (Hassan 2009: 35-36). The village itself is situated at the foot of the Karoonjhar hills (Fig. 1).

History of Bodhesar mosque

Sultan Mahmud Bagada, a grandson of Ahmad Shah ascended the throne in 1459 and ruled till 1511. He was the most powerful of all, and eminently successful in wars. He made himself master of the strong fortresses of Champaner to the north-east of Baroda and of Junagarh Kathiawar and over Rann of Kachchh. It was towards the end of his rule he had to fight and punish bandits, in the area of Nagar Parkar. In this occasion he ordered the construction of a mosque for the use of his officers who were posted in Bodhesar.

This small but beautiful *masjid* built of marble blocks is ascribed by some writers (Nadiem 2001: 228-232) to Mahmud of Ghazni who invaded India many times in the early eleventh century.

However, a recently discovered inscribed foundation stone, in Persian, of this building evidences that the mosque was not built by Mahmud of Ghazni. It reads, 'The mosque is built by Mahmud Shah bin Muzaffar Shah bin Ghiyas Sultan Mahmud Begada in the year 880 H/AD 1505, and if there is any need of maintenance in the mosque, it is the responsibility of the present *Hakim* (governor) to repair it' (Nasim 2010: 57).

Architecture

The mosque is rectangular in plan, with a 1.22 m high boundary wall having an iron door, 1.68 m wide, on the east side, flanked by two tapering columns (1.83 x 0.61 m), one on each side. The courtyard and the space left vacant on three sides of the prayer chamber are paved with red sandstone slabs. The rectangular prayer chamber (7.75 x 4.70 m) built as a separate unit inside the boundary wall, comprises a pillared hall closed on three sides (north, south and west). On the east side, the façade consists of four stone columns each showing vividly its shaft and capital (Pl. II). The capitals of all the four columns have brackets to support the stone beam heads. Eaves consist of projecting stone slabs of a reasonable size below the parapet covering the façade above the level of the columns (Pl. II).

The parapet moulding, only a few centimeters in height, runs on all the four sides of the prayer chamber and is topped by a running series of merlons (Pl. X). All the side walls of the prayer chamber are plain, except the western side which has an externally projected semi-domical *mihrab* (Pl. I). The columns, and also the walls, are built with red and white marble blocks and red sandstone. The roof consists of five domes of which the middle one is the largest (Pl. I). These domes show so deftly fixed red sandstone blocks as to give the impression of being only one block. The central dome is topped by a pressed *amlaka* design with a rising finial in the centre (Pl. I)

Internally, the prayer chamber has two aisles with four bays and a central nave (Pl. II). The three side walls are decorated with sunken arches, flanked by columns in each case. One each on the south and north sides have a sunken niche and a shelf for the oil lamp and books. The

western wall, in the centre, accommodates a deep alcove or *mihrab* (Pls. III & IV) with side columns. The rest of the walls show merely *mihrab-*shaped decorative designs. The ceiling exhibits a unique combination of trabeate and arcuate systems in the phase of transition. The horizontal stone beams are supported by columns. Above the stone beams are receding rows of dressed stones corbelled out for creating a round base to support the dome (Pl. V). These slabs show carved rhombus designs in a series. The central dome is supported by eight beams and eight columns, whereas each of the remaining four domes is supported by four beams and four columns. All the beams and columns are of stone. The beams are made of huge monolithic blocks, whereas the columns show stone blocks placed one above the other.

Decorative designs

The building gives an overall impression of solidly built plain structure, except the bases, shafts and capitals where nicely moulded multiple designs and shapes may be seen (Pl. VI). The capitals are decorated with circles, astragals (convex mouldings), floral and geometrical designs (Pl. VI). The source of inspiration for this kind of decoration is undoubtedly the Jain temple built about a century earlier than this building (Pls. VII, VIII, IX).

Discussion and conclusion

The Bodhesar Mosque is the only Muslim religious building in the entire valley of Nagar Parkar. It was built by Sultan Mahmud Begada, ruler of Gujrat in 1505 CE. He employed local masons skilled only in temple architecture for the purpose of raising a Muslim religious edifice which required a different treatment. The technique of construction and decorative motifs appear to have been inspired by the Jain temples (Kalhoro 2012) found in the vicinity. The present population of Bodhesar follows Jainism exclusively. But the existence of a Muslim cemetery having a number of well-built graves suggests that Muslims, perhaps as rulers, lived here in the past. The popular story that the graves belong to the soldiers of Mahmud who fell in the fight against bandits may not be absolutely true. The dead soldiers were not in need of a mosque.

The early mosque architecture in Pakistan is either trabeate, as seen in flat roofs, or arcuate as witnessed in vaulted roofs and domes. But

here, in this small but unique structure, both the systems are combined in architecture. The builder was required to create a suitable space for congregational prayers, much wider than that of a temple. They put technical skill of the available masons and engineers. They attempted to overcome this problem in a simple way by combining the trabeate with arcuate.

As per the above discussion, it may be seen that the masons, remaining within the constraints imposed by their inexperience in mosque architecture and the availability of building materials, did an excellent job by raising a monument in the wilderness, which has withstood the ravages of time over the centuries. The building is hardly in use by the present local population, but it stands there gracefully to remind us of the time when it was in use.

It may be remarked that Muslim conquerors of Nagar Parkar adopted this part after Jain architecture, the charming designs of Hindu and Jain architecture. It was probably in the time of Sultan Mahmud that Nagar Parkar became part of the Kindom of Gujarat. The headquarters of this district was Bodhesar the place where the *Hakim*, obviously a Muslim, lived along with a small party of Muslim soldiers who helped him in the administration. The number of graves suggests that this ruling elite must have stayed in Bodhesar for a considerable period of time, till at least the death of Bahadur Shah in 1537. As the rulers needed a place to offer their prayers, the Bodhesar mosque was built by Sultan Mahmud.

Gujarat was annexed by Akber after his lightning campaign of 1572-7. The period between 1537 and 1572-73 has an unhappy record of anarchical confusion. It was perhaps during this period that the Muslim garrison stationed at Bodhesar was withdrawn, or it just evaporated, leaving the mosque and graves behind as witness to the temporary and short lived glory of Bodhesar.

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Plates
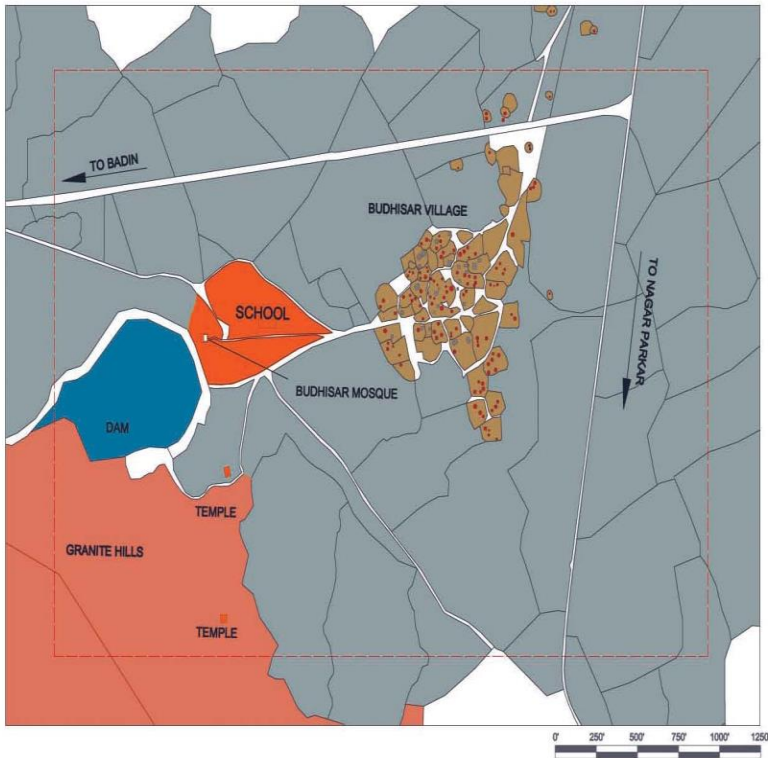
After TRDP Report-I, 2009

Figure.1: Nagarparkar: Map of Bodhesar village showing the location of Bodhesar Mosque

Pl. I: Bodhesar: A view of Mosque from the south-west corner
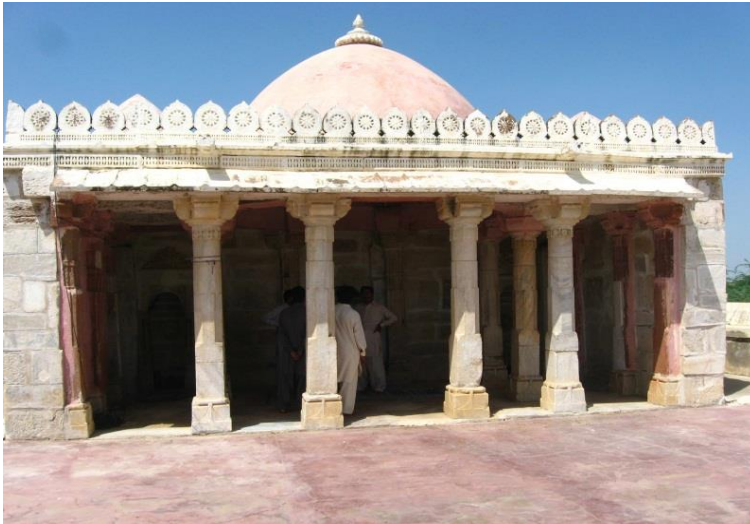
Pl. II: Bodhesar: Showing Façade

Pl. III: Bodhesar: Details of the Mihrab Niche

Pl. IV: Bodhesar: The prayer chamber being used by a Hindu family

Pl. V: Bodhesar: Sofit of the mosque dome

Pl. VI. Bodhesar: Columns of the Jain temples and Bodhesar Mosque

a)   Jain Temple   b) Bodhesar Mosque
Pl. VII: Bodhesar: Decorative column of (a) Jain temple and (b) mosque

a

b

Pl. VIII: Bodhesar mosque: Floral decoration of (a) Jain temple and (b) mosque

a) Bodhesar Mosque

b) Jain Temple

Pl. IX: Bodhesar: Decorative designs (Rhombus) of (a) mosque and (b) Jain temple

a) Bodhesar Mosque

b) Jain Temple

Pl. X: Bodhesar: Merlons above the parapet of (a) mosque and (b) Jain temple

Pl. XI: Bodhesar: Graves of the fallen soldiers of Mahmud Shah

A First Look at Mankiyali Language: An Endangered Language

Uzma Anjum
Khawaja A. Rehman

Abstract

Mankiyali, a minority language, spoken in the village of Danna in the Mansehra District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), faces looming threat of extinction. The present research has revealed that the use of the language in different domains is gradually decreasing, and total number of fluent speakers of Mankiyali has reduced to less than 500 individuals. The lexical comparison of Mankiyali with other languages shows that the languages belong to "Dardic" group of Indo-Aryan languages. It shares higher lexical similarity with Bateri than any other language within the "Dardic "group. According to the lexical similarity analysis, field observation and interviews, Mankiyali is not mutually intelligible with any other neighboring languages including Bateri. The phonological analysis of the language reveals that it has six syllable types, and has not retained the aspirated voiced stops of like many other languages of the group The language did not inherited tone as of 'Dardic' language group. On the basis of the available data we conclude this language has developed the Punjabi type of tone. This section on phonology might be extended and a comprehensive linguistic description of this language be created in the future. This vital linguistic data is an initial attempt to preserve this language and might be employed to develop orthography for the language and produce literacy material for language learning.

The present study is first attempt to investigate Mankiyali, an undocumented language, spoken in the Mansehra District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP). No previous linguistic literature has reported the language (O'Leary, 1992; Grierson, 1928; Morgenstierne, 1973; Lewis, et al. 2014; Rehman and Baart, 2005).

The Mankiyali language is spoken in a secluded hilltop village, Danna, in the Union Council Bandi Shungli, 46 kilometers to the northwest of Mansehra. The small ethnolinguistic minority speaking the language is locally known as the Trawara (*ʈravɽa*) Community. The language is increasingly losing the battle for survival as its speakers are gradually shifting to Hindko, a predominant language of the region.

Apart from exploring the linguistic aspects of the language this study is also undertaken to explore causes, level and nature of language endangerment in the Trawara Community.

A small scale sociolinguistic study was conducted from 2012 to 2014 to determine the precise nature of the language shift in the Trawara community. Ten informants from the community were selected for the survey. The survey was aimed at understanding the level of language endangerment and factors responsible for the prevalent language shift.

Moreover, the study also included comparison of core vocabulary items of Mankiyali with neighboring languages to determine genetic affiliation and extent of lexical borrowings from the neighboring languages. In previous studies, comparison of the core vocabulary items has been a standard method to investigate the relationship of a language with the other languages to establish genealogical and sociolinguistic relationship across these languages (Decker 1992; Hallberg 1992; Rensch 1992; Rehman and Baart 2005). In addition to this, the paper has also included a brief view of some phonological areas of the Mankiyali language.

As the Mankiyali language is an endangered language, this article might be taken as a first step toward preservation of this unique cultural heritage. Furthermore, such studies might help to develop orthography and other materials such as literacy for development of the language in the future.

Use of Mankiyali and Hindko
The whole community has been reported to be bilingual in Hindko and Mankiyali. Hindko is the predominant language of this region and a language of wider communication. Table 1 below presents an overview of a changing language situation. Our interaction with the community and analysis of data, collected in different field visits has established that the language faces tremendous threat of competing bilingualism.

Table I

Age	Sex	Mother first language	Father's first language	Raised in language	Easiest language	Language used with women / men	Language used with children
12	M	M	M	M/H	M/H	M/H	M/H
16	F	H	M	H	H	H	H
16	M	H	M	M/H	H / M	M/H	M/H
25	F	H	M	M/H	H	H	H

36	M	M	M	M	M	M/H	M/H
40	F	P	M	M/H/	M/H	M/H	M/H
55	F	M	M	M	M	M	M/H
60	F	M	M	M	M	M/H	M/H
70	M	M	M	M	M	M/H	M/H
80	M	M	M	M	M	M/H	M/H

Preliminary survey (M=Mankiyali, H=Hindko, P=Pashto)

This table presents the responses of ten participants of either gender age ranged from twelve to eighty years. The tabulated data shows that language of father of all the participants was Mankiyali. Six of the informant reported to have Mankiyali speaking mothers, whereas three reported to have Hindko and one Pashto-speaking mother. The table reveals that the informants aged 36 to 80 have only been raised in Mankiyali language. The findings were corroborated by observation, recorded data, interviews and focus group discussions. According to these sources thirty to thirty-five years ago, this community was mainly monolingual. Participants raised in Mankiyali speaking families found Mankiyali the easiest language, whereas participants from mixed families were found equally comfortable in both languages. The last two columns have revealed competing bilingual language behaviors of the community. Most importantly, the last column indicated the looming threat to this language. All the participants indicated to raise their children in Mankiyali and Hindko. These results have been found mainly consistent with Rehman and Baart (2005: 8). Similar trend has also been recorded in the Kundal Shahi community of Pakistani-administered Kashmir. However, in comparison to Kundal Shahi, Mankiyali is observed to be still an active language and has been transmitted to the third generation of the community.

Lexical similarity with neighboring languages
On September 3, 2012, the authors undertook the first journey to the Danna Village to start the research. During our field visits a brief survey was conducted. In this part of data collection, an initial survey was conducted on ten informants and a wordlist recorded to determine the relationship of Mankiyali with other neighboring languages. The researchers used Urdu translated wordlist (O'Leary, 1992) quoted in

Rehman 2012) from six informants of either gender, who were above fifty years of age. This wordlist has core lexical items and various researchers have used it for similar studies (Decker 1992; Rehman 2012; Rehman and Baart 2005, Lothers and Lothers 2010). These core vocabulary item and some basic sentences were transcribed in IPA (See Appendix).This transcribed wordlist has been compared with neighboring language such as variety of Hindko spoken in Sherpur, Mansehra, which is closer to Danna village. It has been also compared with variety of Gojri spoken in Hazara given in the Appendices of Rensch (1992). It has been compared with the wordlists of Ushojo, Gowro and Bateri given in the Appendices section of O'Leary et al. (1992). These are different varieties of the Indus Kohistani language.   Ushojo is spoken in twelve villages of upper mountainous areas of Bishigram valley, located in the east of Madyan; Gowro is spoken in the east bank of Indus River. In addition to this Bateri is also spoken in the eastern bank of Indus in Indus Kohistan (Lewis at. al. 2014). The criterion for this lexical similarity has been employed in O'Leary et al. (1992), Decker (1992), Rehman (2012) and Rehman and Baart (2005). The results of the comparison of the wordlists have been given in percentage below in table II.

Table II

Mankiyali	
Ushojo	34
Gowro	41
Bateri	42
Gojri(Hazara)	39
Hindko (Sherpur Manshera)	36

Lexical similarity analysis with neighboring languages

Table II shows the results of lexical similarity analysis of Mankiyali with Ushojo, Gowro, Bateri, Gojri and Hindko. It shares 34% lexical similarity with Ushojo, 41% with Gowro, 39% with Gojri, 36% with Hindko and 42%.with Bateri which is the highest among all. It is interesting to note that the scores for Gowro and Bateri are almost the same, while the two language communities are located closely together in the very south of Indus Kohistan According to this lexical similarity index, Mankiyali is not mutually with any of these languages, as the minimum criterion of mutually intelligibility of various dialects is 80% or above (Lewis et. al.

2014, Rehman and Baart 2005:9). However, the highest score of lexical similarity with Bateri indicates their closer affinity with each other. The oral traditions of the community also support their genealogical affinity with the Bateri community. It is assumed that because of centuries old interaction and contact with neighboring Hindko and Gojri speaking communities, Mankiyali has borrowed many features including lexical items from these languages. However, in spite of this close contact the Trawara Community has maintained the language and other neighboring communities consider it a distinct language.

Phonology

We used the transcribed wordlist of Mankiyali for the phonological analysis. On the basis of the analysis six types of syllable structures have been found in the language.

Mankiyali Syllable structures

Table III

VC	ɑːs	'eyes'
CV	Sso	'sleep'
Cvc	t̪um	'you' plural
Ccv	sʋɛ	'ash'
cvcc	pɑnz	'Five'
ccvc	bjɑːl	'yesterday'

Mankiyali Syllable structures

According to the data of this study Mankiyali, basic syllable structure is VC and CV It has one initial consonant or final consonant or both. A syllable compulsorily contains one vowel. In this data set some consonant clusters in word initial position such as kj /(kjɔɔ́/ ghee), bj (/bjɑːl/ 'yesterday') sʋ (sʋɛ 'ash') kʋ (kʋɑːl 'head'). Some appeared in medial position t̪k (kʋt̪kɑ pestle) mindjɑːl dj sheep) t̪ŋ(/kʰɑt̪ŋɑ/ 'short'), kʃ (/ jɑkʃɑːn/'same'), sj (/tu pɑsju/ ' you are hungry'), ll(/mɑllɑ/ 'father', / uzɑllɑ 'white')' lɣ(/milɣɑ̃/ lightning), rk (/surkɑːl/ 'knife'). Most of the vowel sequences are not seen in this data set. Nasal velar is seen in word and syllable final position such as /ʃiŋ/ and piːŋ. Moreover, it has been seen followed by velar stop/ɡ/ in words such as /ɑŋguːt̪ʰ/ and /zɑːŋɡ/. This data set showed 24 occurrences of nasal retroflex. This phoneme has not occurred word initially, however it has seen occurring syllable initially

such as /péŋã̃/ and pɑɲi. Moreover, it has also occurred word and syllable finally such as / péŋ/ and murɑːŋ.

Consonants
Analysis of the Mankiyali data recorded presence of 30 consonants in the language. The Mankiyali shares most of the consonant sounds with its neighboring languages, i.e. Hindko and Gojri while few such as /ts/ is not found in these neighboring languages.

Table IV

	Labial	Dental	Post alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	pʰ· p b	t̪ʰ t̪ d̪		ʈʰ ʈ ɖ		kʰ k ɡ	
Affricates		Tts			tʃ dʒ	tʃʰ	Hh
Fricatives		s z	ʃ ʒ				
Nasals	mm	Nn		ɳ		ŋ	
Laterals		Ll					
Flaps		r		ɽ			
Approximants	ʋ				j		

To support the phonemic presence of sounds, to use contrastive distributions of those sounds have been tried. The authors tried to find minimal pairs for all the sounds that might be allophonic to each other. The rest of phonemes were located in the analogous and complementary distributions. Following are some few minimal pairs found in the data:
/t/ vs /d/
/d̪u/ 'two' vs /t̪u/ 'you'
/t̪il/ 'walk' vs /d̪il/ 'heart'
/d̪iːz /'sun' vs / tiːz /
/s/ vs /z/
/ɑːz 'today' /vs /ɑːs/ 'eyes'
/sɑːl/ 'goat' vs /zɑːl/ 'burn'
Table IV lists all consonant inventories in the language and it also shows that a series of voiced plosives (bʰ , dʰ, ɖʰ , ɡʰ) have not occurred in the present data. The absence of voiced plosives has been found consistent with Lunsford (2001: 10) and Rehman and Baart (2005). The present data

set also has revealed the occurrence of a series of affricates. Palatals affricate have been recorded at initial, intervocalic and final positions. However, dental affricate has only been found in initial and medial positions. Data set showed four fricatives and it has been consistent with Masica (1993: 98) who pointed out presence of fricatives in most of the Indo-Aryan languages.

Consonant Distribution
Table V

	Initial	Medial	Final
pʰ.	pʰɑrɑza 'morning'		
p	po 'dirt'		sa:p 'snake'
b	bonɑ 'below'	ubɑr 'speak'	zi:b 'tongue'
t̪ʰ	t̪ɛla 'elder'	hat̪ʰɔɽa ' hammar'	kit̪ʰ 'husband'
t̪	t̪u 'you'	rat̪uɽ 'red'	sat̪ 'seven'
ʈ	ʈuka 'clothe'	aʈa 'egg'	
d̪	d̪omba:ɽ 'tail'	d̪a:nd̪a 'teeth'	
ɖ		zoɖi 'clothes'	
Kk	ka:nɖa 'thorn'	nikɑ 'young'	lok 'small'
kʰ	kʰʌsɑ 'bad'	lo:kʰa 'younger'	
g	gɑ	lɑgi 'be'	za:ŋg 'leg'
Tts	tsamaɽa 'skin'	kotsura 'dog'	
tʃ	tʃa 'three'	patʃa 'leaf'	pu:tʃ 'son'
tʃʰ	tʃʰat̪ 'roof'	matʃʰar 'mosquito'	
dʒ	dʒʊsa 'body'	bandʒa 'handle'	mĩ:dʒ 'fat'
s	so 'they'	pɑsju 'hungry'	a:s 'eye'
z	zi:b 'tongue'	a:zʋaɳ 'sky'	bad̪i:z 'year'
ʃ	ʃaj 'hundred'	akʃa:n 'same'	pu:ʃ 'cat'
ʒ			d̪aʒ 'ten'
ɣ		t̪oɣaɽi 'few'	
H	hɛ 'they'		
m	mũ: 'face' 'mouth'	tsamaɽa 'skin'	garam 'hot'
n	nã 'name'	bonɑ 'below/down'	tsa:n 'moon'
ɳ		péñã 'brother'	pʊ ra:ɳ 'old'

ŋ		zɑ:ŋg 'leg'	pi:ŋ 'rainbow'
L	lɔ:l 'broom'	baálɛ 'hair'	surka:l 'knife'
r	rɑ:t̪ 'night'	mu: rã:ŋ 'urine'	laŋgɑ: r 'mortar'
ɽ	tsikaɽu 'mud'	d̪oɽa	d̪ɔ:ɽ 'rope'
ʋ		niʋa:ʃã 'evening'	
j	jõó 'snow'	bjɑ:l 'eleven'	sũj 'needle'

Vowel
Table VI

	Front	Central	Back	Unrounded	Rounded
Close	i i:		ʊ		u u:
Close-mid	e e:				o o:
Open-mid	ɛ			ʌ	ɔ ɔ:
Open		a		ɑ ɑ:	

Following are some few minimal pairs found in the data:
/kʌlɑ/ 'when' vs /kɑlɑ/ 'black' for /ʌ/ vs /ɑ/
/pɔ/ 'boy' vs /po/ 'cow' /ɔ/ vs /o/

Table VI has presented vowels of Mankiyali occurring in this data set. Mankiyali has ten primary vowels. The table also shows vowel length contrast. Analysis also found nasalization of the vowel in certain environments. (/ʃaŋã/ 'fire wood') in this example, unrounded back open vowel has been conditioned by Nasal retroflex. Further instigation with extensive data might provide comprehensive conclusion.

Vowel length contrasts in Mankiyali language
Table VII

i vs. i:	d̪il 'heart'	zi:b 'tongue'
e vs.e:	t̪hela 'small'	r e:t̪ 'sand'
ɑ vs. ɑ:	ʃaŋã f'ire wood'	kʋɑ:l 'head'
u vs. u:	ud̪ã: 'fire'	bu:ʈa tree
o vs. o:	zod̪i 'clothe'	lo:kʰa péŋa 'younger brother'
ɔ vs. ɔ:	khɔt̪a 'donkey'	gɔ:ɽ house

All the vowels presented in the table contrast in length. However, I could only find minimal pairs for the vowels below:

/ɔ/ /d̪ɔr / 'run'

/ɔ:/ /d̪ɔː r / ' 'rope'

Tone

Majority of languages including Mankiyali, spoken in northern Pakistan, have developed tonal features. Baart (2003) divides these tonal languages into three types: the Punjabi type, the Shina type and Kalami type. Analysis of the data shows that Mankiyali has developed Punjabi type of tone. All voiced aspirated plosives have been replaced by voiceless plosives followed by low rising tone (see table VIII). The low rising tone contrasts with at least level tone. Further study is required to determine the exact nature of different tones. However, on the basis of the available data we conclude that the tone has phonemic status in the language. The language did not inherited tone as it is genetically related to the 'Dardic' language group which has developed either Shina type tone or Kalami type tone (Baart 2003, Liljegren 2008). The emergence of tone therefore can be attributed to the neighborhood of Hindko and Gojri; both the languages have the Punjabi type of tone. Therefore, the feature is contact induced change rather than genetically inherited.

Examples of tone in Mankiyali language

Table VIII

baálɛ 'air'	jõó 'snow'	péŋa 'brother'	t̪uúɽ 'dust'	bós hunger
péŋ 'sister '	(p)iít̪ 'door '	ʈeér 'belly'	paál 'see'	

Conclusion

This is the initial study of Mankiyali based upon data collected in the preliminary phase of the current study. The language seems to have remained out of researchers' sight. No linguistic literature has mentioned even the name of the language (Lewis and Simon 2014). Thus, the current study is a new discovery and a valuable addition in the existing pool of

linguistic knowledge. Second step would to be to have ISO 639-3 code assigned for the language as all known human languages are assigned the three letter standard code as a unique identifier.

The linguistic analysis of Mankiyali concludes that it is genetically related to "Dardic" subgroup of Indo-Aryan language family and the Bateri language happens to be closely related to it. Moreover, this paper has also presented a preliminary analysis of syllable structures, consonants and vowels of Mankiyali language. As earlier indicated this is a preliminary study based upon limited data, a more comprehensive study is required for detailed description of the language.

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APPENDIX
Wordlist

abila 'clouds'	ḓombaːɽ 'tail'	mɑllɑ 'father'
adʒa 'wet'	ḓu 'two'	mɑːr 'kill'
ak 'one'	ḓuːr 'far '	mɑriːz 'chili'
aŋguːɽ 'finger'	dʒiga ' tall'	marɣa 'die'
aŋguːʈʰ 'finger'	dʒʊsa 'body'	meéʃ 'buffalo'
am 'we'	gɑː 'cow'	mũː 'face'
ɑːs 'eye'	gã̃ː 'village'	naṯroːɽa 'nose'
ɑʈa 'egg'	gɑram 'hot'	nã 'name'
ɑʈʰ 'eight'	gɔːɽ 'home'	nɑʊa 'new'
asɔːɽ 'walnut'	gu 'feces'	nɔra 'finger nail'
aza 'up'	haliːdʒ ''turmeric'	paára 'heavy'
ɑːzʊaŋ 'sky'	haṯʰɔɽa 'hammar '	patʃa 'leave'
ɑːz 'today'	hĩ̃ː 'this'	pʰaraza 'tomorrow'
baálɛ 'air'	hɛ 'they'(distal)	pʰaʊ 'father 's sister '
bã̃ː 'arm'	ilaːda 'different'	pɑːnḓ 'path'
babʊa 'spider '	jakʃaːn 'same'	paɲi 'water '
baḓiːz 'year '	jaːrõ 'eleven'	paɽ 'stone'
baːli 'hair '	jõó 'snow'	pɑnz 'five'
bandʒa 'handle'	kaːʻcow'	pénã 'brother'
baʃã 'water'	keṯh 'husband'	pén 'sister'
baʃʌnḓa 'rain'	kẽ 'who'	piːla 'ant'
baːrõ 'twelve'	kaṯe 'how many'	piːŋ 'rainbow'
baːʈ 'stone'	kɑːn 'ear'	pɔ 'boy'
biːʒ 'twenty'	kʰʌsa 'bad'	po 'cow'
bjaːl 'yesterday'	kʌla 'when'	pʰola 'flower'
boḓeːra 'old'	kʰaba 'left'	poʈʰa 'big'
bona 'below/down'	kʰibak ' lightning'	pʊraːŋ 'old'
buːʈa 'tree'	koɽeːl 'wife'	saːl 'goat'

buʈi 'all'
bús lagi 'to be hungry'
buza:ŋa 'monkey'
d̪aja 'grandfather '
d̪a:nd̪a 'teeth'
d̪arja 'river'
d̪aʒ 'ten'
d̪il 'heart'
d̪iɣi:r 'evening'
d̪i:z 'sun'
d̪i:z 'day'
d̪ɔːɽ 'rope'
d̪ɔɽ ' run'
d̪oɽa 'rope'

kuʈu 'where'
kʊɑ:l 'head'
koɽe:l 'woman'
kura:ɽ 'axe'
lak sari 'many'
laka sari 'many'
loka péŋa 'younger brother'
loka 'short'
loka 'light'
lɔːl 'broom'
matʃʰar
mã 'I'
maka:n 'house'
mɑ:l 'mother'

saza 'right'
si:na 'breast'
si:r 'milk'
sɔɽɑ 'narrow'
so 'hundred'
so 'that'
so 'to sleep'
so moɽelo 'he died.'
so 'they' (invisible)
tʃoku 'to bite'
ʈuka 'clothe'
ʈum 'you'
tuúɽ 'dust'
ʈu kiɽza za:l 'burn the wood'
tu pɑsju You are hungry'!

tsamaɽa 'skin'
tsika:ɽ 'mud'
tsikaɽu 'mud'
ʈu pli: 'you run!'
tu pu pɑ:ŋi 'You drink water '.
ʈu mɑz d̪ɛ 'you give me'.
ʈu so 'You sleep'
ʈu tʃeɽze mɑ:r 'you kill the bird' (sparrow)
ʈu ʃiŋa za:l
ʈu ʃoŋ 'you listen'
ʈu maɽɣa 'you die'!
ʈu ubɑr 'you speak'
tsoʈa 'tree'
ʈõó 'smoke'
ʈoz bós lagi ' you are hungry'
tʃa 'what'
tʃatsɔr 'four '

plɑ:ŋ 'onion'
(p)íʈ 'door '
pʰaraza 'morning'
puːʃ 'cat'
puːtʃ 'son'
rɑ:ʈ 'blood'
raʈuɽ 'red'
re:ʈ 'sand'
rʌʈuɽa 'red'
rɑ:j 'night'
sa:p 'snake'
saʈ 'seven'
so 'they' (invisible)
so ud̪rã
sʊɛ 'ash'
ʈeér 'belly'
ʈil 'walk'
te:l 'oil'
ʈu pɑál 'you see'
ʈu iɣa 'you come'!

tʃiːʒ lagi 'be thirsty'!

kala 'black'

kaːnɖa 'thorn'

kjɔɔ́ 'ghee'

kʰora 'foot'

kʰõŋ 'elbow'

kʰɔt̪a 'donkey'

ko 'who'

kot̪sura 'dog'

kʊt̪ka 'pestle'

kukuːɽ 'hen'

lanŋaːr 'mortar'

lonogo tall

lok pén 'younger sister '

masa 'egg'

meʋaː 'fruit'

mĩːdʒ 'fat'

mindʝaːl 'sheep'

muːrã̃ŋ 'urine'

neːɽi 'near '

nika pɔ 'child'

nika 'child'

niʋaːʃã 'evening'

nu 'nine'

paroza:n 'after noon'

t̪u t̪il 'you walk'

t̪u pat̪ʰar 'you lie down'

toz tʃiʒ lagi 'you are thirsty'.

t̪ʰɛla pénã̃   'elder brother

t̪ʰ ela muraːŋ 'feces'

t̪ʰoɣaɽi 'few'

t̪ʰela 'small'

tʃʰat̪ 'roof'

uɖər 'fly'

ud̪ã̃ː 'fire'

uroŋ 'garlic'

uzalla 'white'

zaːl 'burn'

zaːŋg 'leg'

zaɽ 'root'

zaɽa 'root'

ziːb 'tongue'

zoɖi 'clothes'

zuj 'louse'

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