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OURSELVES

It gives us great pleasure to bring out this special Centenary Number of the Annals of Oriental Research on the occasion of the Centenary Celebrations of the University of Madras.

Since the establishment of the Oriental Research Institute in 1927 research articles contributed by the several language departments were appearing in the Journal of the Madras University. However, the need for starting a separate journal for the Oriental Research Institute was felt and accordingly the University Authorities sanctioned the publication of the Journal of Oriental Research of the University of Madras in 1936. Volume I of the Journal appeared in that year. Since 1937 this journal is being published twice a year under the present title, Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras and carrying some of the Research papers and editions of shorter works, contributed by the University Departments of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

On the occasion of the Centenary it was resolved to bring out a special Commemoration Number and reputed scholars from outside were requested to contribute articles to this special number. Thanks to their kind response, we have been able to bring out a substantial volume, containing valuable papers and we desire to express our gratitude to all the scholars who have co-operated in the production of this Centenary Number.

The volume is divided into two parts, Part I forming the several Research papers and Part II giving a historical account of the several language departments of the University and the work done by them.

It is our pleasant duty to thank our esteemed Vice-Chancellor for his valuable guidance and the other Authorities of the University for facilities afforded by them. Finally we wish to express our thanks to the Kesari Printing Works who brought out the volume in time for the Centenary Celebrations.

Madras,
26th January, 1957.

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CHIEF EDITOR.

NEW LIGHT ON THE LIFE AND TIMES OF MĀNIKKA VĀCHAKAR

BY

S. NATESAN, B.A., B.L.

Former Minister, Government of Ceylon

I

One of the best known Tamil classics is Thiruvāchakam. Mānikka vāchakar, its author, was as great a poet as he was a mystic. The poetic excellence and the devotional fervour of Thiruvāchakam make it a unique work in Tamil literature. It is, in a sense, the spiritual autobiography of Mānikka vāchakar: it is a personal record of the various phases of his spiritual experience. Sir Charles Eliot referring to this work in his book on Hinduism and Buddhism,¹ says: "In no literature with which I am acquainted has the individual religious life—its struggles and dejection, its hopes and fears, its confidence and triumph—received a delineation more frank and profound." Thiruvāchakam has exercised, for more than a thousand years, a powerful influence on the religious life of the Tamil people in South India and Ceylon. It is one of their cherished scriptures, pre-eminent for its devotional appeal.

There are several works in Tamil which give an account of Mānikka vāchakar's life. The earliest is Thiru Ālavāyudaiyār Puranam திரு ஆலவாயுடையார் புராணம் ascribed to the thirteenth century; and the most popular of them is Thiru Vāthavūradikal Puranam திருவாதவூரடிகள் புராணம் of the eighteenth century. Mānikka vāchakar's life divested of the miracles associated with it, is the story of a Prime minister of the Pandya kingdom who renounced his worldly life when he met a spiritual teacher, and thereafter became a saint, spending the last years of his life at Chidambaram. An important event is said to have taken place while he was at Chidambaram. He had a disputation with the High priest of Buddhism who came there from Ceylon with the king of that country and a retinue of Buddhist monks, challenging the doctrines of Saivism. They were all converted to the Saiva faith by Mānikka vāchakar. The disappearance of Buddhism from the Tamil country is attributed to this event.

Mānikka vāchakar occupies a prominent place in the history of the Hindu renaissance in South India. This movement reached its

climax during the seventh century, and the conflict was then chiefly between Saivism and Jainism. It was during this period that the Saiva saints, Appar and Sambandar, contended with Jainism, and brought about its decline in the Tamil country. A detailed history of the Hindu renaissance, tracing the growth and decline of Buddhism and Jainism in the Tamil country, has yet to be undertaken. But it must be said that the chief events relating to the religious conflict in South India during the Seventh century emerge with some clear historical perspective. The earlier course of this conflict is, however, not so clear. According to popular tradition supported by Thiru Ālavāyudaiyār Puranam and Thiru Vilaiyādal Puranam, Manikka vachakar lived in a period earlier than that of Sambandar and Appar. This has been disputed in recent years by some Tamil scholars. But no conclusive evidence has so far been adduced, on which the exact period during which Mānikka vāchakar lived could be fixed.

Though Thiruvāchakan̄ offers no direct evidence on this subject, we find in it here and there a ray of light, which, if pursued, might possibly lead to valuable results. It will be noticed that Mānikka vāchakar makes many references in Thiruvāchakam to the spiritual teacher, his guru, who effected a transformation in his life. In the Puranic accounts of Mānikka vāchakar, it is said that God Siva Himself came to him as his guru. Mānikka vāchakar also speaks in the same strain. But there can be no doubt that the guru was a human personality, for Mānikka vāchakar himself gives the hint in several passages. To quote one such passage, he says, in the poem, திருச்சதகம் :

ஈறி லாதநீ யெளியை யாகிவந்
தொளிசெய் மானுட மாக நோக்கியும்
கீறி லாதநெஞ் சுடைய நாயினேன்
கடைய னாயினேன் பட்ட கீழ்மமயே

“Even though, Thou, the Endless One, didst condescend to come as a human being, shining in lustre, and cast Thy gracious look on me, I, a cur, have a heart which does not melt ; I am the lowliest of the low.”

Mānikka vāchakar's identification of the guru with Siva is in conformity with the esoteric doctrine of the Saivāgamas that God reveals Himself to a ripe soul through a human guru. “The guru is Sivam” says Thirumūlar, the earliest Tamil authority on Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy. This doctrine is amplified in the later Saiva Siddhanta works in Tamil which describe the process of spiritual transformation that takes place in a disciple when the guru comes to him.

The kernel of the doctrine is contained in a sutram of Sivagnāna Bōdham, which is the most authoritative treatise on Saiva Siddhanta Philosophy in Tamil. This is the text of the sutram :

ஐம்புல வேடரி னயர்ந்தனை வளர்ந்தெனத்
தம்முதற் குருவாய்த் தவத்தினி லுணர்த்தவிட்
டந்நிய மின்மையி னரன்கழல் செலுமே

“By reason of the meritorious deeds of the soul, the Lord appears as the Guru; and makes it realize that, growing among wild savages, the senses, it has forgotten its real nature. The soul, then quitting them, reaches the feet of Hara, from whom it is not distinct.” It is beyond the scope of this article to attempt an exposition of this doctrine. But this much might be said here. Mānikka vāchakar was an ardent votary of the Āgamas, which he regarded as sacred revelations.¹ He realised from his own experience the truth of the Āgamic doctrine, and he found in the person of his guru the abiding presence of God. Hence the depth of his feeling of personal communion with God, which we find throughout Thiruvāchakam.

II

The study of Thiruvāchakam, if approached from this viewpoint, throws a new light on the work. It is not only the key to a right understanding of the spiritual life of Mānikka vāchakar, but enables us to get a glimpse of the personal history of the guru from some of the references made to him in the work.

These references, though cryptic, seem to have a factual bearing which might interest those who are in search of historical data for a study of Mānikka vāchakar's life. Almost at the beginning of the first poem in Thiruvāchakam, we have the line,

கோகழி யாண்ட குருமணிதன் றுள்வாழ்க

“Hail ! the feet of the supreme Guru who held sway at Kōkaḷi ”. An eminent Tamil scholar, Maṟai malai Adikal, in his commentary² on the poem, says that Kōkaḷi was another name for Thirupperunthurai, where Mānikka vāchakar first met the guru. This cannot be correct ;

1. Lines 9 - 10 in கீர்த்தித் திருவகவஞ்.

2. திருவாசக விரிவுரை p.18 (Saiva Siddhanta Publishing House, Madras).

for Mānikka vāchakar himself distinguishes Thirupperunthurai from Kōkali in a stanza thus, in பண்டாய நான்மறை ;

நண்ணிப் பெருந்துறையை நம்மிடர்கள் போயகல
எண்ணி யெழுதோ கழிக்கரசை

According to these lines, the Lord of Kōkali came to Thirupperunthurai, which makes it clear that these were two distinct places. Further, it will be noticed that in the verse about Kōkali quoted earlier, Mānikka vāchakar uses the word ஆண்ட in the past tense, which is significant. This implies that the guru had "held sway" in Kōkali before he came to Thirupperunthurai, where the first poem in Thiruvachakam was composed. There is some evidence to show that Kōkali was the name of a region in Bellary District, where some inscriptions relating to it have been found. In the Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1925, we find it mentions two inscriptions in the Canarese Language, (No. 316 and No. 319) which record grants of land by rulers of Kōkali, who belonged to the Kadamba Dynasty. This Dynasty is said to have had its early beginnings in the third or fourth century A.D. The reference made by Manikka vachakar to the guru, connecting him prominently with Kōkali, lends support to the view that he must have been associated with the Kadamba Dynasty of rulers as a Rajaguru or as a Maṭathipathi in their territory.

It is a matter of curious interest that in Thiruvāchakam there is an indication that the Guru was familiar with the Canarese language. In the poem entitled அருடபத்து, Mānikka vāchakar ends every stanza with the words,

அதெத்துவே யென்றொளாயே

" Say graciously, what is that ? " The word எந்து which is used here is not a Tamil word. It is found in both Canarese and Telugu languages which are allied to each other. The impression that Mānikka vāchakar is here reproducing the very words which the Guru must have used on many occasions, and which, therefore, acquired an endeared association in his mind is irresistible. It is worth mentioning in this connection that the ten stanzas in which these words occur as a refrain bring out, in a remarkable manner, the intimate, personal relationship between the guru and the disciple, recalling in every stanza the picturesque background of the scene at Thirupperunthurai, where the disciple used to sit at the feet of the guru under a Kuruntha tree laden with blossoms. In another poem, அன்னைப் பத்து, we get a significant reference to the way in which the guru was dressed. He is described as வெள்ளைக் கலிங்கத்தர் and பள்ளிக் குப்பாயத்தர், that is, as

one wearing a white, flowing robe, (குப்பாயம்) suggesting the habiliment of a person connected with a maṭam (பள்ளி).

There is a line in கீர்த்தித் திருவகவல், the second poem in Thiruvachakam, which has an important bearing, as I hope to show from a historical point of view. This line describes the guru as சந்திர தீபத்துச் சாத்திரன், a master of sastras of Chandradīpam. These words have baffled explanation so far. We find in Thiruvachakam several verses in which Mānikka vāchakar speaks of Siva coming to him in the form of a Brahmin teacher. For instance, he says in திருத்தெள்ளேணம் :

உருநா மறியவோ ரந்தனனா யாண்டு கொண்டான் :

“ coming as a Brahmin, so that we might know His form, He made me His.” But in கீர்த்தித் திருவகவல், we find a variation from this description, as the following quotation will show, though the idea is the same :

அந்தமில் பெருமை யழலுருக் கரந்து
கந்தர வேடத் தொருமுத லுருவுகொண்
டந்திர ஞாலம் போலவந் தருளி
எவ்வெவர் தன்மையுந் தன்வயிற் படுத்துத்
தானே யாகிய தயாபர னெம்மிறை
சந்திர தீபத்துச் சாத்திர னாகி

.....

.....

எந்தமை யாண்ட பரிசது பகரின் :

“ The Primal One, concealing His infinite greatness, and His form of fire, assuming a beautiful form, being Himself the supreme source of Grace, He our Lord, came graciously, as if it were by magic, as the Sastri of Chandradīpam,.....and made me His.” The context in which the words சந்திரதீபத்துச் சாத்திரன், the Sastri of Chandradīpam, occur in these lines, makes it clear that Mānikka vāchakar is referring to the guru whom he always identifies with Siva. This particular description of the guru gives, in my view, a cryptic indication of the name of the seat of learning from which he attained his mastery of Sastras. Viewed in this light, it seems to me that the place Chandradīpam to which Mānikka vāchakar refers, is not different from Chandra dwipam, a place in Bengal, which was made a seat of learning by Chandra Gomin, who was the author of Chāndra Vyākaranam, the famous treatise on Sanskrit Grammar. Chandra Gomin’s knowledge of Sastras was remarkable, for he had written books on Logic, Lexicography, Poetics, Architecture and Medicine. He was a well-

known authority on the Yogachara School of Buddhism, and he was an ardent devotee of Avalokateswara, the Buddhist Deity corresponding to Siva in the Hindu Pantheon. We get interesting details about his life in two Tibetan works on the history of Buddhism, one by Bu-Ston of the fourteenth century and the other by Taranatha of the sixteenth century. A summary of Taranatha's account of Chandra Gomin is given in the section on Buddhism contributed by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt to the volume on "The Classical Age" of Indian History published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Chandra Gomin is said to have travelled in South India and Ceylon, and spent his last years in Dhanasri Dwipam, "across the ocean". One might hazard a guess that Dhanuskodi in the island of Rameswaram, is probably the place meant by this name. Chandra Gomin's fame as an authority on Sanskrit Grammar must have spread in South India. The guru of Mānikka vāchakar, in his youth, was probably attracted by Chandra Gomin's fame, and this might have led him to Chandra dwipam for the study of Vyākaraṇa Sastra. It seems to me that the association of the Guru with Chandra dipam to which Mānikka vāchakar refers, can best be explained on this basis. It might be of interest to mention here that according to some verses in Thiruvāchakam, the guru belonged to the Pandya country, and that his place was Uttara kosa mangai which is near Ramnad. In the last portion of கீர்த்தித் திருவகவல், where Mānikka vāchakar describes how Siva came in the form of the master of sastras, we find the following lines :

மீண்டு வாரா வழியருள் புரிபவன்
பாண்டி நாடே பழம்பதி யாகவும்
பத்திசெய் யடியரைப் பரம்பரத் துய்ப்பவன்
உத்தர கோச மங்கை யூராகவும் :

"He shows in grace the way from which there is no return ; the Pandya land is his old abode. He leads his devotees to the Supernal Heaven ; His place is Uttara kosa mangai". What is said in these lines is confirmed by some other verses in Thiruvāchakam.¹ Uttara kosa mangai, as the name implies and as tradition avers, was a centre of Agamic learning, of which the Gunu was a repository.

In this context, I have to make it clear that though I have connected the Guru with Chandra dwipam, it should not be understood that he had any spiritual affiliation with the Buddhistic

1. திருத் தசாங்கம், Stanzas 2 & 3.

tenets of Chandra Gomin, which would not have been acceptable to him. It might be presumed, however, that he would have been fully conversant with the trends of Buddhist Philosophy, owing to his contact with Chandra Gomin. Mānikka vāchakar must have derived from the guru his knowledge of Buddhism which enabled him later on to hold a disputation successfully with the Buddhists who came from Ceylon.

III

A clue to the period during which Mānikka vāchakar lived is, in my view, to be sought in the possible contemporaneity of the Guru with Chandra Gomin. There are some data available for fixing the period of Chandra Gomin. He was the disciple of Sthiramathi, one of the early teachers of the Yogachara School, whose works were translated into the Chinese Language. Sir Charles Eliot in his book on "Hinduism and Buddhism"¹ says that Sthiramathi must have lived in the fourth century, as one of his works was translated between 397 and 493 A.D. With regard to Chandra Gomin's treatise on Sanskrit Grammar, Sir Berriedale Keith, in his History of Sanskrit Literature,² points out that on account of Chandra Gomin's allusion to a victory of a Jarta over the Hunas, his work must be assigned to 470 A.D. Winternitz mentions, in his History of Indian Literature,³ that Leibich dates Chandra Gomin between 465 and 544 A.D. On the strength of these data, Mānikka vāchakar might be placed in the early part of the sixth century.

At this time, Buddhism had reached the zenith of its influence in the Tamil country. Though its beginnings in the Tamil country go back to the time of Asoka, it took some centuries for it to assume a vigorous, propagandist role, the earliest signs of which we see in Manimēkalai, a Buddhist classic in Tamil. This work is assigned to the second century A.D., though some scholars have doubted it. From this time onwards, Buddhism seems to have gained a strong foothold in the Tamil country. Besides Manimēkalai, there appears

1. Vol. 2., p. 94, footnote.

2. Pp. 431, 432. It appears that there was a less known Chandra Gomin, who wrote some books on Buddhist Logic. According to Bu-Ston, it was Chandra Gomin, the famous grammarian, who was connected with Chandra Dwipam. See his History of Buddhism, Part II translated by Dr. Obermiller.

3. Vol. 2., p. 365, footnote.

to have been a considerable body of Buddhist Literature in Tamil during this period, much of which has been lost, owing to the subsequent decline of Buddhism. From Yapparungala viruthi, we get some evidence of these lost works. Kundalakesi, described as a major epic in Tamil, was one of these Buddhist classics which disappeared. But the Pāli works of the Buddhist Philosophers from the Tamil country form an outstanding contribution, and bear testimony to the fact that Buddhism had become a powerful factor in the Tamil country during the fifth century. Buddha Datta who lived in the Chola Kingdom was one of the authorities of Buddhism. It is said that his great contemporary Buddha Ghosa, the author of the famous treatise *Viusddhi Magga* was born in the Tamil country at Mayurapattinam.¹ Though there is some doubt about this, we have clear evidence about some other Buddhist celebrities, Dignaga² and Dharmapala in particular, who went from Kanchipuram to Nalanda and adorned the Buddhist University there. Kanchipuram itself had become a great centre of Buddhist learning in the fifth century, and Buddhist missionaries from Kanchipuram appear to have taken a prominent part in the propagation of Buddhism in the countries of the Far East, including China and Korea. Though Jainism had been a rival to Buddhism in the Tamil country in the earlier centuries, it had not attained the position of importance that Buddhism had during this period. It is worth noting in this connection that Mānikka vāchakar while mentioning Buddhism in Thiruvāchakam makes no reference to Jainism. We know it as a historical fact that it was only after the decline of Buddhism that Jainism became a dominant religion in South India. Hieun Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled in India during the seventh century, bemoaned the decline of Buddhism in South India, saying that it had given place to Jainism.³ It was in the early part of the seventh century that Mahendra Varman, the Pallava King and Neḍu Māran, the Pandya King, had given their powerful support to Jainism, before their conversion to Saivism by Appar and Sambandar respectively. The tradition that Mānikka vāchagar belonged to an earlier period than that of Appar and Sambandar seems to be in accord with facts of history.

1. Law identifies the birth-place of Buddhagosa with Mayavaram (Buddhagosa, p. 34).

2. "The Classical Age" (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), pp. 385, 386.

Sir Charles Eliot : Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. 2., p. 100.

IV

It was during the period when Buddhism had become a serious rival to Saivism that Mānikka vāchakar had a mission awaiting him at Chidambaram. He says in கீர்த்தித் திருவகவல் that he had been directed by the guru to go to Chidambaram and remain there.

நாயி னேனை நலமலி தில்லையுட்
கோல மார்தரு பொதுவினில் வருகென
ஏல வென்னை யிங்கொழித் தருளியும் :

“He has left me alone here, bidding me come to the Beauteous Hall in goodly Thillai”. Thillai is another name for Chidambaram. It was here that the opportunity came to Mānikka vāchakar to serve the cause of Saivism by accepting the challenge of the Buddhist Priests from Ceylon. Disputations were a normal feature in those days of religious rivalry, but the disputation in this instance, had important consequences. The tradition that Buddhism suffered a serious setback in the Tamil country as a result of this disputation is not without foundation, for we find that it lost its hold on the Tamil country after the sixth century, though it had a lingering existence for some time.

This disputation seems to have had an important result in the Northern part of Ceylon, especially Jaffna, which has been inhabited by the Tamil people from the earliest times known to history. Though Jaffna has had for centuries a predominantly Hindu population, we find that during a certain period Buddhism was the prevalent religion there. Buddhist images and remains of Dagobas have been unearthed in Jaffna, the region round Kander ōḍai containing the more important sites of these ruins. Sir Paul Pieris, in a paper on Nagadipa contributed by him to the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,¹ has adduced sufficient evidence to confirm the view that Buddhism had a powerful hold on Jaffna during some centuries of its history. Mudaliyar Rasanayagam, in his book on ancient Jaffna,² has identified, on good grounds, Manipallavam mentioned in the Buddhist Classic, Manimēkalai, with Jaffna, and this also points to the same conclusion. But we have no data to indicate when the Tamil people in Jaffna ceased to be Buddhists and returned to the Saiva Faith. We have reason to believe that this must have taken place as a result of the disputation which Mānikka vāchakar had with the Buddhist

1. No. 70 & No. 72

2. pp. 26, 27, 28.

priests from Ceylon. Considering the details given in the Puranic account about this disputation, we have to infer that the Buddhist priests and the king of Ceylon figuring in this account were people whose language was Tamil. Dr. G. U. Pope made a shrewd guess indeed, when he suggested in his Introduction ¹ to his translation of Thiruvāchakam that this story about the disputation had some reference to the North of Ceylon. The re-establishment of Saivism among the people of Jaffna was probably one of the consequences of the mission fulfilled by Mānikka vāchakar. This might explain the fact that the Hindus in Jaffna have a special devotion to Mānikka vāchakar and Chidambaram, and that the Puranam which is often chosen for recital in their Temples is that of Mānikka vāchakar.

V

In the welter of sectarian creeds and doctrines which prevailed during his time, Mānikka vāchakar found safe anchorage in the Saiva faith. He says in திருத்தெள்ளேணம் :

உவலைச் சமயங்க ளொவ்வாத சாத்திரமாம்
சவலைக் கடலுள னாய்க்கிடந்து தடுமாறும்
கவலைக் கெடுத்துக் கழலினைகள் தந்தருளும்
செயலைப் பரவிநாந் தெள்ளேணங் கொட்டாமோ

“I lay bewildered in the barren, troublous sea of sects and systems, widely discordant. My confusion He banished, gave in grace His Jewelled feet. Praise we His gracious acts, and beat the drum of Tellēṇam”. In the poem, போற்றித் திருவகவல், describing the difficulties which beset him and the conflicting currents of thought which assailed him, in his spiritual struggle before he met the guru, he makes a reference to Māyāvādam in the following lines,

மிண்டிய மாயா வாத மென்னும்
சண்ட மாருதஞ் சுழித்தடித் தார்த்து

“The hurricane Māyāvādam whirled and raged and roared”. The question arises, whether the Māyāvādam mentioned here refers to the Philosophy of Sankara, who lived in the eighth century. It has been suggested that the Māyāvādam, to which Mānikka vāchakar refers is the Madhyamika Doctrine of Buddhism, the propounder of which was Nagarjuna who belonged to an earlier period. In his Madhyamika

Karika, Nagarjuna actually used the word *Maya*.¹ Though the term *Māyāvādam* has been associated with the Philosophy of Sankara, it must be remembered that Sankara was not the originator of this doctrine. He adopted it from Gandapada, who lived at about 700 A.D., and in whose line of succession he came. It is true that Gandapada formulated this doctrine in his *Karika* based on *Mandukya Upanishad*, but he was only handing down a doctrine which, as some scholars have pointed out,² had already developed as a result of the interaction of Buddhist and Hindu thought in the earlier centuries. It is to this earlier phase of the doctrine that Mānikka vāchakar refers by the term *Māyāvādam*. This doctrine is not in consonance with the *Saivagamas*, which posit the evolution and involution of the Universe as a reality designed for the redemption of souls by God; hence the rejection of *Māyāvādam* by Mānikka vāchakar.

There is no need to assume, as some scholars have done, that Mānikka vāchakar lived after Sankara, because he mentions *Māyāvādam*. Thirumular who is said to have lived earlier than Sambandar of the seventh century, also refers to *Māyāvādam* in his *Thirumanthiram*.³ Further discussion about the period to which Mānikka vāchakar belonged, would involve detailed reference to literary evidence in Tamil, which cannot be adequately dealt with in this article, and which, therefore, requires separate consideration. There is one point, however, on which I wish to touch before I conclude this article. It has been taken for granted by some scholars⁴ that because Mānikka vāchakar refers to a Varagunan in his poem, *Thirukkōvaiyār*, he must be assigned to the ninth century, during which a king known as Varagunavarman ruled over the Pandya kingdom. The fact that inscriptions are available only about this Varagunavarman and about

1. *yathā māyā yathā svapno gandharva -nagaram yathā tathot pādas tathā sthānam tathā bhaṅgā udāhrtāh* (*Madhyamakarikā*, VII. 34).

2. Sir Charles Eliot : *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. 2. pp. 73-75. With regard to Buddhist influence on Gandapada, see Dr. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* pp.423-428 and Dr. Radhakrishnan's *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 1., pp. 463-465.

3. Stanza, 2179.

4. See Nilakanta Sastri's *Pandya Kingdom*, pp. 66, 67. He says at p.67 : " my conclusion is that Manikkavasagar must be taken to have preceded the Thevaram Trio ".

a Varaguna Maharaja of the eighth century, does not exclude the possibility that there could have been other Pandya kings bearing the name Varagunan in the earlier centuries. We have to remember that there is no epigraphic evidence available about the Pandyan dynasty for some centuries, which from the dark period intervening between the early Sangam Age and the seventh century. In the Sangam Age we find that there were Pandya kings bearing the Tamil name வரகுநன், the Sanskrit variant of which is Varagunan. It is a well-known fact that after the Sangam age, Tamil kings had often Sanskrit names, and developed a tendency to assume high-sounding titles in that language.

In this article, I have attempted to make a new approach to one of the most baffling problems of chronology in Tamil literature. I hope that it will lead to further research which will enable us to reach a decisive conclusion on this subject.

THE ANALYTIC TENDENCY IN TAMIL

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The verb in Tamil is defined by Pavaṇantiyār, the author of *Nannūl*, as that part of speech which expresses six ideas, viz., subject, instrument, place, action, tense and object, all in one.¹ This shows that Tamil grammarians considered the verb as the life-giving element which makes it valuable in building sentences. The subject and the action are the main parts of the sentence and the Tamil verb whose function is to indicate the action, denotes also the subject by its pronominal termination. The verb is said to be the grammarian's idol and it is more so in Tamil. P. B. Ballard says that the verb is the most important element in the sentence, and that all the rest is mere appendage.² "If the rest includes an object, it is an object of the verb; if the rest includes other things besides the object, they are complements of the predicate (the verb) or extensions of the predicate." There are some languages in which the verbal forms indicate not only the person and number of the subject but also that of the object proper and the object of reference (dative).³ But the Tamil verb, especially the finite verb of the third person, indicates only the person, gender and number of the subject.

'Ceytān' (he did) is a finite verb in Tamil and in many contexts this form is sufficient in itself to express a whole composite thought and to be used as a sentence by itself. The subordinate ideas of person, gender and number are contained in its pronominal termination 'ān'. If only the speaker wants to express any other idea besides these, he will add some more words to it. But when he wants to express the negation, a negative particle *il* or *al* or *ā* is incorporated in the verb along with the particle of tense, and the pronominal termination remains as it is.

1. *Nannul*, 320.

2. *Thought and Language*, p. 86.

3. *Jespersen, Progress in Language*, p. 116.

In almost all the so-called agglutinative and flectional languages which use inflectional tags for grammatical devices, these subordinate thoughts of person, gender and number have been indicated by the pronominal terminations or suffixes. Linguists of the last century were of the opinion that this incorporation of subordinate ideas in the verbs of a language was the result of the high standard of civilization achieved by the people speaking that language. But later on, it came to be proved that this assumption was false and that civilization had no intrinsic connection with the grammatical structure of the language spoken by the race.¹ If the assumption of those linguists be true, ancient languages like Greek, etc., would have had less complicated and less copious grammar than the modern languages like English.² On the other hand, the modern languages English, Danish, etc., tend to grow more and more flexible and simple in grammatical structure, and hence this is no evidence or test of the standard of civilization of the people speaking those languages.

In the Tamil Verb 'Ceytān' the root 'cey' denotes the act of doing, the particle 't' the past tense and the termination 'ān' the third person masculine singular. Time is inseparable from action and therefore the particle of tense is an essential element of the verb. But the notions of person, gender and number of the subject belong logically to the nouns and are superfluous in verbs. In English, Danish and Chinese, generally, the verbs do not indicate person, gender and number. Otto Jespersen compares the verbal forms in English with those of Danish and expresses his appreciation of the ideal state of the Danish verbs.³ He points out that in English the verb of the third person singular in the present tense is different from the other verbs in the same tense (he comes - singular, they come - plural). There is an ending 's' in the verb to indicate the person and number and, therefore, he says, the English language is inferior to Danish in this respect. He is of the opinion that even this small and unimportant element added to the verbal form is an impediment to the free and easy expression of thought.

1. Otto Jespersen, *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*, p. 78.

2. Ancient languages have a more copious grammar than modern ones. The comparison of the two extremes, Greek and English, has often prompted the remark that English has no 'grammar'.—A. H. Sweet, *The Practical Study of Languages*, p. 273.

3. *Progress in Language*, p. 33.

In the Russian language, the inflectional system is elaborate in the written language but in the spoken language it is retained only in a few forms in which the accent falls upon the endings.¹ In Tamil and other Dravidian languages except Malayalam, there is no possibility of this change, for the pronominal terminations in these languages are now used to serve another purpose, to distinguish the finite verbs from the participles.

avaṇ ceytāṇ - finite verb

avaṇ ceytu - participle

Even Malayalam, in which there is no formal difference between the participle and the finite verb, makes this distinction wherever possible; this is evident in the difference maintained between the terminating vowel u of the participle and that of the finite verb. In the participle, this vowel u is a half u, an enunciative vowel, but in the finite verb it is a full u.

avaṇ uṇḍu vānu - participle with half u

avaṇ uṇḍu - finite verb with full u.

In the case of finite verbs which do not end in the vowel u, this differentiation is not possible and the language has suffered no loss for want of it. For example, 'avaṇ uṇṇi' is a sentence with 'uṇṇi' as a finite verb, whereas the same word is a participle in the sentence 'avaṇ uṇṇi vānu'. In such cases the finite verb is distinguished by other means, by the fullstop or the semicolon in the written language and by the tone or accent in the spoken language. If the people speaking a language feel that a certain distinction is necessary they are capable of finding out some means for it, as we find in the following sentences:—

He finished the work - Statement

He finished the work ? - Interrogative

(meaning 'did he finish the work?')

It is, therefore, clear that the pronominal terminations in the finite verbs in Tamil, Telugu and Kannada are not as essential as they are thought to be, but these subordinate elements are more or less inseparable parts of the verbs and serve the rules of concord which play a large part in the older languages in all countries.

It is generally said that the finite verbs in Malayalam originally had these pronominal terminations and only in course of time lost

1. Pillsbury and Meader, *The Psychology of Language*. o.289.

them. Even now, in the dialects of some tribal people who are not advanced in civilization and live far from cities and of the inhabitants of the Laccadives, the finite verbs retain these terminations. The ancient Malayalam poetry freely uses them. The freedom of the finite verbs from the terminations of the subordinate and unwanted significations is, therefore, a later development in the history of the language, as a result of the revolt of the spoken language from the trammels of flexion. Such a result could not take place in Tamil, for the history of Tamil is different from that of Malayalam in this respect. There was a period in the history of the latter when the literature in the language had no close association with the people speaking it and therefore the spoken language was free to revolt and to undergo a change in the structure of the verbs. The written language of that period was not a matter of so much interest to the scholars of that time who were well-versed in Sanskrit literature and the language quickly adapted itself in the mouths of the people to the needs and uses of life without being checked and controlled by the literary works in the language. G. M. Trevelyan says that "if the grammar is clumsy and ungraceful, it can be altered much more easily when there are no grammarians to protest".¹ Such was the condition of the Malayalam language during that period and so the change was possible. In the history of Tamil, there was no period when the literature of the language lost its association with the people speaking the language. The Tamils in the Pāṇḍiya and the Chōla countries, unlike those in the Chēra country (now called the Kerala State), always associated themselves closely with the literature in the language, and hence changes were not so easily permitted. As Whitney says, "literature is the most dignified, the most legitimate and the most powerful of the forces which effect the conservation of language."² According to Jespersen, "Literature has the effect of retarding the tendencies of change in language by keeping older forms alive for a time longer than if language was only transmitted orally."³ This is the reason why there was no distinct change in the verbs of the eastern part of the peninsula while those of the language spoken on its west coast underwent a metamorphosis so freely and so easily.

Whatever be the influence of literature in retarding the tendencies of change in the language, the pronominal terminations or the

1. History of England, pp. 121, 132.

2. Language and The Study of Language, p. 173.

3. Progress in Language, p. 136.

inflectional and categorical tags, as G.K. Zipf calls them,¹ are a-burden to those who use the language. No language is thoroughly logical and regular. There are certain irregularities and illogical elements in every language and the speakers get themselves accustomed to them. The Tamils also were accustomed to this burden of inflectional tags. But when there was a change in their religious, political and social lives due to the dominant foreign influence in the later mediaeval period, the craving in the minds of the people for clearness of thought and quickness of expression grew more and more. It was then that the burden of these pronominal terminations was felt, not in all the finite verbs but only in those verbs which expressed some other notions besides action and tense. It was clearly felt in the negative verbs of the past and present tenses. The old negative verbs, *Ceytilan*, *Ceykingilan*, etc., indicated not only the action, tense, person and number but also the idea of negation. The negative particle was inserted in the word between the particle of tense and the pronominal termination. This additional burden caused the old negative verbal forms break up and paved the way for analytic structure of the modern negative verbal forms.

<i>avan ceytilan</i>	}	old negatives
<i>avan ceykingilan</i>		
<i>avan ceyya (v) illai</i>	-	modern negative

The affirmative verbal form 'ceytan' remains the same even today and there is no revolt against the inflectional burden in it. In the modern negative form, grammar has achieved its logical ideal; the three words in the sentence indicates three different ideas, the first the subject, the second the action and the third the negative. There is a separate expression for each function and a single function for each expression, which is, according to J. Vendryes, the ideal of grammar.² The particle of tense is absent; perhaps it is felt unnecessary, as there is no time in an action not done.³

Though there are now three different words to express the idea originally expressed by a single word, the modern form is the easier. These three words involve less effort on the part of the speaker as they are very regular and simple without any inflectional tags. The old

1. The Psycho-Biology of Language, p. 249.

2. Language, p. 154.

3. G. U. Pope, A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language, p. 74.

forms were unwieldy and complicated and varied according to the different persons, genders and numbers. There is no strain of indicating grammatical concord in the modern forms. As Otto Jespersen says, this concord has nothing to do with logic but is only a burden on memory.³ The grammarians may feel for the loss of nine different forms with inflectional tags as given below, but while considering the interests of the speaking community this has to be considered as a progressive tendency. According to H.R. Stokoe, absence or loss of inflection does not mean absence or loss of agreement ; there can be agreement without inflection to show it.⁴

<i>Old forms</i>		<i>Modern forms</i>	
avan ceytilan	}	avan ceyya (v) illai	
avan ceykinrilan			
aval ceytila	}	aval „ „	
aval ceykinrila			
avar ceytilar	}	avar „ „	
avar ceykinrilar			
atu ceytilatu	}	atu „ „	
atu ceykinrilatu			
avai ceytila	}	avai „ „	
avai ceykinrila			
nān ceytilēn	}	nān „ „	
nan ceykinrilēn			
nām ceytilēm	}	nām „ „	
nām ceykinrilēm			
nī ceytilai	}	nī „ „	
nī ceykinrilai			
nīr ceytilīr	}	nīr „ „	
nīr ceykinrilīr			

The old rigid forms, which express small subordinate distinctions, are no more of any practical value for clearness of thought and expression. The modern forms seem to have attained freedom from an artificial burden. One modern form represents nine different forms used by the contemporaries of Tiruvalluvar. The change is towards simplicity and regularity ; word-order is being used as grammatical device. This new mechanism of expressing the negative seems to be simpler and easier.

3. Mankind Nation and Individual, p. 97.

4. The Understanding of Syntax, p. 209.

This type of sentences is generally found in the languages which utilise word-position for grammatical purposes, e.g., Chinese and English, which are said to be analytic in their structure. C. K. Zipf calls them positional languages because of the important part played by word position in these.¹ Tamil is not an analytical language but, as far as these negative verbal forms are concerned, the old inflectional forms have disappeared and the analytic type has come to dominate. Such a change is found even in the other Dravidian languages, Kannada² and Telugu.

There is an advantage in this analytic structure, viz., there is facility to express certain minute shades of thought by laying extra stress on any one of the three elements in the sentence.

avan̄ ceyya (v) illai		no stress
avan̄ ceyya (v) illai	}	stress on the subject
avantān̄ ceyya (v) illai		
avan̄ ceyyavē illai	}	stress on the action
avan̄ ceyyattān̄ illai		
avan̄ ceyya (v) illaiyē		stress on the negation.

These three minute shades of thought are now expressible by accentuating or adding a particle of emphasis to either the subject or the action or the negation. This is not possible in the old synthetic form. As Jespersen says, the modern structure is an art of accomplishing much with little means and a victory of spiritual over material agencies.³ But the language has not entirely discarded the old forms; they are found occasionally used in poetry and in pedantic prose, and have a place in the language only as articles of luxury.

The modern form is certainly a deviation from the established rules of grammar, but not all deviations are corruptions. The history of languages shows that some of the deviations help their growth and development. There is in the processes of human speech a wise natural selection, through which the fittest innovations survive and make human speech ever more flexible and ever more convenient to

1. *The Psycho-Biology of Language*, p. 249.

2. F. Kittel, *A Grammar of the Kannada Language*, p. 159.

"The Conjugated negative is somewhat seldom used in the modern colloquial dialect."

3. *Progress in Language*, p. 110.

the speakers. Nobody can nip these beneficial changes in the bud. *Attempts to nip them have proved futile.*

While explaining the differences between Latin and English in grammatical structure, P. B. Ballard expresses also the differences between the synthetic language and the analytic language. "One expresses relationships by changes in the ends of words, the other by using separate words ; in one, the order of words is often a matter of indifference ; *in the other the order of words affects vitally the meaning of the words themselves and of the whole sentence.*"¹

Bearing this in mind we are able to trace the analytic growth in Tamil syntax long before the negative forms changed. There are many finite verbs in Tamil which do not express relationships by their terminations, for example, the mild imperatives expressing desire, etc.

avaṇ ceyka (Let him do it)
 avaḷ ceyka (Let her do it)
 avar vāḷka (Let them live)
 atu vāḷka (Let it live)
 avai aḷika (Let them perish)

The negative forms of those verbs also do not have pronominal terminations.

avaṇ ceyyaṛka (Let him not do it)
 avaḷ ceyyaṛka (Let her not do it)
 avar vāḷaṛka (Let them not live)
 atu cellaṛka (Let it not go)
 avai cellaṛka (Let them not go)

These forms are also more or less obsolete and the modern forms are as follows :—

avaṇ ceyya vēṇḍum
 avaṇ ceyya vēṇḍā
 avar vāḷa vēṇḍum
 avar vāḷa vēṇḍā
 atu cella vēṇḍum
 avai cella vēṇḍum
 atu cella vēṇḍā

avai cella vēṇḍā
 avan̄ ceyyalām
 avan̄ ceyya (k) kūṭātu
 aval̄ ceyyalām
 aval̄ ceyya (k) kūṭātu

If we deplore the language for not expressing the agreement or concord of person, gender and number in these forms, and call it corruption, this equally applies to the ancient forms of mild imperatives, etc. In fact, there is nothing to be deplored. "The demand for grammatical concord in these cases is simply a consequence of the imperfection of language, for the ideas of number, gender, case and person belong logically only to primary words and not to secondary ones like adjective and verb ; so far, then, from a language suffering any loss when it gradually discards these endings in adjectives and verbs which indicated this agreement with the primary, the tendency must, on the contrary, be considered a progressive one, and full stability can be found in that language alone which has abandoned all these clumsy remnants of a by-gone past."

In these forms, old and modern alike, we find the analytic tendency in the verbs in not expressing the personal relationships by their terminations. Separate words are used to express them.

The second characteristic of the analytic languages noted by P.B. Ballard, viz., the order of words affecting the meaning vitally, is also found in Tamil in some forms of sentences. The modern negative forms and the mild imperative moods discussed above may be cited as examples.

avan̄ ceyya (v) illai	- He did not do it.
avan̄ illai ceyya	} He is not there to do it.
ceyya avan̄ illai	
avan̄ ceyya vēṇḍum	- Let him do it, He should do it.
ceyya avan̄ vēṇḍum	- To do it, he is essential.
avan̄ ceyya (vē) vēṇḍā	- Let him not do it.
ceyya avan̄ vēṇḍa	- To do this, he is not required.

Again we find that the language has acquired the capacity to express many subtle shades of meaning in these analytic forms not only by the

position of words, but also by stress or by the addition of the particles of emphasis, as follows :—

avan̄ ceyya vēṇḍum	He should do it.
avanē ceyya vēṇḍum	He alone should do it.
avan̄ ceyyavē vēṇḍum	He has got to do it.
avan̄ ceyya vēṇḍumē	I think, he has to do it.
avan̄ ceyya (k) kūṭātu	He should not do it.
avanē ceyya (k) kūṭātu	He himself should not do it. (He alone should not do it.)
avan̄ ceyyavē kūṭātu	He should not do it at all.
avan̄ ceyya (k) kūṭātē	I think, he should not do it.

It is, therefore, evident that the verbal forms in certain moods had no accessory notions of person, gender and number even in ancient Tamil ; this tendency has slowly developed in a few other forms also in the later period, and in such forms word-order has gradually acquired significance and importance, expressing grammatical relationships as well as subtle shades of meaning in a simple and regular manner. The root words in these forms (cey, vāl, cel, etc.) are relieved of the old inflectional tags and left almost bare and unencumbered by the subordinate ideas of person, number, etc., as in the analytic languages.

A NEW LIGHT FROM TAMIL ON THE HISTORY OF INDIAN RHETORIC.*

BY

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Daṇḍin's Kāvyaḍarsa has been ruling the study of Rhetoric in the Tamil Country, ever since it was composed in the court of Rājasimha Pallava at Kanchi in the 7th century. There are two translations in Tamil, one in *Viracōḷium* and the other which is itself called 'Daṇḍialaṅkāram.' This popularity is due to its origin in Tamil country, and perhaps also to the fact that it reflects to a certain extent tendencies in Tamil Literature known to him and which will have to be reserved for a future discussion. But there are reasons to suspect that the Tamil Country had known a different tradition, in its study of Rhetoric, which is older than Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, and which curiously enough throws some new light on the historical development of Indian Rhetoric.

The Nighaṇṭus or Lexicons in Tamil enumerate the figures of speech, in a way, slightly different from that found in Daṇḍin. 'Cūtāmaṇi Nikaṇṭu', as it is called in Tamil, belongs to the reign of Krishna Dēvarāya the Great; and it enumerates twenty eight figures of speech (XII—125 to 127 verses). 'Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu' also enumerates (VI—269 sutra) the self same twenty eight figures of speech, though with some variations. This work is referred to by Pavananti, the author of the famous Tamil Grammar Nannūl, probably written at the turning of the 12th century, in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III, under whom Ciya Gaṅga, the patron of Pavananti flourished. 'Yāpparaṅkalam', a book on prosody, probably of the 10th century, refers to Alaṅkāras beginning with Rūpaka and ending probably with Saṅkīrṇa. The commentary, which was probably written in the same century, enumerates those figures, but unfortunately the name of one alaṅkāra is missing in the printed edition. The missing figure at the end can be easily restored as "upamā rūpaka." It may be noted, in passing, that while 'Saṅkīrṇa' or 'Viraviyal' is called the last of the alaṅkāras in this work, the other Nighaṇṭus give that place to Vāḷttiyaḷ which is the last but one, in this list. For more light, this work refers us to a Tamil book on Rhetoric, 'Aṇiyyiḷ' which unfortunately is lost to us. This book probably belongs to the Ninth century.

*Poetics in Tamil is reserved for a more inclusive study; here figures of speech alone are intended.

Tivākaram, probably the earliest Nighaṇṭu known in Tamil, also gives one such enumeration of Figures. This book, since it interprets the word Chālukya as the name of great rulers or emperors whilst explaining the word 'iraiṭṭar' (Rāshtrakūṭas) as feudatories should be taken to have been composed when the Chālukyas were in power, before the Rāshtrakūṭas exhibited any Imperial design. This will make the book, in any case, earlier than 750 A.D. The list of Figures given there may be taken to represent, a pre-Daṇḍin tradition in the study of Rhetoric in the Tamil land, in particular, and in South India in general. It is this list given in Tivākaram, which is found in all the Tamil Nikaṇṭus and also in Yāpparuākalaivirutti. This list is probably of the 7th century, if not earlier. The commentary on Iṭaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ probably reduced to writing in the 7th century, does not recognise the study of Rhetoric as a different branch of study.

There is, of course, an earlier tradition of Tolkāppiyam, which nobody has tried to place later than the 5th century A.D., though a majority of Tamil scholars will attribute an earlier age, earlier even than the Christian era. This tradition knows only upamā alaṅkāra or simile or the uvamai as the Tamils call it. Tolkāppiam enumerates the particles of comparison like the upamārtha nipātas of Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu, discusses their various significance of comparison, and differentiates four kinds of comparison, viz., of form, colour, action and result. These may be compared with the Karmōpamā bhūtōpamā, rūpōpamā and siddhōpamā, not as identical figures but showing the tendency to include everything under upamā. Luptōmā of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta which is to blossom later on into rūpaka is the uvamaittokai of Tolkāppiyam, one of the six kinds of its compounds. Upamā is included in the discussion on the theme of poetry, probably, as held by Pērāsiriyar the commentator, in the sense in which upamā, was explained by Patanjali:—“ Māna or measure is that which is employed in ascertaining a thing unknown; upamāna is approximation to the māna and determines the thing not absolutely but approximately, for e.g., when we say ‘ a gavaya is like a cow. ’ ” This tradition knows other modes of expression but not as figures of speech. They were all looked upon merely as variations of this central figure of upamā, a tradition which becomes systematised, as far as this point of view is concerned, in Vāmana, and clearly explained by Appaya Dikṣitar in his Cītramīmāṃsā. Other modes of expression are discussed in its grammatical portion.

Oxymoron, rhetorical repetitions, alliteration and assonance are looked upon by Tolkāppiyar as creating patterns of metres, by coming in a line, with or without intervals of feet; and therefore, they were not considered figures of speech, contributing to the clarification or enjoyment of the subject matter of poetry.

These groupings remind us of Bhāmaha. In his *kāvya alaṅkāra* in the second chapter, he enumerates the Figures of speech in four groups, probably suggesting the four stages in the development and study of the Figures of speech. This interpretation receives further support from a study of Bharata. Bharata mentions *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *dīpaka* and *yamaka* as Kāvya-ālaṅkāras. If the repetition of a sound as distinct from a repetition of a syllable can be separated from *yamaka* as *anuprāsa* or assonance, we get a development later than that of Bharata; and this is what is found as the first group in Bhāmaha. If this is correct, one may be justified in concluding that the second, third and fourth groups also represent the second, third and fourth stages in the development of the Figures of speech.

Bhāmaha's groups, from this point of view, may be compared with the grouping in Tivākaram. As Bhāmaha gives more than twenty eight figures, Tivākaram which gives no more than 28, may be taken to represent a stage earlier than that of Bhāmaha. Even so, there seems to be a difference between these two lists, as marking two stages of development. It is for further research to find out whether any principle other than that of historical development entered into the mind of Bhāmaha. The first group seems in Tivākaram to be the same as in Bhāmaha. Probably the second and third groups of Bhāmaha appear as the second group in Tivākaram; but 'yathāsaṅkhyā' does not appear in Tivākaram, which probably following the traditions of Tolkāppiyam looks upon it as a special kind of prosodial patterning rather than as a specific figure of speech. This will point out the existence of a Tamilian or Southern school of Rhetoric as distinct from that of Bhāmaha and others. These first two groups exhaust fourteen figures, leaving only fourteen for the third group in Tivākaram, whereas Bhāmaha's last group enumerates ten more figures, which may all form a further development, later than that of Tivākaram. Daṇḍin gives some more.

In this view of the historical development, Tolkāppiyam embodies a tradition earlier than that of Bharata's work, now extant. Keith's statement to (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 372), "Beyond vague references to Kasyapa and Vararuci, and Yaska's knowledge of discussion of similes, *upamās*, we have no certain

information on poetics, until it occurs as a subordinate element in the Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra," may very well be taken as applicable to this period. Various modes of poetic expressions are indeed known to this age. But they are considered in prosody, in the study of compounds; and classified sometimes as qualities or negation of defects. The second stage will be that of Bharata as embodied in the first group of Tivākaram. Bharata classifies other modes of expression as guṇas and lakṣaṇas and not as alaṅkāras. The third stage is embodied in the second group of Tivākaram. The fourth stage is found in the third and last groups of Tivākaram. A further stage of development is seen in the increased number of figures given in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin.

This does not mean that we are fixing the age of the respective authors, but only arranging the traditions, represented in these various books, in their historical sequence, as explained above. There may be here, a time lag. One may find an earlier tradition still persisting in a later work. For instance, "Cūṭamaṇi Nikaṇṭu" of the 16th century repeats parrot like, the Tivākaram list, which represents a pre-Bhāmaha tradition; but this ought not to be taken to suggest that "Cūṭamaṇi Nikaṇṭu," itself was a pre Bhāmaha work or that Bhāmaha came after the 16th century. With this warning in mind, the list may be taken as a basis for the study of historical development of the figures of speech.

The first group in Tivākaram consists of (1) *uruvakam*, (2) *uvamai*, (3) *valimaṭakku*, (4) *nilaimaṭakku* and (5) *vilakku*. Though ordinarily, there is difficulty in identifying the Tamil names, with the Sanskrit appellations of Figures of speech, fortunately these five do not raise any such problem. They correspond to Bhāmaha's *rūpaka*, *upamā*, *anuprāsa*, *yamaka* and *dīpaka* respectively. Yāpparuṅkala Virutti mentions the name *dīpaka* itself, whilst Cūṭamaṇi nikaṇṭu translates the word with another Tamil word 'cuṭar' (flame or light). Piṅkalam translates *anuprāsa* and *yamaka* as *vali nilai* and *maṭakku*; perhaps one may interpret it to give the two names, *Valimaṭakku* and *nilaimaṭakku*, taking *maṭakku* as *dīpaka* going separately with *vali* and *ilai*. This will accord with Tivākaram. Yāpparuṅkala virutti gives *vali moli* and *maṭakku* as the names for these two Figures; perhaps, here also one may interpret it to mean *valimaṭakku* and *moli maṭakku*. *Vali* translates the word *anu*. All these seem, to include both the figures, under the group of *yamaka* as Bharata did, and to suggest that this *yamaka* was later on considered as two.

The second group in Tivākaram gives rise to some textual problems. By some mistake the figures *nōkku*, *uḷtoṭar*, *tokaimoli* and *mikaḷ moli*, all expressed within the short span of a line, had got mixed up with the third group mentioned in Tivākaram. A comparison with other works in Tamil seems to prove our theory, and also to assign correctly their order in the list. These, instead of coming between *maruttu molinilai* and *uṭan nilai-k-kuṭṭam* in the third group, should come between *velippaṭu-nilai* and *vārttai* in the second group itself. If this interpretation is correct, Tivākaram, in its second group, has the following figures : 1. *Vērrūmai nilai*, 2. *velippaṭu nilai*, 3. *nōkku*, 4. *uḷ toṭar*, 5. *tokai moli*, 6. *mikaḷmoli*, 7. *vārttai*, 8. *taṇmai* and 9. *piṇṇarkōḷ vaippu*. These can be identified with 1. *vyatirēka*, 2. *vibhavanā*, 3. *utprākṣā* 4. *ākṣepa* 5. *samāsōkti*, 6. *atisayōkti*, 7. *vārttā*, 8. *svabhāvōkti* and 9. *arthāntranyāsa* respectively. The order in Bhāmaha is different, and may be represented by using the above numbers thus : 4, 9, 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, *yathāsankhyā* (which is omitted in Tivākaram), 3 and 8. Piṅkalam, Yāpparuṅkalam and Cūṭamaṇi give *uṭkōḷ* for *uḷtoṭar* of Tivākaram, which may be a wrong reading of the original form *uṭkōḷ*, especially, in view of the possibility of reading 't' as 'k' in the Middle ages.

Arthāntranyāsa is given as *piṇṇaṇṇuḷ vaippu* in Tivākaram and Yāpparuṅkala virutti, but as *piṇṇarkōḷ vaippu* in Piṅkalam and as *veṇaruttam vaippu* in Cūṭamaṇi. The meanings do not differ. The commentary on Cūṭamaṇi identifies *uṭkōḷ* with *viḷakku*.

The third group in Tivākaram consists of 1. *Ciraṇṇu moli*, 2. *Cilētai*, 3. *Maruttu moli nilai*, 4. *Uṭan nilai-k kuṭṭam*, 5. *Uvamāna (m)uruvakam* (m is probably a mistake for v), 6. *Nuvalā nuvaṇci*, 7. *Talaikkaṭṭiya moli*, 8. *Nidaricaṇam*, 9. *Pārāṭṭu*, 10. *Orunkiyal nilai*, 11. *aiyam*, 12. *Uyarvu*, 13. *Viraviyal* and 14. *Vālttu*. These may be equated with 1. *Viśeṣōkti*, 2. *slēṣā*, 3. *apahnuti*, 4. *tulyayōga*, 5. *upamōrūpaka*, 6. *aprastutaprasamsa* 7. *samāhita* 8. *nidarṣana*, 9. *prēyas*, 10. *udātta*, 11. *sahōkti*, 12. *sandēha*, 13. *samsātam*, or *samkīrnā* and 14. *āsis*.

Yāpparuṅkalam perhaps wrongly gives No. 3 as *marumoli* probably having *uttara* of later writers in mind ; 7 as *uyarmoli* and No. 9 as *Mārāṭṭu* which is evidently a mistake for *Pārāṭṭu*. No. 5 is missing in the present edition. Piṅkalam agrees with Tivākaram except with reference to No. 5, where it gives the correct reading suggested above.

Cūṭamaṇi gives No. 3 as *Maruttu nilaiyin vārttai* in an expanded and explanatory form ; No. 5 as *uvamārūpakam* reminding us of the Sanskrit form. *Mākilcci* instead of being taken as qualifying *nidaricaṇam*

is counted as a separate figure in the commentary, evidently having *prēyas* mind ; but this is evidently wrong because *pārāṭṭu* comes later as the translation of *prēyas* as in other Tamil works. The last line of the verse No. 126 here, is given wrongly as *Uruttiye yiṭuntalikkāṭṭuyaraṇi darisanañkal*, instead of *Uṇuttiye yiṭum talaikkāṭṭuyarvu nidarisanañkal*. This new reading will give us No. 7 in a shortened form as *talaikkāṭṭu* ; No. 12 as *uyaryu* and No. 8 as *nidaricanam*. Probably Cūṭamaṇi is having the reading *uyarmoli* for *talaikkāṭṭu* ; but if we do not take *uyaryu* separately, that figure will be missing. Exigencies of metre make Cūṭamaṇi give the order thus : (to use the above Nos.) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 9, 10 and 11.

Bhāmaha's order is almost the same as found in Udbhaṭa and in Daṇḍin, suggesting that this order is something uniform in this Southern tradition. The figure *āsis* is found in Daṇḍin. Daṇḍin has added *hetu*, *sūkṣma* and *lēsa* (which Bhāmaha rejects) in between the figures of the third group and those of the fourth group. Daṇḍin does not mention the grouping ; but enumerates all the figures without any break. He also mentions the rest of the figures in the following order :—*Prēyas*, *rasavat*, *ūrjasvin*, *paryāyōkti*, *samāhita*, *udātta*, *apahnūtī*, *sleṣā*, *visēṣōkti*, *tulyayōga*, *virōḍa*, *aprastuta prasamsā*, *vyājastuti*, *sahōkti*, *parivritti*, *āsis*, *samkīrṇa*, and *bhāvikā*. Bhāmaha has *visēṣam* after *visēṣōkti* ; *susandeha* (which is *aīyam* in Tamil) and *ananvaya* after *parivritti*. Tivākaram list has some figures from Daṇḍin and some from Bhāmaha, which, either of these two, probably rejected or included in their other figures. *Valṭtu* or *āsis* is one of the themes of Tamil poetry in *puṇam*. Tivākaram list may be taken to be the earlier one in this tradition.

Before closing, we have to consider the criticism of Keith (Opp. Cited. p. 374) levelled against this theory taking Bhāmaha's account as helping us historically to distinguish the various stages of development. He admits that the first grouping may suggest the first step. He continues:—"But it is much more dubious, if the fact that Bhāmaha mentions after this set of five, a set of six, has any chronological conclusion ; and the figures themselves are rather more complex than can be supposed to have been early. Our trust in the whole theory is seriously undermined when we find that to a third period of development are assigned three new figures, and that the fourth period is made to recognise the large number of figures, twenty four more, in Bhāmaha." Bhāmaha speaks of some accepting the first group whilst others accept the second and so on. It may be true that he is not in so many words suggesting the

historical development. What is claimed is not that these figures were "invented" as various steps in the historical march of poetry. Probably, examples for some of these figures are found in the most ancient writings themselves. Students of Rhetoric, in their attempt at scientific generalisation, after a careful analysis of the modes of poetic expression discover these specific but recurring modes and find their characteristic features, for the help of others to recognise these figures whenever and wherever found. This is certainly not an invention of a poetic Figure. It is because of this attempted definition which will be going on improving, on a basis of more and more careful analysis, we get difference of opinion among Bhaṭṭi, Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, who treat the figures in different ways, giving different definitions and illustrations, and suggesting different classifications, while rejecting some figures and accepting others. The natural development of poetic expression, in any case, is something different from its recognition and analysis, its definition and classification, even as the development or the evolution of the world and the living beings therein, is different from the discovery of the law of evolution and its various stages by the scientists at a later date. Keith is labouring under a misapprehension that the historical development that we see suggested by Bhāmaha's account is the invention (the use of this word by Keith is significant) of a Series of Figures of Speech by the poets themselves at the various stages of the history of poetry. In making this criticism Keith forgets his own earlier statement (p. 372) "It is very possible to exaggerate the effect of theories of poetics on Indian poetry and to ignore the fact that in India, as elsewhere, the poets set the models on which theory was built, and that it was only gradually that the effect of the text-books on poetics came to be of ever-increasing importance. It is little short of absurdity to imagine Kālidāsa as laboriously striving to conform to rules, which, in his time were, to the best of our knowledge, only in process of formulation, and which in any case were, as we can see from our extant sources, always being laid down with distinct divergences of emphasis and detail." If we refer only to the discovery and recognition, definition and classification of figures, no consideration of any complexity of the figures themselves need arise. After all, between Bharata's work and the works of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Bhaṭṭi, there may not be many centuries intervening. Asvaghōṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Bhāravi probably came in this intervening period, to inspire this kind of analysis. The inscriptions abound in these figures. "To assert even a common source of

Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha as opposed to Bhaṭṭi is beyond our means of proof and to ascribe to Mēdhāvin the *invention* of *utprēkṣa* is quite invalid " (p. 375). We may not be so cocksure as Keith, in view of the new light thrown by the Tamil list, to which we may now usefully turn.

PEDAGOGIC METHODS

BY

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'The illiterates are akin to animals. The eyes on their face are not eyes but sores.' This idea is expressed by Tiruvalluvar in the following couplet :

"Vilaṅkoṭu makkaḷ aṇaiyar ilaṅkunūl
karṛārōṭu ēṇaiyavar."

"The literates and the illiterates stand in the same contrast as human beings and beasts", and in,

"Kaṇṇuṭaiyar eṇpavaḷ karṛōr mukattīraṇṭu
puṇṇuṭaiyar kallā tavar."

"Those who are literates, are those with eyes and those who are not, are those that have not eyes but sores. "

It is necessary that, to attain the scale of human creation and to be credited with eyes that can see and discern, everybody should get educated. Notwithstanding human birth, the uneducated cannot hold title to humanity. Even with eyes, such are blind. This categorical declamation may seem to be an apparent monstrosity; nevertheless, it is gratifying to note that with education humanity can absolve itself from degradation.

Education confers several blessings which are too numerous to mention. Maternal affection which is normally equally distributed among children gets prejudiced in favour of the child which is a scholar. Even the monarch in the supreme plenitude of his power and insisting that his subjects bow to his mandates is not inclined towards those that may be old in years in his assembly but greets in all humility only him who is learned and wise and lends ears to his counsels and pursues the path of his wisdom. Be he born low, the learned are superior to those who are born high and commands respect and admiration in society. The learned are great wherever they go, but the king cannot aspire to their greatness everywhere. His monarchy is respected only in his own domain. The scholar knows no geographical boundary for his greatness. The entire humanity are his kith and kin.

He makes no distinction between his own native land and other countries and climes. He stands to realise the benefits of his birth viz., Dharma, Artha Kama and Moksha.

All education should be acquired in the younger years under a good teacher. The qualities of a good teacher, his methods of instruction, the qualities of a good pupil, manner of receiving instruction—these are extant in the prefaces to Tamil Grammatical literature. There is no reference to any of them by Tolkappiar in his preface to Tolkappiam. But his commentators have quoted a few verses from ancient literature in their commentaries to Tolkappiar's preface. The sources of their quotations are not easily ascertainable but the fact is possitive that they have drawn their quotations from the literatures anterior to their own generation. Pavanandi, the author of Nannool has followed the foot steps of the commentators of Tolkappiam and has adopted their subject matter in the preface to his grammar.

That teachers are of two categories, those who are fit to be teachers and those who are unfit to be teachers, can be gleaned from the commentaries of Tolkappiam and the prefatory sutras of Pavanandi. There can be no gainsaying the fact that all learning has to be acquired only from the first class of educators. It is sad, however, to note from the commentaries that even pupils are of two classes: the worthy and the unworthy. A classification of this kind needs proper investigation. The question arises as to the fate of the unworthy pupils. If they are discarded for the reasons ostensible against them, their degradation in the scale of creation becomes imperative according to Tiruvalluvar. They cease to be members of humanity. They have eyes and yet no eyes. When education is the birth-right of every human being, will it be a fair deal to deny education to a group who in the scale of values enumerated by the commentators and Pavanandi are too low and are therefore unfit to be pupils? It distresses one to see that even Tiruvalluvar would have his invictives against them and look upon them as animals. Certainly Tiruvalluvar whose words spring from the fountain sources of truth could never have been so unjust to young pupils as to assign them a place among the lower orders of creation. To him the unworthy can never be a class of pupils who are young in years, but only those teachers whose incompetency has descended from generation to generation.

Even among scholars there are those who have such negative qualities as revelry, indolence, pride, delinquency and others, objec-

tionable beyond measure. It baffles understanding whether such persons developed their bad qualities on account or in spite of their education. Necessarily their inherent evil propensities had not been obliterated by learning what was good to learn ; and it will be therefore preposterous to lay the blame at the door of their education. The question would arise as to how such men in spite of their evil tendencies from early years had their title to education. Who the teachers were of these unworthy pupils is also a matter for enquiry. Is it that these unworthy pupils who were first discarded by the best teachers for their bad qualities excited the pity of the worst teachers who made an attempt to educate them ? If there is a class of bad teachers even they should have received their training under a teacher who obviously must have been a scion of the lineage of good teachers. It was that scion that must have started the line of incompetent teachers. Certainly the Lord of Creation would never have ushered into existence two classes of teachers : the one competent and the other incompetent.

There is a Nannool sutra which purports six classes of pupils who lay claim to instruction. They are : teacher's son, the teacher's teacher's son, the king's son, the rich man's son who can pay lavishly for education, the disciple, and the willing and capable pupil who has the avidity to assimilate instruction. The first four of this group need not necessarily be worthy pupils. The disciple is like a shadow of his teacher ; he is always by his side ; he is full of love for him ; he sincerely strives to please him ; and he does his duties amounting to worship of the teacher. To be such a disciple is not possible for all pupils. The last class of pupils is far above the common. It will now be clear that including those who do not deserve any education, and the other category of pupils listed as competent to be pupils, there may be a large majority of the younger generation to whom the opportunity to learn will have to be denied in accordance with the Nannool sutras. It is a thousand pities that these have no escape from the ordination of fates that they should for ever be denied the light of learning.

In most of the civilised countries of the world the percentage of literacy is between 80 and 100 percent and we in India fail to realise why the so-called fates have no control over the educational destinies of the people of those countries. It therefore stands to reason to know why in our country from time immemorial a majority of people have had to be traditionally illiterate by reason of being unworthy of

education, on account of their personal disqualifications. This state of affairs is appalling and its reason has to be sought in the realm of education in which at some time in its history something wrong has been perpetrated which has come to be perpetuated right through centuries. Obviously the wrong has to be located in the methods of teaching.

Ever since the teachers began the wrong methodology, the fates of the young learners have been sealed. Learning has become an anathema to the younger generation. What the hot milk had been to Thenali Rama's cat, the task of learning has been to the young pupil. A Pandya king of the name of Nedunchelivan who conquered the Aryan forces offers counsel that by all manner or means, by service, by lavish payments of fees and by adhering to the path of devotion and discipleship, learning is good. The statement from a king of his stature baffles all thinking; perhaps it had been his destiny to have had his learning which he must have enjoyed at great cost at the hands of a teacher who perhaps knew not the right method of teaching. However it was his greatest wish that the blessings of learning should be enjoyed by all. Evidently he failed to reform the generation of teachers. The fact must have been, that, he who undaunted, conquered the Aryan forces, had been daunted in his younger years by the teacher's rod. A parallel can be looked up to in the days of the Holy Roman Empire when the Emperors stood with bated breath and whispering humbleness before the Popes of Rome. Likewise in the Tamil country, there must have been a time when the kings trembled before their generation of teachers with awe and respect.

In the realm of education the methods of instruction have to take the foremost place. Mere learnedness cannot confer on an individual the title to pedagogy. It is common knowledge that teachers without training are not given a place in schools in our educational institutions according to governmental regulations. A teacher with no knowledge of the right methods of teaching cannot have a place in a school; but it is an irony of fate that even those that have had training as teachers let slip their knowledge of methods and tow the line gregariously with the rank and file of their community. At the University stage, the teachers are mere purveyors of knowledge with the examination objective preponderant in their minds. The students forget that learning is for learning but pursue their goal of learning for a degree. Their pass in the examinations is determined on a 35 percent ability; they take to some vocation; they forget the little

that they had learnt and deprive themselves of the full blessings of learning. This is the goal which the teachers who do not know or practise the right methods of teaching lead their students to.

Teacher training institutions have fixed one or two years as the case may be for the period of training. The period is too long and anybody that suggests a shorter period might be cavilled. With or without intention a commentary on Tolkappiam introduces a quotation :

“*Koļvōṇ uṇavakai arintavaṇ uḷaṅkoļak koṭuttal marapu.*”

It means the learner's understanding ability has to be known by the teacher before he imparts any knowledge to be realised in the mental experience of the pupil. The author of Nannool makes an indication along the same line but with a slight modification.

“*koļvon koļvakai arintavaṇ uḷaṅkoļak
kōṭṭamil marapiṇ nool koṭuttal enpa.*”

The learner's receptive aspect has to be known by the teacher before he imparts any knowledge to be realised in the mental experience of the pupil. Pavanandi's emendation of “*uṇaravakai*” into “*koļvakai*” is none for the better. Perhaps in his time there was no proper appreciation of the concept in “*uṇarvakai*”. The modification of “*uṇarvakai*” into “*koļvakai*” was an indication of a deterioration in the methods of teaching.

If the term “*uṇarvakai*” has to be properly understood, it is necessary to look back to a period anterior to that of the commentators. Tolkāppiam is a very ancient grammatical work of literary grandeur. It is only in Tolkappiam that any enlightenment can be sought for the concept underlying “*uṇarvakai*,” certainly not in the works of the Sangam Age when the rulers trembled before the teacher's rod. The great Tolkappiar was of indomitable courage. He never quaked before his teacher's rod. Even in the face of his teacher's curses, Tolkappiar retaliated with his own, because of his greatness and goodness. This incident in his life has been later distorted far too much to be believed. Tolkappiar was able to consign his master's work to the limbo and wrote out his own, so as to be acceptable at all times. It is such a great savant that has also indicated unintentionally or intentionally the right method of teaching. No amount of coercion or repression can bring about a stage for learning in the mind of the pupil by any teacher worth the name. The teacher's rod was nowhere

in Tolkappiar's times, but it came back to prominence in later days under teachers who could not realise the import of the idea in the term "uṇarvakai" which they bartered away for "koḷvakai," little realising the enormity of the consequences of the change in terminology. Still even in the term "koḷvakai," the import of the term "uṇarvakai" hangs like a shadow.

Tolkappiar in his grammar of "uriccol" offers the suggestion to make the unknown "uriccol" understood by a known word.

"payilāta varrai (p) payinṇavai cārttit
tattam maṇapiṇ ceṇṇunilai maruṇkin
eccol lāyiṇum poruḷvēru kiḷattal."

That this doctrine is true for the elucidation of every word can be inferred from the sutra itself, or it has been indicated by Tolkappiar himself without saying it so. This is undoubtedly the right method of introducing a new word. Tolkappiam is neither a general nor a special treatise on methods of teaching. It is a grammar based on the literature extant before its period and is a literary work by itself, and with the inculcation of a method of instruction it becomes a complete work. "Uri iyal" has been chosen by Tolkappiar as the most appropriate chapter for this purpose.

The word and its meaning are inseparable. The word may stand physically apart from its meaning, but organically the meaning is inherent in the word itself. The relationship between the two is the same as Ardhanārīśvara. The great sanskrit poet and dramatist Kalidasa in his invocation to his work has sung thus : "As the word is to its meaning, apparently two, but really one, Pārvathī-Paramēśvara may bless me with the gift of discerning words and their meanings beyond the shadow of any doubt or distortion." The Ardhanārīśvara concept is palpable in the great poet's supplication. It is on account of the inseparable nature of the word and its meaning, as soon as a word is uttered, its meaning floats before the mind's eye. Only then is that word understood. If it is not possible to envisage the meaning, the uttered word is just an utterance. The word 'chair' when uttered brings before us the vision of a real chair. Likewise the word elephant and so on. The word 'kaḷiṇu' may happen to be an unfamiliar word to the pupil. As soon as it is uttered the picture of an elephant will not be manifest to him. But the moment that the meaning of 'kaḷiṇu' is known, the utterance of the word will bring about the necessary association of the object. Therefore, the unfamiliar words have

to be rendered clear through those which are familiar. In the training institutions the maxim "from the known to the unknown" is therefore emphasised. Tolkappiar's sutra is to the effect that words as soon as they are uttered automatically get association with corresponding words which bear meaning in their respective groups. So any word, however, unfamiliar it may be, can be made familiar with the help of the known.

Again a word may have different meanings. For example the "uriccol" 'kaṭi' has the following meanings :

sharpness ; guard ; newness ; speed ;
 explanation ; excess ; praise ; fear etc.

The struggling student who does not know the meaning of the word 'kaṭi' will feel flabbergasted if he is given a number of meanings of the word. The exact meaning has to be picked out only by a reference to the context of the situation. This idea is emphasised in the sutra below by Tolkappiar :

"meipeṛak kiḷanta uriccol ellām
 muṇṇum piṇṇum varupavai nāṭi
 otta moḷiyāl puṇarttaṇar uṇarttal
 tattam marapiṇ tōṇṇumaṇ poruḷē."

In the expression "kaṭimalar" the word 'malar' suggests the meaning, newness given for the "uriccol" kaṭi. "Kaṭi kā" suggests the meaning a guarded grove. This sutram of Tolkappiar particularly enunciating its regulations for "uriccol" can be deemed to be a general enunciation for all words.

The variants of the same word are usually found in the Nikaṇṭu. In modern times the lexicon has taken its place. Neither can be said to be exhaustive of the entire range of human vocabulary. It is with a view to make a provision for words not covered by either the Nikaṇṭu or the lexicon, Tolkappiar has in the sutra :

"kūriya kiḷavi (p) poruḷṇilai alla
 vērupiṇa tōṇṇiṇum avarroṭum koḷalē."

In the phrase "kaṭi nāṇum poontuṇar", 'kaṭi' does duty for fragrance. This meaning of the word 'kaṭi' is not in the list of meanings. In such a case the teacher has to give an interpretation. The question would arise as to what the teacher has to do if even the suggested meaning-word is not intelligible to the pupil. If successively one

meaning-word after another is not understood, it is not for the teacher to continue to give further meanings of the word at the risk of committing the fallacy of *ignotum per ignotius*. Suggesting word meanings interminably will lead the pupil nowhere.

“poruṭku (p) poruḷ teriyiṇ atu varampiṇṇē.”

Therefore, Tolkāppiar leaves it to the resources of the teacher to discover a method by which he can lay bare the meaning of the word.

“poruṭku(t) tiripillai uṇartta vallin.”

Another method is by employing the unknown word in a phrase so as to enable the pupil to discern its meaning in the context of its location with words before and after. This is one way of describing the idea denoted or connoted by the word. An elephant may be described as a big animal with a pair of tusks and a hanging trunk. The next concept at enabling further comprehension is to illustrate the word by means of a picture or by producing the object itself. Perhaps as the last resort an elephant in flesh and blood may have to be exhibited. All these three methods were in currency in the Tamil country and the great commentator Sēnāvaraiyar has emphasised them in the order in which they can be adopted viz., giving the meaning of the word, using it in self-interpreting combinations of words, and exhibiting the very object for which the word stands. Various other methods that may be suggested can all be brought under anyone or all of the three. It is the teacher's ability to adopt the right method that is emphasised by Tolkāppiar, so as to enable the pupil to learn the correct meaning of the unfamiliar word; and the teacher has to remember the exhortation in the line,

“poruṭku (t) tiripillai uṇarttavallin”

and never condemn any pupil as unworthy of learning.

It is the duty of the teacher to know the range of understanding of the pupil with reference to his previous knowledge and accordingly project his instruction, so that whatever is taught is realized in the experience of the learner. The power of understanding and the extent of assimilation is determined by previous knowledge.

This is what is called the apperceiving mass. Children within the first 5 years after their birth get their early schooling at home under the guidance of their parents. They get to know their own home and their environment in detail. They also learn to associate the spoken

word with the object for which it stands; and they also learn to employ their acquired vocabulary of words and phrases in their speech. It is the knowledge thus acquired that gives the necessary impetus for learning more and more. Tolkappiar emphasises this aspect in the line,

“*uṇarcci vāyil uṇarvōr valittē.*”

What is already known is the medium by which what is not known is related and associated. Except in this way it is not possible to cultivate the ability to learn. Along with this which according to the commentators is the only way, we know that there are two other methods, the illustrative and the objective by which the pupil-learner can be made receptive to the new knowledge. Nowhere is it suggested in the sutra that those who cannot understand in the absence of a rich apperceptive mass should be given up as unfit to learn. All that is emphasised is that the teacher should gauge the apperceiving mass and make it the basis of his teaching process. A teacher teaching multiplication has necessarily to know whether the pupils have already known the tables and on the basis of their knowledge of the tables proceed to teach problems involving multiplication. The thoroughness acquired in the multiplication table makes the pupil sensitive and react to the problems based on it. Without ensuring this sensitivity, any amount of teaching will be of no avail. Modern methods insist on a proper motivation at the beginning of every lesson. In the Tamil country this first step in teaching that the determinant of understanding is the mass of apperception has been emphasised by Tolkappiar. Books on educational psychology consider this as the pivot of both the teaching and the learning process.

An illustration of the role apperceiving mass plays will not be out of place. Before a pupil is asked to mention the names of two animals with cloven hoofs, the teacher should verify whether he knows the hoof and whether he has knowledge of it previously. The pupil himself should freely use the word hoof. If he has no knowledge of it, he may be asked to mention the names of a few birds and domestic animals. The next step will be to tell the pupil to distinguish between their feet. The pupil will note the contrast and utter the word hoof as belonging to animals. Then the difference between the split hoof and the rounded hoof will be known by citing the names of the horse and the bullock. After this stage the pupil will be able to mention the names of all those animals with split hoofs from his previous knowledge. It is always necessary to proceed step by step to know the previous knowledge of the pupils before giving either meanings of words or their usage in appropriate context or exhibiting the very

object itself. By these means any piece of literature can be effectively and successfully taught by the teacher and learnt by the pupil. In spite of these maxims of methodical procedure, it is deplorable that certain pupils are branded absolutely unfit to learn. The term “uṇarccī vāyil” even if it means “the pupil’s ability to understand” makes the interpretation obvious that if the teacher has not properly surveyed the pupil’s apprehending mass it is impossible for him to induce the learning process. Tiruvalluvar’s couplet :

“kāṇātāṇ kāṭṭuvāṇ tāṇ kāṇāṇ kāṇātāṇ
kaṇṭāṇām tāṇ kaṇṭavāru,”

tantamounts to the same idea.

“If an attempt is made to teach one who cannot learn, the teacher will be blamed for his inability to teach. The ignoramus will persist in his own ignorance and to that extent only the teacher will know him.” This exposition can be turned to our advantage as pointing out that if the teacher is able to know the mental mass of the ignoramus, he may be able to adjust his teaching process so as to make him learn.

In this connection the quotation given by the commentators of Tolkappiam on the methods of teaching is well worth a study.

“ital iyalpē iyalpurak kīlāṭṭin
poḷippē akalam nuṭṭam eccameṇa (p)
paḷippil pallurai payiṇṇa nāvināṇ
pukaḷanta matiyiṇ poruntum ōraiṇil
teḷinta ariviṇāṇ teivam vāḷtti (k)
koḷvōṇ uṇarvakai anintavan koḷyarak
koṭuttal marapeṇa (k) kūrīṇar pulavar.”

The same is modified by Pavanandi in the following lines :

“ital iyalpē iyampuṇ kālai (k)
kālamum iṭamum vālitin nōkki (c)
ciraṇṭuḷi iruntutan teivam vāḷtti
uraikkap paṭuporuḷ uḷḷat tamaittu
viraiyāṇ vekuḷāṇ virumpi mukamalarntu
koḷvōṇ koḷyarak anintavan uḷḷakolāk
kōṭṭamil marapin nool koṭuttal eṇṇa.”

Both these verses suggest in the first instance thorough preparation on the part of the teacher. The teacher should know the paraphrase, the elaborate commentary, the subject matter implicit, and the subject matter inferable of the work which he attempts to

teach, besides experience of having taught it; he should begin his exposition in an auspicious time, at a sacred place; his seat should be comfortable and prominent; he should be free from fear, want, disease, discomfort etc.; and with mental clearness he should have thoroughly prepared and clearly analysed the subject matter of his instruction; after prayer to God he should without haste, without anger, with enthusiasm and with a shining face full of cheer first gauge the mental receptivity of his pupil and adjust his instruction and teach his lessons so as to be received by and assimilated in the pupil's mind.

The verses also emphasise the preparation, that the teacher should make and his clear notions and thorough mastery of his subject before he sets out to teach. As much important is the preparation of the mind of the pupil by proper motivation as an aid to learning. Other steps are all subsidiary to the main steps of the teacher's own preparation and the preparation of the mind of the pupil to facilitate presentation in an environment congenial to learning.

Tolkappiar's sutras wherever they are relevant to our purpose are handy to the earnest teacher. These have guided the teachers from ancient times. It may be preposterous to suggest that a separate training for teachers for short or long periods may not be necessary. The requisite knowledge of psychology can be acquired from a few books on the subject. Let teachers of any generation present or future adhere strictly to the spirit and the letter implicit as well as explicit in the sutras quoted, there will be no class of pupils deserving of damnation, they can become literates, and attain humanity, and develop eyes in the place of sores on their face.

It is distressing to see certain educational institutions admitting only those with high percentage of marks and discarding the rest as unfit for education. This intolerable state of affairs dominating our schools and colleges should go. Their doors should be open to all those who seek learning. The very educational institutions are responsible for bringing up of a class of dullards and backwards; and if they realise a sense of responsibility and remember their duty they must first let open their doors for the defectives and make them fit and worthy.

Note :—This article is a true translation of the article '*Paviru muṟai*' written in Tamil by Dr. M.A. Dorai Rangaswamy. That article also is published elsewhere in this Centenary Volume.

DID “NĀMALI” EXIST IN OLD TAMIL?

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Tolkāppiyar, in his grammar of the Tamil language,¹ stated that the alveo-palatal nasal *ñ* would occur in the initial part of words in combination with the vowels *ā*, *e* and *o*. *ñālam* (world), *ñeṇḍu* (crab) and *ñolkiṟru* (languished) are illustrations usually cited.

But Pavananti, the author of *Nannūl*, of the 13th century A. D. stated that *ñ* would occur with *a*, *ā*, *e* and *o*.² *ñamali* (a dog) as an illustration of *ñ* + *a* was added.

Ḫampūraṇar, the earliest of the commentators³ of Tolkāppiyam, said that illustrations such as *ñaliyiṟru* were slangs. Nachchinārkkiniyar, his successor, agreed with him and said besides that *ñamali* (a dog) occurring in a line⁴ as “*ñamali tanta*” etc., was a dialectal word.

In this paper, I propose to examine how the forms *ñamali* and *ñaliyiṟru* came to occur in literature, whilst their usage had not been contemplated in Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil grammar. In the works commonly classified as the third Sangam classical works (of a period prior to 2nd century A. D.) the following are the places where *ñamali* (*ñ* + *a* as initial) has occurred:—

- (1) Purananuru 74 (3) “*Toḍarppaḍu ñamali*”
- (2) Naṟṟinai 285 (5) “*Maṇaivāy ñamali*”
- (3) Paṭṭiṇappalai 1.140 *Kūrukir ñamali.*”
- (4) Akanāṇūṟu 140 (9) “*Vīḷi aṟi ñamali.*”
- (5) Akanāṇūṟu – other places – 122 (9), 388 (14)
- (6) Kuṟuntokai – 179 (2)
- (7) Kuṟiñcippāṭṭu – 1.131

In the face of these usages, the author of *Nannūl* was naturally justified in including the nasal *ñ* as occurring in combination with the short *a* also in initial places.

1. Tolkappiyam – (4th century B. C. circa.) § 64

2. § 105

3. circa 12th century A. D.

4. Perumpānāruppāḍai L. 132 (by Uruttiraṇ Kaṇṇaṇār

Let me list the occurrences of $\tilde{n}+a$ as the initial letter of words in the third Sangam classical works.⁵

- (1) \tilde{n} amala - Puṛam. 90 (8)
- (2) \tilde{n} aman - Puṛam. 6 (9)
- (3) do - Paripāḍal 5 (61) ; 3 (21)
- (4) \tilde{n} arala - Tirumurukāṛruppaḍai 1.120.
- (5) do - Paḍiṛruppattu 30 (6) ; 51 (14)

No. (1) above alternates with another reading “ \tilde{n} emara”, “to spread”. Nos. 2 and 3 are found to occur as “ \tilde{n} eman” in Maduraik Kāñchi (1.491), Paripāḍal 8 (44) and Akanānūru 349 (3). Nos. (4) and (5) above are found to occur as “ \tilde{n} arala” (with an initial alveolar nasal) in the following places :—

- (a) Maduraik Kāñchi L. 185.
- (b) Kuṇṭokai 160 (4), 177 (4), 381 (4).
- (c) Paḍiṛruppattu 51 (14)

From the above data, one can find out that the initial $\tilde{n}+e$ alternates with initial $\tilde{n}+a$ and that the initial alveolar nasal (n) alternates with the initial alveopalatal nasal (\tilde{n}). Thus it is evident that there were two tendencies at work :—

one, to change $\tilde{n}+e$ in the initial part of words into $\tilde{n}+a$; and another to change the initial n into an initial \tilde{n} . These must have been responsible for the development of forms like \tilde{n} amali and \tilde{n} aliyirru, not contemplated by Tolkāppiyar but cited by his commentators of a later age.

If then \tilde{n} amalai (a dog) is a form derived from an earlier \tilde{n} emali, what is the interpretation that might be suggested ? I find that an usage in Paripāḍal (one of the 3rd Sangam works) throws light on this problem. The following line occurs⁶ in Paripāḍal :—

“ alar \tilde{n} emal makanṛin.”

Here \tilde{n} emal means “to flutter” or “to stray around.” The passage means “like the birds which flutter (or stray) around the flowers.” The verbal root \tilde{n} emal, therefore, is capable of yielding a derivative noun, \tilde{n} emali, in the sense of “that which strays.” This sense is well-suited for the dog which is rather restless and which is always moving here and there. Thus, the original form of this word might have had an initial \tilde{n} and e (and not $\tilde{n}+a$). Therefore, Tolkāppiyar had no reason to include the alveo-palatal nasal resonant as a phoneme capable of occurring with the short vowel a in initial places of words in Tamil.

5. Paṭṭuppāṭṭu and Eṭṭuttokai

6. Verse 8 (44)

திருக்குறட் சிறப்பும், பொருள் இயையும்

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திருக்குறள், இற்றைக்கு ஆயிரத்தெண்ணூறு ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன் தோன்றித் தமிழ் மொழிக்குத் தனிப் பெருமை தந்து நிலவும் தலைசிறந்த தொரு நூல் என்பது யாவரும் அறிந்த உண்மையாகும். ஆயிரத்து முந்நூற்று முப்பது அருங் குறட்பாக்களைக் கொண்ட இந் நூலில், அறம், பொருள், இன்பம் என்னும் மூன்று பிரிவிற் கூறப்பட்டுள்ள செய்திகள், பெரும்பாலும் எல்லோருக்கும் எக் காலத்துக்கும் ஏற்றன. பிற மொழியாளர் பலர், இந் நூலைத் தம் மொழிகளில் மொழிபெயர்த்துக்கொண்டதற்கு இதுவும் ஒரு காரணமாகும். இவ்வாறு உலகம் முழுதுக்கும் இது பயன்படுவதால்தான் “வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக்கே தந்து வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ் நாடு,” என்று பாரதியார் பாடினார். வள்ளுவரால் உலகம் முழுதும் பயன் அடைந்தாலும், அவரைப் பெற்ற புகழ், தமிழ் நாட்டையே சேர்ந்தது, என்று பாரதியார் குறிப்பிட்டிருப்பது, மகிழ்ச்சிக் குரியது.

திருக்குறளுக்குப்பின் இப்போதுள்ள தமிழ் நூல்களுள், இதன் சொல்லையும், பொருளையும் எடுத்தாளாத நூல், இல்லை யென்று கூறலாம். எடுத்தாண்டவர்களுள் சிலர், இந் நூலையும், இதனை இயற்றியருளிய திருவள்ளுவரையும் பலவாறாகப் புகழ்ந்திருக்கின்றனர். இவர்களும், திருவள்ளுவமலை ஆசிரியர்களும் கூறிய புகழுகளால், திருக்குறளுக்கு ஒன்பது சிறப்புப் பெயர்களும், திருவள்ளுவருக்கு ஒன்பது சிறப்புப் பெயர்களும் வழங்கிவருதலை அறியலாம். இக் காலத்தில் இயற்றப்படும் நூல்களுக்குப் பல மதிப்புரைகளைத் தக்காரிடம் வாங்கி வெளியிடுதல்போலப் பலருடைய பாராட்டுரைகளை வாங்கி நூலுடன் சேர்க்கும் வழக்கம், அக் காலத்தில் இல்லை. சில நூல்களுக்கு ஒருவரால் பாடப்பட்ட சிறப்புப் பாயிரத்தான் உண்டு. மேலும், ஒரு நூலைப் பாராட்டிப் பிற்காலங்களில் எழுந்த சில பாடல்கள் அச்சிடும்போது சேர்க்கப்படும். ஆனால், திருக்குறளுக்கு ஐம்பத்தைந்து புலவர்களின் பாராட்டுரைகள் அடங்கிய திருவள்ளுவமலை என்னும் தனி நூல் அக் காலத்தில் இயற்றப்பெற்றுள்ளது. இஃது, இதற்கு முன்னும் பின்னும் உள்ள வேறு எந் நூலுக்கும் இல்லாத தனிப் பெருமையாகும். திருவள்ளுவமலைக்குப் பின்னும் திருக்குறளைப்பற்றி எழுந்த

பாராட்டுரைகள் எத்தனையோ பல என்பதும் இங்கு நாம் நினைவு கூரத் தக்கது. இந் நூலின் பெயருக்குத் திரு என்னும் அடை கொடுத்து வழங்குவது, இதன் ஒப்புயர்வற்ற தன்மைக்கு மற்றொரு சான்றாகும். தெய்வத்தைப் பற்றிய நூல்களுக்கு கன்றி மற்றைய நூல்களுக்குத் திரு என்னும் அடை கொடுக்கும் மரபு இல்லை என்பது, இங்கே நினைத்தற்குரியது.

தமிழில் எந் நூலுக்கும் ஆறுக்கு மேற்பட்ட உரை முற்காலத்தில் இருந்ததாகத் தெரியவில்லை. அவ்வா றிருந்தும், இத் திருக்குறளுக்கு, முற்காலத்தில், பதின்மர், உரை எழுதியிருக்கிறார்கள் ; இக் காலத் திலும் பலர் உரை எழுதிக்கொண்டேயிருக்கிறார்கள் என்றால், இதுவும் இதன் தனிப்பெருமைக்குப் பிறிதொரு சான்றாகும். மேற் கூறியவைகளிலிருந்து, இத் திருக்குறளில், தொன்று தொட்டு, மக்க ளுக்கு மிகுந்த ஈடுபாடு இருந்தது என்பது நன்கு புலனாகும். மக்கள் ஈடுபட்டு மிகுதியாகப் பயில்வது காரணமாகப் பாடபேதங்கள் பெருகிவருவது இயற்கை. இவ்வாறு பாடபேதங்கள் பெருகும் என்பதற்குக் கம்பராமாயணம், இப்போது சான்றாக இருக்கிறது. ஆனால், சொல்லையும், பொருளையும் எளிதில் மாற்றிவிடமுடியாத நிலையில், திப்ப நுட்பமாக நம் திருக்குறட் பாக்கள் அமைந் திருப்பதால், இவற்றின் சொற்களை மாற்றியோ கூட்டியோ குறைத்தோ யாரும் வழங்க முற்படவில்லை. இவ்வாறு வரையறை யாக இருந்தும், இதன்கண்ணும் சில பாடபேதங்கள் நோர்ந்து விட்டமை, உரைகளால் தெரிகின்றது. இப்போதுள்ள உரைகளி லும் காணப்படாத சில பாடபேதங்கள், நன்னூலின் முதல் உரையாகிய மயிலைநாதர் உரையிற் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவற்றைப் பதினைந்து ஆண்டுகளுக்குமுன் ஒரு கட்டுரையாக நான் எழுதி வெளியிட்டிருப்பதைத் தமிழ்ப் பெருமக்களுக்கு நினைவூட்ட விரும்பு கிறேன்.

பிற காலத்தில், இத் திருக்குறட் பாக்களை அமைத்து இயற்றப் பட்ட செய்யுள் நூல்களும், இதன் கருத்தைத் தழுவியும், ஆராய்ந்தும் எழுதப்பட்ட உரைநடை நூல்களும், கட்டுரைகளும் பற்பலவாம். இவ் வகையிலும் திருக்குறளுக்கு ஒப்பான நூல், வேறு எதுவும் இல்லை என்று கூறலாம்.

இவ்வாறு, பிற நூல்களுக் கில்லாத வீறு பெற்று, இந் நூல் விளங்குவதற்குக் காரணம், இதன்கண் அமைந்துள்ள குறட் பாக்களில், வழுவின்மை, சொற்சுருங்குதல், விளங்குதல், இனிதாதல், விழுப்பயன் தருதல் ஆகிய பண்புகள் அமைந்திருப்பதே யாகும். “நவில் தொறும் நூல்நயம் போலும்,” “அறிதோ றறியாமை கண்டற்றால்,” என்று இந் நூலிற் கூறப்பட்டிருக்கும் உவமைகள், இந் நூலுக்கு மிகவும் பொருந்தும்.

இத் திருக்குறளின் சீரிய அமைப்புக்கள் பலவற்றில், பொருள் இயைபாகிய ஒரு பகுதியைப்பற்றி மட்டும் இங்கே கூறுவேன். பொருள் இயைபை இரண்டு பிரிவாகப் பிரிக்கலாம். அவையாவன :— 1. ஒரு குறட்பாவோடு மற்றொரு குறட்பாவை இயைத்துப் பார்ப்பதால், பொருள் நயம் பெறுதல்; 2. இயையாது முரண்படுவனபோல் தோன்றும் குறட்பாக்களுக்கு இயைபு காண்டல் என்பன. இவற்றுள், முதற் பிரிவுக்கு மூன்று பாலிலும் இருந்து ஒவ்வோ ரெடுத்துக் காட்டுக் கூறுவேன் :

1. ஒரு குறட்பாவோடு மற்றொரு குறட்பாவை இயைத்துப் பார்ப்பதால் பொருள் நயம் பெறுதல் :

அறித்துப்பால்

“ஓறுத்தார்க் கொருநாளை யின்பம் பொறுத்தார்க்குப்
பொன்றுந் துணையும் புகழ்.” (156)

“ஒன்றா ஷலகத் துயர்ந்த புகழல்லாற்
பொன்றாது நிற்பதொன் றில்.” (233)

இவற்றுள், முதற் குறட்பாவை மேற்போக்காகப் பார்க்கும் போது, பொறுத்தார்க்குத் தாம் இறக்குமளவும் புகழ் உண்டு என்னும் பொருள் தோன்றும். அப் பொருளும் பொருந்துவதுபோலத் தோன்றினும், புகழின் இயல்பை நோக்கும்போது அது பொருந்தாது. புகழ், அதனை யுடையான் இறக்கு மளவும் நின்று மறைவ தன்று ; உலகம் இருக்கு மளவும் நின்று நிலவுவது. இவ் வுண்மையை இரண்டாம் குறள் விளக்குகின்றது. இக் குறளில் உள்ள “புகழல்லால் உலகத்துப் பொன்றாது நிற்பதொன் றில்,” என்பதோடு, முதற் குறளில் உள்ள “பொன்றுந் துணையும் புகழ்” என்பதை இயைத்துப் பார்க்கும்போது, பொன்றுந் துணையும் புகழ் என்பதற்கு, உலகம் அழியு மளவும் புகழ் உண்டாம் என்னும் சிறந்த பொருள் புலனாகின்றது. எனவே, பொறுமையுடையார்க்கு, உலகம் உள்ள வரையும் புகழ் உண்டு என்பது கருத்தாம். இவ்வாறே, திருவள்ளுவர், தாம் கருதிய பொருளை விளக்குவதற்கு ஏற்ற சொற்களைத் தம் நூலில் இயைபுபட வழங்கியிருக்கும் இடங்கள் பல. அவ் விடங்களில் உள்ள இயைபுகளைப் பரிமேலழகர் உணர்ந்து பொருள் நயங்களைப் புலப்படுத்தியிருப்பது, அவரது உரைத்திறத்துக்கு உள்ள தனிச் சிறப்பாகும்.

பொருட் பால்

“நிறைநீர நீரவர் கேண்மை பிறைமதிப்
பின்வீர பேதையார் நட்பு.” (782)

“பெரிதினிது பேதையார் கேண்மை பிரிவின்கட்
பீழை தருவதொன் றில்.” (839)

முதற் குறளின் பொருள் : அறிவுட்டையார் நட்புக்கள், பிறை நிறையுந் தன்மைபோல நாடோறும் நிறையும் தன்மையவரம். மற்றைப் பேதைமையுடையார் நட்புக்கள், நிறைந்த மதி, பின் குறையும் தன்மைபோல நாடோறும் குறையும் தன்மையவாம்.

இரண்டாம் குறளின் பொருள் : பின் பிரிவு வந்துழி, அஃது இருவருக்கும் தருவ தொரு துன்ப மில்லை ; ஆதலால், பேதையாயினார் தம்முட் கொண்ட நட்பு மிக இனிது.

இவற்றுள், இரண்டாம் குறட் பாவை நோக்கும்போது, “யாருடன் கொள்ளப்பட்ட நட்பாயினும், பிரியும்போது துன்பம் தருமே ! ‘பேயொடாயினும் பிரிவரிது’ என்று பெரியோர் கூறுவார்களே ! பேதையார் நட்பு, பிரிவின்கண் என் துன்பம் தாராது ? ” என்ற வினா எழும். இதனை முதற் குறளில் உள்ள “பேதையார் நட்பு மதிப் பின் நீர” (பேதையார் நட்பு நிறைந்த மதி, பின் குறையும் தன்மைபோல நாள்தோறும் குறையும்) என்பதோடு இயைத்துப் பார்க்கும்போது, ஐயம் தீர்க்கிறது. இவ்வாறு இயைத்துப் பார்த்து, ‘பேதையார் நட்பு நாடோறும் தேய்ந்துவருதலின், துன்பம் தாராதாயிற்று’, எனப் பரிமேலழகர் எழுதியிருப்பது, நயமுடைத்து. நாள்தோறும் தேய்ந்து, இறுதியில் நட்பே இன்றாய்விடும் ஆதலால், பிரிவினால் வரும் துன்பமும் இல்லை என்பது கருத்து.

காமத்துப் பால்

“வாராக்காற் றஞ்சா வரிற்றுஞ்சா வாயிடை
ஆரஞ் சூற்றன கண்.” (1179)

“பெருஅமையஞ்சும் பெறிற்பிரி வஞ்சும்
அருஅ விடும்பைத்தென் னெஞ்சு.” (1295)

இவ் விரு குறட்பாக்களும், தலைவனது பிரிவினால் வருத்தமுறும் தலைவியின் துன்ப நிலையைக் கூறுவன. முதற் குறட்பாவைப் பார்த்த அளவில், வரின் துஞ்சா என்ற பகுதி, பிரிந்த தலைவன் வந்தால் தலைவியின் கண்கள் ஏன் உறங்கமாட்டா ? என்ற வினாவை எழுப்புகிறது. இவ் வினாவுக்குத் தலைவன் வந்தால் அவனோடு இன்ப நுகர்ச்சியில் ஈடுபடுவதால், கண்கள் உறங்கமாட்டா என்ற விடையைத்தான் பெரும்பாலோரிடம் நாம் எதிர்பார்த்தல் கூடும். இவ் விடையும் இயற்கைக்குப் பொருத்தமானதே. ஆயினும், இவ் விடையை நாம் ஏற்றுக்கொண்டால், தலைவியை அன்று நுகரும் இன்பத்தைப் பெற விரும்பும் பேரார்வ முடையவளாகக் கொள்ளுதல் வேண்டும். இவ்வாறு கொள்ளாமல், இடையறாது என்றும் நுகரும் இன்பத்தைப் பெற விரும்புவளாகக் கொள்ளுதல் மிக்கசிறப்பாகும். இதுதான் திருவள்ளுவர் கருத்தாக இருத்தல் கூடும் என்பது, இரண்டாம் குறளிலுள்ள “பெறின் பிரிவஞ்சும்” என்பதோடு இதை இயைத்துப் பார்த்தால், நன்கு விளங்கும். இவ்வாறு இயைத்து உணர்ந்து,

வரின் (பிரிந்த தலைவர் வந்தால்) அவர் பிரிவஞ்சித் துயிலா (இனியும் அவர் பிரிவாரோ என அஞ்சிக் கண்கள் உறங்காவாயின) என உரை கொண்ட பரிமேலழகர், மிகவும் பாராட்டுதற் குரியர். பரிமேலழகர், திருவள்ளுவரின் கருத்தறிந்து உரை எழுதியவர் என்று ஆன்றோர் கூறுவதற்கு இது போன்ற சில இடங்கள், தக்க சான்றாகும்.

குறட்பாக்களை ஒன்றோ டொன்று இயைத்து நோக்குவதால், பொருளின் உண்மைத்தன்மையும், பொருளின் தெளிவும், பொருளின் உயர்வும் ஆகிய சிறந்த பயன்கள் விளைதலை மேற் காட்டிய மூன்று எடுத்துக்காட்டுக்களிலும் முறையே காணலாம்.

2. இனி, இயையாது முரண்படுவனபோல் தோன்றும் குறட்பாக்களுக்கு இயைபு காண வேண்டிய இடங்களை மூன்று பிரிவாகக் கூறலாம். அவையாவன:— 1. முரண்பாட்டைப் பரிமேலழகரே எடுத்துக்காட்டித் தீர்க்கும் இடம்; 2. பரிமேலழகர் உரை எழுதும் முறையில் முரண்பாடு தீரும் இடம்; 3. நாம் உய்த்துணர்ந்து முரண்பாட்டைத் தீர்க்கும் இடம் என்பன. இம் மூன்று வகைக்கும் ஒவ்வொரு எடுத்துக்காட்டுக் கூறுவேன் :

1. முரண்பாட்டைப் பரிமேலழகரே எடுத்துக்காட்டித் தீர்க்கும் இடம் :

“ துண்ணிய நூல்பல கற்பினும் மற்றுந்தன்
உண்மை யறிவே மிகும். ” (373)

“ தொட்டனைத் தூறு மணற்கேணி மாந்தர்க்குக்
கற்றனைத் தூறும் அறிவு. ” (396)

இவ் விரு குறட் கருத்துக்கும் உள்ள முரண்பாட்டைக் கண்ட பரிமேலழகர், இரண்டாம் குறள் உரையில், “ இஃது ஊழ் மாறு கொள்ளா வழியாகலின், மேல் ‘ உண்மையறிவே மிகும் ’ என்றதனோடு மலையாமை யறிக, ” என முரண்பாட்டை எடுத்துக் காட்டித் தீர்த்திருப்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

2. பரிமேலழகர் உரையெழுதும் முறையில் முரண்பாடு தீரும் இடம் :

“ ஊழிற் பெருவலி யாவுள மற்றொன்று
குழினூர் தான்முந் துறும். ” (380)

“ ஊழையு முப்பக்கங் காண்பர் உலையின்றித்
தாழா துஞற்று பவர். ” (620)

இவ் விரு குறட்கருத்தும் முரண்படுகின்றன. இம் முரண்பாட்டைப் பரிமேலழகர் வெளிப்படையாக எடுத்துக் கூறுவிடினும் இரண்டாம் குறள் உரையில், ‘ ஊழ் ஒருகாலாக இருகாலாக வல்லது விலக்க லாகாமையின், பலகால் முயல்வார் பயனெய்துவர் ’ என்பார் உப்பக்கங் காண்பர் என்றார் ’ என எழுதியிருப்பதிலிருந்து ‘ ஊழிற் பெருவலியாவுள ’ என்னும் குறள் நம் நினைவுக்கு வருவதோடு அதற்கும், பின் குறளுக்கும் உள்ள முரண்பாடும் தீர்கின்றது.

3. நாம் உய்த்துணர்ந்து முரண்பாட்டைத் தீர்க்கும் இடம் :

“கல்லாதா னெட்பங் கழியநன் றுயினும்

கொள்ளார் அறிவுடை யார்.”

(404)

“ எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்

மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.”

(423)

இவற்றுள், முதற் குறள், கல்லாமை என்னும் அதிகாரத்திலும், இரண்டாம் குறள், அறிவுடைமை என்னும் அதிகாரத்திலும் உள்ளன. முதற் குறள், கல்லாதாரது இயற்கை யறிவின் குற்றம் கூறும் நோக்கத்திலும், இரண்டாம் குறள் அறிவின் இலக்கணங் கூறும் நோக்கத்திலும் அமைந்துள்ளன. ஆயினும், குறள் இரண்டையும் பார்த்தவுடன், ஒன்றற்கொன்று மாறுபட்டன போலத் தோன்றுகின்றன. மிக நல்ல பொருளாயினும், கல்லாதான் சொன்னால், அதனைக் கொள்ள லாகாது என்ற பொருள், முதற் குறளில் இருப்பதாகத் தெரிகிறது. இவ்வாறு பொருள் கொள்வது ஏற்புடைத் தன்று. எப் பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப் பொருள் மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு என்ற முடிவுதான் பயனுடையது. இதனை உணர்ந்த பரிமேலழகர், இரு குறளுக்கும் முரண்பாடினமையை நாம் உய்த் துணர்ந்துகொள்ளுமாறு உரையெழுதியிருப்பது, கூர்ந்து நோக்குவார்க்குப் புலனாகும். 'ஒண்மை அறிவுடைமை. அது நன்றாகாது ; ஆயிற்றாயினும், ஏரல் ஏழுத்துப் போல்வ தோர் விழுக்காடாகலின், நிலைபெற்ற நூலறிவுடையார் அதனை மதியார் என்பதாம்,' என்பது முதற் குறளுக்கு எழுதப்பட்ட விசேட வுரை. 'சொல்வாரது இயல்பு நோக்காது, அப் பொருளின் பயன் நோக்கிக் கொள்ளுதல், ஒழிதல், செய்வது அறிவென்பதாம்,' என்பது இரண்டாம் குறளுக்கு எழுதப்பட்ட விசேட வுரை. முதற் குறளில் உள்ள கொள்ளார் என்ற சொல், சிறிது மயங்க வைப்பினும், அதற்கு எழுதப்பட்ட மதியார் என்ற பொருள், மயக்கத்தைத் தீர்க்கின்றது. அஃதாவது, 'கல்லாதான் சொல்லும் நற்பொருளை அறிஞர் ஏற்றுக்கொள்வர் ; ஆனால், அதனை அவன் அறிவுடைமையினால் விளைந்த தென்று கருதி, அவன் அறிவை மதிக்கமாட்டார்கள் ; தானாக நேர்ந்தது என்று கொள்வர்,' என்பது கருத்து. இவ்வாறு தெளிவுறும்போது, இரண்டு குறட் பாக்களுள் ளும் உள்ள முரண்பாடு தீர்ந்ததோடு, பயன்களும் கிடைக்கின்றன.

பெருங்கடல் போன்ற திருக்குறளில், சிறு துளி போன்ற ஒரு செய்தியைப் பற்றி இங்கே எழுதினேன். இவ்வாறே எத் துணையோ பல செய்திகளை விரிவாகவும், விளக்கமாகவும் இந் நூலில் நாம் உணர்ந்து இன்புறலாம். “எல்லாப் பொருளும் இதன்பால் உள; இதன்பால், இல்லாத எப் பொருளும் இல்லை,” என்ற ஆன்றோர் வாக்கை நினைவூட்டி, இக் கட்டுரையை முடிக்கின்றேன்.

POETS AND PLACE-NAMES

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The poems composed by several ancient poets have been compiled into anthologies named 'Eṭṭu-t-tokai' and 'Pattup pāṭṭu' and collectively called Saṅgam literature. Some of these poets are denoted only by the names of their places. In the case of some others their place-names are prefixed to their personal names. These place-names occupy an important place in the history of Tamil literature.

Potumpil Kīlār is the name of an ancient poet. The poems composed by him and his son, who was also a poet, can be seen in the compilation known as Naṟṟiṇai. There lived also a poetess by name Potumpil Pullālaṅkaṇṇiyār in those times. It is clear that all the three belonged to the village Potumpil. It is said that the place now known as Potumpu in the Madurai District is the old Potumpil.

Poets bearing the titles of Kāviti and Kulapati lived in the Kīṭāṅkil village in the past. Three poets, viz., Kāviti-k-kīraṅkaṇṇanār, Kāviti-p-peruṅkoṟraṇār and Kulapati Nakkāṇṇanār belonged to Kīṭāṅkil. The poems composed by them are found in the Naṟṟiṇai and Kuṟuntokai. The hamlet near Tiṭṭivaṇam which now passes as Kīṭāṅkāl is the old village.

The poems remarkable for suggestiveness and choice diction composed by Nocci Niyamaṅkiṭār are available in Naṟṟiṇai. As the Tamil word 'Niyamam' denotes a temple, it can be assumed that Nocci Niyamam was one of the sacred spots of the ancient times. This place-name has since been corrupted into Nocciam.

The poems of Kīḷi maṅkalaṅkiṭār can be seen in Kuṟuntokai. As this poet, a vellāḷa by birth, had his nativity in a village associated with Kīḷi, a titular name borne by the kings of the Chōḷa House, he came to be distinguished as Kīḷi maṅkalaṅkiṭār. This place-name has changed into Kīṇṇimaṅkalam now.

King Kō-p-peruṅcōḷan and poet Picir Antaiyār live in the Tamil world of Letters as examples of great friends. Parimēl Aḷakar, the commentator, says that although they belonged to different kingdoms and occupied different positions in life, they became excellent friends, because their mutual feeling of love for each other was of

a high order. Āntaiyār, the poet, came to be known as Picir Āntaiyār, because he belonged to the village Picir. That this place lay in Pāṇḍi Nāḍ is evident from the utterance of Kō-p-peruñcōlaṇ that "in the happy land of the Lord of the Southern hills (Pāṇṭiyaṇ) he is known as Picirōṇ." It is said that the village passes now as Picirkkuṭi and lies in the Ramanad District.

There were a few classical poets whose personal names were prefixed with the word 'Mōci'. The poet who sang in praise of the benefactor 'Āy Aṇṭiraṇ' in twelve stanzas included in Purāṇāṇūru was Muṭa Mōciār. It is understood that the learned men of his times called him simply Mōci. Besides, the compositions of the poet Mōci Kiraṇār are found in the compilations of both Subjective and Objective poetry. He is the poet who was fanned by king Peruñcēral-Irum porai, the destroyer of the Fort of Takaṭūr with a whisk of the tail of the musk-deer while he fell asleep unawares on the royal-drumcot. There lived, besides, other poets also in those days bearing names like Mōci Korraṇār, Mōci Cāttanār and Mōci Kaṇṇattanār. The prefix Mōci seen in their names is found also in the place-name Mōci-kuṭi. There is a village bearing this name in the Sivagaṅga Taluk of the Ramnad District.

There were three poets by name Aḷici in the Saṅgam age. One among them was Nal Aḷiciār. Two poems in Paripāṭal are his. Four poems composed by Kollaṇ Aḷici have been included in Kuṟuntokai. The third poet was Aḷici Naccāttanār. One of the friends of Pūta Pāṇṭiaṇ was Ātaṇ Aḷici. The village Aḷickuṭi commemorating this chieftain's name lies in the Chidambaram Taluk of South Arcot District.

The names of a Chieftain and of two poets who lived in the village known as Miḷai in the distant past are found in Kuṟuntokai. The place, the community and name of the chieftain are evident from the reference to him in this Anthology as Miḷai Vēl Tittaṇ. Besides, the poems composed by two poets by name Miḷaikkantaṇ and Miḷaipperuṅkantaṇ are also available to us. There are two villages known as Peru-muḷai and Ciru-muḷai in the Viruddhācalam Taluk of South Arcot District. As muḷai is a variation of miḷai, it is possible that they belonged to one or the other of these two villages.

The poems composed by Kuruṇ-kōḷiyūr Kiḷār are included in the Anthologies of Classical poetry. The word Kiḷār denotes a veḷḷāla. It is thus evident that this poet was an agriculturist belonging to Kuṟuṇ-kōḷiyūr. This village belonged to Toṇṭai Nātu and

enjoyed great renown in the past. It is now known as *Karuṅkuḷi* and included in the *Madurantakam Taluk* of *Chingleput District*.

Another poet of the ancient times is referred to as *Peruntalai-c-āttanār*. He is the poet who sought *Kumaṇan*, a great Noble, in his forest exile, moved his heart with a pathetic appeal, and got from him the offer of his head, on which a prize had been set by his usurper-brother. The *Āttanār*, who was born in *Peruntalai*, came to be called *Peruntalai-c-āttanār*. This place exists even today under the name of *Peruntalaiyūr* in *Koṅku Nādu*. *Kumaṇan's* territory also was a part of *Koṅku Nādu*. It was only natural that a poet of *Koṅku Nādu*, oppressed by poverty, approached a Noble of his *Nād* and appealed to him for aid. Likewise, it will be only appropriate to treat *Āttalai-c-āttanār* as a poet who was born in the village of *Āttalai*.

The names of Tamil Poets are seen embodied occasionally in the names of places. One of the poets who enjoyed the distinction of "Prince of Poets" in the court of the *Chōḷa* kings was *Oṭṭa-k-kūttar*. He was born in a small village called *Malari*. He was patronized in succession by three *Chōḷa* kings. One of them took pride on being a student of this poet. A small village near *Pēraḷam* was assigned to him as a gift. It is understood that this place known as *Kūttanūr* took its name after the poet, *Oṭṭa-k-kūttar*. It is said that *Varata-k-kūttan*, a descendent in the line of this poet, latterly erected there a temple for *Kalai-makaḷ* (the goddess of learning), under whose divine grace *Oṭṭa-k-kūttar* rose to fame.

Poyyā-moḷi-p-pulavar was a poet who flourished in the sixteenth century. The 'Kōvai' or panegyrics he composed in praise of *Candravāṇan*, the ruler of the *Taiṇākkūr* territory is known as *Taiṇāi-vāṇan Kōvai*. His utterances were considered oracular and never-failing. There is a village by name *Poyyā-moḷi maṅkalam* in the *Chingleput District*. According to a *Tiruk-kaccūr* copper plate, a Tamil Academy called *Katikai* existed there. Probably there is some connection between this place and the poet.

Many patrons of Tamil learning flourished in the *Miḷalai Nādu*. of *Chōḷamaṇḍalam*. One of them *Kaṇṭan Mātavaṇ* by name was a contemporary of *Kulōttuṅka Chōḷa I*. His achievements are evidenced by a verse in a copper-plate discovered in the temples of *Niṭūr* in *Miḷalai Nādu*. He is praised in it as "the one who built with pleasure a fortified Library of Purāṇic Literature." It can be inferred from this reference to him that he established an Academy of Tamil

Literateurs. It is worthy of note that this chieftain is mentioned in the same plate as the "Lord of Kārikai-k-kuḷattūr. The author of a work on Tamil prosody known as "Yāpparuṅkala-k-kārikai" was a Jain monk by name Amitacākarar. This information is furnished by the Preface to the work. It was a nobleman of Miḷalai-Naḍu, who came in the line of Mātavaṇ, that patronized this monk, entertained him as his guest in Kuḷattūr and had this prosody composed. This village of Kuḷattūr redolent with fragrance of Kārikai came to be called Kārikai-k-kuḷattūr.

பயிற்றுமுறை

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‘கல்வி கல்லாத மக்கள் விலங்கை ஒப்பர்; அவர்தம் முகத்தில் உள்ள கண்கள் இரண்டும் புண்களாகவே கருதப்படும்’ என்பது ஆன்றோர் கொள்கை.

இக் கருத்தை,

“விலங்கொடு மக்கள் அணையர் இலங்கு நூல்
கற்றாரோடு ஏனை யவர்,”

எனவும்,

“கண்ணுடையர் என்பவர் கற்றோர் முகத்திரண்டு
புண்ணுடையர் கல்லா தவர்,”

எனவும் திருவள்ளுவர் கூறியிருத்தலால் தெளியலாம்.

எனவே, மக்களாகப் பிறந்தவர் அனைவரும், மக்கள் எனவும், கண்கள் உள்ளவர் எனவும் மதிப்புப் பெறுதற்குக் கல்வி கற்றல் இன்றியமையாதது என்பது தேற்றம். மக்களாகப் பிறந்தும், கல்வி கல்லாதவர் மக்க ளாகார்; கண்களிருந்தும் கண்ணுடையவ ராகார். என்னே கொடுமை இருந்தவாறு! இருப்பினும், கற்றுவிட்டால், மக்கட் பிறப்பெடுத்தவர் அக் கொடுமையிலிருந்து நீங்கிவிடலாம்.

அம்மட்டோ! கற்றலால் வரும் சிறப்புக்கள் எண்ணற்றவை. பெற்ற பிள்ளைகள் அனைவரிடமும், ஒத்த அன்பு காட்டக் கடமைப் பட்ட தாயும், தன் மனம் திரிந்து, அவருள் கற்றவனிடம் மிக்க அன்பு காட்டத் தொடங்கிவிடுவாள். தான் வகுத்த வழியிலேயே தன் குடிமக்கள் அனைவரும் நடக்கவேண்டு மென்று, செருக்கொடு ஆட்சி செலுத்தும் முடிமன்னனும், வயது மூத்தோரை ‘வருக’ என வரவேற்காது, கற்ற அறிவுடையவனை ‘வருக’ என, மிக்க பணிவுடன் வரவேற்று, அவன் கூறும் அறவுரை கேட்டு, அவன் சென்ற வழியையே பின்பற்றிச் செல்வான். மேற்குலத்தில் பிறந்த ஒருவனும், கீழ்க்குலத்தில் பிறந்த ஒருவன் கற்றிருப்பானாயின், தான் அவனிடம் கல்வி கற்றுக்கொள்ளும் பொருட்டுப் பணிந்து அவனை வழிபடுவான். கற்றவனுக்குச் சென்ற விடமெல்லாம் சிறப்புண்டாகும். முடிமன்னனுக்கும் அத்தகைய சிறப்பு உண்டாகாது; அப்படி உண்டானாலும், அவனுடைய நாட்டில் மட்டுந்தான் உண்டாகும். கற்றவனுக்கு யாதும் ஊர்; யாவரும் கேளிர்: யாதானும் தன் உரிமை நாடாம்; யாதானும் தன் உரிமை ஊராம். பிறப்பின் பயனாகிய அறம்

பொருள், இன்பம், வீடு என்னும் நான்களையும், கற்றவன் ஒருங்கே எய்துவான்.

இத் தகைய சிறப்பெல்லாம் தரும் கல்வியை, மாணவர், தம் இளவயதிலேயே நல்லாசிரியரிடம் சென்று பயிலத் தொடங்கவேண்டும். கல்வி கற்பித்தற்குரிய ஆசிரியர் இயல்பு, அவர் பாடம் சொல்லும் முறை, கல்வி கற்றற்குரிய மாணவர் இயல்பு, அவர் பாடம் கேட்கும் முறை இவை யனைத்தும், தமிழ் இலக்கண நூல்களில், முதற்கண், பாயிரப் பகுதியில் உணர்த்தப்பெற்றுள்ளன. தொல்காப்பியப் பாயிரப் பகுதியில், அதன் ஆசிரியரான தொல்காப்பியர், இவற்றைக் குறித்து ஒன்றுமே கூறவில்லை. ஆனால், மேற்கோள்களாகப் பழைய நூற் பாக்களை எடுத்தோதித் தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள், இவற்றை, அப் பாயிர உரைப்பகுதியில் உணர்த்தியிருக்கிறார்கள். அப் பழைய நூற் பாக்கள், எந்த முதல் நூல்களிலிருந்து எடுக்கப்பட்டன என்பது தெரியவில்லை. என்றாலும், அவை அந்த உரையாசிரியர்கள் காலத்திற்கு முற்பட்டவை என்பது தேற்றம். நன்னூல் ஆசிரியரான பவணந்தி முனிவர், தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் எடுத்தாண்ட மேற்கோள்களையும் உரையையும் தழுவித் தாம் இயற்றிய நன்னூல் பாயிரத்தில் அவற்றை உணர்த்தியுள்ளார்.

ஆசிரியர்கள், கல்வி கற்பித்தற்கு உரியவர், அல்லாதவர் என இரு வகையினராகப் பிரிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தலைத் தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் கூற்றாலும், நன்னூல் ஆசிரியர் கூற்றாலும் அறிகிறோம். அவ் வகையினருள் கற்பித்தற்குரிய ஆசிரியரிடத்திலேயே பாடங்கேட்டல் வேண்டும் என்பது வரவேற்கத்தக்கதே. ஆனால், மாணவருள், கற்றற்குரியவர், அல்லாதவர் என இரண்டு வகையினர் கூறப்பெற்றிருத்தல், பொருந்துவதோ என்பது ஆராய்தற்குரியது. கற்றற்குரிய ரல்லாதவர் எனச் சில மாணவர்களை ஒதுக்கிவிட்டால், அவர்கள் நிலை யாதாம்? கல்வி பெறவில்லை யென்றால், அவர்களை மக்கள் என்று வழங்க வழி ஏது? முகத்தில் கண்ணிருந்தும் அவர்கள் குருடரே ஆவர் அல்லரோ? மக்கட் பிறப்புப் பெற்ற அனைவருக்கும், கற்றல் இன்றியமையாதது ஆயிற்றே! அவருட் சிலர் கற்றற்கு உரியவர் அல்லர் எனின், அவர்களை விலங் கொப்பர் என்று திருவள்ளுவர் கூறிப் பழிப்பது அற மாகுமா? பொய்யில் புலவராகிய திருவள்ளுவர், இளமாணவர்மீது, இவ்வாறு பழிபோட எங்ஙனம் ஒருப்படுவர்? எனவே, கற்றற்குரிய ரல்லார் எனச் சில மாணவர்கட்குப் பட்டம் சூட்டியது, கற்பிக்கத் தெரியாத ஆசிரியர் பரம்பரைக்கே உரியது என்று துணிந்து கூறலாம்.

கல்வி கற்றுப் புலமை நிரம்பினவருள், கனி, மடி, மானி, கள்வன், இன்ன பிறன் எனப் பிரித்துச் சுட்டிக் கூறுவதற்குரியவர்

ஆயிரவர் ஆயிரவராய் இருக்கின்றனரே! இவர்க ளெல்லாம் இத் தன்மையர் ஆயினமைக்குக் காரணம், கல்வியால் வந்த கேடென்பதா? முன்னரே யிருந்த அடிப்படைத் தீய பண்புகள், கற்றற்குரியன கல்லாமையால் இவ் வாசிரியர்களைவிட்டு ஒழியவில்லை என்று கூறுவது பொருத்த மாகுமே யன்றிக் கல்வியின்மீது பழி சுமத்துவது பொருத்த மாகவே ஆகாதே! இனி, இளமையிலேயே தீய பண்புடைய இவர் தட்டுக் கல்வி கற்கும் தகுதி எப்படி உரிமையாயிற்று? தகுதியில்லாத இவர்கட்குக் கல்வி கற்பித்த ஆசிரியர் யார்? கற்பிக்கும் தகுதி யுடைய ஆசிரியர்கள், கற்கும் தகுதியில்லாத இவர்களை நீக்கிவிடக் கண்டு, கற்பிக்கும் தகுதியற்ற ஆசிரியர்கள், இரக்கம் காட்டி, இவர்களை வரவேற்று, இவர்களுக்குக் கல்வி கற்பித்தார்கள் என்று கொள்வதா? கற்பிக்கும் தகுதியற்ற ஆசிரியர் பரம்பரையில், முதல்முதல் ஆசிரிய ரானவருக்குக் கற்பித்தவர் யார்? கற்பிக்கும் தகுதியுடைய ஆசிரியர் பரம்பரையில் யாரோ ஒருவர் என்றுதானே கூறுதல் வேண்டும்! முறை பிறழ்ந்து, அவர் இப் பரம்பரையைத் தோற்றுவித்தது தகு தியா? அல்லது, கற்பிக்கும் தகுதியுடைய பரம்பரை, அல்லாத பரம் பரை என்ற இரு பரம்பரைகளும் படைப்புக் காலத்தில் படைப்புக் கடவுளால் படைக்கப்பட்டனவா? இனி, இங்ஙனம் கற்றற்குரியவர் அல்லாதவரை நீக்கிவிட்டுத் தன் மகன், தன் ஆசிரியன் மகன், அரசன் மகன், பொருள் நிரம்பக் கொடுப்பவன், வழிபடுவோன், உரை கோளாளன் என்ற இவர்க்கே ஆசிரியன் பாடம் சொல்லவேண்டும் என்றொரு விதி உளது. இவ் வகையினரூள், முன்னைய நான்கு வகையினர் ஆதற்கு, எல்லோரும் தகுதியுடையவர் ஆகார். இனி, வழிபாடென்பது, குளிர்காய்வோன், அழலின் அருகிலும் செல்லாது, அதனை விட்டுத் தொலைவிலும் நீங்காது நின்றல் போலவும், தன்னை விட்டு நிழல் நீங்காததுபோலவும், ஆசிரியனைவிட்டு என்றும் எப்போதும் நீங்காது, அன்பு நிறைந்த நெஞ்சத்தோடு, எவ்வெவற் றால் எல்லாம் ஆசிரியன் உவகை கொள்ளுவானோ, அவ்வெவற்றால் எல்லாம் உவகை யூட்டி, அறத்தினின்று நீங்காது, உடனிருந்து பணியாற்றுவது என்பதே யாகும். இதுவும் அனைவருக்கும் முடியாதது. இறுதியாக, உரை கொள்ளுவதற்கு ஏற்ற தகுதி யுடையவனுக்கு ஆசிரியன் பாடம் சொல்லலாம் எனப்படுகிறது. உரை கொள்ளும் தகுதியும், எல்லோர்க்கும் அமையாது. எனவே, கல்வி கற்றற்குத் தகுதி அற்றவர் நீங்க, ஏனையோருள்ளும் அனைவரும் கல்வி கற்றற்குரிய ஊழ் பெற்றிலர் போலும்!

“ஊழிற் பெருவலி யாவுன்?” என்று கூறியிருப்பது மாணவர் கட்கே உரியது போலும்!

மேல்நாடுகளில் சிலவற்றுள், நூற்றுக்கு எண்பதும், தொண் ணூறும், நூறுமாகப் படித்தவர் தொகை வளர்ந்துள்ள செய்தி

இன்று நமக்குத் தெரிந்ததே. அங்கெல்லாம் அரசு செலுத்த முடியாத ஊழ், இங்குமட்டும் பரம்பரையாக அரசு செலுத்துவதற்குக் காரணம் ஏதாவது கூறமுடியுமா? காரணம் கூறமுடியா தெனின், ஏதோ ஒரு தவறு எப்போதோ கல்வியுலகில் புகுந்தது என்றுதானே முடிவுசெய்யவேண்டும்! அத் தவறு யாது? அதுதான் கற்பிக்கும் முறையில் ஏற்பட்ட தவறு.

கற்பிக்கும் முறையில், என்று தவறு ஏற்பட்டதோ, அன்று முதல், இளமாணவர்கள் சோலையில், முள்ளும் களையும் முளைத்து, அவ் வழகிய பூஞ்சோலையைப் பாமும் முட்டித் தாக்கியது. கல்வி கற்றல் என்பதே, சுடுபால் கண்ட தெனாலிராமன் பூனை செயலாயிற்று. அரசனாகூட, “உற்றுழி உதவியும் உறுபொருள் கொடுத்தும் பிறற்றைநிலை முனியாது கற்றல் நன்றே,” என்று மாணவரைப் பார்த்துப் பாடும் நிலைக்கு இறங்கிவிட்டான். முறையுணராத ஆசிரியரிடம் அரும்பாடுபட்டுப் படித்துச் சுவைத்த அரசன், தானடைந்த இன்பம் யாவரும் அடையவேண்டுமென்று எண்ணி, மாணவரைப் பார்த்து இவ்வாறு கூற முன்வந்தானேயொழிய, ஆசிரியர் பரம்பரையைத் திருத்தவேண்டுமென்பதை மறந்தேபோனான். ஆசிரியர் பிரம்பு, அரசனையும் அஞ்சுவித்த காலத்தில், ஆரியப்படையையும் அஞ்சாது எதிர்பின்று வென்ற பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியனும் இவ்வாறு பாடவேண்டியவனானான். சமயத்தலைவர்களுக்கு அஞ்சி, அரசர்கள், கைகட்டி வாய்பொத்தி நின்ற காலம் ஒன்று இருந்தது, என்பதைப் பற்றி மேனாட்டு வரலாற்றில் படித்துள்ள நாம், ஆசிரியத் தலைவர்களுக்கும் அரசர்கள் அஞ்சி நின்ற காலம் ஒன்று நம் நாட்டில் இருந்தது என்பதை, ஆரியப்படை கடந்த பாண்டியன் நெடுஞ்செழியன் கூற்றால் தெளிவாக உணர்கிறோம்.

கற்பிக்கும் முறையே கல்வியுலகில் தலையாயது. இம் முறை அறியாது, புலமை மட்டும் நிரம்பியவர்கள் எல்லாரும், ஆசிரியர் எனக் கொள்ளுதற்கு உரியவராகார். இக்காலத்தில், பயிற்று முறைக் கல்விச் சாலைகளில் பயிற்சி பெறுதலர்களுக்குத் தொடக்கப் பள்ளியிலோ, இடைநிலைப் பள்ளியிலோ, உயர்பள்ளியிலோ ஆசிரியர் வேலை தருவதில்லை. அவர்க்கு, ஆசிரியர் வேலை தருதல் ஆகாது என்று அரசாங்கம் வகுத்த விதி தக்கதே. என்றாலும், பயிற்று முறைக் கல்விச்சாலைகளில் பயின்றவர்களும், ஆசிரியர் வேலை ஏற்ற சில நாட்களுக்குள், தாங்கள் அரும்பாடுபட்டுப் பயின்ற முறையைப் பின்பற்றாமல் விட்டுவிடுவது, ஆசிரியர் உலகில் பெரும்பான்மையாகக் காட்சியளிக்கிறது. கல்லூரிகளைப் பற்றியோ, ஒன்றுமே சொல்லத் தேவையில்லை. கல்லூரி ஆசிரியர்கள், பிறப்பிலேயே ஆசிரியர்கள் ஆதற்கு உரிமை பெற்றுவிட்டவர்களாகக் கருதப்படுகின்றனர். முறையுணராத கல்லூரி ஆசிரியர்களிடம் பயிலும் தீயூழ் பெற்ற

மாணவர்கள், “கல்விக்காகவே கல்வி” என்பதைக் கனவிலும் கருதாமல், “பட்டத்திற்காகவே கல்வி” என்கொண்டு, எப்படியோ நூற்றுக்கு முப்பத்தைந்து வாங்கிப் பட்டம் பெற்று, ஏதாவது ஒரு வேலை ஏற்றுப் பொருளிட்டி விலங்கு வாழ்க்கை வாழ்ந்து, கல்வியின் சுவையை அறியாமலே மண்ணோடு மண்ணாய் மடிகிறார்கள். பயிற்று முறை உணராத ஆசிரியர்களால் விளையும் பயன் இதுவாகும்.

பயிற்றுமுறையை உணர்ந்துகொள்வதற்கு, ஓராண்டு ஈராண்டு டெனக் கால வரையறையும் உள்ளது. காலத்தின் அருமையைப் பொன்னேபோல் போற்றத் தெரியாதவர் வகுத்த முறை இதுவாகும் என்று கூறினால், அதைத் தவறாகவும் சிலர் கருதுவர். பயிற்று முறையை உணர்தற்கு, ஓராண்டு ஈராண்டு எனக் காலம் தேவையில்லை. சிறிது காலத்திற்குள், அதை உணர்ந்துகொள்ளலாம்; சில நாட்களுள், அதை உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

அறிந்தோ அறியாமலோ, பயிற்று முறையைப் பற்றித் தொல் காப்பிய உரை மேற்கோள்,

“கொள்வோன் உணர்வகை அறிந்தவன். உளங்கொளக் கொடுத்தல் மரபு,”

எனக் கூறியிருக்கிறது.

இதைப் பின்பற்றி நன்னூலும்,

“கொள்வோன் கொள்வகை அறிந்தவன் உளங்கொளக் கோட்டமில் மரபின் நூல்கொடுத்தல் என்ப,”

என்று “உணர்வகை” என்பதைக் “கொள்வகை” என்று சிறிது மாற்றி, அம் மாற்றத்தால் தான் பெரிய திருத்தம் செய்துவிட்டது போல இறுமாப்புக் கொள்கிறது. “உணர்வகை” என்பது இன்னது என்பதைக் கைநழுவவிட்ட காலத்தில் தலையெடுத்த நன்னூல், இவ்வாறு இறுமாப்புக் கொள்வதில் வியப்பு ஒன்று மில்லை.

“உணர்வகை” இன்னது என்பதை உணரவேண்டுமானால், தொல்காப்பிய உரையாசிரியர்கள் காலத்திற்கும் மிக முற்பட்ட காலத்திற்குச் செல்லுதல் வேண்டும். இன்று நமக்குக் கிடைத்திருக்கும் நூல்களுள், காலத்தால் மிக மிக முற்பட்டது தொல்காப்பியம் ஒன்றே. அங்கேதான் இதற்கு விளக்கம் பெறலாமே யன்றி, ஆசிரியர் பிரப்பங்கோலுக்கு அஞ்சி வாழ்ந்த சங்ககால அரசர்கள் ஆட்சியில் எழுந்த நூல்களிலும் கூட விளக்கம் பெறமுடியாது. தொல்காப்பியர், தம் ஆசிரியர் பிரப்பங்கோலுக்கு அஞ்சி வாழ்ந்தவரல்லர் என்பதைத் தெரிவிக்கும் வரலாறு யாவரும் அறிந்ததே; தமக்குச் சாபம் கொடுத்த ஆசிரியர்க்கு எதிர்சாபம் கொடுத்த தொல்காப்பியர் வரலாறு யாவரும் அறிந்ததே. “அள்ளாது குறையாது; இல்லாது பிறவாது,” என்பது பழமொழி. அவர்

வரலாறு, பின்னர் வேறுவகையாகத் திரிக்கப்பட்டு நம்பொணாத தென்னாருக ஆய்விட்டது எனினும், தொல்காப்பியர், தம் அறநெறி பிறழாத சீரிய வாழ்க்கை வாழ்ந்ததும், ஆசிரியர் சாபத்திற்கு எதிர் சாபம் கொடுத்ததும், நம்பொணாத செய்திகள் அல்ல. தம் ஆசிரியர் முறை பிறழ எழுதிவைத்திருந்த நூலும் மறைந்தொழியுமாறு, அச்சம் சிறிதும் கொள்ளாமல், முறைப்பட முன்னி, என்றும் நிலை பெறுமாறு, தொல்காப்பியம் என்னும் நூலை எழுதியவர் தொல்காப்பியர். நேர்மையான முறையில் கல்வி கற்பித்தலைப்பற்றி அவர் உணர்த்தியுள்ளார். அச்சுறுத்தலாலும், அடக்கு முறையாலும் எவ்வாசிரியரும் தம் மாணவர்க்கு முழுப்புலமை உண்டாகுமாறு செய்தல் இயலாது. தொல்காப்பியர் காலத்தில் மறைந்த பிரப்பங்கோல் ஆட்சி, ஒளிந்திருந்து, பின்வந்த ஆசிரியர்கள் காலத்தில் தன் தலையைத் தூக்கி, “உணர்வகை” என்பதன் உண்மைப் பொருளையும் உணரமாட்டாமல் செய்து, நன்னூலாரைத் தன்வயப்படுத்தி, அதை மாற்றிக் “கொள்வகை” என்று எழுதிவிடும்படி செய்தது எனலாம். என்றாலும், “கொள்வகை” என்ற தொடரிலும், “உணர்வகை” என்பதன் பொருள் புக்க குழிந்த தணல்போல் உள்ள தெனலாம்.

உரிச் சொல்லின் இலக்கணம் உணர்த்தவந்த தொல்காப்பியர், அஃது உலகவழக்கிற் பயிலாத சொல்லாதலால், அதைப் பயின்ற சொல்லால் விளக்கவேண்டும் என்று கூறுகிறார்.

“பயிலாத வற்றைப் பயின்றவை சார்த்தித்

தத்தம் மரபிற் சென்றுநிலை மருங்கின்

எச்சொல் லாயினும் பொருள்வேறு கிளத்தல்,”

என்பது தொல்காப்பியர் வாய்மொழி. இஃது, உரிச்சொல்லை விளக்க வந்த நூற்பாவின் பகுதியே. எனினும், எச் சொல்லை விளக்குதற்கும் இதுவே வழியாகும். என்பதை அவர் கூறாமற் கூறியிருக்கிறார். பயிற்று முறையில், முதன் முதலாக மேற்கொள்ளத் தக்க முறையும் இதுவே யாகும். பயிற்று முறையைத் தனியாகவோ, சிறப்பாகவோ உணர்த்தவந்த நூலன்று தொல்காப்பியம். இலக்கியச் சிறப்போடு “இலக்கியம் கண்டதற்கு இலக்கணம்” இயம்பவந்த தொல்காப்பியம், பயிற்று முறையையும் உணர்த்தாவிட்டால், அஃது ஒரு முழு நூல் ஆகாது. எனவே, ஏற்ற இடம் கிடைத்தபோது, பயிற்று முறையை உணர்த்திவிடுதல் முறை என்று கண்டு, உரியயலில் ஏற்ற இடம் கண்டு அதை அஃது உணர்த்தியுள்ளது எனலாம். சில நூற்பாக்களால் அம் முறையை அஃது ஈண்டு உணர்த்தியிருப்பதைப் பார்த்தால், பயிற்றுமுறையை உணர, அரும்பாடுபட வேண்டுமெனில் என்பதும், நீண்டகாலம் தேவையில்லை என்பதும் வெட்ட வெளிச்சமாகும்.

சொல்லுக்கும் பொருளுக்கும் உள்ள தொடர்பு பிரிக்கமுடியாத தொடர்பு. சொல் ஒன்று, அதனால் உணர்த்தப்படும் பொருள் ஒன்று என இரண்டாக அவை காட்சியளிப்பினும், உண்மையில் அவை இரண்டும் பிரிக்க முடியாது ஒன்றாகவே கலந்து நிற்பன. இவற்றிற்குள்ள தொடர்பு உமையொருபாகன் தொடர்பு போல்வது; அர்த்த நாரீசுவரன் தொடர்பு போல்வது. உலகோர் அனைவராலும் மகாகவி என்று சிறப்பிக்கப்படும் காளிதாசர் என்ற வடமொழியாசிரியர், தாம் இயற்றிய காவியத்திற்கு முதற்கண் கடவுள் வாழ்த்துப் பாடியுள்ளார். 'சொல்லுக்கும் பொருளுக்கும் உள்ள தொடர்புபோல், இரண்டாகி ஒன்றுய்த் தொடர்புபட்டிருக்கும், உலகப் பெற்றோரான, பார்வதி பரமேசுவரரைச் சொற்பொருள்கள் ஐயந்திரிபில்லாமல் விளங்க, அருள் செய்யுமாறு வணங்குகின்றேன்' என்பது அக் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தின் பொருள். அர்த்தநாரீசுவரர் தொடர்பை விளக்கச் சொற்பொருளின் தொடர்பை மகாகவி உவமையாகக் கூறியிருப்பது மிகவும் பாராட்டுதற்கு உரியது. சொற்பொருள்களுக்குள்ள ஒற்றுமைத் தொடர்பால், சொல் லொன்று காதில் விழுந்ததும், அதன் பொருள், உடனே மனக்கண் முன் எழுந்து காட்சி யளிக்கும் ஆற்ற லுடையதாகின்றது. அவ்வாறு பொருட்காட்சி தோன்றினால் மட்டுமே, அச் சொல் அறியப்பட்ட சொல் லாகும். பொருட்காட்சி தோன்றவில்லை என்றால், அச் சொல் வெற்றொலியே யாகும். 'நாற்காலி' என்ற சொல், முன்பே அறியப்பட்ட சொல்லாயின், அச் சொல்லைச் சொன்னவுடன், 'நாற்காலி' என்னும் பொருள், மனக்கண்முன் தோன்றுதல் வேண்டும். 'யாணை' என்னும் சொல் முன்பே அறியப்பட்ட சொல்லாயின், அச் சொல்லைச் சொன்னவுடன், யாணையின் வடிவம் மனக்கண்முன் தோன்றுதல் வேண்டும். யாணையைக் குறிக்கும் மற்றொரு சொல் 'களிறு' என்பது. களிறு என்பது பயிலாத சொல். அச் சொல்லைச் சொன்னவுடன், மாணவனுக்கு, யாணையின் வடிவம் தோன்றுது. ஆனால், களிறு என்ற பயிலாத சொற்கு, யாணை என்ற பயின்ற சொல்லைச் சொல்லிக் களிறு என்பது யாணையே என்று உணர்த்திவிட்டால், பின்னர்க் களிறு என்ற சொல்லைக் கேட்டதும், யாணையின் வடிவம் அவனுக்குக் காட்சி யளிக்கும். சொல்லும், சொற்றொடருமே கருத்தை விளக்க ஆளப்படுவன. எனவே, பயிலாத சொல்லைப் பயின்ற சொல்லால் உணர்த்திவிட்டால், கருத்தை உணர்த்திவிடலாம். பயிற்றுமுறைக் கல்விச் சாலையில், மாணவர்க்குப் பாடஞ் சொல்லுவதில், தெரியாத சொல்லைத் தெரிந்த சொல்லால் உணர்த்த வேண்டும் என ஆசிரியர்களுக்குக் கூறப்படும் முதல் விதிக்குப் பிறப்பிடம் இங்கே உள்ளது.

சொற்களைச் சொன்னவுடன், அவை தத்தம் பொருள்களோடு பெற்றிருக்கும் ஒற்றுமைத் தொடர்பால் தத்தமக்குரிய மரபினை

யுடைய பொருளில் சென்று நிலைபெறும் என்பதையே, ‘தத்தம் மரபின் சென்று நிலை மருங்கு’ என்பதால் தொல்காப்பியர் உணர்த்தியுள்ளார், மேற்காட்டிய நூற்பாப் பகுதியில்; எனவே, அது சார்பாக எச் சொல்லையும், அது பயிலாத சொல்லாயின், பயின்ற சொல்லால் உணர்த்திவிடலாம் என்கிறார்.

இனி, ஒரு சொற்குப் பல பொருள்களும் இருக்கலாம். ‘கடி’ என்ற உரிச்சொல்லுக்குக் கூர்மை, காவல், புதுமை, விரைவு, விளக்கம், மிகுதி, சிறப்பு, அச்சம் என்னுள் தொடக்கத்தனவாகப் பல பொருள்கள் உண்டு. ‘கடி’ என்ற பயிலாத சொல்லுக்குப் பயின்ற இச் சொற்களை யெல்லாம் சொன்னால் பொருத்தமான பொருள் இன்ன தென்று மாணவரால் துணிந்துகொள்ள முடியாது. அப்போது அச் சொல்லுக்கு முன்னும் பின்னும் வரும் சொற்களை ஆராய்ந்து, அச் சொல்லின் பொருளைத் துணிதல் வேண்டும் என்று காட்டுவதே முறை. இதனை,

“மெய்பெறக் கிளந்த உரிச்சொல் எல்லாம்
முன்னும் பின்னும் வருபவை நாடி
ஓத்த மொழியால் புணர்த்தனர் உணர்த்தல்
தத்தம் மரபின் தோன்றுமன் பொருளே,”

எனத் தொல்காப்பியர் உணர்த்தியுள்ளார். ‘கடிமலர்’ என்ற இடத்தில், ‘மலர்’ என்ற சொல்லின் சார்பால், ‘கடி’ என்பதற்குப் புதுமை என்ற பொருளை பொருத்தமாகும். ‘கடிகா’ என்ற இடத்தில், ‘கா’ (சோலை) என்ற சொல்லின் தொடர்பால், ‘கடி’ என்பதற்குக் ‘காவல்’ என்ற பொருளை பொருத்தமாகும். உரிச் சொல் பற்றிக் கூறப்பெற்ற இவ் விதி, ஏனைய சொற்களுக்கும் ஏற்புடையதாகும்.

சொற்பொருள்கள், நிகண்டுகளால் உணர்த்தப்படுவன; இக் காலத்தில் அகராதிகளால் உணர்த்தப்படுவன. ஆனால், நிகண்டோ, அகராதியோ தொகுத்த ஆசிரியர்கள் கூறாத பொருள்களும் சில சொற்களுக்கு இருக்கலாம். எல்லாவற்றையும் உணர்த்தி விடுதல் மக்களாகப் பிறந்தவர்க்கு அருமையாகும். எனவே, இஃதுணர்ந்த தொல்காப்பியர்,

“கூறிய கிளவிப் பொருள்நிலை அல்ல
வேறுபிற தோன்றினும் அவற்றொடும் கொளலே,”

என ஒரு நூற்பா ஓதியுள்ளார். “கடி நாளும் பூந்துணர்” என்ற இடத்தில், ‘கடி’ என்பதற்கு ‘மணம்’ (வாசனை) என்ற பொருளை பொருத்தமாகும். இது, ‘கடி’ என்ற சொற்குக் கூறப்பட்ட பொருள்களில் உணர்த்தப்படாதது. எனவே, இவ் விதியை மனத்திற் கொண்டு, ஆசிரியர், சொல்லை உணர்த்தவேண்டும் என்பது தெளிவாகிறது.

பயிலாத சொல்லைப் பயின்ற சொல்லால் உணர்த்துமிடத்துப் பயின்ற சொல் என்று ஆசிரியர் கருதிக் கூறுவதும் மாணவர்க்குப் பயிலாத சொல்லாகவே படுமானால் என் செய்வது? பயின்ற வேறு ஒரு சொல் இருந்தால், அதுகொண்டு உணர்த்தலாம். அதுவும் பயிலாத சொல், விளங்காத சொல், என்றால், மேலும் மேலும் பயின்ற சொற்களைச் சொல்லிக்கொண்டு போதல் தகுதி யாகாது. ஏனெனின், அவ்வாறு சொல்லிக்கொண்டே போனால், வரம்பின்றிப் போய்க்கொண்டே யிருக்கும். அதனால், பொருட்குப் பொருள் கூறலாகாது என்பார்,

“பொருட்குப் பொருள் தெரியின் அதுவரம் பின்றே,” என்கிறார்.

அவ்வாறாயின், மாணவர்க்குப் பொரு ளுணர்த்துவது எப்படி? இதற்கு விடையாகத் தொல்காப்பியர்,

“பொருட்குத் திரிபில்லை உணர்த்த வல்லின்,” என்கிறார்.

பொருளை உணர்த்தும் முறைகளுள், ஏற்றதொரு முறையை, ஆசிரியன் அறிந்து உணர்த்த வல்லவன் ஆயின், அப் பொருளை மாணவர் திரிபுபடாமல் உணர்வர். அம் முறைகளுள் ஒன்று, மேலே உணர்த்தப்பட்டது. அஃதாவது, பயிலாத சொல்லைப் பயின்ற சொல்லால் உணர்த்துவது.

இனி, அடுத்த முறை, அச் சொல்லை ஒரு தொடர் மொழியில் வைத்துக் கூறுவது. முன்னும் பின்னும் வரும் சொற்களின் சார்பால், அப்போது, அச் சொல்லின் பொருளை மாணவர் தாமே உணர்ந்து கொள்வர். களிறு என்ற சொற்கு யானை என்ற பொருள் கூறிய விடத்தும், அப் பொருளை மாணவர் உணரவில்லை யெனின், விலங்கு களுள் பெரிதாய், முகத்தில் தந்தங்களையும் தொங்குகின்ற தொளை யுடைய கையாகிய துதிக்கையையும் உடையது களிறு என்றால், அவர் உணர்ந்துகொள்வர்.

அப்போதும், மாணவர், பொருளை உணர முடியவில்லை யெனின், யானையின் சித்திரத்தையோ, களிமண்ணாலோ, கட்டையாலோ செய்த யானையின் உருவத்தையோ காட்டினால், அவர் உணர்ந்து கொள்வர். அப்போது அவர் உணராமல் இருத்தல் இயலாது. முடியுமானால், களிற்றையே கொண்டுவந்து காட்டலாம்.

இந்த மூன்று முறைகள், பண்டு, தமிழ்நாட்டில் ஆசிரியர்களால் கையாளப்பட்ட முறைகள் என்பதை இந்த நூற்பாவின் உரையில் சேனாவரையர் உணர்த்தியுள்ளார். சொற்பொருள் கூறுதல், தொடர் மொழியில் ஆளுதல், பொருளை நேரிற் காட்டுதல்—இந்த மூன்றற்குமேல் வேறு ஒன்றும் தேவையே யில்லை. இவற்றிற்கு மேல், பலபல முறைகள் உள்ளன என்றால், அவைகளை எல்லாம் இந்த

மூன்று முறைகளுள் அடக்கிக் காட்டலாம். எனவே, முறையறிந்து உணர்த்தும் வல்லமை, ஆசிரியர்க்கு இருப்பின், பொருள் திரிபு படாமல் எச் சொல்லையும் மாணவர் உணர்ந்துகொள்வர். ஆகவே, “பொருட்டுத் திரிபில்லை உணர்த்த வல்லின்,” என்ற இதனை ஆசிரியர்கள் பொன்னேபோற் போற்றுவா ராயின், கற்பித்தற்குத் தகுதியற்ற மாணவர்கள் என்று எவரையும் நீக்கவே முடியாது.

மாணவர் உணரும் வழி, அல்லது வாயில் அறிந்து உணர்த்தல் ஆசிரியர் கடமையாகும். மாணவர் அறியும் வாயில், அவர்தம் உணர்வே யாகும்; அவர், முன்னரே உணர்ந்துள்ள பொருட் டிரட்சியே யாகும். இதனை ஆங்கிலத்தில், Apperceptive mass என்பர். பெற்றோரிடம் ஐந்தாண்டுகள் பழகும் இளம் பிள்ளைகள் தங்கள் வீட்டிலுள்ள பொருள்களையும், அவர்கள் நடமாடும் சுற்றுப்புறத்திலுள்ள பொருள்களையும் உணருமாறு அப் பெற்றோர் களால் பயிற்றுவிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள்; அவைகளைக் குறிக்கும் சொற்களை உணருமாறு பயிற்றுவிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். அவற்றைத் தொடர் மொழியில் ஆளப் பயிற்றுவிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள். இப் பொரு ளுணர்வின் வலியே (ஆற்றலே), மேலும் பொருள்களை உணர்த்தற்கு வாயில், அல்லது வழியாக அமைவது. இதனைத் தொல்காப்பியர்

“உணர்ச்சி வாயில் உணர்வோர் வலித்தே,”

என்று கூறியுள்ளார். மாணவர், முன்னரே பெற்றுள்ள பொரு ளுணர்வின் ஆற்றலை வழியாகக் கொண்டு, படிப்படியாக, ஆசிரியர், புதுப்புதுப் பொருள்களைக் கற்பிக்கப் புகுவாரானால், மாணவருள் எவரே கற்குந் திறன் உடையவர் ஆகமாட்டார்?

இஃது இவ்வாறாக, ‘உணர்ச்சியது வாயில் உணர்வோரது உணர்வை வலியாக உடைத்தாகலான், வெளிப்படத் தொடர்மொழி கூறியாவது, பொருளை நேரில் காட்டியாவது உணர்த்தவும் உணரா தானே, உணர்த்தும் வழியே யில்லை,’ என இந் நூற்பாவிற்கு உரை கூறியிருக்கின்றனர். ஆனால், இவ் வுரைக்கு, மாணவருள் சிலரை, உணர்த்தவே முடியாதவர் என்று, கைவிட்டுவிடவேண்டும் என்பது கருத் தன்று; முன்னரே அவர் உணர்ந்திருக்கும் பொருள் திரட்சி (apperceptive mass) உணர்ந்து, பிறகு அதை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு உணர்த்தவேண்டும் என்பதே கருத்தாகும், பெருக்கல் கணக்குச் சொல்லித்தர வேண்டும் என்று தொடங்கும் ஆசிரியன், மாணவர்க்குப் பெருக்கல் வாய்பாடு தெரிந்திருக்கிறதா என்பதை அறிந்துகொண்டு, அந்த அடிப்படையின்மேல் பெருக்கல் கணக்கைத் தொடங்க வேண்டும்; பெருக்கல் வாய்பாடு மாணவர்க்குத் தெரிய வில்லை என்றால், அதை முன்னர்த் தெரியச் செய்தல் வேண்டும்; அதை அவர் நெட்டுருப்போடச் செய்தல் வேண்டும். பெருக்கல்

வாய்பாட்டின் உணர்ச்சி வலியானது, பெருக்கல் கணக்கை உணர்த்து வதற்கு வழியாகும். அந்த உணர்ச்சிவலி யில்லை யென்றால், கணக்கை உணர்த்துவதற்கு வழி யில்லை. இக் கருத்தை அறியமாட்டாமல், மாணவரைக் கற்பிக்கும் வழியே யில்லை என்று கூறுவது, எள்ளளவும் பொருந்தாது. மாணவர் முன்னரே பெற்றுள்ள பொருளுணர்வின் திரட்சி (apperceptive mass) அறிந்து பாடநூல் சொல்ல வேண்டும் என்று இக் காலப் பயிற்று முறைக் கல்விச் சாலைகளில் ஆசிரியர் களுக்குக் கூறுவது இஃதே யாகும். பண்டு, நம் தமிழ் நாட்டில் இம் முறை அடிப்படையாகக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது என்பது தொல் காப்பியர் கூறியுள்ள இந் நூற்பாவால் நன்கு விளங்குகிறது. இந்த அடிப்படைப் பொருளுணர்வின் திரட்சியை அறிதற்கே, உளநூல்கள் பலவும் ஆசிரியர்கட்குப் பயிற்றுமுறைக் கல்விச் -சாலைகளில் சொல்லித் தருகிறார்கள்.

முன்னரே பெற்றுள்ள பொருளுணர்வின் திரட்சியை உணர்த்தற் குரிய முறை ஒன்றைக் காட்டுதல் ஈண்டுப் பொருத்த முடைத்து. பிளவுபட்ட குளம்புடைய விலங்குகள் இரண்டு கூறுக என்று மாணவனைக் கேட்பதற்கு முன்னால், குளம்பு என்பது இன்னது என்பதை அவன் அறிந்திருக்கிறானா, அவன் உணர்வில் பெற்றிருக்கிறானா என்பதை அறிதல்வேண்டும். அவன் வாயிலிருந்தே குளம்பென்னும் சொல்லை வரவழைத்தல் வேண்டும். இதற்குப் பறவைகள் சிலவற்றின் பெயரும், விலங்குகள் சிலவற்றின் பெயரும் முதலில் கூறும்படி செய்யலாம். பின்னர்ப் பறவைகளின் கால்களுக்கும், விலங்குகளின் கால்களுக்கும் உள்ள வேறுபாடு கூறும்படி செய்யலாம். இவ்வாறு செய்யும்போது, 'குளம்பு' என்னும் சொல், தானாகவே மாணவன் வாயிலிருந்து வரும். பின்னர்க் குதிரை அல்லது கழுதையின் குளம்பிற்கும், மாட்டின் குளம்பிற்கும் வேறுபாடு கூறுமாறு கேட்டால், பிளவு படாத குளம்பு, பிளவு பட்ட குளம்பு இவற்றின் வேறுபாட்டுணர்வு வெளிப்படும். இதன் பின்னர்ப் பிளவுபட்ட குளம்புடைய விலங்குகள் இரண்டு கூறுக என்றால், உடனே மாணவன், இரண்டல்ல, பலவும் கூறுவான். பாடநூல் கேட்கும் மாணவருடைய உணர்வு வலியை உணர்த்தற்கு இம் முறைகள் கையாளப்பட்டால், பின்னர், இவ் வுணர்வு வலிமையை வழியாகக் கொண்டு, சொற்பொருள் கூறுதலோ, தொடர் மொழியில் ஆளுதலோ, பொருளை நேரில் காட்டுதலோ செய்து, நூற்பொருட் கருத்தை யெல்லாம் மாணவனுக்கு உணர்த்திவிடலாம். இந்த நுட்பங்களை யறியாமல், உணர்த்தவே முடியாது சில மாணவரை யென்றால், அதைவிடக் கொடுமை வேறொன்றுமே இல்லை எனலாம். 'உணர்ச்சி வாயில்' என்பதற்கு இரட்டுற மொழிதலாக (வாய் இல் : வாய்-வழி ; இல் - இல்லை, எனக் கொண்டு) 'உணர்த்தும் வழியில்லை'

என்று கூறியிருக்கும் பொருளின் உண்மை, மாணவனின் முன் னுணர்வை ஆசிரியன் முதலில் அறிதல் வேண்டும்; அதனை அறிந்துகொள்ளாமல் கற்பிக்குமிடத்து உணர்த்தும் வழி யில்லை என்பதே யாகும்.

“காணுதான் காட்டுவான் தான்காணான் காணுதான் கண்டானும் தான்கண்ட வாறு,”

என்ற குறளும், இப் பொருளையே உடையதாகும். “ஓன்றனை அறியும் தன்மை யில்லாதானே, அறிவிக்கப் புகுந்தால், அவனால் பழிக்கப்பட்டுத் தான் அறியானாய் முடியும். அவ் வழியுந் தன்மை யில்லாதவன், தான் கொண்டது விடாமையின், தான் அறிந்தவாற்றால், அதனை அறிந்தானாய் முடியும்,” என்பது இக் குறளுக்குப் பொரு ளாகக் கூறப்படுவ தெனினும், அவன், தன் உணர்விற் கொண்டதை முன்னரே அறிந்து, அதற்கு ஏற்றவாறு உணர்த்தினால், அவனும் உணர்வான் என்பது கருத்தாகும்.

பாடஞ் சொல்லும் முறையைப் பற்றிய தொல்காப்பிய உரை மேற்கோள் நூற்பா முழுமையும் கூட அறியத் தக்கதே: அஃது,

“ஈதல் இயல்பே இயல்புறக் கிளப்பின்
பொழிப்பே அகலம் நுட்பம் எச்சமெனப்
பழிப்பில் பல்லுரை பயின்ற நாவினன்
புகழ்ந்த மதியிற் பொருந்தும் ஓரையில்
தெளிந்த அறிவினன் தெய்வம் வாழ்த்திக்
கொள்வோன் உணர்வகை அறிந்தவன் கொள்வரக்
கொடுத்தல் மரபெனக் கூறினர் புலவர்,”

என்பது.

பாடஞ் சொல்லும் முறையை, நன்னூல்,

“ஈதல் இயல்பே இயம்புந் காலைக்
காலமும் இடமும் வாலிதின் நோக்கிச்
சிறந்துழி இருந்துதன் தெய்வம் வாழ்த்தி
உரைக்கப் படுபொருள் உள்ளத் தமைத்து
விரையான் வெகுளான் விரும்பி முகமலர்ந்து
கொள்வோன் கொள்வகை அறிந்தவன் உளங்கொளக்
கோட்டமில் மரபின் நூல் கொடுத்தல் என்ப,”

என உணர்த்துகின்றது.

இவ் விரண்டு நூற்பாக்களாலும், “ஒரு நூலைப் பாடம் சொல்லும் ஆசிரியன், அந் நூலின் பொழிப்புரை, அகல்வுரை, நுட்ப வுரை, எச்சவுரை இவற்றை யறிந்து, பலருக்கும் ஒதிப் பயின்ற நாவினன் ஆதல் வேண்டும்; அவன் பாடம் சொல்லுவதற்கு ஏற்ற காலமும் இடமும் தூய்மையுடையனவாகத் தேர்ந்துகொள்ளுதல்

வேண்டும்; சிறந்த ஆசனத்தில் உட்கார்ந்துகொள்ளுதல் வேண்டும்; அச்சம், நோய், கவலை முதலியவற்றால் கலங்குதல் இல்லாது, தெளிவு பெற்ற அறிவுடையவனும் இருத்தல்வேண்டும்; தெய்வத்தை வாழ்த்துதல் வேண்டும்; மாணவனுக்கு உரைக்கவேண்டும் பொருளை முன்பே நன்கு பயின்று வகைப்படுத்தித் தன் உள்ளத்தில் அமைத்துக்கொள்ளுதல் வேண்டும்; விரையாமலும், வெகுளாமலும், விருப்பத்துடனும், முகமலர்ச்சியுடனும் பாடங் கேட்போன் உணர்ந்துகொள்ளும் உணர்வின் வகையை யறிந்து, அவன் உள்ளம் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளுமாறு, மாறுபாடில்லாத மனத்துடன் பர்டஞ் சொல்லுதல் வேண்டும்,” என்பன அறியலாம்.

இந்த இரண்டு நூற்பாக்களிலும், சூழ்நிலையை எவ்வாறு ஆசிரியன் அமைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்பது முதலிற் கூறியிருத்தலை அறிகிறோம். ‘தெளிந்த அறிவினன்’ என்பதாலும், ‘உரைக்கப்படு பொருள் உள்ளத் தமைத்து’ என்பதாலும், பாடம் சொல்லுதற் குரிய நூற் பகுதிகளை முன்னரே ஆசிரியன் பயின்று உள்ளத்தில் வகைப்படுத்தி வைத்துக்கொண்டு, பின்னர்க் கற்பிக்கப் புகவேண்டும் என்பது இரண்டாவதாகக் கூறியிருத்தலை அறிகிறோம். இறுதியாகக் ‘கொள்வோன் உணர்வகை அறிந்து அவன் கொள்வரக் கொடுத்தல்,’ அல்லது, ‘கொள்வோன் கொள்வகை அறிந்து அவன் உளங் கொளக் கோட்டமில் மரபின் நூல் கொடுத்தல் மரபு’ என்பது கூறியிருத்தலை அறிகிறோம். ஏற்ற சூழ்நிலை (Environment), ஆசிரியன் முன்னரே பாடம் சொல்லும் பொருளைப் பயின்று வகைப்படுத்திக் கொள்ளல் (Preparation), உணர்வகை அறிந்து அவன் கொள்வரக் கொடுத்தல் (Knowing the apperceptive mass and presenting the subject matter so as to be grasped by the students) என்ற இந்த மூன்று முறைகளுக்குமேல் அறியவேண்டு வன ஆசிரியர்களுக்கு ஒன்றுமில்லை எனலாம். ‘உணர்வகை’ அல்லது ‘கொள்வகை’ அறிந்து கொடுத்தல் என்பது இவற்றுள் மிக்க சிறப்புடையதாகும். இது மேலே விரிவாக உணர்த்தப் பட்டது.

சில நூற்பாக்களால், பாடஞ் சொல்லும் முறையைத் தொல் காப்பியர் தெளிய உணர்த்தியுள்ளார். இவற்றையும், மேற்காட்டிய மற்றவற்றையும் அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு, மாணவர்க்கு, ஆசிரியர் பண்டு பாடஞ் சொல்லிய முறை இப்போது நன்கு விளங்கும். இவற்றைப் பயிலுவதற்குப் பயிற்று முறைக் கல்விச் சாலைகள் தனியே தேவையில்லை; ஓராண்டு, ஈராண்டு எனக் கால மிகுதியும்தேவையில்லை. உளநூல்கள் வேண்டுமானால், சில நூல்களையங்களில் அவற்றைப் பெற்றுப் படித்துக் கொள்ளலாம். இவற்றை மட்டும் நன்குணர்தலால், பாடஞ்சொல்லும் முறையை யாவரும் நன்குணர்ந்து எல்லா மாண

வர்க்கும் கல்வி நிரம்புமாறு செய்துவிடலாம். இவ் வாற்றரால், யாவரும் கற்றுப் பயனடைவர் என்பது திண்ணம்; எல்லோரும் மக்களாகவும், முகத்தில் கண்கள் உடையவர்களாகவும் மதிப்புப் பெற்றுச் சிறப்படைவர் என்பது திண்ணம்.

முறை தெரியாத ஆசிரியர்களை உடைய சில பாடசாலைகளோ, கல்லூரிகளோ, கற்பித்தற் குரியவர்கள் எனச் சிலரை மட்டும், அவர்கள் மிகுதியாக மார்க்குகள் வாங்கியிருத்தலைக் கண்டு, சேர்த்துக் கொண்டு, மற்றவர்களை ஒதுக்கிவிடுதல், மிகவும் கொடுமையாகும். இக் கொடுமை நாட்டைவிட்டு ஒழிதல் வேண்டும். பாடசாலைகளும் கல்லூரிகளும் பொறுப்பறிந்து, முறையறிந்து நடத்தப்பட்டால், தகுதி யற்றவர்கள் என்பவர்க்கே அவைகள் உரியவை என்று அவர்கட்கு இடம் தந்து, அவர்களைத் தகுதியுடையவர்கள் ஆக்க முன் வருதல் வேண்டும்.

குறிப்பு :— இக் கட்டுரையை, இக் காலப் பயிற்று முறையில் வல்லுநரும், காரைக்குடிப் பயிற்று முறைக் கல்லூரியின் தலைவருமான, பேராசிரியர் ப. துரைக்கண்ணு முதலியா ரவர்கள் பாராட்டி, ஆங்கிலத்தில் மொழி பெயர்த்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதனை, இந்த நூற்றாண்டு விழா மலரில் மற்றோ ரிடத்தில் காண்க.

ஸ்ரீ :
மாறன் மரைடி வாற்க.

பழந் தமிழர் கடவுட் பண்பு

by

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உலகத்தில் பண்டைக் கால முதற் கொண்டே ஆத்மீக விஷயங் களில் தலை சிறந்து விளங்குவது இந்தப் பாரத தேசமேயாகும். ஏன்? உலகத்திற்கே உண்மை ஞானத்தை ஊட்டிய தேசம் இந்தப் பாரததேசமேயாம் என்று கூறின் அது மிகையாகாது.

1 “கன்று எறிந்த தோளான் கணைகழலே காண்பதற்கு
நன்கறிந்த நாவலஞ்சும் நாடு”

என்பது பெரியார் திருவாக்கு. இச் செய்யுளில் ‘கணைகழலே’ என்று பிரிவினை ஏகாரம் கொடுத்து ஒதி இருத்தல் கருத்தில் இருத் தற்குரியது. அதிலும், உண்மை ஞானமானது படிப்படியாக வளர்ந்து முதிர்ந்து பழுத்த நாடு இத் தமிழ்நாடேயாம். அதற்குக் காரணங்கள் பலப்பல.

2 “குழந்து நின்ற மால்விசும்பில் தொல்லை வழிகாட்ட
ஆழந்ததனை முற்றும் அநுபவித்து — வாழ்ந்து அங்கு
அடியருட னேஇருந்த ஆற்றை உரை செய்தான்
முடிமகிழ் சேர் ஞான முனி.

என்று கூறப்பட்ட நம்மாழ்வார் தொடக்கமான ஆழ்வார்கள் அவ தரித்ததும், நாயன்மார்கள் அவதரித்ததும், மாறன் பணித்த மறை உணர்ந்து அவர் அடி பணிந்து உய்ந்த இராமாநுசர் முதலான பெரியார்கள் பலர் அவதரித்ததும், பகவத் பாதராகிய ஸ்ரீசங்கராசாரி யர் முதலிய மகான்கள் பலர் அவதரித்ததும், இத் தமிழ் நாடு அன்றோ? சர்வேசுவரன், இவ் உயிர்களைக் கரைமரம் சேர்க்கக் கருதி உளம் உவந்து உறையும் ஆலயங்கள் பல அமைந்ததும், அப்

1. முதல் இருவந்தாதி. 87.

2. திருவாய்மொழி நூற்றந்தாதி. 99.

பலவற்றுள்ளும் ¹ திருவரங்கம், திருவேங்கடம், காஞ்சேபுரம் என்று சிறப்பித்துக் கூறப்படுகின்ற மூன்று திவ்விய தேசங்கள் முதன்மை பெற்று விளங்குவதும் இத் தமிழ் நாட்டேயாம்.

பாஞ்சாலம் குறிச்சியை வீரம் விளைந்த பூமி என்பது போன்று, ஆழ்வார்திருநகரி என வழங்கும் திருக்குருகூரை ஞானம் விளைந்த பூமி என்பர் பெரியோர்.

2 வாய்க்கும் குருகைத் திருவீதி எச்சிலை வாரி உண்ட
நாய்க்கும் பரமபதம் அளித்தாய் அந்த நாயொடு இந்தப்
பேய்க்கும் பதம் அளித்தால் பழுதோ ! பெருமாள் மகுடம்
சாய்க்கும் படிக்குக் கவி சொல்லும் ஞானத் தமிழ்க்
[கடலே !

என்றார் ஒரு முனிவர். சுருங்கக் கூறின், உலகம் எல்லாம் உய்வதற்கு உரியது ஓர் ஒப்பற்ற பெரு நெறியினை உணர்த்த விரும்பிய இறைவன், அந் நெறியினை உணர்த்துவதற்குத் தமிழ் மொழியினை ஒரு கருவியாகக் கொண்டான் என்றால், அத் தமிழ் வழங்கும் நாட்டின் பெருமைக்குப் பிறிதும் ஒரு சான்று வேண்டுமோ ?

3 “ஆம் முதல்வன் இவன் என்று தன் தேற்றி என்
நாமுதல் வந்து புகுந்து நல்இன்கவி
தூமுதல் பத்தர்க்குத் தான் தன்னைச் சொன்ன என்
வாய் முதல் அப்பன் ”

என்பது ஆழ்வாருடைய ஸ்ரீ குக்தி.

4 “ஞானச்சுடர் விளக்கு ஏற்றினேன் நாரணற்கு
ஞானத்தமிழ் புரிந்த நான் ”

என்றார் ஒரு பெரியார். இத்தகைய ஞான நூல்கள் பிற நாட்டில் இன்மையினால் அன்றோ, இறை நிலை உணர்தற்கு விரும்பிய ஏனை நாட்டுப் பெரியார்கள் ஞானத் தமிழ் நடையாடும் தமிழ் நாட்டில் பிறந்திலமே என்று வருந்துவார் ஆயினர். ⁵ “பாஷாந்தரங்களிலே பிறந்து விலக்ஷணராய் உள்ளாரும் இவற்றின் (திருவாய் மொழியின்) வைலக்ஷணயத்தைக் கேட்டு, இவற்றை அப்யசிக்கைக்கு ஈடான இப்

1. இவற்றைக் கோயில், திருமலை, பெருமாள்கோயில் என்றும், போக மண்டபம், புஷ்ப மண்டபம், தியாக மண்டபம் என்றும் கூறுவர்.

2. தனிப்பாடல்

3. திருவாய்மொழி. 7. 9: 3.

4. இரண்டாந்திருவந்தாதி. 1.

5. நம்பினளை ஈடு, அவதாரிகை-முதல் “ஸ்ரீய: பதி ”

பாஷை நடையாடும் தேசத்திலே பிறக்கப் பெற்றிலோமே என்றிருக்கையாலும்” என்ற ஈட்டின் வாக்கியம் ஈண்டு உணர்தல் தகும்.

¹ யானே தவம் செய்தேன் ஏழ்பிறப்பும் எப்பொழுதும் யானே தவ முடையேன் எம்பெருமான்!—யானே இருந்தமிழ் நன்மலை இணை அடிக்கே சொன்னேன் பெருந்தமிழன் நல்லேன் பெரிது.

என்று, தமிழ் நாட்டில் பிறந்து, இருந்தமிழ் மாலையினை இறைவனுடைய இணை அடியில் சூட்டியதனால் ‘யானே தவமுடையேன்’ என்று செருக்குத் தலைமண்டை இட்டுப் பேசுகின்றார் ஒரு பெரியார். இச்செய்யுளில் வந்துள்ள ‘பெருந்தமிழன் நல்லேன் பெரிது’ என்ற தொடர் படிப்போர்க்கும் பேரின்பம் பயப்பதாகும். இன்றோரன்ன காரணங்களாலேயே பாரதம் பாடிய வில்லிபுத்தூராவாரும்,

² “ சித்திக்கு ஒரு விதையாகிய தென்னாட்டினை அணுகித் தத்திச் சொரி அருவித் தடஅரவக்கிரி சார்ந்தான் ”

என்று, நலம் அந்தம் இல்லதோர் நாட்டினை நாடுவதற்கு இத்தமிழ் நாட்டினை ஒரு சாதனமாகவே கூறிச் சென்றனர்.

இங்ஙனம் அந்தமில் இன்பத்து அழிவில் வீட்டிற்குக் காரணமான இத் தமிழ் நாட்டில் வாழ்ந்து வந்த பண்டைத் தமிழர்கள், தாம் வழிபட்டு வணங்கி வந்த முழுமுதற்பொருளை, அதன் தன்மைக்கு ஏற்ப ³ ‘இறைவன்’ என்ற பெயராலும், ⁴ ‘கடவுள்’ என்ற பெயராலும் வழங்கி வந்தனர்.

‘இயவுள்’ முதலிய பெயர்கள், தொல்காப்பியத்திலும், திருக்குறளிலும் காணக் கிடையா. இறைவன் என்பதற்கு, எப்பொருள்களிலும் தங்கி இருப்பவன் என்பது பொருள். சிலப்பதிகார உரைகாரராகிய அடியார்க்கு நல்லார் ⁵ ‘இறைவன்’ என்ற சொல்லுக்கு எல்லாப் பொருளினும் தங்கி இருப்பவன் என்றே பொருள் கூறினார். கடவுள் என்பதற்கு, அங்ஙனம் எல்லாப்

1. இரண்டார் திருவந்தாதி. 74.
2. வில்லிபாரதம் தீர்த்தயாத்திரைச் சருக்கம்.
3. பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்துவர் நீந்தார் இறைவன் அடிசேரா தார். என்பது திருக்குறள்.
4. “கடவுள் வாழ்த்தொடு கண்ணிய வருமே” என்பது தொல்காப்பியம் புறத்திணையியல்.
5. சிலப்பதிகாரம் நாடுகாண் காதை.

பொருள்களிலும் தங்கி இருப்பினும் அவற்றின் இன்பதுன்பங்கள் தன்னைச் சாராதவாறு கடந்து நிற்பவன் என்பது பொருள்.

1 புலனொடு புலன் அலன் ஒழிவிலன் பரந்த அந்
நலனுடை ஒருவனை நணுகினம் நாடே”

2 “ யாவையும் யவரும் தானாய் அவரவர் சமயந்தோறும்
தோய்விலன் புலன் ஐந்துக்கும் சொலப்படான் உணர்வின்
மூர்த்தி ” என்பன தமிழ்மறை.

இவற்றுள், இறைவன் என்னும் பெயர் சிந்தாமணி, சிலப்பதிகாரம் முதலிய பண்டைய இலக்கியங்களிலும், அவற்றின் உரைகளிலும், ⁸ ‘வணங்கும் துறைகள் பலபல ஆக்கி மதிவிகற்பால், பிணங்கும் சமயம் பலபல ஆக்கி அவை அவைதோறு, அணங்கும் பலபல ஆக்கி’ என்கிற படியே, ஆக்கப்பட்ட தேவர்கட்கும், அரசற்கும் பெயராக வழங்கப் பட்டு வருகிறது. ⁴ ‘இறைவனை ஆடல் கண்டருளிய அணங்கு’ என்புழிச் சிவபெருமானையும், ⁵ ‘ஏரகமும் நீங்கா இறைவன் கை வேல் அன்றே’ என்புழி முருகவேளையும், ⁶ ‘துறைபோயவர் முடித்த பின்னர், இறையோனும்’ என்புழி மஹா சாத்தனாரையும், ⁷ ‘இறைவன் குரவன் இயல்குணன் எங்கோன்’ என்புழி அருகனையும், ⁸ ‘தேவர் நன்னாட்டுக்கு, இறைவனாகிய பெருவிறல் வேந்தே’ என்புழி இந்திரனையும், ⁹ ‘மறையோன் கூறிய மாற்றம் எல்லாம், இறையோன் கேட்டு’ என்புழி அரசனையும் குறித்தல் காண்க.

இனி, உரையாசிரியர்களுள் நச்சினூர்க்கினியர்,¹⁰ ‘திரிபுரம் எரித்த இறைவனை ஒத்தான்’ என்புழிச் சிவபிரானையும், ¹¹ ‘வசித்து என்பதற்கு, படைக்கலங்களால் வடுப்பட்டு என்று பொருள் உரைத்தல் இறைவனாதலிற் பொருந்தாது’ என்புழி முருகவேளையும், ¹² ‘இறைவன் கூறிய ஆகமத்துள் துணியும் பொருளைச் சிந்தித்து’ என்புழி

1. திருவாய் மொழி. 1. 1: 3.
2. திருவாய்மொழி. 3. 4: 10.
3. திருவிருத்தம். 96.
4. சிலப்பதிகாரம் வழக்குரைத்த காதை. 37.
5. ஷே குன்றக்குரவை.
6. ஷே கனத்திற முரைத்த காதை.
7. ஷே நாடுகரண் காதை.
8. மணிமேகலை பாத்திர. 42.
9. சிலப்பதி. நீர்ப்படை.
10. சிந்தாமணி செய்ய. 2249.
11. திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை. 106.
12. சிந்தாமணி செய்ய. 2637.

அருகணையும், ¹ ‘இம் மரங்கள் இறைவன் தோன்றிய ஆதிக்காலத் திடத்து மரங்கள்போல் பயன்பட்டு நின்றன’ என்புழி ரிஷப தீர்த் தங்கரரையும், ² ‘சீவகற்கும் உலோகபாலற்கும் இறைவனதலின்’ என்புழி அரசனையும், இறைவன் என்ற சொல்லால் வழங்குவர். அடியார்க்கு நல்லாரும் இவ்வாறு வழங்குதலை அவர் உரைத்த உரைக்கிடையில் காண்க. இனிப் பரிமேலழகரும், ‘இந்திரன் முதலிய இறையவர் பதங்களும் அந்தமில் இன்பத்தழிவில்விடும் நெறி அறிந்து எய்துதற்குரிய மாந்தர்’ எனத் திருக்குறள் உரைப்பாயிரத்தில் இந்திரன் முதலான தேவர்கள் அனைவரையும் இறைவன் என்ற சொல்லால் வழங்கினர். இவற்றால், பண்டைய இலக்கியங்களிலும் அவற்றின் உரைகளிலும் இறைவன் என்ற பெயர், பலர்க்கும் பெயராக வழங்கப்பட்டிருத்தலைக் காண்கிறோம்.

ஆயின், இறைவன் என்ற பெயரின் பொருளை-எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் தங்குகிறவன் என்ற பொருளை நோக்குமிடத்து அப்பெயர் ஒரு பொருளையே குறிக்கும் என்பது போதரும். காய்தல் உவத்தல் இன்றி அப் பொருள் யாது என்று நோக்குவோம்:

³ ஒன்றே பொருள் எனின் வேறுஎன்ப வேறுஎனின்,
அன்றுஎன்ப ஆறு சமயத்தார்;—நன்றென
எப்பாலவரும் இயைபவே; வள்ளுவனார்,
முப்பால் மொழிந்த மொழி.

என ஆன்றோரால் சிறப்பித்துக் கூறப்பட்ட தெய்வப் புலமைத் திரு வள்ளுவனார், ‘முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றுகின்றவனே இறைவன் ஆவான்; அவ் இறைவன் அம்முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றுதலை அரசன் மூலமாகவும் செய்கின்றனாதலின், அவ் அரசனும் தொழில் உரிமை பற்றி இறைவன் என்ற பெயரால் வழங்கப்படுவன்’ என்னும் கருத்து அமைய,

முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு
இறை என்று வைக்கப்படும்.

என்று கூறுகிறார். ‘தான் முறை செய்து பிறர் நலியாமல் காத்தலையும் செய்யும் அரசன், பிறப்பான் மகனையாயினும், செயலான் மக்கட்குக் கடவுள் என்று வேறுவைக்கப்படும்’ என்பது ⁴ பரிமேலழகர் உரை.

1. சிந்தாமணி. செய். 2713.

2. ஷட செய். 2277.

3. திருவள்ளுவமொலை.

4. வள்ளுவர் சீர் அன்பர்மொழி வாசகம் தொல்காப்பியமே
தெள்ளு பரிமேலழகன் செய்த உரை—ஒன்னிய சீர்த்
தொண்டர் புராணம் தொகுசித்தி ஓராறும்
தண் தமிழின் மேலாம் தரம்.

என்றார் கொற்றவன் குடி உமாபதி சிவாசாரியார். இதனால், பரிமேலழகர் உரை, திருக்குறளோடு ஒத்த சிறப்பினது என்று தெளிதல் தகும்.

இங்கு, இத் திருக்குறளின் பொருளை ஆராய்வோம்: ஈண்டுத் தெய்வப் புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவனார், ‘முறை செய்து காப்பாற்று மவன் யாவன்? அவன் இறை என்று சொல்லப்படுவான் என்பார் அதனை விதிமுடித்தார் கூறுது, உடம்படுபுணர்த்தல் என்னும் உத்தி வகையால் ‘முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும்—இறை’ என்றும், மன்ன வன் இறை என்னும் பெயர்க்கு உரியன் அல்லனாயினும், முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றும் தொழில் உரிமையான், அம்மன்னனும் ‘இறை’ என்று சொல்லப் படுவான் என்பார் ‘முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன்—இறை’ என்றும், மன்னனை இறை என்று கூறியவதனால் முழு ஏழ் உலகுக்கும், நாதனாகிய அவ் இறையைப் போன்று, மன்ன னும், முழு ஏழுலகுக்கும் நாதன் ஆவனோ? என்னும் ஐயம் நிகழும் அன்றே? அங்ஙனம் நிகழும் ஐயத்தை நீக்குவதற்கு, இவ் உல கிற்கும் இவ் உலகில் உள்ள மக்கட்கும் மாத்திரமே இறை என்பார் ‘மக்கட்கு இறை’ என்றும், பாதுகாக்கும் தொழில் உரிமையான் இறை ஆவான் அன்றி, இயற்கையில் இறை அல்லன் என்பார் “இறை என்று வைக்கப்படும்” என்றும் கூறினார் என்பதனை நாம் காண்கின்றோம். ‘செயலான் மக்கட்குக் கடவுள் என்று வேறு வைக்கப்படும்’ என்ற பரிமேலழகர் உரையும் ஈண்டுச் சிந்தித்தல் தகும்.

ஆகிரியர் பரிமேலழகர், இத் திருக்குறளுக்கு இங்கு, இவ் வகை யில் விரித்து உரை கூறிற்றிலராயினும், அப் பெரியார் கருத்து, யான் ஈண்டுக் கூறியதேயாம் என்பதனைக் கீழ் வருவனவற்றால் தெளிதல் தகும்: “இறை மாட்சி” என்னும் அதிகாரத்திற்கு அவதாரிகை கூறப் புகுந்த பரிமேலழகர், “இறை மாட்சி யாவது, அவன்தன் நற்குண நற்செய்கைகள்” என்று கூறி, பின், அனைத்து உலகும் அனைத்து உயிரும் அமைத்து அளிக்கும் அற ஆழி அந்தணனுக்கு உரிய ‘இறை’ என்னும் பெயரால், அரசனைக் கூறல் பொருந்துமோ? என்ற வினாவைத் தாமே தம் உள்ளத்தில் எழுப்பிக்கொண்டு, அதற்கு விடையாக, “உலகபாலர் உருவாய் நின்று உலகங்காத்தலின் இறை என்றார்” என்று விசேட உரையும் கூறி, தாம் கூறிய விசேடவுரைக்கு மேற்கோளாக ² திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணில் திருமாலைக் கண்டேனே என்னும் என்று பெரியாரும் பணித்தார்”

1. பரந்த பொருள் எல்லாம் பார் அறிய வேறு

தெரிந்து திறந்தோறும் சேரச் — சுருங்கிய

சொல்லால் விரித்துப் பொருள் விளங்கச் சொல்லுதல்

வல்லார் ஆர் வள்ளுவர் அல்லால்.

என்ற திருவள்ளுவமலைச் செய்யுள் ஈண்டுச் சிந்தித்தல் தகும்.

2. திருவாய் மொழி. 4. 4: 8.

என்று, தமிழ் மறையின் பாசுரத்தையும் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகின்றார். இங்குப் பரிமேலழகர் எழுதிய விசேடவுரை “முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும்” என்ற திருக்குறளையே ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டு எழுந்தது என்பதில் சிறிதேனும் ஐயம் உண்டோ?

ஆகத் தெய்வப் புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவனார், இறை அல்லது இறைவன் என்னும் பெயரைக் காத்தல் தொழிலைச் செய்கின்ற ஒரு பொருளுக்கே உரிய பெயராகக் கொண்டனர் என்பது தெற்றென விளங்குதல் காண்க. திருமாலே காத்தல் தொழிலைச் செய்கின்றான் என்பதும் பண்டைத் தமிழ்ப் பெருமக்கள் அனைவர்க்கும்—எல்லாச் சமயத்தார்க்கும் ஒப்பமுடிந்தது ஒன்றும் :

“அருள் குடையாக அறம் கோலாக
இரு நிழல் படாமை மூஏழ் உலகும்
ஒரு நிழல் ஆக்கிய ஏமத்தை மாதோ”
என்பது பரிபாடல்.

காப்புக்கு முன் எடுக்கும் கடவுள்தான் மாலேயாகும்
பூப்புனை மலரின் செல்வி புனைபவன் ஆதலானும்
காப்பவன் ஆதலானும் கதிர்முடி கடகத்தோடு
வாய்ப்பதா மதாணி பூணூல் வரிசையில் புனைத லானும்
என்றார் மண்டல புருடர்.

எனவே, தெய்வப் புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவனார், கருதரிய உயிர்க்கு உயிராய்க் கரந்து எங்கும் பரந்து உறைந்து முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றுகின்ற திருமாலுக்குரிய ‘இறை’ அல்லது ‘இறைவன்’ என்னும் பெயரை, உபசார வழக்கால், அத் தொழிலையுடைய அரசற்கும் வழங்கப்படும் என்று கூறியவதனால், அப் பெயரை, ¹ அவனுடைய

1. ‘அவனுடைய கூறாய்’ என்று தொடங்கும் இவ்விடத்தில்,
“மா அ யோயே !” மா அ யோயே !

.....
திவளி விசம்பு நிலனி ரைந்தும்
ஞாயிறும் திங்களும் அறனும் ஐவரும்
திதியின் சிறுரும் விதியின் மக்களும்
மாசில் எண்மரும் பதினொரு கபிலரும்
தாமா இருவரும் தருமனும் மடங்கலும்
மூவேழ் உலகமும் உலகினுள் மன்பதும்
மாயோய் நின்வயின் பரந்தவை உரைத்தேம் ;
மாயா வாய்மொழி உரைதர வலந்து.”

“அதனால், இவ்வும் உவ்வும் பிறவும்
ஏம மாரீர்த நிற் பிரிந்து
மேவல் சான்றன எல்லாம்

சேவலோங் குயர் கொடி யோயே !”

என்று வரும் பரிபாடற் பகுதிகளையும், அவற்றின் உரையினையும்
[உளம் கொள்க,

கூறாய் இருந்து கொண்டு ஒவ்வொரு தொழிலைச் செய்து அவ்வத் தொழிலில் நாயகராய் விளங்கும் ஏனையோர்க்கும் உபசார வழக்கால் வழங்குகிறார்கள் என்பதுவே அப்பெரியார் கருத்து என்பதனை நாம் தெள்ளத் தெளிதல் த்கும். இதனால், 'இறைவன்' என்னும் பெயர் திருமாலுக்கே உரியது என்பதும், ஏனையோர்க்கு உபசார வழக்கால் வழங்கப்படுகிறது என்பதும் வெள்ளிடை மலைபோல் விளங்குவதாம். ஈண்டு, திருமாலுக்குரிய ¹ நாராயணன், விஷ்ணு, வாசுதேவன் என்னும் திருப் பெயர்களின் பொருளையும், ஏனையோர்க்கு வழங்கி வரும் பெயர்களுள் 'எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் தங்கி இருப்பவன்' என்ற பொருளைத் தரக்கூடிய பெயர்கள் காணப்படாமையும் சிந்தித்தல் த்கும்.

மாநிலம் சேவடி யாகத் தூநீர்

வளைநரல் பௌவம் உடுக்கை ஆக

விசம்பு மெய்யாகத் திசை கை ஆகப்

பசங்கதிர் மதியமொடு சடர் கண் ஆக

இயன்ற எல்லாம் பயின்று அகத்தடக்கிய

வேத முதல்வன் என்ப

தீதற விளங்கிய திகிரி யோனே.

என்ற நற்றிணைக் காப்புச்செய்யுளும் இதனை வலியுறுத்தி நிறைவு காணலாகும். இங்கு, 'இயன்ற எல்லாப் பயின்று அகத்து அடக்கிய' என்பது மட்டுமே வேண்டுவது. இயன்ற எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் அந்தரியாமியாகத் தான் தங்கி இருந்து, அவற்றை எல்லாம் தனக்கு உள்ளே அடக்கிக்கொண்டிருக்கின்ற வேத முதல்வன் என்பது இதன் பொருள். திகிரியோன்—சக்கரத்தைத் தரித்த திருமால்.

* அவர்-அவர் தமதம் தறிவறி வகைவகை

அவர்-அவர் இறையவர் என அடி அடைவர்கள் ;

அவர்-அவர் இறையவர் குறைவிலர் ; இறையவர்

அவர்-அவர் விதிவழி அடைய நின்றனரே.

என்ற தமிழ்மறைப் பாசுரமும், மேற்கூறிய "முறைசெய்து காப் பாற்றும் மன்னவன்" என்ற திருக்குறளும் ஒத்த கருத்துடைய வாதல் காணலாகும். "அந்த அந்த அதிகாரிகள், தாம் தாம் விரும்பிய பலன்களை அடைவதற்காகத் தம் தம்முடைய அறிவின் அறிவின் வகையாலே, தம் தம்முடைய ருசிக்கு ஈடான தெய்வங்களை, தாம் தாம் விரும்பிய பலன்களைக் கொடுக்கும் இறையவராக நினைத்து வணங்குவார்கள் ; அந்த அந்தத் தெய்வங்கள், அவர் அவர்கள் விரும்பிய பலன்களைக்

1. நாராயணன் — நாரங்களைத் தான் தங்கி இருப்பதற்கு இடமாகக் கொண்டவன். அல்லது, நாரங்களுக்குத் தான் இடமாக இருப்பவன். நாரம்—மன்னுயிர்கள். விஷ்ணு - எங்கும் பரந்திருப்பவன். வாசுதேவன் - எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் வசிப்பவன்.

2. திருவாய்மொழி. 1. 1: 5.

கொடுத்து இறையவர் ஆகக் குறை இல்லை ; யாங்ஙனம் ? எனின், எல்லார்க்கும் ஸ்வாமியான நம் இறையவர், நூல்களில் விதித்த மார்க்கத்தாலே அந்த அந்த அதிகாரிகள் பலன்களை அடையும்படி அந்த அந்தத் தெய்வங்கட்கு அந்தராத்மாவாக நிற்கின்றார் ஆதலால்” என்பது இத் திருப்பாசரத்தின் பிண்டப் பொருள். விரிவுரை வேண்டின் நம்பிள்ளை ஈட்டில் காணல் தகும்.

தத்துவார்த்தங்களைக் கூறுவதிலும் இவ் இருநூல்களும் ஒத்துச் சேறலை நோக்கி அன்றோ, இவற்றைத் ¹ ‘தமிழ் மறை’ என்றும், இவற்றை அருளிச் செய்த பெரியார்கள் இருவரையும் ‘தெய்வக் கவிஞன், தெய்வப்புவன்’ என்றும், நம் தமிழ் நாட்டுச் சான்றோர்கள் சிறப்பித்துப் போற்றிப் புகழ்ந்து வருவாராயினர். இச் சிறப்புப் பெயர்கள், தமிழ் நாட்டில் ஏனையோர்க்கு வழங்கப்படாமையும் ஈண்டு ஓர்தல் தகும்.

இனி, ‘எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் தங்கி இருப்பவன்—இறைவன்’ என்றதனால் பேசப்படுகின்ற ‘எல்லாப் பொருள்களும்’ என்பன யாவை ? எனின், அவை உலகமும், உயிர்களுமேயாகும். உலகமாவது, அசித்தின் பரிணாமம். அசித்தாவது, மக்கள் விலங்கு முதலியவற்றின் உடம்பு முதலிய எல்லாப் பொருள்கட்கும் காரணமான மூலப்பகுதி. இதன் விளக்கத்தை ‘சுவை ஒளி ஊறு’ என்ற திருக்குறளின் விசேடவுரையால் உணர்தல்தகும். ² “நிலம் தீ நீர் வளி வீசம்போடு ஐந்தும், கலந்த மயக்கம் உலகம் ஆதலின்” என்ற தொல்காப்பியமும் இதனை வலியுறுத்தும். இங்குக் குறித்த கலந்த மயக்கத்தைப் ‘பஞ்சு கரணம்’ என்று வேதாந்தங்கள் கூறு நிற்கும். இதனை விரிப்பின் பெருகும். இங்குக் குறித்த அசித்து நித்தியப் பொருளாகும். ‘உயிர்’ என்றது, சித்தினை. ³ இது அணு அளவின தாய், ⁴ ஞான ஆனந்தலக்ஷணமாய், ஞானத்தைப் பண்பாகவுடைய

1. “ஒண் பொருளை நாடி இந்த நிலன் வாழ
ஒண் தரளம் வாரி எங்கணும்
தண் பொருரை வீசம் வண் குருகையாளி
தந்த தமிழ்வேதம் வாழியே” —(மோகவதைப்பரணி. 17.)

“தேவீற் சிறந்த திருமாற்குத் தக்க தெய்வக் கவிஞன்
பாவீற் சிறந்த திருவாய்மொழி பகர் பண்டிதனே”
—(சடகோபரந்தாதி. 1.)

2. தொல். பொருள். மரபியல். 91.
3. “சென்று சென்று பரம்பரமாய் யாதும் இன்றித் தேய்ந்தற்று”
என்பது திருவாய். 8. 8 : 5.
4. “ஈநில ஒண்பொருள்” என்பது, திருவாய். 1. 2 : 10.

தாய், விகாரம் அற்றதாய், இறைவன் ஏவியபடி நடப்பதாய், இறைவனால் தரிக்கப்படுவதாய் இறைவனுக்கு அடிமையாய் இருப்பது. ¹ ‘மன் உயிர் எல்லாம் தொழும்’ என்றதனால் உயிர்கள் பலவாதலும், அவற்றின் நித்தியத்துவமும் பெறப்படும்.

இனி, ‘தங்கி இருப்பவன்’ என்றதனைப் பார்ப்போம் : ஈண்டுத் ‘தங்கி இருத்தல்’ என்பது, உடலுக்குள் இருக்கும் உயிரானது, அதற்குத் ² தாரகனாய் நியாமகனாய்ச் சேஷியாய் இருப்பது போன்று, இறைவனும், தான் தங்கி இருக்கும் சராசரங்கள் எல்லாவற்றிற்கும் தான் தாரகனாய், நியாமகனாய்ச் சேஷியாய் இருந்து கொண்டு அவற்றை விட்டுப் பிரியாமலே தங்கி இருத்தலைக் குறித்த தாம். தங்கி இருத்தற்குப் பயன் மேலே கூறிய மூன்றுமேயாம். ‘அவன் அன்றி ஓர் அணுவும் அசையாது’ என்ற பழமொழியும் இதுபற்றி எழுந்ததே யாம். ஆகவே, சித்து அசித்து ஈசுவரன் எனத் தத்துவங்கள் மூன்று என்பது போதரும். இதனால், கடவுட்கும் உலகிற்கும் உள்ள சம்பந்தம் ‘சரீர சரீரி சம்பந்தம்’ என்னும் உண்மை தெளிவாம். உலகிற்கும், கடவுட்கும் உபநிடதங்களால் கூறப்படுகின்ற சம்பந்தமும் ³ சரீர சரீரி சம்பந்தமேயாகும் என்று, மிக்க வேதியர் வேதத்தின் உட்பொருளை அறிந்த பெரியோர்கள் கூறுவார்கள். இச் சரீர சரீரி சம்பந்தத்தால் சித்திப்பது ‘விசிஷ்டாத்தவதம்’ என்னும் உண்மை. இதுவே, இறைவனால் மயர்வு அற மதி நலம் அருளப் பெற்றுப் பிரபந்த ஐசு கூடஸ்தரான நம்மாழ்வார் கண்ட உண்மை. இதுவே, நம் இராமாநுசன் கண்டு தெளிந்து பரப்பிய உண்மை.

மேலும், இந்தச் சரீரமானது, தனக்குள் வாழும் உயிர் உகந்த காரியங்களையே செய்துபோதலையும், அவ்வாறு செய்யும்போது

1. திருக்குறள். 268.
2. தாரகன்—தரித்துக் கொண்டிருப்பவன். நியாமகன்—ஏவுகின்றவன். சேஷி—சராசரங்களை எல்லாம், மலர், சந்தனம் முதலிய இனிய பொருள்களைப் போன்று, தன் விருப்பத்திற்குத் தகுதியாக விநியோகம் கொள்ளுகின்றவன்.
3. சரீரம்—உடல்; எந்தச் சேதனனால் எந்தப் பொருள் எல்லாவற்றினும் தன் பொருட்டே தரிக்கப்பட்டும் ஆளப்பட்டும் பணி கொள்ளப்படும் அவற்றால் உண்டாகிற இன்பத்தால் சத்தை பெற்று விளங்குகிறதோ அந்தப் பொருள், அந்தச் சேதனனுக்குச் சரீரம் எனப்படும். இதுவே, சரீரம் என்ற சொல்லுக்குப் பொருள். இந்தச் சரீரத்தை யுடையவன் சரீரி ; ஆன்மா.
4. விசிஷ்டாத்தவதம்—கூடிய ஒன்று; அதாவது, உடலையும் உயிரையும் தனக்குச் சரீரமாகக் கொண்டு தான் சரீரியாக நிற்கும் சரீவேசுவரன் ஒருவன் என்பதாம்.

தனக்கு என்று ஒரு பயன் கருதாது உயிர் இன்புறுதலையே குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டு செய்து போதலையும் காண்கிறோம்; இதைப் போன்று, இறைவனுக்குச் சரீரமாக இருக்கின்ற இந்த உயிர்கள், இறைவனுக்குச் செய்ய வேண்டிய பணிகளையே செய்தலையும், அவ்வாறு செய்யும்போது தனக்கு என் ஒரு பயன் கருதாது இறைவனுடைய உகப்பு ஒன்றையே குறிக்கோளாகக் கொண்டு செய்தலையும், அவன் உகக்கும் முகோல்லாசத்தைக் கண்டு தான் மகிழ்தலையும் உடையன என்னும் விசேடப் பொருளும் மேலே கூறிய சரீர சரீரி சம்பந்தத்தில் அடங்கிக் கிடக்கிறது. மக்கள், இவ்வாறு இறைவனுக்குச் செய்யும் பணியையே 'கைங்கரியம்' என்ற சொல்லால் வைணவப் பெரியார்கள் கூறுவர். இதனால் கிடைப்பது, ¹ அடிமையே-சேஷத்வமே ஆத்மாவுக்குச் சொரூபம் என்னும் உண்மை. ² "ஒழிவில் காலம் எல்லாம் உடனாய் மன்னி, வழுவிலா அடிமை செய்ய வேண்டும் நாம்" ³ "தனக்கேயாக எனைக் கொள்ளும் ஈதே" என்பன தமிழ் மறை. ⁴ "உனக்கே யாம் ஆட்செய்வோம், மற்றை எம் காமங்கள் மாற்று" என்றார் குடிக்கொடுத்த சுடர்க்கொடியார். "திருமாலுக்கு அடிமை செய்," "திவினை அகற்று" என்றாள் பெரு முத்தாட்டியும்.

⁵ திடவிசம்பு எரி வளி நீர் நிலம் இவை மிசை படர் பொருள் முழுவதும் ஆய் அவைஅவைதொறும் உடல் மிசை உயிர் எனக் கரந்து எங்கும் பரந்துளர் சுடர்மிகு சுருதியுள் இவை உண்ட சுரரே.

என்பது, தமிழ் மறை. உயிர், உடலுக்குள் கரந்து நின்று உடலைத் தாங்கி, இயங்குவித்தல் போன்று, இறைவனைவன், உடல், உயிர் என்னும் இருவேறு பொருள்கட்கும் உள்நின்று கரந்து இவற்றைத் தாங்கி ஏவி நடத்துகிறான் என்பது இத்திருப்பாசரத்தின் கருத்து. "இவற்றை நியமிக்குமிடத்தில் இந்தச் சரீரத்துக்கு இந்த ஆத்மா தாரகனாய் நியாமகனாய்ச் சேஷியாய் இருக்கிறுப்போலே, ⁶ "எவனுக்கு ஆத்மா சரீரமோ", "எவனுக்கு உலகு சரீரமோ" என்கிறபடியே, தான்

1. "அடியேன் உள்ளான்" என்பது திருவாய் மொழி. 8, 3: 2.

"சேஷத்வமே ஆத்மாவுக்கு ஸ்வரூபம்," "சேஷத்வம் இல்லாத போது ஸ்வரூபம் இல்லை" என்பன, முமுகூப்படி, சூத். 55, 56.

2. திருவாய்மொழி. 3, 3: 1.

3. திருவாய்மொழி. 2, 9: 4.

4. திருப்பாவை. 29.

5. "யஸ்ய ஆத்மா சரீரம்", "யஸ்ய ப்ருதிவீ சரீரம்" என்பன வேத வாக்கியங்கள்.

இரண்டுக்கும் தாரகனாய் நியாமகனாய்ச் சேஷியாய் நின்று நடத்திக் கொண்டு போரும் என்று கீழ்ச்சொன்ன சாமாநாதிகரணயத்துக்கு நிபந்தனம் சரீர ஆத்மபாவம் என்கிறார். விருஷத்திலே தேவதத்தன் நின்றான் என்றால் அங்குச் சரீர ஆத்மபாவம் இல்லை, ஜாதி குணங்கள் வியக்தியிலே கிடந்தது என்றால் அங்குச் சரீர ஆத்மபாவம் இல்லை ; விசிஷ்டத்திலேயே சரீர ஆத்மபாவம் கொள்ளலாவது” என்பது நம்பிள்ளை ஈடு,

இந்த விசிஷ்டாத்வைத சித்தாந்தத்தை விளக்கவே வைணவ சமயத் துறவிகள் மூன்றுகோல்களை ஒன்றாகப் பிணைத்துக் கையில் ஏந்தி உள்ளனர். இதனை ‘முக்கோல்’ என்றும், ‘திரிதண்டம்’ என்றும் கூறுவர்.

- 1 “நூலே கரகம் முக்கோல் மணியே
ஆயுங் காலை அந்தணர்க் குரிய”

என்ற தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரத்தால் அந்தணர்கள், இவ்வாறு முக் கோல் ஏந்தும் வழக்கம் தமிழ்நாட்டில் தொன்றுதொட்டு வழங்கிய வழக்கமாக உள்ளது என்பதனை அறிதல்தகும்.

இனி, கடவுள் என்ற பெயரைப் பார்ப்போம் : “பிறப்பிலி யாகிய இறைவன், உயிர்அளிப்பான் எந் நின்ற யோனியுமாய் அவதரித்த அவதாரங்களுள் திரிவிக்கிரம அவதாரமும் ஒன்றாகும். இவ் அவதாரத்தின் செயல் ‘கடவுள்’ என்ற பெயரின் பொருளைத் தெளிவு ஆக்குதல் காணலாகும். யாங்ஙனம்? எனின், கடவுள் என்ற பெயர்க்கு உரியார் அவரோ? இவரோ? எவரோ? என்று ஐயுற்று அதனை அறிந்து கோடற்குப் பல புத்தகங்களையும் தேடி அலைவார் அனைவரையும், ஏனையோர் பலரும் தத் தமக்கு அமைந்த ஞானத்துக் கும் ஆற்றலுக்கும் ஏற்ப ஒவ்வொரு சாதனத்தால் ஒவ் வொன்றினைக்

1. தொல். பொருள். மரபியல்.

2. “பல பிறப்பாய் ஒளிவரும்” என்பது தமிழ்மறை. “ஸ உஸ்ரே யான் பவதி ஜாயமாந :” என்பது வடமொழி மறை.

“முதன்முறை இடைமுறை கடைமுறை தொழிலின்
பிறவாப் பிறப்பிலே பிறப்பித்தோ ரிலையே”

என்பது, பரிபாடல். இந்த உண்மையை அறியாதார் சிலர், அவதாரம் கர்மத்தாலே என்று கூறித் தமது அறிவின்மையைப் புலப்படுத்துவர். கர்மத்தாலே ஆயின், “பிறப்பித்தோர் இலையே” என்பது பொருந்துமோ? “ஸ உஸ்ரேயான் பவதி” என்றும், “ஒளிவரும்” என்றும் கூறல் பொருந்து மோ? அந்தோ! இதனை அறியாது “திது அண்டத் தான் அத் தனு எடுத்தான் எனில் தீநரகே” என்றதற்கே அவர் இலக்கு ஆகுவர்.

கடந்தவர் ஆவர்; முற்றும் கடந்தவர் ஆகார்; அங்ஙனம் கடந்து நின்றல் மாத்திரையே கொண்டு ¹ அவர்களும் கடவுள் என்ற பெயரால் வழங்கப் படுகின்றனர்; முற்றும் கடந்தவன் இறை வனாகிய திருமாலே என்று தெளிய அறுவுறுத்தி, அவர்கட்கு அறுதியிட்டு உரைத்து நிற்கின்றது இவ் அவதாரத்தின் செயல் என்றபடி.

² ஒண் மிதியில் புனல் உருவி ஒருகால் நிற்ப
ஒரு காலும் காமருசீர் அவுணன் உள்ளத்து
எண்மதியும் கடந்து அண்ட மீது போகி
இருவிசம்பி னூடுபோய் எழுந்து மேலைத்
தண்மதியும் கதிரவனும் தவிர ஓடித்
தாரகையின் புறம் தடவி அப்பால் மிக்கு
மண்முழுதும் அகப்படுத்து நின்ற எந்தை
மலர் புரையும் திருவடியே வணங்கினேனே.
என்றார், மாறன் பணித்த தமிழ் மறைக்கு ஆறங்கம் கூற
[அவதரித்த ஆவி நாடர்.

³ “நீணிலம் கடந்த நெடு முடி அண்ணல்”

⁴ “இருநிலம் கடந்த திருமறு மார்பின், முந்நீர் வண்ணன்”

⁵ “நீணிலம் கடந்த நெடு முடி அண்ணலை நோக்கி உலகம் தவம் செய்து வீடு பெற்ற மலை” என்றார் பிறரும்.

இனி, தெய்வப் புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவனாரும்
மடியிலா மன்னவன் எய்தும் அடி அளந்தான்.
தாஅயது எல்லாம் ஒருங்கு”

என்ற திருக்குறளாலும் இப்பொருளைப் பெற வைத்தார். யாங்ஙனம்? எனின், கூறுவன்: மடி-இல்லாத மன்னவன், எல்லா உலகங்களையும் பெறுவான் என்பதுவே சண்டுக்கூற வேண்டிய பொருள். இதனைக்

1. “காமப்பகுதி கடவுளும் வரையார்” (பொருள் புறம். 28.) “நாமக் காலத்து உண்டெனத் தோழி, ஏழுறு கடவுள் எத்திய மருங்கினும்” (கற்பு-4.) என்பன தொல்காப்பியம். மேலே காட்டிய இடங்களில் கடவுள் என்ற பெயர், ஏனைத் தேவர்களையும் சுட்டி நின்றல் காண்க. மற்றும், கலித்தொகை முதலிய சங்க இலக்கியங்களிலும் இவ் வழக்காறு காணலாகும்

2. திருநெடுந்தாண்டகம். 5.

3. சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

4. பெரும்பாணாற்றுப் படை

5. தொல். எழுத்து. பாயிரம். நச்சினூக்கினியர் உரை.

கூறவேண்டிய முறையில் சுருங்கக் கூறுது, ஈண்டைக்கு வேண்டாத “அடியளந்தான்” என்றதனால் இறைவனுடைய திரிவிக்கிரம அவதாரத்தையும், “தாஅயது எல்லாம்” என்றதனால் அவனால் கடக்கப்பட்ட உலகங்கள் எல்லாவற்றையும் என்று கூறியது, இறைவனாகிய திருமால் ஒருவனே உடையவன் ; மூவுழ் உலகங்களும் உலகினுள் மன்பதும் அவனுக்கு உடைமைகள் ; உலகங்கள் எல்லாவற்றையும் கடந்தவன் ஆதலாலே அவனே கடவுள் என்னும் பெயர்க்கு உரியான் என்னும் உண்மை போதருதற்கு என்க. இங்ஙனம் கூறுதல், “வேண்டாது கூறி வேண்டியது முடித்தல்” என்னும் தந்திர உத்தியின் பாற்படும்.

மேலும், இறைவனுக்குப் “பேரும் பல பலவே,” “பேராயிரம்” என்கிறபடியே, திருப் பெயர்கள் பலப் பல அமைந்திருக்க, அவற்றுள் ஒன்றையும் எடுத்துக் கூறுது, செய்த செயலைப் பற்றி ‘அடி அளந்தான்’ என்ற ஒரு பெயரைத்¹ தாமே இறைவனுக்குச் சூட்டுவதனால் இறைவன் செய்த செயலுக்குத் தோற்றுத் தாமே தம்மை எழுதிக்கொடுக்கிறபடியும், அவன் திருவடிகளின் மென்மைக்கு இரங்கி ஈடுபடுகின்ற படியும், திருவடிகளின் பரிசுத்தத்திற்கு மகிழ்ந்து ஈடுபடுகின்றபடியும் தோற்றுகின்றும்.² “நாராயண சப்தார்த்தத்தை கண்ணாலே கண்டு அநுபவிக்கலாம்படி ஸ்ரீ வாமனனாய் அவதரித்துத் திரு உலகு அளந்தபடியை அநுபவிக்கிறார். சேஷ சேஷித்வ சம்பந்தமிறே நாராயண சப்தார்த்தமாகிறது. யக்ஞ வாடத்தே சென்றபடியையும் அர்த்தித்தபடியையும் சொல்லாதே எல்லார் தலைகளிலும் திருவடிகளை வைத்த இவ் அம்சத்தைச் சொல்லுகையாலே சேஷ சேஷித்வ சம்பந்தத்தை அநுபவிக்கிறார் என்று தோற்றுகிறதிறே.”³ “நாய்ச்சிமார் தொடும் போதும் பூத் தொடுமாபோலே கூசித் தொடும் திருவடிகளைக் கொண்டு கிடர்காடும் ஓடையும் அளந்து கொண்டது என்று ஆச்சரியப்படு

1. இங்கு, தொல்காப்பியம் எழுத்ததிகாரம் குத். 450. நச்சினுர்க்கினியர் உரை காண்க.

2. தமர் உகந்தது எவ் உருவம் அவ் உருவம் தானே தமர் உகந்தது எப்பேர் மற்றப்பேர்—தமர் உகந்து எவ்வண்ணம் சிந்தித்து இமையா திருப்பரே அவ்வண்ணம் ஆழியான் ஆம். என்பது, தமிழ் மறை.

3. திருநெடுந்தாண்டகம் செய். 5. பெரியவாச்சான்பிள்ளை வியாக்.

4. நம்பிள்ளை ஈடு. திருவாய்மொழி.

கிறார். வசிஷ்ட சண்டாள விபாகம் அற எல்லார் தலையிலும் ஒக்கத் திருவடியை வைத்தான். இவர்கள் நன்மை தீமை பாராதே தன்னுடைய சுத்தியே இவர்களுக்கு மாம்படி பண்ணினான் ” என்று பெரியோர்கள் அருளிச் செய்த பொன்மொழிகள் ஈண்டுக் கருத்த் தக்கன.

‘ அடி அளந்தான், தாஅயது, எல்லாம் ஒருங்கு ’ என்பதற்கு இங்ஙனம் பொருள் கூறுது ஒழியின், வெற்றெனத் தொடுத்தல், நின்று பயன் இன்மை என்ற குற்றங்கள் தங்கும். ஆரவாரச் சொற்களையும் பொருள் இல் சொற்களையும் அடுக்கிச் செய்யுளை நிரப்பும் புலவர் அல்லர் இவர் ; தெய்வப் புலவர் என்பதனை நினைவில் இருத்தல் வேண்டும்.

இனி, பழந் தமிழர் செய்து வந்தது உருவ வழிபாடா ; அல்லது அருவவழிபாடா ; என்பதனைப் பார்ப்போம் : தொல்காப்பியத்தில், “ மாயோன்மேய காடுறை உலகமும் ” “மேவிய சிறப்பின் ஏனோர் படிமைய” “மாயோன்மேய மன்பெருஞ்சிறப்பின்” என்பனபோன்ற சூத்திரங்களில், இறைவனுடைய விபவம், அர்ச்சாவதாரம், பரத்துவம் முதலிய நிலைவேறுபாடுகளும் அவனுடைய நற்குணங்களும் கூறப்படுதலானும், எட்டுத்தொகை முதலிய சங்க இலக்கியங்களிலும் “ தீதற விளங்கிய திகிரியோன் ” என்பது முதலான அடையாளங்களும், கைகால் முதலிய உறுப்புக்களும், கோயில்களும் கூறப்படுதலானும், தெய்வப்புலமைத் திருவள்ளுவனாரும் தாமது நூலில் கடவுள் வாழ்த்தில் இறைவனுடைய திருவடிகளைச் சிறப்பித்து ஏழு பாக்கள் பாடி இருத்தலானும் உருவ வழிபாடே செய்துவந்தனர் என்பது தெளிதல் தகும். திருவாய்மொழியின் முதற் பாசுரத்தில் “ சுடரடி ” என்பதற்குப் பொருள் அருளிச்செய்யும்போது ‘ சுடர் அடி - நிரவதிக தேஜோ ரூபமான திவ்யமங்கள விக் கிரஹத்தைச் சொல்லுகிறது ’ என்று அருளிச் செய்தார் நம்பின்னை.

இதுகாறும் கூறியவாற்றால் பழந்தமிழர்களுடைய கடவுள், கடவுள் சம்பந்தமான பண்புகள் இவற்றை ஒருவாறு அறியலாகும்.

நன்றும் திருவுடையோம் நானிலத்தில் எவ்வுயிர்க்கும் ஒன்றும் குறைஇல்லை ஒதினோம்—குன்றம் எடுத்தான் அடிசேர் இராமாநு சன்தான் பிடித்தார் பிடித்தாரைப் பெற்று.

மாறன் மலரடி வாழ்க.

TELUGU DRAMA AND THEATRE

By

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There had been no Telugu dramas-either original or translations prior to 1870 A. D. That does not mean that the Telugu people had no idea of drama. Samskrt scholars among the Telugus were well acquainted with Samskrt dramas ; but they never attempted dramas on the model of Samskrt plays. There were Telugu poets who translated the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Bhagavata but none of them ever cared to translate any Samskrt drama. An eminent Telugu poet, Pillalamarri Pina Virabhadra of the 15th century A. D. composed a lengthy Telugu poem known as Srngāra Sakuntalam as an adaptation of Kalidasa's Abhijnana Sakuntalam as well as of the original story of Sakuntala, presented in the Mahabharata. Likewise, another Samskrt drama, known as Prabodhachandrodayam was rendered as a poem in Telugu by the twin poets, Nandi Mallana and Gahanta Singana of the 15th century A. D. We do not hear of any Telugu drama - of the type of Samskrt drama ; nor do we come across any reference to a theatre in the Telugu country prior to 1870 A. D. This is indeed a strange feature, but we can account for it in a way.

YAKSHAGĀNAS

As a substitute for drama, there had been Yakshagānas or performances by Bhāgavatam parties, also known as Vīhinātakas or street plays. The theme selected was in the beginning exclusively from an episode in the Bhāgavata but in course of time, stories from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana also were selected as suitable themes. They consisted of poetry - both song and verse and provided for dancing as an essential part of the Dance - drama but drama as we understand it from the compositions of Bhāsa or Kālidāsa gave up dance except as an incidental item in an appropriate situation. In course of time, song also lost its importance and verses (slokas) came to be exclusively used in Samskrt dramas. But the street plays of the Telugu country have retained the use of verse, song, music, acting and dance. They are almost like the operas of the west. They were, therefore, more attractive to the people than the dramas of the type of Samskrt plays. A good many Yakshagānas

were composed under the patronage of the Nāyak rulers of Tanjore and Madura during the latter part of the 16th and the 17th centuries.

Yakshagānas have undergone in course of time several slight modifications in the selection of the theme, number of Characters to be introduced and the conversations.

During the time of Nāyak rulers at Tanjore, there was an innovation in the selection of the theme. While it had been the custom to select a theme from the Puranas, the author selected the themes from the current life. Vijayarāghava Nāyak, ruler of Tanjore (1634-73) composed a Yakshagāna known as Raghunāthābhyudayam depicting the exploits of his father, Raghunātha Nāyak (1600-34). Rangājamma, the cultured Courtesan of Vijayarāghava Nāyak composed a Yakshagana, known as Mannārudāsa vilāsam, in which Vijayarāghava Nāyak was the hero.

Tyāgarāja, the famous musician and composer of devotional songs in Telugu, composed two Yakshagānas known as Prahlāda charitra and Naukābhagam.

The performance of street plays has been gradually waning in popularity but is still lingering in some villages and some fashionable persons of modern tastes attend it with antiquarian interest.

DRAMA

Telugu poets did not for a long time attempt to write dramas after the model of Samskrt drama, because they were strongly of the opinion that a drama was a 'drsyakāvya' and was meant to be staged and they were not confident that a dramatic performance would interest the people so well as the Yakshagānas or street plays. Mere acting and dialogue would not attract the masses, unless they were combined with singing and dancing.

With the advent of the English theatre and the performance of English plays of Shakespeare and other playwrights, the educated public who studied them at colleges evinced interest in enacting them and translating them into Telugu. With the advent of touring Pārsi theatrical Companies from Dhārwar and Poona and their performances of the Hindi or Marāṭhi plays with picturesque curtains and attractive scenic arrangements, the need for similar dramas in Telugu was felt. Quite at the same time, the desire for staging Samskrt dramas arose in the mind of Ānanda Gajapati, Maharaja of Vizianagaram, a versatile genius among the aristocrats and patron of letters and music. He started a Dramatic Association in his place

and provided for a theatre in his palace for staging Samskrt plays for a selected audience of pandits and modern liberal scholars.

As a result of these developments came translations of English and Samskrt drama and finally original plays in Telugu. In 1876, Vāvilāla Vāsudeva Sāstri translated Julius Caesar into Telugu. He was a graduate of the Madras University and an assistant lecturer in English in the Government Arts College at Rajahmundry. He adopted a popular metre in Telugu every line of which consisted of five feet corresponding to the five iambic feet of Shakespeare's composition and Teluguised the English proper names and tried to introduce Hindu customs and manners to make the play popular in the Telugu Country. In 1880 Guruzāda Srīrāmamūrti of Vizianagaram and K. Virēsalingam of Rajahmundry translated the first two acts of Merchant of Venice ; the former introduced a few prose passages but the major portion was in verse and the latter did it in complete verse. These three translations were followed by a number of other translations of English dramas not only of Shakespeare but also of Sheridan and later on of Ibsen and other foreign playwrights. Of these foreign plays, Shakespeare's appealed most to the Telugu writers : more than twelve dramas of Shakespeare were translated or adapted and Virēsalingam translated more plays than any other ; but they appealed only to the educated classes but not to the people in general. Even today stories relating to social or political life of foreign countries do not appeal to the people in general.

Side by side with the translation or adaptation of these foreign plays, translation of Samskrt plas was taken up. Kokkonda Venkataratanam, a great Samskrt and Telugu scholar was the first to translate a Samskrt drama known as 'Narakāsura Vijaya Vyāyōgam' but it failed to become popular on account of the difficult style in which it was translated. K. Virēsalingam was again the second to take up the translation of Samskrt dramas also. He translated Abhijñāna Śakuntalam and Ratnāvali and his translation of Abhijñāna Śakuntalam is considered to be the best among more than a dozen translations of the same play by contemporary and subsequent scholars who did it either on account of their great regard for the drama or with the ambition of producing a better translation than that of Virēsalingam's. Many other Samskrt plays of Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Śūdraka, Bhattanārāyana etc. have been translated by the later writers but very few of them like Vēṇisamhāram, translated by Vaddādi Subbarāyudu were popular on the stage. 1900-1910 seems to be the most prolific period for translations of Samskrt dramas and subsequently this literary work has been rare and far between.

Along with the translation of English or Samskrt plays, came also original dramas in Telugu by almost the same authors as had done translations. Vāvilāla Vāsudēva Śāstri was again the first to write an original drama, known as Nandakarājyam in 1880, but as it was composed completely in verse, it could not be staged and the cause thereof may appear to be strange. Telugus have been accustomed to sing any verse but not to deliver it as prose. Viresalingam was again the second in writing an original drama known as Harischandra and this became very popular because the story was popular, the dialogues were vigorous and the development of the plot was after the model of Samskrt plays. Its popularity on the stage lasted till Balijēpalli Lakshmīkāntam's Harichandra attracted larger audiences in several parts of the Telugu country. The dramatic situations were better worked up by Balijēpalli who was also an actor. From this and other similar cases, I am strongly of the opinion that an actor-author produces a better drama for the stage than an author who has no experience in acting.

The earliest playwrights who wrote for regularly organised Dramatic Associations were Dharmavāram Kṛṣṇamāchārya (1853-1913) and Kōlāchalam Śrīnīvāsaraō who had been his contemporary and rival in the dramatic field — both of Bellary. Both were products of English education and their plays illustrate the influence of English dramas and western technique in dramaturgy. Kṛṣṇamāchārya wrote his plays for the Sarasavinōdini Sabha of Bellary. He had the courage to write the first tragedy in Telugu known as Vishāda Sārangadhara, defying the tradition of the country which favoured only a happy end for any drama — Puranic or Historical or social. He gave up the traditional 'Nāndi' and 'Prastāvana' of the Samskrit plays and introduced prologues and epilogues on the model of the English plays. At the same time he maintained the traditions of the country in descriptions, figures of speech and expressions of social ethical and spiritual values. Many of his dramas were based on Puranic themes of which his Chitrānāliyam, Prahlāda and Pādukā Paṭṭābhi Shēkam have been regarded as the best. He had also the honour of having written an all prose drama known as 'Ajāmīlam'. He wrote, in all, thirty dramas; and is known as the Andhra Nāṭaka Pitāmaha, the "Grand father of the Andhra Drama".

Kolāchalam Śrīnīvāsaraō who on account of some differences with Kṛṣṇamāchārya, started a rival Dramatic Association at Bellary was also a prolific writer having to his credit almost 30 plays. While Kṛṣṇamāchārya was famous for his Puranic dramas, Śrīnīvāsa Rao

came to be regarded as the first great writer of Historical plays. His Vijayanagara Sāmrājya Patanam (Fall of Vijayanagar Empire) is the best of his plays.

The Suguṇavilāsa Sabha of Madras came into existence about the same time as that of Bellary and in this Sabha not only Telugu dramas but also dramas in some other South Indian languages were staged. There was no playwright who wrote for this Sabha in Telugu as there had been Mr. Sambandham Mudaliar now an old man of about 90 years of age, who has written more than 80 plays in Tamil. He is known to be a very good actor and used to take part in Telugu dramas also. He is the only living authority to speak about the progress of Dramatic art in South India during the last sixty years.

Several theatrical societies came into existence during the last years of the 19th and the early years of the 20th century in Madras and several towns of the Telugu country, of which the Chintamani Nāṭaka Samājam at Rajahmundry and the Jaganmitra Nāṭaka Samājam at Vizagapatam were the earliest to come to prominence. Tenali, Gudivada, Machilipatnam (Masulipatnam), Ellore, Nellore and a few other places also had each a Dramatic Association. There were also a few professional touring parties like the "Surabhi" companies and one interesting feature about them that was each troupe consisted of members of the same extended family and women also took part in the performances and as far as possible the roles were so distributed that each was the wife of her own husband on the stage also. They had a stock of about ten dramas. They toured with all the material required for staging their dramas. They had a successful life for about 15 years but after the advent of the cinema, their parties were broken up and the surviving actors and actresses entered this new field. One main defect with them was that the dramas were so written by their playwrights as to suit the talents of their permanent artistes instead of selecting suitable artistes for their dramas.

At Rajahmundry there were good writers like Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham and Vaddādi Subbarao whose dramas were popular all over the Telugu country - particularly Chilakamarti's Prasannayādavam and Gayōpākhyanam.

Rasaputra Vijayam by Ichchāpurapu Yagnanārāyaṇa of Visakapatnam had marvellous success for a long time during the first quarter of this century because it exhibited the valour of Rajaput heroes and exposed the cruelty of the Mussalman, chiefs and rulers. For similar reasons, Rōshanara by Kōpparapu Subbarao was very

popular for some years but it offended the Mussalmans as it distorted facts to tickle the vanity of the Hindus and the play was, therefore, banned. Puranic dramas like *Pāṇḍava Vijayam* by Tirupati Venkateswara (twin) poets, *Srikr̥ṣṇa Tulābhāram* by Muttarāzu Subbarao; historical plays like *Khilijirājyapatanam* by Gundimeda Venkata Subbarao, translations of D.L. Roy's Bengali dramas like *Chandra Gupta*, *Shāhahan* and *Durgādas* by several writers like *Sripāda Kāmēswarao*, *Nandūri Sivarao* and *Jonnalagadda Satyanārāyana* became popular for the stage and most of them are still staged at several places.

I shall here refer to two dramas that have had the unique appreciation of the public and outstanding merit, *Prataparudriyam* (1896) by Vēdam Venkatarāya Śāstry, a great Samskr̥t and Telugu Pandit with good scholarship in English. It was mainly a historical play referring to an incident in the life of Prataparudra, a Kakatiya King who was kidnapped by the Mohammedan soldiers and taken as a captive to Delhi and brought back by his minister Yugandhar, an extraordinary strategist of the type of Chanakya. It is a lengthy drama woven with plots and counter plots, amazing dramatic situations, vigorous dialogues and scenes of comic interest. The author who was ordinarily against the use of the spoken dialect even of the high class for serious composition used the spoken dialect, appropriate to the speech habits of the several characters in his drama except in the case of the higher roles where he used the classical language (of poetic diction) found in classical poems and spoken by none. But the development of the plot was dexterous; characterisation was marked and the dialogues were attractive. The drama affords good reading and ample scope for acting on the stage. It is still a popular drama.

The second drama of outstanding merit is *Kanyāsulkam* (1897), a social hit by Guruzāda Appārao of Vizianagaram. It was revised and enlarged in 1909. The author was a brilliant scholar of English literature and he kept himself abreast of his times. In the introduction to his drama, he writes "I wrote to advance the cause of social reform and to combat a popular prejudice that the Telugu language (by which he meant the spoken dialect) was unsuited to the stage... "The late Dr. C. R. Reddy (formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University) though he was not in favour of the Modern movement sponsored by G.V. Ramamurti and Apparao, did not fail to appreciate this drama which adopted throughout the play the spoken dialect. He says "Kanyāsulkam remains a master-piece in the difficult realm of social satire. It is aglow with life and humanity; its

men and women move about with all the grace and kindness, Oddities and absurdities ; cruelties and chicaneries, sanctities and hypocrisies of real life - a life in which nature and customs, reason and tradition, sentiment and superstition are in misreable conflict. The characters in the drama were drawn on realities of life ; the author had in his mind some of his contemporaries whose traits of character helped him portray the main characters of his drama."

A social play intended to advance the cause of social reform or correct the social evils of the age may be a popular one for the age but is not likely to interest the future generations that have neither such evils nor such problems. Such were the other social dramas in Telugu - either contemporaneous or a little earlier or a little later than this *Kanyāśulkam*. *Manōrama* (1895) by Āchanta Sāṅkhyāyana Sarma and *Sāgarika* (1897) by Vallūri Bāpiraju and several *prahasana*ms (1895-1890) by K. Veerasalingam - all intended to combat the social evils of the age and advance education among women. They faded out of the memory of the present age because the problems referred to in them are out of date. But the case of *Kanyāśulkam* is different. The bride's price as is indicated in the title of the drama has gone out but that was only a plea for the theme. There are a good many other features of society which still exist and the creation of immortal characters like *Girisam*, *Venkaṭeṣam*, *Karāṭaka Sāstri* etc. are typical and they have become popular expressions to denote such characters.

In the history of Telugu Drama, Pānuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao (1865 - 1940) deserves some special notice. He was a prolific writer with a facile pen ; His extensive writings covered almost all the fields of literature except 'poem'. He was not an eminent poet though he composed verses in his dramas. He was a good playwright and a vigorous prose writer. His dramas, essays and sketches illustrate his profound scholarship, his insight into human nature and his creative art — particularly in creating typical characters that are representative of all times. He developed a satirically humorous style of writing which knocks effectively on the head of the evil doer. His admirers called him the Andhra Shakespeare. He wrote many dramas giving prominence to prose and though he included some verses here and there they were so composed that they gave no scope for singing in season and out of season in the course of acting. Of his dramas, *Pādukāpaṭṭābhishēkam* and *Rādhākṛṣṇa*, — Purāṇic dramas, and *Kaṇṭhābharaṇam* and *Vṛddhāvivāham*, — social plays have literary merit and have become popular on the stage.

There are also some plays that afford good reading on account of their literary merit and creative art — *Nāda Sundari*, a good lyrical play by Abbūri Rāmakṛṣṇarao; several gēyanatakamulu (all verse plays) like *Padmāvati charaṇa*, *Chāraṇa chakravarti* and *Dikshita Duhita* by Sivasankara svāmi.

The Yuvarajah of Piṭhāpuram, R.V.M.G. Rāmārao, realistic poet and playwright who was influenced by the Modern Telugu Movement and the new trends of the modern age, has written some plays like *Ālōkamunundi Āhvānam* and *Tirani Kōrikalu* — ātarvāta which exhibit free flights of conceptions, defying all conventions.

Muddu Kṛṣṇa, a typical product of the modern age has written short social plays like *Ṭikappulō tupānu* (a storm in a tea cup) and *Bhīmākalāpamulō Bhāmākalāpam* — interesting comedies popular for the stage.

The Naṭyakala Parishad started about 1928 at Tenali as a result of the exertions of Raghavāchari, a famous Telugu actor and Vanārasa Govinda Rao has been encouraging playwrights by offering prizes and awards; as a result of which, Ātrēya, Konḍamudi Gopālarāya Sārma and several others have been producing dramas for the modern stage. Themes relating to the down-trodden labourers, peasants, ill-paid clerks, N. G. O's are on the increase by authors who have communist and socialist views. They are all written in the spoken dialect — of course varying with the characters of the drama.

There are by now about 1200 dramas and 500 one-act plays in Telugu. For want of space I have not referred to the latter which deserves special treatment; nor could I find space to refer to the famous actors on the stage.

A COMMON LITERARY AND PROSODIAL TRADITION IN SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES

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An attempt to trace the line of linguistic development of the major languages of South India, has taken us to a common source of linguistic tradition, represented by what may be called the 'primitive Dravidian tongue', thereby bringing together these languages into a common family group. Similarly we may hope to arrive at a common literary or prosodial tradition also forming the basis for the development of literary forms in the various languages of this group, by comparing the lines of literary growth in those languages. Though the Dravidian group of languages is said to have comprised of about a dozen independent languages scattered throughout India, only half a dozen of them are generally considered as cultivated, of which again only four major languages of South India, namely Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam possess independent scripts and literatures of their own.

Though we do not know for certain of the time when these major languages of South India, have got separated from their mother tongue, or what time they have taken for individual development after they got separated from the mother tongue or from each other, we may feel sure that they must have taken a considerable time before they developed as independent languages fit to be used as vehicles of literary expression by the people who spoke them. Of all the languages of this group Tamil claims to have possessed literature of a very high antiquity, at least higher than that in any other language of the group, and which can easily be traced to the early centuries of the Pre-Christian era. Even by that time it seems to have evolved and developed metrical forms, rhetorical devices, literary conventions all on indigenous lines without the influence of the Sanskrit model. The 'nēr-nirai' scheme as a basis for the formation of feet and the development of metrical forms in the language, the adoption of the methods or devices of 'mōnai' and 'edugai', as means of embellishment for enhancing the beauty of literary expression, the use of various 'pans' for setting the literary forms to music of a popular order, all these seem to be quite indigenous and not things borrowed from Sanskrit; and when traces of them are to be found in other languages of the group, we are naturally led to think of a common source for all these,

When we think of literature in any language, the very first thing that comes to our mind is the metrical form of the song or poem, which is used as a vehicle of the emotional thought or feeling. Then the literary expression and the rhetorical devices also will begin to attract us. It is generally accepted that early beginnings of literary expression in any language, will be in the form of song; and song set to some music or tune is the form of expression that is most attractive to children and to most of the common people. Most of the early literature in Tamil may be said to be of this type. Why, as a matter of fact all the Desi or indigenous literature in Telugu and Kannada also, come under this type. While in Tamil country many of these popular compositions were later collected and preserved, in Telugu and Kannada countries, owing to the political conditions, or perhaps due to the influence of Sanskritists, those early popular songs or compositions, were left to themselves, either to be preserved or lost in the oral tradition of the common people of the country. A close study and comparison of the characteristic features of this type of literature found in these major languages of South India, may lead us to a common literary tradition, which may be taken as forming its basis.

Here also in the literary field, as in the case of language, we have to make a distinction between what is indigenous and what is borrowed—particularly from Sanskrit, since these languages, specially Telugu and Kannada have borrowed a lot from Sanskrit, and tried to assimilate the borrowed element in such a way, that we find it rather difficult to discover the original itself. This original element—is called ‘Desi’—i.e., the element which is indigenous and to a considerable extent common to the languages of South India. The borrowed element on the other hand go by the name of ‘Marga.’ Early grammarians have framed special rules regarding the method of borrowing or adopting the Sanskrit material in these languages, Nripatunga in his Kavirajamarga was perhaps the first to lay down these rules, and Telugu poets and grammarians also followed them. The same method is adopted in the literary side also—i.e., in the matter of borrowing Sanskrit metres etc. in Kannada and Telugu. Sanskrit metres have entered into Kannada poetry far earlier than in Telugu, and it may be said that it is the Kannada poets of the 10th century A. D. that have led the way for the ‘Marga’ style of poetry adopted by the Telugu poet Nannaya in the 11th century A. D.

Nannaya was the first celebrated poet in Telugu, and it was he that introduced Sanskrit metres in Telugu poetry for the first time. No Telugu verse written in a Sanskrit metre, before Nannaya has so

far been discovered, though we meet with a good number of verses written in Desi metres, in inscriptions before his time. But even as early as the 8th century AD. we meet with a Kannada verse written in the Sanskrit metre 'Sragdhara', in an inscription at Sravana Belgola in the Kannada country*. In this Kannada verse composed in Sanskrit metre Sragdhara, we have to note one remarkable feature., namely, the observance of what is called 'prāsa,'—the recurrence of the same letter (r) as the second letter in each of the four lines of the verse. This is not at all a regular feature of the form of the Sragdhara metre in Sanskrit. From this it is clear that the Kannada poets while adopting the Sanskrit metrical forms in their language, have tried to make some modifications of their own, with a view to bring them into line with the indigenous form of poetry. The Sanskrit metres are thus given an indigenous garb and are converted into Kannada forms. The same thing happened in Telugu also. When Nannaya adopted Sanskrit metres in Telugu for the first time, he has not only followed in the footsteps of Kannada poets, but went a step further. He has not only furnished those Sanskrit metres with 'Prasa' as in Kannada, but embellished them with another indigenous ornament called 'yati'—or 'Vadi' as it is strictly called in Telugu, 'yati' in Sanskrit is otherwise called 'Visrama', and it is a stop in the middle of each line in a verse, used as a device for taking breath. In Telugu it is not a mere stop, but it is a repetition of the first letter of the line somewhere in the middle of it, this repetition occurring sometimes more than once in each of the four lines of the verse. Kannada poets have not observed this kind of Yati or vadi but only followed the Sanskrit method of observing 'Visrama' for taking breath. This was noted by the grammarians or lakshāṇikas, as a peculiar feature of 'yati-Vilāṅghana' in Kannada poetry. This Desi feature was not adopted in Kannada poetry perhaps because of the overpowering influence of Sanskrit on the Jaina Scholars who were the earliest writers in the language. Telugu poets from the beginning seem to have kept the Desi tradition better. For we find that all the verses so far discovered in the inscriptions of the pre-Nannaya period, were written in Desi metres only, and in all of them not only the 'prāsam' but even 'vadi' (=yati) i.e., the correspondance of the 1st letter of the 1st gaṇa, with the 1st letter of the 3rd or 4th gaṇa in each line of the verse, was strictly observed, according to the Desi

*“సురచాపంబోలె విద్యుల్లతెగక తెఱవోల్ మంజువోల్ తోటిబేగం
పిరిగుం శ్రీరూప లీలాధనవిభవ మహారాళిగళ్ నిల్లవార్లం
పరమార్థం మెచ్చనా నీ ధరణీయుళిరవానెండు సన్యాసనంగె
య్యురు సత్సన్ నందిసేన ప్రవరమునివరన్ దేవలోకక్కె సన్దాన్”॥

tradition. Even when Nannaya adopted Sanskrit Vrittās or metrical forms in Telugu poetry, he did not consider them as shackles in writing poetry or tried to do away with them, but used both vadi and prasa, even in those Sanskrit metres, for their great advantage, and as fitting ornaments of Telugu poetry. A later poet Koravi Goparaju has actually described these Desi conventions of vadi and prasa as fitting ornaments to the Muse of Telugu poetry, and compared their importance to the Telugu poetry with that of the "mangala Sutras"—or the marriage thread ornaments of a Hindu married woman**. Thus from very early times, in Desi poetry as well as in metres adopted from Sanskrit, Telugu poets were very careful to keep to the Desi conventions of Yati and prasa.

Now the question is where have these come from. We can say that they have not come from Sanskrit or Prakrit.

Poetical compositions in Telugu and Kannada can be found from about the beginning of the 8th century AD. Some traditions or fragments of Desi poetry in Telugu can still further be traced back for a century or two. But literary traditions in Telugu or Kannada cannot take us back to an earlier period. For this we have to go or look up to another cognate language of the group—namely Tamil, which can easily take us to the literary traditions prevailing in the language about the beginning of the Christian era. Here in early Tamil poetry (like that of Aaganānūru and Puranānūru) we can find traces of some of these Desi conventions of Yati and prasa, which have become regularised in Telugu and Kannada at a later age, already appearing in the form of what are called 'monai' and 'edugai'. These are not some stray forms of poetic embellishments in Tamil. Tolkaappiar the first grammarian in the language has dealt with them rather elaborately. This 'monai' and 'edugai' form two of the five kinds of amity of Syllables, which go by the name 'Todai' in that language, and these are called "monai-todai" and 'edugai-ttodai.' Todai may be said to be a kind of 'akshara-maitri,' and monai-ttodai and edugai-ttodai of Tamil, correspond to the vadi and prasa in Telugu. Again this monai and edugai each is of eight kinds in Tamil. Monaittodai is the correspondence of the 1st letter of the 1st foot of a line in a verse, with the 1st letter of some other foot in that line, while edugai is the correspondance of the 2nd letter of the 1st foot in one line with the 2nd letter of any other foot in the

***పుణ్యస్త్రీకి గుణంబు మంగళ గుణంబున్ సొమ్ములై యొప్పుగా

బణ్యస్త్రీకి సువర్ణమౌ క్తికసురూప వ్యక్తి భూషాకృతుల్

గణ్యంబౌగతి సంస్కృతంబునకు వాగ్భవంబు శబ్దంబులా

వణ్యకౌరములౌ, దెనుంగునకు బ్రాల్పక్షంగదు న్వన్నియల్."

same line or with the 2nd letter of the corresponding feet in other lines of the verse. Though in Tamil there are eight varieties each for monai and edugai, Telugu has made use of one variety only, of each, calling them vadi and prasa, and while in Tamil the use of these varieties is optional in poetry, Telugu has made this vadi and Prasa, almost a compulsory accompaniment for all kinds of metrical forms either Desi or Sanskritic. This idea of Telugu vadi and prasa is conveyed by the grammar 'Andhra Sabda chintamani in the following verse :—

“Adyōvalir dvitīyō varṇah Prāsotrapādapādeshu Swa swa charaṇēshu pūrvah, prāsassarveshu chaika ēva Syat” only in three varieties of Desi metrical compositions prasa is not used compulsorily, though yati is compulsorily used, and “prāsa yati” can also be used in place of yati, occasional use of other varieties also mentioned in Tamil grammar, occur in some of the popular compositions in Desi metre, but not in verses composed in Sanskrit metres.

From this we can understand that the scheme of poetic embellishment represented by various kinds of Todai first set up in Tamil is as old as the beginnings of Tamil poetry, and that the same Dravidian literary tradition has been followed in other South Indian languages like Telugu and Kannada. This is not an isolated feature developed in any of these languages but seems to be the adaptation of a common tradition shared by all the languages forming this group.

When Sanskrit metrical forms were adopted in Telugu and Kannada, the poets of these languages seem to have acted independently. While Kannada poets were prepared to abandon the Desi principle of letter correspondence in the matter of yati and adopted only the 'visrama' of Sanskrit tradition, Telugu poets nicely managed the affair by making the first letter in the line correspond with the letter coming at the place where the 'Visrama sthana' occurs according to the Sanskrit tradition, thus they have brought about a correlation of Dravidian and Aryan methods, and converted Sanskrit 'yati' into Telugu 'Vadi'.

Now let us consider about the metrical forms themselves. It is clear that all the metrical forms used by Telugu and Kannada poets cannot be traced to Sanskrit Vrittis or Jatis; just as in the case of language, it is not possible to trace all the vocabulary or the grammatical features of these languages to the Sanskrit sources, grammarians or Lakṣhaṇikas in these languages, had to admit that besides those borrowed from Sanskrit, there are some metres peculiar to these countries which they preferred to call Dēśīyas. But naturally, either out of respect for Sanskrit, or as the Sanskrit metres used by the classical poets in their works are more in number, they preferred

to deal first with the Sanskrit Chandas and the metres borrowed from Sanskrit, and then rather meagrely with the Desiya Chandas afterwards. So did Nagavarma in his Chandombudhi in Kannada. After dealing first with metres said to be common to all the 56 countries in India (Shatpancasath Dēsiya) composed of Aksharagaṇas and Mātrāgaṇas, he deals at the end almost in a hasty manner with those special to Kannada Desa. [“Karnāṭa Vishaya Jatiyam Kēḷi Pēlvem”]. And for the sake of these metres he had to give a special prastāra of Mātragaṇas, to form what are called Brahma, Vishnu and Rudragaṇas of Kannada, which are quite different from the “akshragaṇas employed in Sanskrit metres. Then he explains how the Desi metres like Tripadi, akkare, ēḷe, Choupadi, gūṭike, shaṭpadi, utsaha etc are formed from these gaṇas.

Telugu lākshaṇikas also follow the same method of treatment. They divide the metres into two classes-Vṛttam and Jati. They first deal with the akshara chandas and the Vṛttas or metres developed from them. They divide Jātis into two classes. Jātis under which they dealt with Kanda, utsaha, taruvoja, Akkara etc., while under ‘upajātis they mentioned Gīta and Śīsa with their varieties. It is really astonishing that while Nagavarma deals with utsaha, Akkara, Shaṭpadi, Ragada under Matragaṇa Vṛttas, Telugu Lakshaṇikas deal with them as aksharagaṇa vṛttas. The reason is this. Telugu lakshaṇikas have tried to impose the system of aksharagaṇas on these desi metres which are originally formed of matragaṇas, and deal with them accordingly.

Though there is a slight difference in the reckoning of the system of matragaṇas, between the Kannada and Telugu Lakshaṇikas, i.e. between the Brahma, Vishnu, Rudragaṇas of Kannada and Suryendra chandragaṇas of Telugu, they follow almost the same method, which is quite different from that followed by Sanskritists for the formation of Aksharagaṇas. Most of the Desi metres which are more amenable to tāla and music, are common to Kannada and Telugu and they are mostly used in what is called popular or the Desi literature and only occasionally used in the classical or marga literature of Sanskrit persuasion. These Desi metres formed of matragaṇas common to both Kannada and Telugu, may be considered as indigenous and of Dravidian origin.

We have now to see how far these can be connected with or traced to the metrical forms used in Tamil. [Sanskrit prosody is full of 4-lined metres-samavṛttas-of almost equal length and having the same number of aksharagaṇas, in all the four lines. Vishama Vṛttas, there are, but are few in number. Desi metres of South Indian

languages, including Tamil are generally of two line or three line formations, and can be carried on to any lengths. Kuraḷ in Tamil is of two lines like the Dvipada in Telugu. Venba is of three lines and may be compared to the Tripadi or tivadi of Kannada. Regular four lined metres seem to be a very late feature in Tamil as also other South Indian languages, except perhaps Malayalam where the Sanskrit dominant 'Manipravala' style prevailed over the Desi. The Ragadas in Telugu and Kannada are made up of a feet of three or four matras, with ādyantaprāsa and prāsa at the beginning and at the end and can be made to run on to any lengths, as in the case of Dvipada. Most of the Desi metres, since they are composed of matraganas, can easily be set to music. So is the case with many of the early Tamil compositions, which were set to music, of what are called the various kinds of 'Puns'.

The "Nēr-nirai" system of Tamil prosody and the gaṇas or 'Seer' made of them composing the various forms of Tamil metres can be compared to the Desi metres in other languages like, Telugu and Kannda, composed of matraganas-like suryendracandra and Brahma Vishnu Rudra. Though the nēr-nirai system is far more elaborate, than that found in Telugu or Kannada, some of the feet of the suryendragāṇas of Telugu and Brahma Vishnu gaṇas of Kannada can easily be adjusted, or may be shown to be identical with some feet formed under Nēr-nirai system of Tamil. Two Ahavalpa lines of Tamil having four feet each, can be made equal or identified with one line of Sisa verse having eight gaṇas. Most probably, it is the nēr-nirai system of Tamil that gave rise to or happened to be the source of Desi mātragaṇa system in other languages like Telugu and Kannada.

Thus in very many aspects of early literary tradition where the Sanskrit influence was not very much felt, the early composition of the Desi literature, can easily be compared with that of Tamil. This points to a common Dravidian element of literary tradition, which seems to have been shared by these major languages of the group and developed each in its own way.

HISTORY OF TELUGU LINGUISTICS

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In the history of Telugu Linguistics, the Dissertation of Ellis (1780-1819) on Telugu written in 1816 marks the emergence of the theory of the independent existence of the Dravidian Languages and their mutual relationship. In establishing this theory, Ellis has not only followed the comparative method, but also reviewed the opinions of previous writers on the subject. So far as Telugu is concerned, he has quoted the opinions of Colebrooke (1765-1836) Dr. Wilkins (1760-1833) and Dr. Carey (1761-1834) who stated that these South Indian Languages are of Sanskrit origin. Dr. Carey among them, wrote both a Sanskrit Grammar, and a Telugu Grammar; which were published in 1806 and 1816 respectively. In both of these, Dr. Carey traced Telugu to the Sanskrit origin. Ellis, at the beginning quotes their statements (Pages 1 & 2) and after wards discussed about them.

Anticipating the recent ideas regarding the Agglutinative structure of the Telugu language, more than a century ago, Ellis first took into consideration

(1) the *root material*. He has taken the Telugu roots, from the *Dhātumāla* compiled by V. Pattābhirāmaśāstry of the Fort St. George College and listed them alphabetically. He compared these roots with the roots of the Tamil and Kannada languages; showed their relationship with one another and proved that these roots must possess a common language source. To strengthen his argument further, he has taken

(2) the *word material* of the three Cognate languages, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. In this part of the investigation Ellis was shrewd enough to acquaint himself with the correct divisions of the Telugu Language according to Telugu Grammarians, and Lakṣṇa-karas. For this, he has taken the authority of Māmidi Venkayya's Telugu Dictionary 'Āndhra Dīpikā'. He understood the four modes of derivation of the Telugu language, Tatsamam, Tadbhavam Deśyam and Gramyam very clearly. In Tadbhavas, he has carefully distinguished the words derived from the six Prakrit Dialects. Then

1. This forms an introduction to the Dissertation of the Telugu Language by Ellis published in the *Annals of Oriental Research* Vol. XI and XII.

he considers Dēśya as the origin and basing his conclusion on the authority of Appakavi he proved that Desyam is not derived either from Sanskrit or from Prakrit. These Dēśya words like Pālu, Perugu Nēyi, Rōlu etc., were compared with the Tamil and Kannada words. There were found in the same form in all the three cognate Languages and their independent existence was thus proved.

Ellis then takes

(3) *syntax* into consideration. He has taken passages and sentences in Sanskrit; translated them into the three Dravidian Languages, Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. He has also given an English translation of the passages and the sentences. In these he has clearly demonstrated the fact, that, the construction of the sentence, the use of the predicate, and other grammatical details in Dravidian Languages have absolutely no connection with Sanskrit, and that they stand apart. After a thorough and systematic study and an intense application of thought over the Dravidian Languages, Ellis, declared with great insight that “these (Dravidian Languages Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam were not derivations from the Sanskrit; that the latter, however it may contribute to the polish is not necessary for their existence; and that they form a distinct family of languages with which the Sanskrit has, in later times especially inter-mixed, but with which it has no radical connection.”

This well considered declaration of Ellis regarding the Dravidian Languages as a distinct family first found approval in Campbell's Telugu Grammar published in 1821, in which the Dissertation of the Telugu Language by Ellis appeared as a note to introduction; Mr. Campbell stated in his Telugu Grammar thus confirming the view of Ellis.

“I am inclined, however, believe that the Telugu will be found to have its origin, in a source different from the Sanskrit—a source common perhaps to Telugu, with the superior dialects of Tamil and Kannada”.

In 1828, Mr. Wilson, while writing the introduction to the catalogue of manuscript collection of Col. Mackenzie, entirely agreed with Ellis with regard to the Dravidian origin of the Telugu language.

The following is the observation by Wilson.

“It—Tamil—is not derived from any language at present in existence and is either itself the parent of the Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese languages or what is more probable, has its origin in common with these in some ancient tongue which is now lost, or only partially preserved in its offspring.

In its more primitive words such as the names of the natural objects, the verbs expressive of physical action or passion the numeral etc. it is quite unconnected with Sanskrit"—Babington.

"Neither the Tamil, the Telugu nor any of their cognate dialects are derivations from the Sanskrit; that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish is not necessary for its existence; and that they form a distinct form of languages,] with which the Sanskrit has in later times especially intermixed but with which it has no radical connection"—Ellis.

The opinions of such competent authorities cannot be contested and it must be admitted therefore that the base of the Tamil language has an independent origin.

(Vide introduction Page 18 & 19. Calcutta 1828)

Theory of Dravidian origin

The theory propounded by Ellis gradually gained ground between, 1830 and 1850 A.D. The following extract from the Madras Journal of Literature. Science Vol. 16, Article 11 P. P. 33-54. clearly shows that the trend of the Dravidian Theory is definitely taking shape by the efforts of scholars working in other languages. The article is entitled "Observations on the language of the Gonds south of the Nerbudda". By Mr. Charles Egbert Kennet. Communicated by the Rev. W. Taylor.

"It is now no longer a prevalent opinion the that the Sanskrit is the parent of the principal languages of India. The following theory was advanced in the preface to the IV Part of Dr. Rottler's Tamil and English Dictionary, by the Rev. Wm. Taylor, who edited the work after the death of its author."

"The present writer" says Mr. Taylor speaking of himself will hazard an opinion (derived in a very great degree from wading through the polyglot Mackenzie collection of Mss.) that there was originally one simple homogeneous dialect speak by rude simple aborigines from Himalayas to Cape comorin; the earliest probable refinement was in the Pali of the north and the Tamil of the extreme south. The Canarese ceased probably to be simply vernacular from the era of Mayura Varma and the Malayalam afterwards, when the Brahmans had spread themselves on the western coast. The Telugu did not probably cease to be purely vernacular until the cessation of the Magadha kingdom of Behar and the formation of the old Kalinga and Chalukya dynasties. It is further probable that the Sanskrit assumed its own form by engrafting

numerous Pehlvi or Chaldaic terms of science, or art, or even of common convenience on the old Pali; and the Sanskrit in this last shape every where as the Brahman Colonists spread themselves, has so very extensively enlarged or enriched the Native dialects, or made them copious and sonorous that it need not cause surprise, if in language as in history, the colonist has been deemed aborigine, and the intruder Native " pp. !!, !!!

That the Telugu is not derived from the Sanskrit has been elaborately and successfully proved in the preface¹ to Campbells Telugu Dictionary and the proof, it is said, incidentally goes to support in some degree the claims of the Tamil language, also to being an original tongue. The considerations which lead to such a conclusion with respect to the latter are thus briefly but clearly stated by Mr. Taylor: radically the Tamil and Sanscrit are entirely different, the comparative bareness of the Tamil Alphabet, its inability to indicate Sanscrit sounds without borrowed characters the total difference in pronouns, in numerals, in many nouns, verbs, adverbs, technical terms of Grammar, and similar matters. p. ii preface.

To these remarks may be added one more from the pen of the Rev. Bernard Schmid which occurs in a paper that appeared in the 12th No. Vol. IV of the Madras Literary Journal. "The construction of the Tamil, Malaialam, Karnataka and Telugu (I think also that of the Konkanese and Orissa) is most strictly conformed to the rules of a *original* language, as the verb invariably concludes the sentence, and although many Sanscrit words are found in these dialacts, yet it is evident, that before the Bhahmins gained any influence over these tribes their dialects were grammatically formed and fixed nor did the Brahmanical tribe ever violently interfere in their formation." p. 123.

C, P. Brown, the great Telugu Scholar and linguist, in 1852, expressed the opinion that "the grammar of Telugu is independent of Sanscrit, (Preface to the English Telugu Dictionary) Page 1.

Crowning all, in 1857, the year in which the Madras University was inaugurated, Dr. Caldwell produced his immortal work¹—A comparative grammar of Dravidian Languages—which is today

1. The preface referred to here is the note of Ellis—A dessertation of the Telugu Language appended thereto—

1. The work was first published in 1857. A second edition appeared in 1875, and a third in 1913. But copies of this valuable work were not available to scholars. Recently, the Madras University, considering the importance and demand of the work, reprinted the 1913 edition—and made available for circulation.

considered as the basis of Dravidian Philological Science. This work superseded all the others on the subject, and has become a standard Text book in the Universities of South India.

Theory of the Aryan Origin

In the Telugu Country, however, scholars who are well versed in Sanskrit, and Telugu, and who also studied foreign languages expressed a different opinion from Ellis and Caldwell. They tried to formulate the theory of Aryan origin to these South Indian Languages.

Lingam Lakshmaji Pandit (1830-1902) was the first to start this opinion—Lakshmaji is not only a versatile scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit but also a scholar in English, Latin and Greek.

He is the author, of the Grammar of Kui Language—a language of the aboriginal tribes of Kalinga Agency which was published first in 1853, and afterwards revised and published by Sir George Greirson, in 1902 after the demise of the author.

In 1863, Lakshmaji Pandit published a work known as *Nitisan-grahamu* in English. To that work, the Pandit added a glossary and an analysis of the Telugu Language, in which he gave a hint of his theory. The work is printed and published at Vizagapatam, where the author practiced as a pleader in the Zilla Court.

In 1881, Sri Vāvilāla Vāsudēva Sastry, (1851-1897) published his memorable essay on the Telugu Language entitled “*Andhra Bhasha*”.¹ This is the first philological document relating to the Telugu Language written in Telugu. The author, an erudite scholar in Sanskrit, Telugu and English, studied Caldwell’s work, as well the Telugu grammars, and tried to establish the intimate connection between Sanskrit and Telugu. He has also discussed the relationship and influence of the English language, which by that time, had already begun to influence the language used in the daily life of the Telugu people.

In 1884, the veteran South Indian Philologist, T. M. Seshagiri Sastri, in his “*Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philogy*” favoured the Aryan origin.

“In spite of the prevailing opinion of Dravidian Scholars, I have brought the Dravidian Languages within the pale of the Aryan Family, and have succeeded to a great extent, in connecting their vocables with those of the Aryan languages and their vernacular daughters.”

Preface — Page 4.

1. This excellent essay was published in *Chintamani* a journal at Rajahmundry in East Godavari District in the year 1881. The essay running over forty pages in small print is worth reprint. The present writer fortunately secured a copy of this rare work.

But in the year 1896, Lingam Lakshmajī published his great work—*Disillusion Scientia Scientium*, in which he essayed to controvert Mr. Ellis.

In page 7—Theorem-1, he says “If any of the few fundamentals or elements of a language, namely the numerals, the pronouns, the case endings, and the verb endings are demonstrated to be derived from another language, it follows that that language is derived from the other language, and that the people speaking the parent and derived languages were originally one and the same.”

A similar idea is maintained by Prof. Whitney in his work. *Language and study of languages* p. 195.

At page 26, Lakshmajī Pandit says :

“Although the Telugu language is wide spread and the people speaking it, if we include the Telugu population of the Nizam’s dominions, outnumber the Tamilians, its original area is more circumscribed, as we learn from the following Telugu distich from an Andhra Bhashabhushanam’—“The Andhra country lies within the Three linga temples, Sripārvata, Kaleswara and Draksharama which make the three lingas. The word Trilinga having become a Tadbhava, the country has come to be known as Telugu *desam*, which afterwards others called Tenugu *desam* and the language thereof consists of five elements.

Nannayabhatta, in his Andhra Bhāṣā Chintamani has taught us

Adyaprakritih prakritischadye
Esha tayor bhaved vikrith
Kevalatayanu surpatyubhe Cheyam
Yatha tatha bhasha.”

“The primitive language (meaning the primitive Aryan speech) and the therefrom derived Prakrita language are primitive, this (the Telugu) language is their variation, this language entirely follows the other two languages in every respect.”

Aphinavadandi the author of the more ancient Telugu Bhashabhushanam has one of the opening stanzas :—

“Talli Samskritam bella bhashalakunu
Danivalana gonta ganabadiye
Gonta dana galigi nantayu nekamai
Tenugubhashanaga vinuti kekke.

“Sanskrit is the parent of languages some i.e. the Prakrit languages have come from it, something has come from the Prakrit

1. The Telugu distich is not from Andhra Bhashabhushanam but from *Kavyalankara Chudamani* of Viṣṇakota Peditānna—(vide ullasa 7. verse 3).

languages all joined together has come to be known as the Telugu Language."

In 1900, Sri Padi Venkataswamy in his work, known as "Andhrāskhara tattvam" (The Philology of Telugu letters) endorsed the opinion of Lakshmajī Pandit.

I have given the views on both the Dravidian, and Aryan theories so far as the Telugu Language is concerned upto 1900 A.D. In this connection, the views expressed by the Telugu Grammarians and Lakshanakaras are to be considered and I shall take another opportunity to discuss the same.

The fact that M_j. Ellis is the pioneer of Telugu Philology is beyond any controversy: The present publication i.e. the dissertation on the Telugu language is perhaps the most striking monument of F. W. Ellis, whose extensive knowledge ancient and modern, Oriental and European was admired by the distinguished scholars of his generation as well as the succeeding generations.

The lives of two great Telugu scholars and works referred to by Ellis in his dissertation are given below

Vedam Pattabhirama Sastry (1760-1820)

Sri Vedam Pattābhīrāmasastry, to whom a reference has already been made, is a Puḍūrīśākhā Brahmin and belongs to Virūru village in the Atmakūr Taluq of Nellore District. He joined the Fort St. George College on its inception in 1812, and served there for 8 years till 1820 A.D. When he died, the following note appeared:

Fort St. George College: Establishment Sanskrit and Telugu Master. 13-9-1820.

1. By the death of Vedam Pattabhiramasastri, the post of Head Sanskrit and Telugu Master¹ has fallen vacant. Applications are invited for filling up the vacancy.

2. The Head Sanskrit and Telugu Master should instruct the native law students in Tarkam Vyakaranam and Dharma Sastra and instruct the Telugu students in Telugu Grammar including Nannaya Bhattiyam and others.

He should also assist the junior civil servants studying Sanskrit and Telugu.

The Salary of the Master is Rs. 175/- per mensem (vide Guide to the records of Nellore District. 1801-1835. Page 179).

1 The name of Nannayabhatta's work is Andhra Sabda Chintamani and not Andhra Bhasha Chintamani, as stated above. Even here there is a controversy about Nannaya Bhatta's authorship. The conscientious opinion is that work is attributed to Nannaya as can be gathered from internal evidence and not his original.

From the above, we can easily assess the scholarly attainments of Sri Pattabhiramasastri. He is not only highly proficient in Telugu and Sanskrit languages but also a master of Tarka, Vyakarana and Dharma Sastras—His versatility, his erudition, and his poetic talent in Telugu and Sanskrit always elicited the admiration of European Civilians interested in Oriental Culture and Dravidian languages. Mr. Ellis held Pattabhiramasastri in great esteem, and the following extract from his Commentary on Tirukkural¹ reveals the admiration and regard of Ellis for the latter. Mr. Ellis is mainly responsible, and the credit will certainly go to him, for having got some passages of Kural translated into Sanskrit. The extract appended to this article shows that these were done at the instance of Mr. Ellis by Pattabhiramasastri—Mr. Ellis has given an English translation of the Sanskrit passages and they are also given in the extract.

Dhātumāla

Among the works of Pattabhirama Sastry, Dhātumāla ; or the string of Telugu Roots is the most important. Ellis is the first scholar to recognise the value of the work, as can be seen from the quotations he has given in his dissertation. The work is systematically planned out and neatly executed. The root is given in Telugu :—the sanskrit equivalent is appended where it is required :—the meaning is explained. Only one copy of this work exists in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras bearing No. 1227. This is a copy from the original manuscript written by the author himself. This copy is prepared in 1826 after the author's death.

The following note about this work by C. P. Brown, brings to our mind the value of this work. *On the manuscript Copy.* Brown writes " The original of this very valuable work is in the College and am informed that no copy except the present was ever taken."

From the Essay on Telugu Literature by C. P. Brown July 1939. Page 58. Para. 5.

" The latest philological work compiled in Telugu was the unfinished treatise by Pattabhiramasastri, an account of which is given in the introduction to Campbell's grammar. It is evidently a work of curiosity and of value to those who take an interest in etymology and affiliation of languages."

1. In those days, the teachers in the Colleges were styled as Masters. The late Paravastu Chinmaya Suri the first Telugu Pandit of the Presidency College Madras designated himself thus. P. Chinniah Sooree. *Telugu Headmaster of the Madras University.* (Vide the inner title of Neetichandrika 1st Edition 1853).

This work also attracted the attention of Paravastu Chinnayasuri, (1806-1862) the greatest grammarian, and the first Telugu Head of the Madras University. He has taken a copy of this work, omitting the roots that are in colloquial use. And since the copy is in the actual handwriting of the great scholar, the work was printed and published by the Telugu Academy at Kakinada in 1930, as their 23rd publication under Chinnaya Suri's authorship. The present writer in 1947 brought to the notice of scholars the pseudonymous nature of the work, and the authorship of Pattabhiramasastri was well established.

The other works of Pattabhirama Sastry are (1) Pattabhirama Panditiamu;—a Telugu Prose Commentary on Nannaya's Andhra Sabda Chintāmani written in Sanskrit. This seems to be a valuable commentary on the tough text of Nannaya but unfortunately it is not available. Late Sri T. M. Seshagiri Sastri, in his treatises on Telugu Philology refers to this commentary.

(2) Andhra Vyākaraṇamu. This is one of the earliest Telugu grammars written at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Company days. It is written in verse with a view to facilitating memorisation. The author achieved the distinction of producing a grammar in verse, in Telugu in a crisp manner like the sutras of Sanskrit grammar. The work is available. Printed and published by V. Ramaswami Sastrulu & Sons, 1951, with an introduction by the present writer.

Mamidi Venkayya 1764-1834

Another distinguished scholar quoted by Ellis is Mamidi Venkayya. He is a Vysya by Caste, and a resident of Masulipatam in Krishna District. He is a versatile scholar, in Sanskrit and Telugu, and made a special study of Vedas, Puranas and Itihasas. He is a master of Dharmasastra, and a linguist of established reputation. Ellis came into contact with Vencaya, when he was the Judge of the Zilla Court at Masulipatam for three years from 1806 to 1809. Venkaya was considered as a pre eminent scholar in his day. He was honoured by the East India Company in 1819, with 1000 Star Pagodas, (Gold Coins) with the title of Panditaraya.

Andhra Dipika

Among his works, a Sanskrit Dictionary known as ' Sabdārtha kalpa taruvu ' for Sanskrit and Andhra Dipika, a Telugu Dictionary for Telugu are well known. It is from the latter work that Ellis quoted in his dissertation. Neither of the works was printed. But

they were used even from the manuscript stage, when the author just finished them. The importance of these two works may be gauged from the following notices by C. P. Brown in his *Essay on Telugu Literature* in 1839. Page 55. Para 47.

The last work to be described is one that deserves honorable mention being the Telugu Dictionary compiled by Mamidi Venkayya a learned merchant (Komati) of Masulipatam who died in 1834. This work is arranged alphabetically in the European method and every word that is found in the ancient lexicons is briefly explained in Telugu or Sanskrit. The work will always be of value to those who study the poets. The title is *Andhra Dipika*.

Para 57.....“I have given these details regarding Mamidi Venkayya's lexicon out of respect for the talent and diligence of the writer; which are peculiarly honourable to a man, who was by birth and situation, a shopkeeper at Masulipatam. He previously compiled a valuable Sanskrit Lexicon called “*Subdartha kalpataru*” which has been used in the admirable Sanskrit Dictionary by Professor Wilson.”

No better testimony is needed for the outstanding scholarship of Venkaya than the fact that his dictionary is used by the well known English Sanskritist, Prof. H. H. Wilson (1786-1860), the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the Oxford University. Venkayya has written a voluminous commentary on *Amaram*, the standard Sanskrit Lexicon, with the title *Viseshardha Chintamani*. It is also not in print. In Telugu, Venkayya is the pioneer of modern Lexicography. He is also a good Telugu poet, as can be gathered from the verses which are as appended to the introduction of his *Andhra Dipika*.

APPENDIX I

Extract from the Tirukkural Commentary by Ellis

¹ Tirukkural—On Affection

"As the quotations hitherto made from the Sanskrit have from the nature of the subject, been generally confined to writings, which, though affording frequent instances of the sublime, both in thought and expression, exhibit none of the minor graces of poetry; I have inserted in this chapter a series of verses in that language in various measures and in a laboured and rhetorical style, amplifying the leading thoughts of the several Couplets translated. They are the composition of Vēdam Patābhi Rama Sāstri, the Headmaster for Hindu Law and the Sanskrit and Telugu languages in the College of Fort St. George, and are given, as written by the Author, in the Telugu Character.¹"

(1)

1. For the benefit of all oriental scholars, I have given the Sanskrit passages in Devanagari script.

Original Tamil—அன்புடைமை

அன்பிற்கு முண்டோர் வடைக்குந்தாழார் வலர்
புண்கணீர் பூச நறும்

అనుష్టుప్

నకపాటమనుక్రోశం జాతమంతర్నిగూహితుం
అహం పూర్వకయాబాష్పః స్వతోయత్ప్రకృప్తవర్తతే

స్వాగతా వృత్తం

కృతిమైర్ముఖ వికార విలాపై
ర్నాటయంతి వితథామనుకంపాం
ప్రజ్వలెమనసి వస్తు నతీ సా
గద్గద ప్రసరదశ్రునిపాతైః

స్వాగతా వృత్తం

యఃపర వ్యసనభావన యోష్మా
తేన నవ్యనవనీతమి వాస్య
మానసం ద్రవతితస్య విసారో
మంజు చక్షురుపయాతి స బాష్పః

भनुष्टुप्

न कवाट मनुकोशम् जातमन्तर्निगूहितुम्,
अहं पूर्विकया भाष्यः स्वतोयत्प्राक् प्रवर्तते ।

स्वागता वृत्तम्

कृत्रिमैर्मुख विकार विलपै,
नाटियन्ति वितधामनुकम्पाम् ।
प्रज्वले मनसि वस्तु सती सा,
गद्गदप्रसर दश्रुनिपातैः ॥

स्वागता वृत्तम्

यः परव्वसन भावन योष्मा,
तेन नव्य नवनीत मिवास्या ।
मानसं द्रवति तस्य विसारो,
मक्षुं चक्षुरुपयाति सभाष्यः ॥

English Translation of Sanskrit

There is no door which can conceal love when it existeth in the heart,

For the tears will immediately burst forth striving which shall be first,

By deceitful tears, however, and an assumed change of countenance,

Men often feign a fictitious love ;

It may be known, when it really existeth in the breast,

By the tears gushing spontaneously from the eyes intermingled with convulsive sobs.

From the knowledge of other's griefs an internal heat ariseth

And by this, like new butter,

The mind of man is melted, and over flowing,

Gusheth forth from the eyes and produceth tears.

(2)

- (1) అధర్వతీర్థకే యన్పుశాగ్ బెంబరగ్రియార్
మధర్వతీర్థకు మ. కే. తే. శ్రీకృష్ణ

అనుష్టుప్

ధర్మాలంబమనుక్రీశం ప్రవదంత్యమనీషిణః
అధర్మస్యామూలంబో లోకయోరుభయోరపి

శిఖిరిణీ వృత్తం

అనుక్రీశాద్రక్షత్యలమ యశసాలోక విధుతం
వరందీనం సాధుర్జన యతిదివంచా సుకృతినః
సుతే దాహిత్రోవా సుకృతమితరోవాపిరచయన్
తదుద్దేశేనాలంబనమయమధర్మస్యనిభృతం

వంశస్థ వృత్తం

అపాపకోపాతపతాప రక్షకే
మనస్యనుక్రీశనిషేకశీత వే
సముల్లసన్ సర్వజనాభినందనః
ఫలత్యజస్త్వం బహుపుణ్యపాదపః

శిఖిరిణీ వృత్తం

అనుక్రీశోమైత్రి జనయతిజనామ క్షృతకః
సమాధ త్తేర్థర్యం వ్యవనయతి చక్రీధవశతాం
అధర్మస్యోన్మేషం నుదతి తదిహముత్ర చచిరం
నరం సౌఖ్యం ముఖ్యంగమయతిచ దుఃఖంశమయతి

అనుష్టుప్

ధర్మాలంబ మనుక్రీశం ప్రవదంత్య మనీషిణః,
అధర్మస్యాహ = మాలంబో లోకయోరుభయోరపి ।

శిఖిరిణీ వృత్తం

అనుక్రీశాద్రక్షత్యలమయశసాలోకవిధుతమ్,
వరం దీనం సాధుర్జనయతి దివచ్ఛా సుకృతినః ।
సుతో దౌహిత్రో వా సుకృతమితరో = వాపి రచయన్,
తదుద్దేశో నాలంబనమయమధర్మ = స్థనిభృతం ॥

वंशस्थवृत्तं

अपापकोपातपताप रक्षके,
मनस्यनुक्रोश निषेक शीतले ।
समुल्लसन् सर्वजनाभिनन्दनः,
फलत्यजसं बहुपुण्यपादपः ।

शिखरिणी वृत्तम्

अनुक्रोशो मैत्रीं जनयति जनानाम कृतकः
समाधत्तैर्धर्मै व्यपनयति च क्रधवशात् ।
अधर्मस्योन्मेषं नुदति तदिहामुत्र च चिरं,
नरं सौख्यं मुख्यं गमयति च दुःखं शमयति ।

English Translation of Sanskrit

The uninformed maintain that love only aideth virtue;
But love is the aid, also, of vice in both worlds.

From love the worthy man protecteth the wicked wretch who hath become infamous and is despised by the world; and his sons, daughters, or others, having vicariously performed meritorious acts (religious offices) for him, who of himself hath done no good actions, procure his admission into heaven: love therefore, is the special aid of the wicked.

Sheltered from the sultry heat of malice and wrath,
In the cool recess of the soul, watered by benevolence,
Flourisheth the tree of virtue, giving joy to all mankind,
And producing fruit constantly and abundantly.
Unfeigned love generateth friendship among mankind;
It reneweth virtue, dispelleth hatred and all uncharitableness,
Represseth the growth of vice, and, both here and hereafter,
Is and the softener of sorrow the chief cause of happiness
to man.

(3)

- (1) அன்பகத்திலல்லா வாயிர் வாழ்க்கை வன்பார்க்கண்
வற்றன் மரந்தளிர் த்தற்று

అనుష్టుప్

అనుక్రోశమిత్రీణ్య జీవితం నిష్ప్రయోజనం
యథా పల్లవితం భూమౌక్రూరయాం శాల్మలీతరోః.

గీతి

మీఱ ప్రయోజనాభ్యాం వినానకస్యాపి సంభవో జగతి
ఇతి తాంత్రిక ప్రవాదోనిరను క్రోశంనగోచరంకురుతే

స్వాగతా వృత్తం

కాల్యవీద్రుమ వనోకఠినాయా
మీశ్వర స్తలమజాగళంబం
నిర్దయం గృహగతంచ పుమాంసం
ప్రష్టవాన్ కిమితి నప్రతిపద్యే

अनुष्टुप्

अनुकोशविहीनस्य जिवितं निष्प्रयोजनं,
यथा पल्लवितं भूमौ कूरायां शाल्मली तरोः ।

गीतिः

बीजप्रयोजनाभ्यां विना न कस्यापि सम्भवो जगति,
इति तान्त्रिक प्रवादो निरनुकोशं निगोचरं कुरुते ।

स्वागता वृत्तम्

शाल्मली द्रुम वनौ कठिनाया,
मीश्वरः स्थलमजागळलम्बम् ।
निर्दयं गृह गतञ्च पुमांसम्,
लष्टवान् किमिति न प्रतिपद्ये ॥

English Translation

To him who is devoid of affection, life is unprofitable.

And resembleth the budding of the Salmali tree in barren ground.

To all that existeth in the world there is a cause and a purpose ;

This is the declaration of the learned, and to those devoid of affection only is it inapplicable.

The Sālmali tree in an unproductive soil,

The wattles dependent from the neck of the sheep,

And him, who engaged in domestic life is devoid of benevolence,

For what purpose the Almighty hath created these I know not.

APPENDIX I

(4)

- (1) புறத்துறுப்பெல்லா மெவன் செய்யும் யாக்கை
அகத்துறுப் பன்பிலவர்க்கு

అనఃప్రసాదమ్

అతుక్రోశవినిర్ముక్త మనోయదిన బంధురం
శరీరమివసంత్యక్తం శ్రోతత్వక్చ ఊహిభిః

ఉపజాతివృత్తం

మనోనుబంధీని దశేంద్రియాణి
తస్మిన్నహార్దై పనచంద్రికేవ
స్మృతానభూః పుష్టలతేవతేషాం
మోఘానులాపశ్రవణాదిశక్తిః

ఉపజాతి వృత్తం

రమ్యంవపుః పాటవమింద్రియాణాం
గణాస్తురంగాః పరివారవర్గః
దనానిభూయాంసి చకారకౌంతా
శృంగారచేష్టేవ మనస్యహార్దై

అనుష్టంబ

అనుక్రోశ వినిర్ముక్త మనోయదే నవన్ధురమ్ ,
శరీర మివ సన్త్యక్త శ్రోత్రయశ్చక్షురాదిమిః ।

उपजाति वृत्तम्

मनोनुबन्धीनि दशेन्द्रियाणि,
तस्मिन्महार्दे वनचन्द्रिकेव ।
श्मशान भूः पुष्प लतेव तेषाम् ,
मोघानुलाप श्रवणादि शक्तिः !!

उपजाति वृत्तम्

रम्यं वपुः = पाटव मिन्द्रियाणां
 गजास्तुरङ्गाः परिवार वर्गः ।
 फनानि भूयासि चकाण कान्ता,
 शुङ्गार चेष्टेव मनस्य हर्दे ॥

English Translation

The mind which is devoid of affection is without beauty,

Like the body deprived of hearing, feeling, sight and the other senses.

When the mind, which is intimately connected with the faculties and organs of sense,

Is without affection, vain, as the splendor of the moon in the wilderness,

Or as flowers blooming in the field where dead are burned,

Are speech, hearing and all other bodily powers.

The beauty of the body, the faculties of sense,

Elephants, horses, a crowd of clients.

And abundant wealth are to the mind devoid of benevolence, as pain as the amorous

Glances and playful gestures of his wife are to the blind man.

(5)

- (1) అనాపిన్ వృత్తియ అపిన్ శిల'య'. ఇలాగ్
 కెన్పుతొల్ బేరగ్తత వుడమ్పు

అనుష్టుప్

జీవిత సృహను క్రోశోలక్షణం తద్వివర్యమే.
 చాష్ట్ర మాత్రమేవేదం శరీరం ప్రేత సన్నిధం

ఇంద్రవంశావృత్త

సల్లాప లీలాసలితోది చాలిపి
రైత్రితీ సమాపాదప ముద్రకుట్టనం
అపన్న రజవపమాన కుట్టిమ
శ్చేతస్యనుక్రోశ కరావివర్ణితే

రథోద్ధతావృత్తం

దగ్ధముద్గపటికేవ చేతనా
హర్షయుగ్య దినతేనతాద్యుశీ
మూర్తిరీశ విదిమాత్రచంచలా
పుత్రశీ సరసచర్మనిర్మితా

అనుష్టుప్

జీవితస్యన్యనుక్రోశో లక్షణం తద్విपर్యయే,
చర్మాస్థిమాత్రమే = వేదే శరీరే ప్రేత సజ్జితే ।

ఇంద్రవంశా వృత్తమ్

సల్లాపలీలా = సలెలెదితా లిపి-
మేత్రీ సమాపాదన మన్తకుట్రనం
ఆపన్న రక్షా పవమాన కుట్టిమ-
శ్చేత స్యనుక్రోశ కలా వివర్జితే ।

రథోద్ధతా వృత్తమ్

దగ్ధ ముగ్ధ పరికేవ చేతనా,
హర్ష యుగ్యదినతేన తాదృశీ ।
మృతిరీశ విధిమాత్ర చచ్ఛలా,
ప్రన్నశీ సరస చర్మ నిర్మితా ॥

English Translation

Love is the real sign of life ; when that existeth not,
This body, like a corpse, is merely skin and bone.

Courtesy is like characters traced on the water ;

The acquisition of friends is beating the air ;

And the charitable protection of the miserable is like laying a
floor of wind ;

If there be a want of benevolence in the heart.

The understanding is but a fine garment burned to ashes, if it be
not joined to the affections of the heart ; such a body, therefore, is
but a puppet made of skin and moved by the will of its owner.

తమిళ గాయకులు - తెలుగు సంగీతము

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తమిళ సోదరుల గాన కళాభిమానము సంస్థాపనము మాత్రమే కాదు, సమరాధనీయము. తమిళదేశమున వెలసిన తెలుగు సంగీతమును స్వయముగ నభ్యసించియు, పలువురకునేర్పి దానింబరికొనించును, తెలుగు దాషాసాహిత్యములందుఁ గృతపరిశ్రమలై తెలుగులో వేలకొలది కృతులు రచించియు, తెలుగు సంగీత లక్ష్మీననేక సూతనాకాలంఘములతో నలంకరించియు, సంగీత పాండితీ ప్రదర్శనముచే సహృదయ లోకమును రసానంద తరంగముల నోలలాడించియు, చమయపాఠ గానకళాభిమానమును వెల్లడించిన దమ్యులు తమిళగాయకులు. ఇట్టివారిలో ముఖ్యులగు కొందఱినిఁగూర్చి యందు స్మరింతము.

:-వాగ్గేయకారులు:-

1. రామస్వామి దీక్షితర్ (1735-1817)

ఈయన హంసధ్వని రాగకర్త. * సంగీత త్రిమూర్తులలో నొకఁడగు

ముద్దుస్వామి దీక్షితుల తండ్రి. సంస్కృతాంధ్రముల బాగుగ నభ్యసించుటయే కాక, ఈయన వేదాధ్యయనమొనర్చి, వేంకట వైద్యనాథదీక్షితుల యొద్దవేంకటమఠి చతుర్వంది ప్రకాశకోక్త సంగీతశాస్త్ర విషయమునెల్ల గ్రహించి, ప్రసిద్ధగాయకుడై, రాజపూజితుఁడాయెను.

ఈయన రచించిన 108 చరణములుగల రాగతాళమాలిక సంగీతలోకమున మిక్కిలి ప్రసిద్ధమైనది. ఇది విద్యాప్రియుఁడగు వేంకటకృష్ణమొదలియారను ప్రభువుపై వ్రాయఁబడినది. ఇందు వివిధపాదము లేయే రాగతాళములలోఁ బాడవలయునను విషయము సాహిత్యమున నెంత నిపుణముగ సూచింపఁబడినో పరిశీలించఁవగును. పాఠక వినోదార్థమందలి కొన్ని పాదములిందుదాహరింపఁబడుచున్నవి.

* దక్షిణ భారతదేశమున త్యాగరాజు, శ్యామశాస్త్రి, ముద్దుస్వామి దీక్షితర్ సంగీత త్రిమూర్తులను పేరఁబ్రసిద్ధులు

రా గ తాళ మాలిక

వల్లవి॥ నాటకాది విద్యలబలు మేటివః
 ధూటి యో రా యిది ... ధ్రువ
 ముగా॥

అనువల్లవి॥ నీటులాడి బాగోలాలితగుణః
 విదియా ముక్తై ముదితను గానను
 మణిసాటి లేని జవరా
 లిదిమన్నడ స్వరూ ప కలిత
 వేంకట కృష్ణేంద్ర॥

ఈ కృతిలో వల్లవిని నాటరాగము ధ్రువతాళమునను, అనువల్లవిని గౌళ (గౌళ రాగము మత్స్య (మత్తై) తాళమునను పాడవలెనను విషయములనిందలి రాగతా ముద్రలు సూచించుచున్నవి.

'అంబ నీ శరణముఁజొచ్చితి' అని ప్రారంభమగు నీరి ఆనందభైరవి కృతి పరిశీల వార్షమైనది. ఇందు 'పనిసా' అను సంఘారముతో సంతమగుచు, మనోహరమగు నౌళ చిట్టస్వరమున్నది.

“పథపమ పమగరి గమపమ గమగరి
 గరిసా సా నిసి సా నిసగరి గమ
 పసాని నిస నిసామగరి గారిస
 నిసా సానిధపథపమ గరిగామ”

॥అంబ॥

‘సంగీత సంప్రదాయ ప్రదర్శిని’ నుండి.

ఇట్టి ప్రయోగమే పైతాల గురుమూర్తిశాస్త్రిగారి ఆనందభైరవి గీతము “పాహిత్రీ రామభంద్ర” యను దానిలోఁగూడ నున్నది. కాని అది శ్యామశాస్త్రి కాలము నుండి ఆనందభైరవి రాగమున వాడు నలవాటు తొలఁగిపోయినది. కారణమేమన నీ ప్రయోగము ఆ భేరిరాగమునకు మిక్కిలి నన్నిహితముగ నుండుటచే ఆనందభైరవి పాడినప్పుడెల్ల నది ఆభేరిరాగమేమో యను బ్రాంతినిఁ గల్గించుచుండెను. కనుక గాయకులు శ్యామశాస్త్రి కాలమునుండి యీ ప్రయోగమును ఆనందభైరవి రాగమున వాడుట మానుకొనిరి.

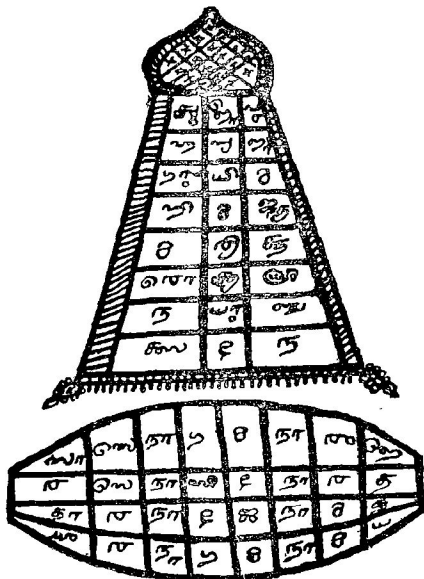
‘మనసావేరి తరుల’ అను 48 రాగములుగల సుద్రసిద్ధ రాగమాలికయు నీయన రచనమే. ఇది ‘మనసావేరితరుల’ దలనక, మఱియూ హరిశరణమని మనుమి...” అని ప్రారంభమగును ఇందు సావేరియను రాగముద్ర నీయన యెంత సులభముగ విమిద్యోనో చూడఁదగును.

2. శ్యామశాస్త్రి. (1762-1827)

ఈయన సంగీత త్రిమూర్తులలోనొకడు. త్యాగరాజస్వామి సమకాలికుడు. మాండి, కల్కడ, చింతామణి రాగములలో మొట్టమొదట కృతులు రచించిన ప్రతిభా వంతుడును. శరభనందన తాళకర్తయు నీయనయే. ఈయన చింతామణి రాగకృతి మిక్కిలి ప్రసిద్ధమగుటచే నిందు దాహరించెదము.

పల్లవి॥ దేవీ శ్రోవ సమయమిదే అతివేగమేవచ్చి
నావెతఁదిర్చి కరుణించవే, శంకరి, కామాక్షి॥
చరణము॥ లోకజనని నా పై దయలేదా నీ దాసుఁడగాదా
శ్రీకాంచీ విహారిణీ, కల్యాణి॥
ఏకాంబరేశ్వరుని ప్రియభామవైయున్న
నీకేమమ్మ ఎంతో భారమా ! వినుమా తల్లి॥

.....
.....

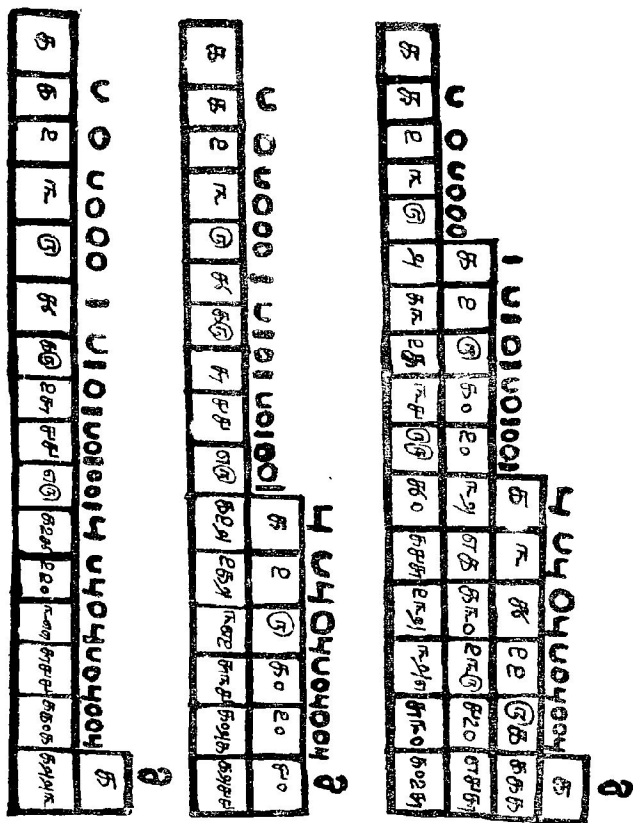


కీరీటబంధము.

మృదంగబంధము.

శ్యామశాస్త్రి రచిత తాళప్రస్తార చిత్రములు
(Tala Prastara designs of Shyama Sastri)

సోపానబంధములు.



సోపానబంధములు

శ్యామశాస్త్రి రచిత తాళప్రస్తార చిత్రములు
(Tala Prastara designs of Shyama Sastri)

బొబ్బిలి కేశవయ్య యను గాయకు నోడించుటకుఁగగిన శక్తి సామర్థ్యములందన కనుగ్రహింపుమని కామాక్షిదేవిని శ్యామశాస్త్రి పై విధమునఁ బ్రార్థించెనట! ఈ కృతిలో 'నీ దాసుడ....' "అనునెడ 'నిదాన'యను నక్షరములందు స్వరాక్షర సంధియను స్వరపై చిత్రముగాన వచ్చుచున్నది మరియు నీకృతి "గరిగసా" అను స్వరములతో ప్రారంభ మగుటచే నిది రచయిత మనస్సులోని తీవ్రదుఃఖమును సూచించుచున్నది. ఇట్టి చింతా ద్యోతకప్రయోగములే శ్యామశాస్త్రి భగవద్దర్శనార్థమేగద, తిరుపతి వెంకటేశ్వర స్వామి సన్నిధిలో తెరవేసియుండుటఁగాంచి చింతా క్రాంత హృదయుఁడై పాడిన "తెర తియఁగ రాదా" అను గౌళిపంతురాగకృతిలోఁ గూడఁ గానవచ్చుచున్నది.

ఇట్లు సందర్భాధిత రాగ రసాచితి నిర్వహణము శ్యామశాస్త్రి కృతులకొక సహజాలంకారమై వెలయుచున్నది.

మఱియు "దేవిప్రేవనమయమిదె...." అను కృతిం గూర్చిన యైతిహ్యమిట్లున్నది. బొబ్బిలి కేశవయ్యయను సంగీత విద్వాంసుఁడుద్దండుఁడై, యనేక సంస్థాన విద్వాంసుల నోడించి, "భూలోక దాస చుట్టిన" బొబ్బిలికేశవయ్యయను విఖ్యాతినొంది, విజిగ్మపై తంజావూరు సంస్థానమునకునుఁ బోయెనట. అంతట సంస్థాన గౌరవముం గాపాడవలసిన భారము విద్వాంసులపైఁబడినది. శ్యామశాస్త్రి రాగతాళ విద్యలలో వివేషనైపుణ్యము గడించినవాడగుటచే నా కార్యభారమును విద్వాంసులందఱు నాతనిపై వదలిరి. కాని శ్యామశాస్త్రి బొబ్బిలి కేశవయ్యవంటి యుద్ధండుని జయింప సాధ్యమగునో కాదో యని శంకించి, తజ్జయము తనకుపాస్యదేవతయగు మీనాక్షియనుగ్రహము వలననే కలుగఁగలదని తలంచి, యపూర్వమగు చింతామణి రాగములోదేవి నారాధించి, యామె యనుగ్రహ ముంబడని, మఱునటి దినము విద్యత్సభకేగి యాతనిని జయించి, యత్యధిక యశో గౌరవముల నార్జించెనట!

ఇక కేశవయ్య విషయమునకు వత్తము. విద్యత్సభలో కేశవయ్య మొదట బహు విధ చిత్ర పిచిత్రతానముల వివిధ జతి, గతులలోఁ బ్రవర్ణించి, యావల సింహానందన తాళములో నొక పల్లవిని పాడెనట. శ్యామశాస్త్రి యా తాళములో నా పల్లవి నవలీలగఁ బాడి, క్రొత్త పల్లవి యొకటి శరభనందన తాళములో నారంభింపగ కేశవయ్య దాని తలతోఁక తెలిసికొనలేక తప్పిబ్బులాడెనట!

శరభనందన తాళము శ్యామశాస్త్రి విపుల తాళ ప్రస్తార పరిశోధనా ఫలితముగఁ గను గొనిన మాతన తాళరీతి. ఇందు తాళ ఖోదశాంగములు గలవు. ఈ తాళమున నితరు లెవరుగాని కృతులు రచింపలేదు. మరియు నీయన నవరత్నమాలిక (మధుర మీనాక్షిపై రచించిన తొమ్మిది కృతులు.) భావ, రాగపుష్టితో నొప్పును, 'సరోజదళనేత్రి, హిమగిర్నిపుత్రి' అను ప్రసిద్ధ కంకరాభరణ కృతి ఈ నవరత్న మాలికలోనిదే.

ఈయన కృతులలోఁగల బహువిధ తాళరీతులీయన విద్యతృప్తిని మనఁ దెలుపును. 'మీనలోచన, త్రోవయోచనా' అను ధన్యాసికృతి క్రమ చాపు తాళముననున్నది. ఇందు అనాగత గ్రహముతో (5 అక్షరకాలములు విడిచి) పల్లవి ప్రారంభ మొనర్పవలెను. 'మఱి వేరే గతి యెవరమ్మా' అను ఆనందభైరవి కీర్తన, 'కామాక్షీ అను దినము' అను భైరవి రాగ స్వరజతి మొదలగునవి క్రమ చాపు తాళములోనే రచింపఁబడినవి

'క్రమ చాపు'లోనే కాక ఈయన 'విలోమ చాపు తాళమున (3+3 మాత్రలు) గూడ ననేక కృతులు రచించెను. విలోమ చాపు తాళమున కీయనయే కర్త. ఈ తాళములో 'నిన్నువిగాన మఱి దిక్కివరున్నారు' అను పూరి కల్యాణి కృతి, 'తల్లి నిన్నె నెరనమ్మినాను' అను కల్యాణి కృతి మున్నగునవి రచింపఁబడినవి.

మీనాక్షిదేవి పరమభక్తుఁడగుటయే కాక రాగ తాళవిద్యా ప్రవీణుఁడగుటచే త్యాగ రాజస్వామి కీయన యెదల విశేష గౌరవముందెదిడఁట. మఱియు నీయనకు 'తాళ ప్రస్తార శ్యామశాస్త్రి' యనియు వీరుదముందెనఁట.

కవితా చందో గ్రంథములలో భిక్ష, రథ, చంద్రాది బంధములున్నట్లే తాళ ప్రస్తార మునఁగూడ బహువిధ చిత్రబంధములుగాన పచ్చుచున్నవి. శ్యామశాస్త్రి లిఖించిన తాళ చిత్రబంధములఁ గొన్నింటిని ప్రొఫెసరు పి. సాంబమూర్తిగారు సేకరించియున్నారు. వానిలో సోపాన, కిరీట, మృదంగబంధములను మాత్రము వారి యనుమతితో నిందు ముద్రించుచున్నాము. ఇవి గ్రంథలిపిలోనున్నవి.

శ్యామశాస్త్రి తరువాత తాళప్రస్తార విషయమున పరిశ్రమమొనర్చిన వారు కాన రారు. సంగీతాభివృద్ధికి రాగ తాళ ప్రస్తారములందు విపుల పరిశోధన మత్యావశ్యకము.

3. పల్లవి దొరస్వామి అయ్యర్.

ఈయన త్యాగరాజస్వామి కాలమున (1767-1847) చిన్నవాఁడు. నటరాజస్వామి మీద చాల కృతులు చెప్పినాఁడు. ఈతని కృతులలో స్వర విన్యాసము చాల క్లిష్టముగ నుండును. ఫరస్ రాగములో 'అదెనమ్మ హరుఁడునేడు' అను నీటిని కృతి సంప్రదాయ సిద్ధమైనది. ఈయన తెలుగులో ననేక వర్ణములు కృతులు రచించుటయేకాక చిత్ర కారుఁడనై నటరాజాది దేవతా చిత్రములఁ జిత్రించి, యాయా చిత్ర రచనల కనుగుణముగ కృతులనుగూడ రచించిన ప్రతిభావంతుఁడు. ఈతని చిత్రములు, కృతులు నేటికిని ఆయన వంశీయులయొద్ద చిదంబరములోనున్నవి.

4. ముద్దుస్వామిదీక్షితర్. (1776-1835)

ఈయన సుప్రసిద్ధ పైణికుఁడు, చాగ్గేయకారుఁడు, హంసధ్వని రాగ కర్తయునగు రామస్వామిదీక్షితుల కుమారుఁడు. త్యాగరాజస్వామి సమకాలికుఁడు. శ్రీ సుబ్రహ్మణ్య స్వామి పరప్రసాదమున జన్మించి, యాదేవుని పరమభక్తుఁడై వెలసినవాఁడు. సంస్కృ

తాండ్ర సాహిత్యములను కూలంకషముగ నభ్యసించి, వేదాధ్యయన మొనర్చిన మేటి విద్వాంసుడు. కర్ణాటక, హిందుస్తానీ సంగీతములలోన సమాన ప్రావీణ్యము నలవఱచుకొన్న ప్రతిభావంతుడు. 'కోటి కోటి లావణ్యముల'తో నింపియు, చిత్ర విచిత్ర రచనా శిల్పముల నా విష్కరించియు, ద్విజావంతి, పనసారంగ, హమీరు కల్యాణి, యమునా కల్యాణి మున్నగు ననేక హిందూస్తానీ రాగములలో కృతులను రచించియు, యోగ, మంత్రయోగ, వేద, వేదాంగ విద్యా రహస్యములఁ బ్రతిపాదించియు కర్ణాటక సంగీతమున కొక విశిష్టస్థానమును, గౌరవమును సంపాదించిన ప్రౌఢ వాగ్గేయకారుడు.

మద్దుసాస్వామిదీక్షితుడు జయదేవ, నారాయణతీర్థుల మార్గము ననుసరించి సంస్కృతమున 300 కెక్కువ కృతులను రచించెను. ప్రౌఢ భాషయగు గీర్వాణమువలె నీయన దృష్టి నితర భాషలా కద్దించలేదు. అందువలననే కాబోలు నీయన తెలుగు, తమిళములలో చాల తక్కువ కృతులను రచించినట్లు తెలియుచున్నది. ఈయన తెలుగు రచన కొక యుదాహరణము.

చౌకవర్ణము—తోడి రాగము-అదితాళం.

పల్లవి॥ రూపముఁజూచి వలచి వచ్చితిని:

కోపముసేతురాస్వామి, ఇంత!

కోపముసేతురా ...

అనుపల్లవి॥ తాపత్రయహరుడై వెలయు శ్రీ!

త్యాగరాజస్వామి ఇదేమీ... ॥రూ॥

చరణము॥ మారకోటి సుందరా కారా..... ॥రూ॥

ప్రాచీన శిష్ట సంప్రదాయము ననుసరించి జీవాత్మను నాయికగాను, పరమాత్మను (ఇందు తిరువయ్యారులోని సుప్రసిద్ధ దేవుడగు త్యాగరాజస్వామిని) నాయకునిగాను భావించి రచించిన మనోహర వర్ణమిది. ఈయన సంస్కృత కృతులలోవలె నీ చిన్న తెలుగు వర్ణమునఁగూడ భావరసోచిత పదసౌష్ఠవము, శయ్యా సౌభాగ్యములెంత హృదయాకర్షకములుగనున్నవో పరిశీలింపుడు. ఈ వర్ణమున పల్లవి, అనుపల్లవికి నడుమగల ముక్తాయి స్వరమును, కడపటఁగల చిట్ట స్వరమును రాగ భావముట్టి పడఁ జేయునవియై యున్నవి.

త్యాగరాజస్వామి, త్యానుశాస్త్రులవలె నీయనయు వర్గ కృతులఁ బెక్కింటిని రచించెను. అవి నవగ్రహ కీర్తనలు, పంచలింగ స్థల కృతులు, నవావరణ కీర్తనలు మున్నగునవి.

త్యాగరాజస్వామివలె నీయనయు వేంకటమఖి 'చతుర్దండి ప్రకాశిక, ననుసరించి కృతులను రచించెను,

మఱియు నీయన సంగీతమందేకాక, శిష్యులకు నాగస్వరము ఫిడేలు, మృదంగము భరతనాట్యము మున్నగు విషయములందుఁగూడ శిక్షణము నొసంగి, కర్ణాటక సంగీత సర్వతో ముఖాభివృద్ధికి మిక్కిలి పరిశ్రమమొనర్చెను.

5. వీణ కుప్పయ్య. (19 వ శతాబ్ది)

ఈతఁడు నాద బ్రహ్మయగు త్యాగరాజస్వామి శిష్యుఁడు. ఈతఁడు 'గాన చక్రవర్తి' అనుబిరుదమును పొందినవాఁడు. ఈతఁడు 'వర్ణములు' రచించుట యందతి నిపుణుఁడు. ఈతని వర్ణములు బహుళ ప్రచారమునందియున్నవి. ఇతని కృతులు ఇంపగు చిట్ట స్వరములతోడను, చక్కని సంగతులతోడను కూడియున్నవి.

6. తిరువత్తియూరు త్యాగయ్య. (19 వ శతాబ్ది)

ఈతఁడు వీణ కుప్పయ్యగారి కుమారుఁడు. ఈతని కృతులు, తాన వర్ణములు, రాగమాలికలు రచనా సంవిధానమునందలి రమ్యతకు పేరు పొందినవి. ఈయన విజయ నాగరి మున్నగు నపూర్వ రాగములలోఁగూడ కృతులు రచించెను.

7. సుబ్బరాయశాస్త్రి. (1800-1862)

సుప్రసిద్ధ సంగీత శ్రీమూర్తులలో నొకడగు శ్యామశాస్త్రి కుమారుడు. ఈతడు తన కృతులతో చూపిన స్వరసాహిత్య కౌశలమును వేతొక రెవ్వరు చూపలేకపోయిరి. అంత గొప్ప సంగీత విద్వాంసుఁ డీతఁడు.

8. పట్నము సుబ్రహ్మణ్య అయ్యరు. (1845-1902)

ఈతనికి బేగడ రాగ మభిమాన పాత్రము. అందులో నీ తడందె వేసిన చేయి. ఆ కారణముచే నీతనిని బేగడ సుబ్రహ్మణ్యయ్యరని పిలిచెడివారఁట! ఈతని తాన వర్ణములుకృతులు, తిల్లానాలు జాఁతులు 'రాగపుష్టి' కలవి. ఈయన సింహానందన తాళ పల్లవి పాడిన పేధావి.

9. ఆనయ్య. (19 వ శతాబ్ది)

ఈతడు మనోహరములైన కొన్ని చిన్న కృతులను రచించియున్నాఁడు. కేదార రాగములో 'భజనసేయవే ఓ మనసా' శంకరాభరణ రాగములో 'మహిమ తెలియ ములోతరమా' అను ఈతని కృతులు ప్రఖ్యాతములు.

10. మహావైద్యనాథ ఆయ్యరు. (1843-1892)

ఈయనయు, ఇతని జ్యేష్ఠ సోదరుఁడు రామస్వామిశివన్ వీ రిరువురును కొన్ని వర్ణములనుకృతులను రచించిరి. వీనిలో 'పంకజాక్షిపై' అను వర్ణము స్వరాక్షరములతోఁ గూడియున్నది. ఇంకొక కృతిలో 'నీ దారిని దప్పక మానినియున్నది' అను దానిలో

స్వరాక్షర కల్పన హేచ్చుగానున్నది. 'నీకేల దయరాదు' అను సరసాంగి రాగములోని కృతి చాల చక్కనిది.

11. కుసుంద్రక్కుడి కృష్ణయ్యరు.

ఈతడు 19 వ శతాబ్ది చివర భాగములో రామనాథపురము సంస్థానము విద్వాంసుడుగా నుండిరివాడు. గొప్ప పల్లవి విద్వాంసుడు. 'ఈమలాక్షి నిన్నే కోరియున్నది' అను కాంభోజీ రాగములోనున్న ఈతని కృతి స్వరాక్షం లంకారములతోనున్నది. ఇతనిదే కాంభోజీ రాగములో ఇంకొక కృతి 'నీవే నన్ను పరిపాలించుటకు' అనునది, సరసారంగ రాగములో 'భక్తిమార్గమే నిత్యము మనసా' అనునది చాల వాడుకలోనున్న కృతులు.

12. రామనాథ శ్రీనివాసయ్యంగారు.

ఈతడును రామనాథపురము సంస్థాన విద్వాంసుడు. ఈతడు చాల వర్ణములు, కృతులు, తిల్లానాలు, జావళులు రచించినాడు. చతురశ్ర జాతి, ఆట తాళములో వర్ణములు లేవు కనుక వీరు 'వరాళి' రాగములో ఒక వర్ణము రచించినారు. 108 తాళములలో నొకటి యగు 'లక్ష్మీక తాళము'లో నున్న తిల్లానా ఈతని రచనమే. ఈయన అరియకుడి రామానుజ అయ్యంగారి గురువు.

మఱియు ప్రతాప రామస్వామి భాగవతులు, కె. వి. శ్రీనివాస అయ్యరు-ముత్తయ్య భాగవతులు, అరియకుడి రామానుజ అయ్యంగారు మొదలగు తమిళ విద్వద్గాయకులనేకులు తెలుగులో కృతులు రచించియున్నారు. నాట్య సంగీతములో పౌన్నయ్య, చిన్నయ్య శివానందము, వడివేలు (19 వ శతాబ్ది ప్రథమ భాగములో) శబ్దములను, పద వర్ణములను రచించినారు. వీరలు కొన్ని తెలుగు కృతులనుగూడ రచించియున్నారు. పౌన్నయ్య రచించిన శబ్దము - 'సరిసిజాక్షులు జలకమాడే' అనేది చాల ప్రసిద్ధమైనది.

సంగీత శాస్త్ర గ్రంథ కర్తలు.

తెలుగులో సంగీత శాస్త్ర గ్రంథములు రచించిన వారిలో ఈ క్రింది వారు ముఖ్యులు—

గాయకుని పేరు.

గ్రంథము.

టి. ఎమ్. వెంకటేశశాస్త్రి

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సంగీత స్వయంబోధిని

సుబ్బరామదీక్షితులు

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సంగీత సంప్రదాయ ప్రదర్శిని 2 సంపుటములు.

ప్రథమ శిక్ష.

కె. వి. శ్రీనివాస అయ్యంగారు

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గాన భాస్కరము. త్యాగరాజ హృదయము.

ఎ. ఎల్. చిన్నసామి మొదలియార్ ఇంగ్లీషు నౌచీషను సంప్రదాయము
ననుసరించి కర్ణాటక సంగీతము.

ప్రొఫెసరు. పి. సాంబమూర్తి—వీరు మద్రాసు విశ్వవిద్యాలయములో సంగీత
కాభ్యాసకులు. వీరు సంగీతమునకు గొప్ప సేవ చేసినవారు. వీరు సంపాదించి ప్రకటించిన
గేయ కృతులు. 1. నౌకా చరిత్ర—(త్యాగరాజ విరచితము.) 2. సుందరేశ విలా
సము—(చెయ్యూరు చెంగలవరాయ కవి కృతము) 3. పల్లకి సేవా శ్రబంధము—(శివాజీ
మనుమడు తంజావూరి రాజుగానుండిన షహజీ అను మహారాష్ట్ర రాజు కృతి).

ఇవిగాక వీరు అనేక తెలుగు కీర్తనలను స్వరముతో ప్రచురించినారు.

పై తమిళ గాయకుల రచనలన్నియు మన తెలుగు సంగీతముయొక్క ప్రాధాన్య
తను, ప్రశస్తివి, మాధుర్యమును వెల్లడి చేయుచున్నవి. వీనినేగాక, యింకను, అజ్ఞాత
ముగానున్న ఇతర గాయకులు తెలుగు కృతులను “Minor Composers” అను పేర
మద్రాసు విశ్వవిద్యాలయమువారు ప్రకటించిన బాగుండును.

THE EARLY ANDHRA STAGE

By

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The Histrionic art and the Nation :—

Generally dramas exist in all cultivated languages that have good literature, whether they develop from their own environment or by imitation of other languages. Unlike the other fine arts, the histrionic art can easily be appreciated both by the cultured and the illiterate, the young and the old, since rhythm, melody and mimicry belong to the innermost nature of human beings. They influence one another profoundly being closely inter-related. Further, as the histrionic art is a combination of all the fine arts, though not in their perfectness, it is better enjoyed by all, than any of the fine arts separately. To appreciate any fine art, knowledge of its technique is required, and without it, one cannot fully appreciate it. In the case of the histrionic art, in spite of its composite nature, technical knowledge of the various fine arts is not essential but only a superficial knowledge may, even taste for the art is quite sufficient to appreciate it, as mastery of the arts is not exhibited in drama. As a vein of aesthetic sense runs in the heart of every man, it helps him to appreciate the histrionic art. It creates more intense pleasure and delight than any of the other fine arts, though there may be qualitative difference in the appreciation among the members of the audience according to their standards of culture, taste and judgement. The histrionic art develops in different countries in proportion to the standard of the culture of the people. If the people lack in culture, their histrionic art remains in the rudimentary stage. For eg. the stage of the villagers. Though the villagers enjoy folk-dramas well, they cannot appreciate equally well the dramas of Kalidas or Shakespeare. In the same way, the cultured and the civilised may not be able to enjoy the folk-dramas so well as the plays of Kalidas or Shakespeare. Though the intensity of pleasure enjoyed by both the cultured and the rustic may be the same, there is difference of quality between the pleasures of the two. Just as the stage develops in accordance with the standard of the culture of the people, the culture and civilisation of the people also depend on the condition of the stage of the people. Hence it may be stated that they are inter-dependent and influence

ach other in their evolution from the rudimentary stage to the most refined and civilised condition.

The histrionic art of each nation, while rising out from its environment, develops, when it comes into contact with the theatres of the other countries and races, adopting and imitating their special features. But, when there is no encouragement for the art in the country, it gradually decays and finally dies out in that land. So the histrionic art, like a nation, has its ebb and tide of growth and it is very interesting to study it. Though human beings lose their glory in one country at certain times, they may regain their power in different countries and at other times. Similarly, though the histrionic art decays in certain countries at certain times, it may flourish well in other countries at different times. So we notice a close relation between the condition of a nation and the growth of its histrionic art. It is a mirror of its national characteristics, its civilisation, culture, customs, faiths etc. are reflected in its drama. As drama can represent human life better than any other type of poetry, it is considered to be the finest of all kinds of poetry. Since it is the representation of such a finished art, drama is considered to be the finality or perfection of education. Hence it may be admitted that the histrionic art has its history, just as a country or a nation.

Lack of dramas in South Indian Languages :—

But, though all the Dravidian Languages of South India have very fine literatures of a very high classical merit in all types for nearly a thousand years, it is a very remarkable thing that, none of these languages possess dramas and dramatic literature till very recently, i.e. the end of the 19th century. A. D. There are neither translations or originals. By the time the Dravidian languages began to have classical literature, Sanskrit literature and language finished their glory to a very great extent and were about to decay. The whole field of sanskrit literature was left wide open to the Dravidians to make a free use of it. As a matter of fact the Dravidian races got inspiration from Sanskrit language and literature to a very great extent, and translated or adapted Sanskrit epics, Kavyas, works on Rhetorics and sciences in their vernacular languages. But the dramas were eliminated completely, in all the-dravidian languages without a single exception. Nor original dramas were attempted in imitation of the sanskrit dramas. Even the treatises on dramaturgy were not translated into these languages. While translating the works on Rhetoric from sanskrit into the Dravidian languages, the chapters on dramaturgy were eliminated in the translations, except in the case of only one Telugu work of 1550,

Alankāra Sangraha of Chitrakavi Peddana, who very briefly gave a survey of dramaturgy in about 50 verses. More surprising than this is, that some of the Sanskrit dramas were translated into Telugu narrative poetry during the 15th century. *Sṛṅgāra Sākuntala* of Pillalamarri Pina Veerabhadra is a translation of Kalidasa's famous drama, the *Sākuntalam*, into narrative poetry in Telugu, and *Prabodha Chandrodayam*, the play of Krishna Misra was similarly translated into a *Champu Kavya* in Telugu by Nandi Mallaya and Ghanta Singana of the same century. These facts give scope to several speculations on the cause of the lack of the dramatic type in the Dravidian languages. From these facts, can we relevantly infer that the Dravidians were devoid of histrionic taste? No. This is not convincing. There are some stray references about dramas in *Silappāthikāram*, of Tamil and Nannaya's *Bharata* of Telugu. But no body is sure whether they refer to Sanskrit or Dravidian drama. Such stray and general references can give us no knowledge of the Dravidian drama.

Yakshagana, the earliest drama in South India :—

But, as far as Telugu is concerned, Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha of the 13th century A.D. describes in his *Panditarādhyā Charita*, how dramas were enacted in the Telugu country, though they were not the same as Sanskrit dramas. He states that the characters in their cast and make up used to come out from behind a curtain, while the musical instruments were being played, and act with the anklets of bells to their feet, showing several poses etc. Though P. Sōmanātha wrote several types of poetry, he did not write even a single stage-drama or a street-drama, which is otherwise called. 'Yakshagana.' Next to him, Srimātha of 1375-1430. A.D. gave a clear idea of the dramas of his times and described how they were enacted. He narrates in his work 'Kṛīḍābhīrāmam,' which is considered as a drama by some, how a woman of Jakkula caste, taking the cast the goddess 'Kāmavalli Mahālakshmi', entered the stage while singing the love-story of "Vishnu."² The same poet Srinatha describes in his work *Bhīmēswarapurāna*, how a dancing girl enacted the part of Annapoorna, the wife of God Śiva, with a cup in her hand, in a drama played in the temple festival of Dākshārāma.³ In another of his work 'kāsikhandam' the same poet narrated how women enact dramas on a platform, to the accompaniment of music, and dance.⁴ Next Pingali Surana of 16th century introduces in his work, *Prabhāvatī Pradyumnam* an episode describing the enactment of a drama in his time.⁵ He gives two kinds of descriptions, one of the stage-drama and the other of the dance-drama or yakshagana.

Nature of Yakshagana :—

From these references and descriptions it can be inferred that these dramas were only folk dance-music dramas of the opera type, which are otherwise called Yakshaganas, but not the stage dramas, as those of Kalidas or Shakespeare. The earliest Telugu rhetorician that defined the Yakshagana was Chitrakavi Peddana of 1550 A.D. He defined it as a work composed of songs in addition to verses and short prose passages. He also mentions the rules of the composition of the songs.⁶ Appakavi of 1650 A.D. simply imitated him in his definition of it. These Yakshaganas were called by different poets as *natakas* (dramas),⁷ *prabandhas*⁸ (court epics) and sometimes with both the names combined as *nataka prabandha*.⁹ The peculiarities of these Yakshaganas are that the divisions of them are termed *Āswāsās* (chapters) but not acts, and at the beginning of these, all the conventions of narrative poetry are mentioned, as praise of gods, previous famous poets, condemnation of poetasters, dedication etc. Besides they are written in indirect speech and not in conversational style. It is more narrative and descriptive. Even in the construction of it, the poet need not observe any restrictions as the three unities, type of the hero, etc. as a big Yakshagana is sometimes enacted for some successive nights continuously. From these characteristics of Yakshagana, we have to conclude that it is nothing else than a narrative poem or court epic (*prabandha*) consisting of a good number of songs in addition to verses and short prose passages. While the *champu kavya* or narrative court epic consisting of verses and prose passages is expected to be read, the Yakshagana, which consists of a profusion of songs in addition, is expected to be sung. This was the difference at the beginning. From its description by Srinatha in his *Kridābhīrāma* referred to above, it is to be inferred that a single woman *mano* actor of musical talents had to recite the whole story, to the accompaniment of musical instruments. She also had to dance with the anklets of bells to her feet while she sings the songs. This is almost the same as what the *Bhāgavatārs* do in *Harikathākālakshepas*. In this connection it has to be noted especially that the songs, the music, verses etc. that are employed in the Yakshagāna are purely national or *desi*, to a very great extent. Hence it is to be clearly understood finally, that it is purely a *desi* or regional drama sprang up from the local environments, independent of Sanskrit influence. Mr. V. Raghavan in his article on Yakshagana in *Triveni* vol. VIII, No. 2 for Sept. Oct. 1934, states "Though the name Yakshagana is Sanskrit, it is almost absent in the vast Sanskrit literature on *nāṭya* or *sāṅgita*." From the nature of the composition of the Yakshagāna,

it may be supposed that it forms an intermediate stage in South India, between the epics and the court epics that are intended to be heard (srayya), and the stage-dramas, that are to come later, which are intended more to be seen (drsya).

1. ద్వి॥ ప్రమథ పురాతన పటచరిత్రములఁగ్రమమంద బహు నాటకము లాడువారు,
భసితంపుఁ బూతపై బరగు బచ్చెనలు-ననలార చిరుగజ్జియలు నందియలును,
జనులు హర్షింప నాస్థానముల్ సౌచ్చి-యనుకూల వివిధ వాద్య సమేళనమున,
నార్పణంబిచ్చి యొయ్యెన జవనికల-గర్భంబు వెడలి యక్క-జము వట్టిల్ల,
నాడక ముందర నభినయం బొలయ-జాడక ముందర చోద్యంబు దనర,
విక్కుచు ద్రిభంగి నిలుచుచున-చొక్కుచు సభ చూచి యొక్కింత నగుచు.
2. సీ॥ కోణాగ్ర సంఘర్ష ఘమఘమ ధ్వని తార, కంఠ స్వరంబుతో గారవింప,
మనిబొట్టు బోనాన ననలు కొల్పిన కన్ను, కొడుపుచే దాటించు నెడవఁదడవ,
శ్రుతికి సుతకర్షణంబుఁ జూపంగవలయుచోఁ జెవిత్రాడు బిగియించి జీవకణ్ఠ
గిల్గు గిల్గున మ్రోయ కింకిణీ గుచ్చంబు, తాళమానంబుతో మేళవింప,
రాగముననుండి లంపించు రాగమునకు, నురు మయూరద్వయంబుపై నొత్తగిల్ల
కామవల్లీ మహాలక్ష్మి కైటభారి, వలపు వాడుచు వచ్చె జక్కుల పురంద్రి॥
3. సీ॥ విరుల దండలకోడి వేణికాభారంబు, పొంకంబు పిలుదులఁ బొరలి యాడ,
మణితులాకోటి కోమల రుణత్కారంబు, రవలిమట్టల మ్రోత నవఘళింప,
గుడురు నిండిన చిన్న గుబ్బ చన్నులమీఁద, ముత్యాల త్రినరంబు మురువుఁజూప,
వలమాన తాంక వజ్రాంకుర చ్చాయ, లేతవెన్నెలఁ బుక్కిలించి యుమియ
- గీ॥ సాని యీశానియై మహోత్సవమునందుఁ గేల నవ చంద్రకాంతపు గిన్నెపూని,
వీధి భిక్షుల నమొనర్చు వేళఁజేయు, మరులు సృత్యంబు జగముల మరులు
గొలుపు॥
4. ఉ॥ పల్లకి చక్కి కాహళము, వంశము. ధక్కి హుడక్కి యుద్ధరుల్
ఝల్లరి యాదిగాఁగలుగు శబ్ద పరంపర తాళ శబ్దమై,
యుల్లసిలం బ్రబంధము తొప్పగ నాడుదు రగ్రవేదపైఁ
బల్లవపాణు లీశ్వరుని బంటమహీకులు పూజ సేయఁగన్॥
5. సీ॥ సరవి జంచత్పుట చాపపుటోడ్డుట్ట, పట్టితా పుత్రక సంజ్ఞ లమర,
వెలయుచుండెడి నను విషమ తాళ ప్రవృత్తులు నాల్గు ప్రస్తార కలన వలనఁ,
గలుగు నానా తాళములు యథోక్తస్ఫూర్తి, బరగు నేలాది ప్రబంధవయము
దత్త దర్ప స్థాన దత్తప టాక్షర విరుదాది కాంగ విస్మరణ దనర
- గీ॥ క్షితిఁజతుర్దశ ముద్రిక గీత భేద, ములు దురానము లంద్రు వర్తిలె నవియును
నిఖిల కళలునుగల రాక్కిడేయు శిక్ష, వలన దన్నాట్య కర్మ ప్రవర్తనమున॥

ఉ॥ ఆవనజాక్ష నందనుడు నంతట నాంది దగం బలించి యిం
పావహిలం బ్రరోచనయు నాముఖముం దనరార నొప్పు బ
స్తావనతో ముఖాదులగు సంధులు సాంగతఁబెంపు మీఱ గం
గావతరాది నాటకములాడె ననేకము లద్భుతంబుగఁ॥

సీ॥ పృషభగతి త్రిపుడరే కంఘ్రియుగమగుఁ, దుదనేడు లఘువులు దొలఁగఁజేయ,
జంపెరేకునకు లక్షణము ద్విరదగతి, యగు నొకలఘు వందుమాన
రచ్చరేకగును దురగ వల్లనము గతి, మఱి యేకతాళియౌ మధుర గతిని,
అట తాళమున మాత్ర లంఘి కిర్వది నాల్గు, నాల్గిట విరతి పద్మాలుగింట

6. గీ॥ నిలుచు నర్థింపు నర్థ చంద్రికలు దన, యక్షగానాది కృతులలో నార్యు లిడిన
రగడ భేదంబు లివి యౌను. రమ్యచర్య యవితి నిజదాన సముదాయ

యాంజనేయ॥

7. గీ॥ తెన్నగాఁగ కిరాట యీలేమ చరిత, మాడుదురు నాటకంబుగ నవనిలోన
దీనిఁ జూడంగఁ టోదమా యీనెవమున, నరసి చూతము మనకేమి యచటననుచు॥

శ్రీనాథుని క్రీడాభిరామము.

8. "అనుమోద నన్యాసి ప్రణీతంబైన శ్రీ బసవకల్యాణ యక్షగాన ప్రబంధము నందు
సర్వము నేకాశ్వాసంబు సంపూర్ణము" అంత్యగద్య.

9. "శివలెంక మల్లనారాధ్య వణితంబైన శ్రీ వీరభద్ర విజయంబను శృంగార
నాటక గేయ ప్రబంధ కథయందు....త్పితీయాశ్వాసంబు" అంత్యగద్య.

BIESTINGS IN KANNADA

BY

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1. KITTEL, in his KANNADA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY (Mangalore 1894) records the following three words for 'biestings': *giṇṇa*, *giṇṇu* 1., and *geṇṇu* 2.

Giṇṇa is defined therein as "the milk of a buffalo or cow which has lately calved (S. Mhr.)", the abbreviation within paranthesis indicating that the usage is specially confined to the Southern Maratha country. However, Marathi which is the chief alternate literary language of this region, has no corresponding form, the word for biestings being throughout *cik*.

Regarding the second form *giṇṇu* 1., the additional definitions *kṣira-vikṛti*, *kūrcike* and *piyūṣa* are recorded, and in the first two meanings, as current in Mysore indicated by the abbreviation (My,) KITTEL suggests comparison with Telugu *junnu*. He also records the compound forms *giṇṇu-hālu* and *giṇṇu-vālu*.

The third form *geṇṇu* 2. is found to occur in the Basava Pūraṇa.

2. Prima facie the question of a Dravidian derivation is ruled out by Tamil words for biestings: *kaṭampuppāl* or *kaṭumpuppāl*, *cīmpāl* or *cīppāl*, or *innṛavaṇimappāl*¹. The parallels found in Marathi and other Indo-Aryan languages also do not throw any significant light on the etymology of the Kannada words.

3. It is, however, when we turn to the dialects of Konkani, an Indo-Aryan language current in the west coast of India from Daman in the north to Cochin in the South, that a sudden light is thrown on this interesting group of words. Most of the Konkani dialects have the word *giṇa* for biestings. The form evidently goes back to an Old Indo-Aryan prototype **gavīna*: Middle Indo-Aryan **gaiṇa*- which would regularly yield the Konkani *giṇa*. This form is attested in Old Indo-Aryan only as a second member of compounds, the two compounds so far noticed being *hāiyam-gavīna*- according to Pāṇini 5.2.23 and *āsītam-gavīna* according to Pāṇini 5.4.7.

4. *Hāiyam-gavīna*- is defined as "clarified butter prepared from yesterday's milking, or fresh butter." Kāśikā comments: *hyo-godhāsya, vikāraḥ haiyamgavīnam, = ghr̥tasya samjñā*.

Āśitamgavīna- defines a meadow etc. where cattle have been fed, or in the words of Kāśikā : *āsītā gav'osminn aranye* = *āsitamgavīnam aranyam*.

In both the above cases the nominal bases are assumed respectively to be *hiyam-gu-* and *āsitam-gu* with the secondary suffixes *khañ* and *kha*.

From these compound forms we have to subsume the basic form **gavīna-* to explain the genesis of Konkani *giṇa*. Regarding its special significance as biestings in opposition to any other produce of the cow, it is probable that the word *hāiyagavīna-* itself might have originally indicated not fresh butter but the biestings of cattle. The persistence of this meaning in the dialects of Konkani cannot be due to innovation, since the phonological correspondence is entirely an inherited characteristic.

5. It is now easy to see how the Konkani form has affected the introduction of three parallel forms in Kannada cited by KIRTEL. Konkani *-ṇ-* goes back to an intervocal *-ṇ-* of Middle Indo-Aryan and consequently a single intervocal dental nasal of Old Indo-Aryan. If the geminated Kannada forms had been the original, the expected form in Konkani would have given the dental in the place of the cerebral. On the other hand Kannada geminates such single consonants of Indo-Aryans in loan words. Finally no original Dravidian words seem to exist for milk products like ghee.

1. I am indebted to Sri C. R. Sankaran and Dr. P. C. Ganeshsundaran of the Deccan College for supplying these Tamil words.

ಮೂರು ಅಪರೂಪ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು

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(Rtd.) Lecturer, Madras University.

೧. ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ—

ಇದು ಹಳಗನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವೂರ್ವ ಶಬ್ದ. ಇದರ ಸಿಸ್ತುಪ್ಪಾರ್ಥವೇನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಲು ಶಕ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನ್ವಯ ಪ್ರಕರಣ (ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ) ವಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಫನೆಯ ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ—ಪ್ರಯೋಗಸಾರವೆಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಾರ್ಥನಿರ್ಣಯಂ¹ ಎಂಬ ಅಧ್ಯಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ (5) ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯೆಂದು ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ (20) ಎಂದು ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದು. ಈಗ ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅರ್ಥವೇನೆಂದು ವಿಚಾರಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೂ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಶಬ್ದದಂತೆಯೇ ಇದು ಯಾವ ಬಗೆಯ ವಸ್ತುವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ—ಮತ್ತು ಇದೇ ಶಬ್ದ ಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣದಲ್ಲಿ — ಸೂತ್ರ ೭೭ರ “ನಿಶ್ಚಿತನಾಮಂ ಪಂಚಕೃತ ಪರಿಮಾಣಂ” ಎಂಬ ವಾಕ್ಯದ ವೃತ್ತಿಯ ಉದಾಹರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ದಿಟದನಾಮಂಗಳ ಅಕ್ಷರಾವೃತ್ತಿಗೆ—ಪೂ [ಒಂದಕ್ಷರದ ನಾಮ] ಮರಂ [ಎರಡಕ್ಷರ], ಹೊತ್ತಿಗೆ [ಮೂರಕ್ಷರ], ಕವಳಿಗೆ [ನಾಲ್ಕಕ್ಷರ], ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ [ಅಯ್ದಕ್ಷರ] ಎಂದು ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಶಬ್ದವೊಂದನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿರಿಯದೊಂದಿದೆ ಎಂದಿಷ್ಟು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುವುದೇ ಹೊರತು ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂದರೆ ಯಾವುದು ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕಿಟ್ಟಲ್ ಡಿಕ್ಷನರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪುಟ 92ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮ್ಮ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅದರ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸಿ ಅದರೊಡನೆ ಬೇರೆ ಪದಗಳು ಸೇರಿ ಆಗಿರುವ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಪದದ ಅರ್ಥಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವಾಗ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ = [ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಇದರ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು The hatchet of village Goddesses—ಎಂದರೆ ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆಯ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವ

(1) ಆದರೆ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಧಿ (ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ ಪ್ರಕರಣ) ಗಳು — “ಕ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಸಂಧಿನಾಮಂ....ಶಮನ್ಯಯಂ ಸಂಧಿಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣದೊಳ್” (ಸಂ. ೪) ಎಂಬ ತನ್ನ ಗ್ರಂಥಪೀಠಿಕೆಯ ಪ್ರತಿಜ್ಞಾಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಧಿಯಾದಿಯಾಗಿ ಅವ್ಯಯದ ವರೆಗೆ ಎಂಟು ಎಂದು ಕಂತೋಕ್ತನಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣದ ಹಸ್ತಲಿಖಿತ ಪ್ರತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಪಟ್ಟಿಕೆಯು ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದನ್ನು ಫನೆಯ ಪ್ರಕರಣವೆಂದು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿ ಮುದ್ರಿಸಿರುವರು—ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನೇ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರತಿಯನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ಅನುಭವಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಿ ಬರೆದಿಟ್ಟಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಊಹೆಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದೆ.

(2) ಈತನು ಶ.ದ ಸಂಪಾದಕನಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲಿಂದಲೇ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡಿರುವನು.

ಕೊಡಲಿ-ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥಬರೆದು-(ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ Smd 11 K. K 77C) ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ
 ct¹ II 18] ಇದರ ಪಠ್ಯಾಯವದಗಳೆಂದು ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ, ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂಬಶಬ್ದಗಳು
 ಹೇಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ-ಶ-ದ ಸೂತ್ರ-ಚತುರಾಸ್ಯ ನಿಘಂಟು ಇವೆರಡನ್ನೂ ಉದಾಹರಿಸುವನು-
 ಆದರೆ ದೇವತೆಯ ಗಂಡುಗೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬರ್ಥವು ಕಿಟ್ಟಲ್ ಸಾಹೇಬರ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯಲ್ಲದೆ
 ಬೇರಿಲ್ಲ ಅಮ್ಮನಕೊಡಲಿ = (ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಎಂದು ಪದವಿಭಾಗ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಂತೆ
 ಕಾಣುವುದು - ಆದರೆ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಿಗೆ ಈ ಕೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬ
 ಅರ್ಥವಿಲ್ಲ - ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಬಿಡಿಯಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಾಗಿರುವವಲ್ಲದೆ ವಾಕ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ
 ಸೇರಿಕೊಂಡಿಲ್ಲ-

ನಾಗನರ್ಪರಚಿತ ಭಾಷಾಭೂಷಣದ ತದ್ಧಿತಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಈ
 ಉದಾಹರಣ ಪದ್ಯವಿದೆ--

ಶ್ರೀರಾಜಾವರ್ತದಿಂದ ಕಂಡರಿಸಿದಸತಿನೋಲ್ ಕಾಸ್ತುಭಂ ಮೇಘಮಾಲಾ |
 ಕಾರಂಬೋಲ್ ಶಂಖಮನ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ಳೋಲ್ ನಾಭಿಕೂಪೋಪಜಾತಂ |
 ನೀರೇಜಂ ನೀಳ್ವ ಕರ್ನೈಯ್ಯಿಲ ವೊಲಿರೆ ತನುಚ್ಚಾಯೆಯಿಂ ಮಿಕ್ಕ ಲೋಕಾ |
 ಧಾರಂ ರಕ್ಷಿಸ್ತನಕ್ಕೇಭುಪನಭವನಮಂ ಗಾಂಗ (ಶಾಣ್ಣ) ಚಕ್ರಾಯುಧಾಂಕಂ ||

ಎಂಬ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀವಿಷ್ಣುವಿನ ತನುಚ್ಚಾಯೆಯಿಂದ (ಕಪ್ಪು) ಆತನ ದೇಹದಲ್ಲಿ
 ವಸ್ತುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ (ಆಕಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಮಾರ್ಪಾಡೂ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ) ಬಣ್ಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಪ್ಪಾಗಿ ಬೇರೆ
 ಬೇರೆ ವಸ್ತುಗಳಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತಿದ್ದುವು - ಎಂಬ ತಾತ್ಪರ್ಯದಿಂದ ಶ್ರೀವಿಷ್ಣುವಿನ ಎದೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ
 ಸ್ಪರ್ಣಪರ್ಣದ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯು ರಾಜಾವರ್ತರತ್ನದಿಂದ (ರಾಜಾವರ್ತವೆಂದು ಎಳನೀಲಂ-
 ಶ. ದ. ಪ್ರಯೋಗಸಾಠ) ಕೆತ್ತಿಮಾಡಿದ ಹೆಂಗುಸಂತಾಗಿದ್ದಳು. ಕೆಂಪುರತ್ನವಾದ ಕಾಸ್ತುಭ
 ರತ್ನ ಮೇಘಮಾಲೆಯಂತಾಯಿತು, ಬಿಳಿದಾದ ಶಂಖವು ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ಳಂತಾ
 ಯಿತು, ನಾಭಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕೆಂದಾನರೆಯು ಕರ್ನೈದಿಲೆಯಂತಾಯಿತು-ಎಂದು-ಅಮ್ಮಂ
 ಗೊಡಲಿ ಶಬ್ದವು ಪ್ರಯುಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಿಟ್ಟಲ್ ನಿಘಂಟುವಿನ ಆಧಾರದಿಂದ
 ಗ್ರಾಸುದೇವತೆಯ ಕೊಡಲಿಯಂತಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಾದರೆ ಅದು ಸುರಸವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ-
 ಶಂಖವನ್ನು ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಡಿದಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಆಯುಧವನ್ನು ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಡಿಯುವ
 ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ವಿಷ್ಣುವಿನ ಕೈಯ ಬಿಳಿಯ ಶಂಖವು ಆಯುಧವಾಗಿ
 ಕಬ್ಬಿಣದ ಕೊಡಲಿಯಂತೆ ಕಪ್ಪಾಗಿತ್ತು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸುರಸವಲ್ಲ. ಕೊಡಲಿಯು
 ಕಬ್ಬಿಣದಿಂದ ಮಾಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟರೂ ಅದು ಹರಿತವಾಗಿ ಧಳಧಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಲ್ಲದೆ
 ಕಪ್ಪಾಗಿತ್ತು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸುರಸವಲ್ಲ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ
 ಮೋಲ್ - ಎಂದು ಇಷ್ಟು ಮಾತ್ರ ಹೇಳದೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ಳೋಲ್
 ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮೊಗ್ಗಿನಂತೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯೆಂಬುದು
 ಹೂವೆಲೆಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಡುವ ಒಂದು ಗಿಡವೋ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯೋ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕಲ್ಲದೆ ಆಯುಧ

ವೆಂದಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ—ಹಾಗೆ ಆಯುಧವಾಗುವುದಾದರೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯನ್ನೋಲ್ ಎಂದಿಷ್ಟೇ ಸಾಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ಳೋಲ್ ಎಂದು ಮುಗುಳ್ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಉತ್ತರ ಪದವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾದ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆಯಿಲ್ಲ. ಆ ದು ದ ರಿಂ ದ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ಳೋಲ್ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆಯ ಕೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬರ್ಥವು ಸರ್ವಥಾ ಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ.

ಈ ಮೇಲಣ ವಿಚಾರದಿಂದ ಎಂದರೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ, ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ, ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಈ ಮೂರು ಶಬ್ದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯೆಂಬುದು ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆಯೆಂದೂ, ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂಬ ಪದದಿಂದ ಈ ಜಾತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ, ಕಟುಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆಯೆಂದು ಎರಡುಬಗೆ ಯಿರುವುದೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದಂತಾಯಿತು, ಶಬ್ದಮಂಡಿಪರ್ವಣದಲ್ಲಿ ರೂಢನಾಮ [ನಿಶ್ಚಿತ ನಾಮ=ದಿಟದನಾಮ] ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ಉದಾಹರಿಸಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ವಾಚ್ಯವಾದ ಅರ್ಥವು-ಅವುಗಳಜತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಹೂ, ನೆಲಂ, ಹೊತ್ತಿಗೆ, ತವಳಿಗೆ [ಎಲೆಗಳ ಅಡುಕು] ಎಂಬ ವಸ್ತುಗಳಂತೆ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆಯೂ ಒಂದು ವಸ್ತುವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು. ಕಿಟ್ಟಲ್‌ಸಾಹೇಬರ ಡಿಕ್ಷನರಿಯಂತೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆಯ ಕೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬರ್ಥವಿರುವಂತೆ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು — ಈ ಅರ್ಥವು ಭಾಷಾ ಭೂಷಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಉದಾಹರಿಸಿರುವ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ಳೋಲ್ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸರ್ವಥಾ ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ವಾಚ್ಯವಾದ ವಸ್ತುವು ಮುಗುಳ್ಳನ್ನು ಬಿಡತಕ್ಕ ಒಂದು ಮರವೋ ಲತೆಯೋ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ನಿಶ್ಚಿತವಾಗುವುದು. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ಯಾವ ಮರ ಅಥವಾ ಯಾವ ಲತೆ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಪ್ರಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಪುಸ್ತಕ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಹಾಡಾಗಾರದಲ್ಲಿ [ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಓರಿಯೆಂಟಲ್ ಲೈಬ್ರರಿ] ಮುದ್ರಿತವಾಗಿರುವ “ವಿವಿಧ ವೈದ್ಯಗಳು” ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದ ಪುಟ 59, ಪ್ರಕರಣ ಮೂರು, ಚಿಕಿತ್ಸೆಗಳು D1349, ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ—

ನಿಕುಂಭ ಕುಂಭ ತ್ರಿಪಲಾ ಗವಾಕ್ಷೇ ಸ್ನುಕ್ ಶಂಖಿನೀ ನೀಲಿನಿ ತಿಲ್ವಕಾನಿ—

ಶಮ್ಯಾಕ ಕಂಪಿಲ್ಲಕ ಹೇಮದುಗ್ಧದುಗ್ಧಂಚ ಮೂತ್ರಂ ಚ ವಿರೇಚನಾನಿ—

[ಅರ್ಥ, ನಿಕುಂಭ=ದಂತಿ (ಇದೊಂದು ಓಷಧಿ); ಕುಂಭ=ತಿಗಡೆ, ತ್ರಿಪಲಾ= ಅಣಿಲಿಕಾಯಿ ನೆಲ್ಲಿಕಾಯಿ ತಾರೆಕಾಯಿ (ಈ ಮೂರುಕಾಯಿಗಳು) ಗವಾಕ್ಷಿ=ಹಾವುಮೆಕ್ಕೆ, ಸ್ನುಕ್ = ಮುಂಗಳ್ಳ (ಕೋಲುಗಳ್ಳಿಯೆಂದಿರಬಹುದು) ಶಂಖಿನೀ = ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ, ನೀಲಿನಿ=ನೀಲಿ, ತಿಲ್ವಕ(ಕಾನಿ) ಲೋಧ್ರವೆಂಬುದು (ಅರಗು) ಶಮ್ಯಾಕ=ಶಕ್ಕೆ [ಸಾವೆ ಎಂಬ ಧಾನ್ಯ] ಕಂಪಿಲ್ಲಕ=ಹೂರ [ವಸಾರೆ], ಹೇಮದುಗ್ಧ-ಕನಕಕ್ಷೀರಿ, ದುಗ್ಧ-ಹಾಲು, ಮೂತ್ರ - ಗೋಮೂತ್ರ - ಎಂಬವು, ವಿರೇಚನಾನಿ - ವಿರೇಚನಾ [ಭೇದಿಮಾಡಿಸುವ] ದ್ರವ್ಯಗಳು.]

ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಪದ್ಯದ ಅರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಂಖಿನಿ ಎಂಬ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂಬ ಕನ್ನಡ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂಬಶಬ್ದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಪರಾಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶಬ್ದ ಶಂಖಿನಿ - ಎಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ

ಶಂಖನಿ ಎಂಬ ಔಷಧಿಯಗಿಡವೆಂದೂ, ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯ ಮುಗುಳ್ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆ ಗಿಡದ ಮೊಗ್ಗು [ಅರಳದ ಹೂ] ಯೆಂದೂ ಅರ್ಥವು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುವುದು.

ನನಗೆ ದೊರಕಿದ ಒಂದು ಧನ್ವಂತರಿ ನಿಘಂಟುವಿನ ಕನ್ನಡ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನುಳ್ಳ ಓಲೆಯ ಪ್ರತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶಂಖಪುಷ್ಪಿಕಾ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಶಂಖಪುಷ್ಪ ಎಂಬ ಗಿಡವೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದು.

ಕಿಟ್ಟಲ್ ಸಾಹೇಬರು, ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಮ್ಮನಕೊಡಲಿ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಗಳ ಸಮಸ್ತಪದವೆಂದು ಭ್ರಮಿಸಿ, ಅಮ್ಮ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆಯೆಂದೂ, ಆ ದೇವತೆಯ ಕೈಯ ಆಯುಧ ಕೊಡಲಿ ಎಂದು ಸ್ವಯಂಕಲ್ಪನೆ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಆ ಅರ್ಥವು ಹೇಗೂ ಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ.

ಈ ಕಿಟ್ಟಲ್ ಸಾಹೇಬರೇ-ತಮ್ಮ ಈ ಡಿಕ್ಷನರಿಯಲ್ಲೇ [ಪು-337 ರಲ್ಲಿ] ಕಟ್ಟಿ 3, ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಟ್ಟು 1 ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥ ಬರೆದು - ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿ-ಪತ್ತಿ, A kind of plant [ವೃತ್ತಿಕೆ mr, two mss ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ, ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ, ಪತ್ತಿಗೆ (smd 95) the hatchet of a Village goddess (ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ) ct 11-18 ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ.]

ಎಂದು ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಗಿಡ (plant) ಎಂದು ಬರೆದು ಅದೇ ಶಬ್ದ ದಲ್ಲೇ ಮತ್ತೆ ಹೆಗ್ಗಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂದರೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಎಂದು ಗ್ರಾಮದೇವತೆಯ ಕೊಡಲಿ ಎಂದು ಪೂರ್ವಾಪರ ವಿರೋಧವನ್ನು ಅವರು ಗಮನಿಸದಿರುವುದು ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಚತುರಾಸ್ಯ ನಿಘಂಟುವಿನಲ್ಲಿ - ಇಂಗದಿರ ನಮದುಗದಿರಂ |

ತಿಂಗಳ್ ಪಲ್ಲಯನಮೆಂದೆನಲ್ ಪಲ್ಲಣಮಂ |

ಮ್ತಂಗೊಡಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ |

ಬಿಂಗದಿರಂ ಕಮಲಮಿತ್ರನೆಲೆ ಚತುರಾಸ್ಯ ಗಾ

ಎಂಬ ಕಂದದಲ್ಲಿ ಚಂದ್ರ ಸೂರ್ಯ ಹೆಸರಿನ ನಡುವೆ ಅಮ್ಮಂಗೊಡಲಿಯೆಂದರೆ ಕಟ್ಟವತ್ತಿಗೆ ಎಂದಿಷ್ಟನ್ನು ಮಾತ್ರ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಯಾವ ನಿಶ್ಚಯವಾದ ಅರ್ಥವೂ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

೨. ವೇಳೆ —

ವೇಲಾ = ವೇಲೆ (ವೇಳೆ) ಶಬ್ದದ ತದ್ಭವರೂಪವೆಂದಾದರೆ ಸಮುದ್ರದ ತೀರ (ದಡ) ಎಂದರ್ಥವು, ಮತ್ತು ವೇಲಾ - ವೇಲೆ - ಎಂದರೆ ಹೊತ್ತು ಅಥವಾ ಕಾಲ ಎಂದರ್ಥವು ರೂಢಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ.

ಪರಿಯೆಸಸುಪುರ್ ಬಿಳ್ಳಡರೆ ಬಲ್ಲುಗುಳೊಳ್ ಪೊರೆದೋಣಿ ತೆಂಬೆಲರ್ |

ಪೊರೆ ಪೊರೆಯುಂ ಸಡಿಲೈ ನಡುಪ್ಪೊಂಗಿರೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಗಳ್ ವಸಂತದೊಳ್ ||

ಬರಿದೊಡೆ ನಲ್ಲರಂ ನೆನೆದು(ದ) ನಲ್ಲರ ಮೆಲ್ಲೆರ್ದಗಳ್ ನಿರಂತರಂ |

ಬರಿವುಪವೆಂತೊ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಗೆ ನಲ್ಲರಮೆಲ್ಲೆರ್ದವೇಳೆಗೊಂಡುದೋ(ದೇಂ)

[ಅ. ೧೧-೫. ೧೧೦]

ಎಂಬ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕವಿಯು ವೇಳೆಗೊಂಡುದು ಎಂದು ವೇಳೆ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಿಸಿರುವನು. ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕವಿಯು ವಸಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಯ ಗಿಡದ ಹಸುರಾದ ಮೊಗ್ಗುಗಳು ಕ್ರಮಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ದಪ್ಪನಾಗಿ ಬಿಳಿದಾಗಿ ದಳಗಳನ್ನು ಸಡಿಲಿಸಿ ಅರಳಿದುವು-ಬಿರಿದುವು ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಮನೋಹರವಾಗಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಿ ಬಳಿಕ ಹೀಗೆ ಅರಳಿದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಹೂವುಗಳು ವಿರಹಿಗಳಾಗಿರುವ ನಾಯಕನಾಯಿಕೆಯರ ವಿರಹವ್ಯಥೆಯನ್ನು ಉದ್ದೀಪನಗೊಳಿಸಿದುವು ಎಂದರೆ ನಲ್ಲರ ಎದೆಯೂ ಬಿರಿದುಹೋದುವು-(ಎದೆಯೊಡೆದುವು) ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ಬಿರಿದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಗೆ ನಲ್ಲರದೇಗಳು ವೇಳೆಗೊಂಡುದೋ-ವೇಳೆಗೊಂಡುವೋ ಎಂದು ಉತ್ತೇಜಿಸಿರುವನು. ಈ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ವೇಳೆ ಶಬ್ದದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಎರಡು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಾರ್ಥಗಳೂ ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ-ಸಮುದ್ರದತ್ತೀರ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸುತರಾಂ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಅನ್ವಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಹೊತ್ತು ಕಾಲ ಎಂಬರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದಾದರೆ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಕೊಂಡುವೋ ಎಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವೂ ಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ವೇಳೆ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಕವಿಯು ಯಾವುದೋ ಒಂದು ವಿಶೇಷಾರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು - ಆ ಅರ್ಥವು ಯಾವುದೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಈಗ ವಿಚಾರ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ.

ಬಂಧುಸರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನಿಂದ ಗೃಹಿತವಾದ ಜೀವಸಂಬೋಧನೆ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ವೇಳೆವಡಿಚ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಿಸಿರುವನು.

ಜೀವಸಂಬೋಧನೆಯ ಪ್ರಥಮಾಧಿಕಾರದ ೫ ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದ ಮುಂದಣ ಗದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಉರವಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ವೇಳೆವಡಿಚಂಗಂ, ಮನುಷ್ಯಭವಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಜೀವಕ್ಕಂ ಗತಿಯಂ ಬಗೆಯಲಲ್ಲದೆ ಪಲಿತು ಮೋಹದೊಳ್ ನೆಗಲೆಡೆಯಿಲ್ಲಂ-ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಾಕ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಉರವಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ವೇಳೆವಡಿಚನಿಗೆ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಗತಿಯನ್ನು ಬಯಸುವುದು ಮಾತ್ರ ವಲ್ಲದೆ ಬೇರಾವುದೋಹಕ್ಕು ಬಂದರೆ ಬೇಜಿ ಯಾವುದನ್ನು ಆಶಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೂ ಎಡೆಯಿಲ್ಲ ಎಂದು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯಾರ್ಥವು-ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವೇಳೆ ಎಂಬಶಬ್ದ ಬಂದಿದೆ; ಅದರ ಮೇವಡಿಚ ಎಂಬುದು ತದ್ಧಿತಪ್ರತ್ಯಯ (ವಡಿಗಪ್ರತ್ಯಯದೊಡನೆ ಹೋಲಿಸಿ) - ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವೇಳೆವಡಿಚನು ¹ಅಗ್ನಿ ಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಾಗ ಎಂದಿಷ್ಟು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುವುದೇ ಹೊರತು ವೇಳೆವಡಿಚ ಎಂದರೆ ಯಾರು ಅವನು ಅಗ್ನಿ ಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಯಾವಾಗ ಬರುವನು ಎಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ನಮ್ಮ ಭಾರತದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ನೆಲೆಗೊಂಡಿರುವ ಸನಾತನ ಧರ್ಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಪತಿಪತ್ನೀತ್ವವೂ, ಸ್ವಾಮಿಭೃತ್ಯತೆಯೂ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದುವು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪತಿಯು ಪತ್ನಿಯೇ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಣವೆಂದೂ ಪತ್ನಿಯು ತನ್ನ ಪತಿಯೇ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಣವು ಎಂಬ ಭಾವನಾವಿಶೇಷದಿಂದ ಪತಿಯು ಯಾವ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವನೋ ಅದೇ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರು

(1) ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವರು ದೀಪಕ್ಕೆ ಬೀಳುವ ಪತಂಗದ ಹುಳು (ಶಲಭ) ಎಂಬ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರದಿಂದ ವೇಳೆ ವಡಿಚ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಯಾವ ಪ್ರಮಾಣವೂ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ಶಲಭವೆಂದೂ ಅದು ಬೆಂಕಿಗೆ ಬೀಳುವಂತೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ನಿ ಕೊಂಡ ಎಂದಿಯೇ ಹೊರತು ದೀಪ ಅಥವಾ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಬೆಂಕಿಯೆಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಇಯಂಥವು ಅಪ್ರಾಶ್ಚರ್ಯದಿಂದ ಬೆಂಕಿಗೆಬಿದ್ದು ಸಾಯುವುದು ಎಂಬಿಷ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ನಿರ್ದರ್ಶನವಾಗುವುದು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ನಿ ಕೊಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ವೇಳೆವಡಿಚನಿಗೆ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಗತಿಯಿಲ್ಲ.

ವುದು ಪತ್ತಿಯ ಧರ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡುವುದು. ¹ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಮಾಯಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸುಂದರ ಕಾಂಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮನನ್ನ ಗಲಿ ಲಂಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಸೀತಾದೇವಿಯ ವಿರಹವ್ಯಥೆಯನ್ನು ಕಣ್ಣಾರೆ ನೋಡಿದ ಹನುಮಂತನು-ಇಂತಹ ಪ್ರಿಯಪತ್ತಿಯನ್ನ ಗಲಿದ ಶ್ರೀರಾಮನು ಹೇಗೆ ಜೀವಿಸಿರುವನೋ ಎಂದು ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯಪಡುವನು, ಮತ್ತು ಲಂಕೆಯನ್ನು ತಾನು ಬಾಲದ ಬೆಂಕಿಯಿಂದ ಸುಟ್ಟ ಬಳಿಕ ಸಮುದ್ರದ ದಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಳಿತು ಬಾಲದ ಬೆಂಕಿಯನ್ನು ಆರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಲಂಕಾ ನಗರವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ ಲಂಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈಗ ಸುಟ್ಟುಹೋಗಿರುವ ಸ್ಥಲ ಅಂಗೈಯಗಲದಷ್ಟು ಇಲ್ಲ, ಸೀತೆಯೂ ಸುಟ್ಟುಹೋಗಿರಬಹುದು, ಆಯ್ಯೋ! ಸಿಟ್ಟಿನಿಂದ ಹಗೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಕೇಡನ್ನೇಳಿಸಿ ನನಗೇ ಕೇಡನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡೆನಲ್ಲ! ಈಗ ಸೀತಾವಿಷಯಕವಾದ ದುರ್ವಾರ್ತೆ (ಮರಣ) ಯನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿ ರಾಮನು ಸಾಯುವವನಲ್ಲ! ಏನುಮಾಡಲಿ, ಕೆಲಸ ಮಿಂಚಿಹೋಯಿತಲ್ಲ! ಎಂದು ಚಿಂತಾಸಮುದ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಳುಗುವನು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಪ್ರಿಯಪತ್ತಿಭಾವವು ಎಷ್ಟು ಮಹತ್ತರವಾದುದೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದೂ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಪ್ರಾಣಪ್ರಿಯನು ಮೃತನಾದ ಪತ್ತಿಯೂ ಸಹಗಮನಮಾಡುವುದು ಪತ್ತಿಯ ಧರ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು ಭರತಖಂಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದಿರುವ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವೂ ಉಂಟು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಪತಿಪತ್ತಿಯರ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರ ವಿಶೇಷವು ಎಷ್ಟು ಘನವಾದುದೆಂದು ಮತ್ತೆ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಭೃತ್ಯಭಾವವೂ ಒಂದಾಗಿದೆ. ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಪ್ರಾಣವೇ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಣವೆಂದು ಭೃತ್ಯನು ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಪ್ರಾಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಣವನ್ನರ್ಪಿಸಿರುವ ಹಲವು ಕಥೆಗಳೂ, ಸದ್ಗತಿಗಳೂ ಭರತಖಂಡದ ಸನಾತನ ಧರ್ಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿವೆ. ² ಹರಿಶ್ಚಂದ್ರ ಕಾವ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ- ಹರಿಶ್ಚಂದ್ರನು ಕಾಶಿಗೆ ಹೋಗುವಾಗ ದಾರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಶ್ವಾಮಿತ್ರನಿಂದ ಏರ್ಪಟ್ಟ ಕಾಡ್ಗಿಚ್ಚು ಸುತ್ತಲೂ ಆವರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಾಗ, ಹರಿಶ್ಚಂದ್ರನು ತನ್ನ ಮಂತ್ರಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಹೆಂಡತಿಯನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು, ನಾನು ಮೊದಲು ಈ ಅಗ್ನಿಗೆ ಆಹುತಿಯಾಗುವೆನು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದಾಗ ಮಂತ್ರಿಯು ಒಡೆಯನು ಪ್ರಾಣಬಿಟ್ಟದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ ಭೃತ್ಯನು ಪ್ರಾಣದಿಂದಿರುವುದು

(1) ದುಷ್ಕರಂ ಕುರುತೇ ರಾನೋ ಹೇನೋ ಯದನಯಾ ಪ್ರಭುಃ

ಧಾರಯತ್ಕಾತ್ಯನೇ ದೇಹಂ ನ ದುಃಖೇನಾವಸೀದರೆ-

ಇಮಾಮಸಿತ ಕೇಶಾಂತಾಂ.....

ದೃಷ್ಟ್ವಾಮಮಾತಿವೃಥಿತಮನಃ-೨೮ (ಸುಂದ)

ಮತ್ತು

ವಿನಘನಯಾಂತು ಸೀತಾಯಾಂ ತಾಮಭಾವಿತಶಿಷ್ಯತಃ-

ತಯೋರ್ವಿನಾಶೇ ಸುಗ್ರೀವಃ ಸಬಂಧುವಿನ ನ ಶಿಷ್ಯತಿ

ಏತದೇವವಚಶ್ಚತ್ವಾರಭರತೇಭಾತ್ವಪತ್ಯಲಃ

ಧರ್ಮಾತ್ಮ ಸಹಶತ್ರುಘ್ನಃ ಕಥಂ ಶತ್ಕೃತಿ ಜೀವಿತುಂ-

ಇಕ್ಷ್ವಾಕುಸಂಶೇ ಧರ್ಮಿಷ್ಠೇ ಗತೇನಾಶಮಸಂಶಯಂ

ಭವಿಷ್ಯತಿ ಪ್ರಚಾಸ್ತವಾ, ಶೋಕಸನ್ತಾ ಪವೀಡಿತಾ! ೨೦-೫೫

(2) ಒಡೆಯನಳಿವಂ ಕಾಣ್ವಾಪಾಪಿಯನ್ನಿಂದಾರು | ಕಡೆಯನರಕಿಗಳು ಬಿಡುಕಟ್ಟಿದು ಫಲವೇನು ಒಡಲುಬಿಡಿದುದು ಕೆನ್ನೆ ಮಡಿಯದಿಹುದಿಲ್ಲ ಮಡಿಯುತ್ತ ಪತಿಯ ಮುಂದೆ || ಮಡಿದೊಂದೊಡೆ ಪುಣ್ಯ ಕೀರ್ತಿಯುಂಟಾಳ್ ನಡೆದುದಲ್ಲದೆದರಸುನಡೆವನೆ....ವಾಸತ್ಯಕೀರ್ತಿ ಭೂಪಾಲಂಗೆ ಕೈಮುಗಿದನು.

(ಸ. ೧೦-೧೬)

ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲ, ನಾನೇ ಈ ಬೆಂಕಿಗೆ ಆಹುತಿಯಾಗುವೆನು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವನು. ಹರಿಶ್ಚಂದ್ರನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯು ಪತಿಯ ಮರಣವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಹೆಂಡತಿಯು ಜೀವಿಸಿರಬಾರದು. ನಾನೇ ಮುಂದೆ ಅಗ್ನಿಗೆ ಆಹುತಿಯಾಗುವೆನು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವಳು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪತಿಪತ್ನೀ ಭಾವ, ಸ್ವಾಮಿಭೃತ್ಯಭಾವ ಎಂಬುದರ ಘನತೆಯು ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುವುದು.

ಈ ಉದಾಹರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯು ಯಾವ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವನೋ ಅದೇಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭೃತ್ಯನೂ ಇರಬೇಕು, ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯು ಮರಣವನ್ನು ಭೃತ್ಯನೂ ಅನುಸರಿಸಬೇಕು ಎಂದು ಭಾವವು ಹೊರಪಡುವುದು. ಈ ಬಗೆಯ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಭೃತ್ಯ ಸಂಬಂಧವಾದ, ಅಥವಾ ಪತಿಪತ್ನೀ ಸಂಬಂಧವಾದ ಭರ್ತ್ವವಿನ ಸ್ಥಿತ್ಯನುಕರಣವೆಂಬರ್ಥವನ್ನು ವೇಳೆ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಹೇಳಿದರೆ ಪ್ರಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗುವುದು. ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಯು ಬಿರಿದುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ. (ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯಸ್ಥಿತಿ) ನಲ್ಲರಮೆಲ್ಲೆರ್ದೆಗಳೂ ಬಿರಿದುವು. ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನನುಕರಿಸಿದುವು ಎಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನೇ ಕವಿಯು ನಲ್ಲರೆರ್ದೆಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಗೆವೇಳೆಗೊಂಡುದು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವನು.

ತಮಿಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ವೇಲೆ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಕೆಲಸ - ಉಳಿಗ ಎಂಬರ್ಥವು ರೂಢಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ವೇಲೆಕ್ಕಾರ್ = ಉಳಿಗದವ ಎಂದರ್ಥವು. ಈ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನೇ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸುವುದಾದರೆ ಪ್ರಕೃತಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಅರ್ಥಸಾಮಂಜಸ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಬಹುದು.

ಆದುದರಿಂದ “ವೇಳೆ” ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಒಡೆಯನಲ್ಲಿ ಭೃತ್ಯನು “ನೀನಾದಂತೆ ನಾನಾಗುವೆನು” ಎಂದರೆ ಸುಖದುಃಖಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಿನ್ನನ್ನೇ ಹಿಂಬಾಲಿಸುವೆನು ಎಂದು ಪ್ರತಿಜ್ಞೆ ಮಾಡಿ ಕೈಕೊಂಡ ಉಳಿಗ (ಸೇವೆ) ಎಂದು ನಿಷ್ಕೃಷ್ಟಾರ್ಥವು.

೩. ಬಡಪ—

ಈ ಶಬ್ದವು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನವಿಜಯ(ಪಂಪಭಾರತ)ದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಶ್ವಾಸ ೧೨-ಪದ್ಯ ೮೦ ರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದಿದೆ.

ಎನೆಬೆಳ್ಳನೆಯಂಬಿನ ಸರಿ | ಮೊನೆಯಂಬಿನ ಸೋನೆ ಪಾರೆಯಂಬಿನ ತಂದಲ್ ||

ಘನಮಾದುದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಿತ್ತಂ | ಬಿನ ಬಡಪ ಮಿದೆನಿಸೆಪಾಂಡ್ಯನಂಬಂ ತಣ್ಣಿದಂ ||

ಇದೇ ಕಾವ್ಯದ ವಚನದಲ್ಲಿ - ಆಗಳಶ್ಚತ್ಕಾಮಂ ಭೀಮೋದ್ಧಾಮಶ್ಯಾಮಜಳಧರ ವಿಮುಕ್ತ ಶರಾವಳಿಯ (ಬಳಸಂ) ಬಡಪಮಂ ಕಂಡು ಮುಗುಳ್ಗೆ ನಕ್ಕು—ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಬಡಪ ಶಬ್ದದ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿದೆ.

ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವರೂಪದಿಂದ ತಕ್ಕ ಅರ್ಥವು ದೊರಕುವುದಿಲ್ಲ—ಇದು ಕೇವಲ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಬ್ದವು. ಇದರ ವ್ಯುತ್ಪತ್ತಿಯೂ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ—ಬಾಣದ ಬಗೆಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅವುಗಳ ಬೀಳುವಿಕೆಯನ್ನೂ ಸುರಿವ ಬಗೆಬಗೆಯ ಮಳೆಗಳಿಗೂ ಅವುಗಳ ಸುರಿಯುವಿಕೆಗೂ ರೂಪಿಸಿದೆ. ಬೆಳ್ಳಗೆ ಸಾಣೆಹಿಡಿದು ಹರಿತವಾಗಿ ಧಳಧಳಿಸುವ ಬಾಣಗಳ ಮಳೆ (ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾದ ಮಳೆ) ಮೊನೆಯಾದ ಬಾಣಗಳ ಸೋನೆ (ಸಣ್ಣ ಹನಿಗಳ ನಿರಂತರವಾದ ಮಳೆ) ತಾರೆಯೆಂಬ ಬಾಣಗಳ ತಂದಲ್ = ಹನಿಮಳೆ, ಕಿತ್ತಂಬಿನ (ಕಿಟಾದಾದ ಬಾಣಗಳ) ಬಡಪಂ (ಇದೂ ಒಂದು ಮಳೆಯ ಬಗೆಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು) ಎನ್ನುವಂತೆ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯನು ಬಾಣಸುರಿಸಿದನು ಎಂದು ಇದರ ತಾತ್ಪರ್ಯ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾಣಗಳ ಬಗೆಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ

ಬೆಳ್ಳಸೆಯಂಬು, ಮೊನೆಯಂಬು, ತಾರೆಯಂಬು, ಕಿತ್ತಂಬು ಇವುಗಳ ಸುರಿಯುವಿಕೆಗೆ ಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ, ಸರಿ, ಸೋನಿಮಳೆ, ತಂದಲಮಳೆ, ಬಡಪ ಎಂಬ ಮಳೆಯ ಬಗೆಗಳನ್ನು ಹೋಲಿಸಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.

ಈ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಪಂಪಭಾರತವನ್ನು ಮುದ್ರಿಸಿದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪಂಡಿತರು ಪ್ರವಾಹ ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥ ಬರೆದಿರುವರು. ಈ ಅರ್ಥವು ಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ. ಪ್ರವಾಹವೆಂಬುದು ಮಳೆಯು ಸುರಿದ ಬಳಿಕ ನದಿಯ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಹರಿಯುವ ನೀರಿಗೆ ಪ್ರವಾಹವೆಂಬುದು ಅರ್ಥ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಮಳೆಯ ಸುರಿಯುವಿಕೆಯ ಒಂದು ಬಗೆಗೆ ಬಡಪವೆಂದು ಅರ್ಥಹೇಳುವುದು ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗಿದೆ, ಈ ಪದವು ಮಳೆಯು ಸುರಿಯುವಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲವು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿದೆ.

ಜಗನ್ನಾಥವಿಜಯ—ಆಶ್ವಾಸ-೪-ಪದ್ಯ ೩೨ರಲ್ಲಿ—

ಬಲ್ಲರಿ, ಬಿಡುಸರಿ (ವಲಿ-ಪಾರತರ) ಪೆರ್ಮಲಿತಿ |

ಮೆಲ್ಲರಿ ತುಂತುರ್ ತುಷಾರವಿಡುಕುಂಬನಿ ತಂ ||

ದಲ್ಪೋನೆ ನಟ್ಟಬಡಪಯಿ |

ನಲ್ಲುರಿದುವುಬಿಡದೆ ಮಲಿತಿಗಳಿರುಳುಂ ಪಗಲುಂ || ೩೨ ||

ಎಂಬೀ ಕಂದದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಳೆಯ ಬಗೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ಬಲ್ಲರಿ [ಬಲವಾದ ಮಳೆ] ಬಿಡುಸರಿ [ಬಿರುಸಾಗಿ-ವೇಗವಾಗಿ ಬೀಳುವಮಳೆ] ಪೆರ್ಮಲಿತಿ [ಕಿರಿದಾದಮಳೆ] ಮೆಲ್ಲರಿ [ಮೆದುವಾಗಿ ಬೀಳುವಮಳೆ] ತುಂತುರ್ [ಸಣ್ಣ ಸಣ್ಣ ಹನಿಗಳಮಳೆ] ತುಷಾರಂ [ಹಿಮವಾಗಿ ಸುರಿದಮಳೆ] ಇಡುಕುಂಬನಿ [ಒಂದೊಂದು ಹನಿಯಾಗಿ ಬೀಳುವ ಮಳೆ—ಇಡುಕುಂ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ-ಬಿಡಿಬಿಡಿಯಾಗಿ ಪೂರ್ಣಾರ್ಥ ಕೊಡುವ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು—ಮುಕ್ತರ-ಎಂಬುದರೊಡನೆ ಹೋಲಿಸಬಹುದು] ತಂದಲ್ [ಧಾರಾಕಾರವಾಗಿರದೆ ಹನಿಹನಿಯಾಗಿ ಬೀಳುವ ಮಳೆ] ಸೋನಿ [ನಿರಂತರವಾಗಿ ಬಹುಹೊತ್ತು ಬೀಳುವ ಹನಿಮಳೆ] ನಟ್ಟಬಡಪ [ನಡುಧಾತುವಿಗೆ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆ, ನೆಡುವಿಕೆ ಎಂದರ್ಥ—ನಾಟಕೋದ್ಭವ ಎಂದರೆ ಭೂಮ್ಯಾಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಮಿತವಾದ ಧಾರಗಳಿಂದ ವ್ಯಾಪಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ಮಳೆ ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಉಪಿಸಬಹುದು] ಎಂದು ಸುರಿದ ಮಳೆಗಳ ಭೇದದಲ್ಲೇ ಈ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಿಸಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪ್ರವಾಹವೆಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವು ಪ್ರಕರಣಾನುಚಿತವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಚಂದ್ರಪ್ರಭಪುರಾಣ—ಆ-೪ — ಪದ್ಯ ೪೨ರಲ್ಲಿ—

ಬಡಪಂ ಬೆಂಬತ್ತಿ ವೇಪಂಮಲಿತಿದು ಬಿಡದೊಡಲ್ ಕೂಡಿ

ತನ್ನಿಚ್ಚಿ ಗೆಟ್ಟುರ್ದೆಡೆಯೊಳ್—

ಆ. ೮-ನಡನ ೪೩ರಲ್ಲಿ-ಆಕಾಶಗಂಗಾ....ಚಂದ್ರಕಾಂತದ ನೆಗೆದ ಮುಗಿಲಟ್ಟನೆಗಳಂ ಮೆಟ್ಟಿ ಬಡಪ (ಹ) ಮನೊಡರ್ಚಿಯುಂ,

ಮೂಡಬಿದರೆ ದಾನಶಾಸನ ಮಠದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಚಂದ್ರಪ್ರಭ ಪುರಾಣದ ಪ್ರತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲವು ಶಬ್ದಗಳ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಪಕ್ಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಈ ಎರಡುಕಡೆಯಲ್ಲೂ ಬಡಪ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಮಳೆ-ಎಂಬ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯಾರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿದೆ.

ಕರ್ಣ-ಭರತೇಶ-ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳು

BY

S. S. Malwad, M. A.

Professor of Kannada, Karnatak College, Dharwar.

ಸಂಸಾರ ವೃಕ್ಷಸ್ಯ ದ್ವೇಫಲೇ ಹಿ ಅಮೃತೋಪಮೇ |

ಕಾವ್ಯಮೃತ ರಸಾಸ್ವಾದಃ ಸಂಗಮಃ ಸುಜನೈಃ ಸಹ ||

ಸಂಸಾರವೆಂಬ ವಿಷವೃಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೃತದಂತಹ ಫಲಗಳು ಎರಡೇ ಎರಡೆಂದು ಒಂದು ಸುಭಾಷಿತದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಕಾನ್ಯರಸಾಸ್ವಾದನೆಯೊಂದು; ಸುಜನರಸಹವಾಸವನ್ನೊಂದು ಇವೇ ಆ ಎರಡು ಫಲಗಳಂತೆ. ಕಾವ್ಯಕೃತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉದಾತ್ತಪಾತ್ರಗಳ ಚಿತ್ರಣ ದೊರೆತಾಗ ಆಯಿರಡೂ ಫಲಗಳು ಒಂದರಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ದೊರೆತಂತಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಸಂಸಾರವು ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ವಿಷವೃಕ್ಷವೇ? ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯೂ ಇದೆ. ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿಯ ನೋವು ಅರೆನೋಟದ ಫಲವೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಸತ್ಯ-ಸೌಂದರ್ಯ-ಶಿವತ್ವಗಳ ಮುಪ್ಪುರಿಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸುವಾಗ ಸಂಸಾರವು ಅಖಂಡಾನಂದದ ಚಿಲುಮೆಯೂ ಆಗಬಲ್ಲದು ಅದನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸದೆ ಇರುವಾಗ ಜೀವನವು ವಿಷವೃಕ್ಷವೆಂದೂ ತೋರಬಹುದು. ಜೀವನದ ಬಗೆಗೆ ನಮಗೆ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಯೇ ಇರುವುದುಂಟು. ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರತಿಯಾಗಿ ಶಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಹಾಗೂ ಕಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಮಾನವನಿಗೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವೂ ಇದೆ. ಈ ಮಾತನ್ನು ವಿವೇಚಿಸಲು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕನ್ನಡ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿತ್ರಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಮೂರು ಪಾತ್ರಗಳ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳು ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕಾರಿಯಾಗುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಸತ್ಯಸಂಧ ಹಾಗೂ ತ್ಯಾಗಿ ಎಂದು ಹೆಸರು ಪಡೆದ ಮಹಾಭಾರತದ ಕರ್ಣ, ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೋಗಯೋಗಗಳ ಸುಂದರ ಸಮನ್ವಯವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ ಜೈನಪುರಾಣಗಳ ಭರತ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ, ಸಚ್ಚಿದಾನಂದದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲೆಯೂರಿನಿಂತು ದಿವ್ಯನಾದ ಬೆಳಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಲೋಕೋದ್ಧಾರ ಕೈಕೊಂಡ ಶಿವಾನುಭವ ಮಂಟಪದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ-ಇವರೇ ಆ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗಳು. ಇವರ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಕನ್ನಡಕಾವ್ಯಗಳು ಕಾನ್ಯರಸಾಸ್ವಾದನೆಯನ್ನೂ, ಸುಜನದ ಸಂಗವನ್ನೂ ಏಕಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಒದಗಿಸುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಮಾನವನು ದೇವತ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಎರಿ, ಆ ದಿವ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ ಮಾನವರ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಜೀವಿಗಳನ್ನು ದಿವ್ಯರನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವ ಮೂರು ಅಂತಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಈ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಮೂರು ಅಂತಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಸುಂದರವಾಗಿ, ಅರ್ಥವತ್ತಾಗಿ ಚಿತ್ರಿಸುವ ಕಾವ್ಯ ಕೃತಿಗಳು ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿರುವುದು ನಮಗೆ ಹೆಮ್ಮೆಯ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿದೆ. ಪಂಪನ ಕರ್ಣ, ರತ್ನಾಕರ-ವರ್ಣಿಯ ಭರತೇಶ, ಜಾಮರಸ ಹಾಗೂ ಶೂನ್ಯಸಂವಾದನೆಕಾರರ ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ

ಇವರ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವದ ವಿಶೇಷವನ್ನು ನಾವು ಅರಿತುಕೊಂಡರೆ ಕನ್ನಡಕಾವ್ಯದ ಹಿರಿಮೆಯ ಬಗೆಗೆ ನಮಗೆ ಹೆಮ್ಮೆಯಿಸುವುದು. ಇಂತಹ ಉದಾತ್ತ ಪಾತ್ರಚಿತ್ರಣ ನಮ್ಮ ಬಾಳಿಗೆ ಬೆಳಕಾಗ ಬಲ್ಲದು. ತತ್ಕಾಲೀನ ವಿಷಯಗಳ ಸಮಾಲೋಚನೆಯಂತೆ ಚಿರಂತನ ಸತ್ಯದ ಬೆಳಕಿನ ಅರಿವೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಜೀವನದ ಹಾಗೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದ ಗುರಿಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಅಂತೆಯೇ ಈ ಮೂರು ಪಾತ್ರಗಳ ಶುಲನಾತ್ಮಕ ವಿವೇಚನೆಯನ್ನು ನಾನಿಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಬಯಸುತ್ತೇನೆ.

ಮಹಾಭಾರತದ ಕರ್ಣನ ಕಥೆ ಸುಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದುದು. ಆದಿನಾಥ ತೀರ್ಥಂಕರನ ಹಿರಿಯ ಪುತ್ರ ಭರತಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯ ಕಥೆ ಜೈನ ಪುರಾಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಪುಲವಾಗಿ ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವನ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವ ಕನ್ನಡನಾಡಿನವರಿಗೆ, ಶಿವಶರಣಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಸ್ಥೆಯಿರುವವರಿಗೆ ಸುಪರಿಚಿತವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಮೂರುಪಾತ್ರಗಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಮಾನವನ ವಿಕಾಸದ ಮೂರು ಪರಿಗಳನ್ನು ನಾವು ಅರಿತುಕೊಳ್ಳಬಲ್ಲೆವು.

ಕರ್ಣನ ಪಾತ್ರವು ಮಾನವೀಯ ಜೀವನದ ಒಂದು ಮಹತ್ವದ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆಯಂತಿದೆ. ಭರತೇಶನ ಪಾತ್ರವು ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣಜೀವನದ ಪ್ರತೀಕವಾಗಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಲೋಕಕಲ್ಯಾಣದ ಮೂರ್ತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ.

ಸತ್ಯ, ಕಲಿತನ, ತ್ಯಾಗ, ಔದಾರ್ಯ, ಶುಚಿ, ನಿಷ್ಠೆ. ಈ ಗುಣಗಳು ಕರ್ಣನಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಮಾನವೀಯ ಸದ್ಗುಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವನ್ನು ಆತ್ಮನು ತಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೆರೆದ ಕರ್ಣ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಥೆಪಟ್ಟಂತೆ, ಅವಜಯವನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಕಾಣುವುದೇಕೆ? ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಮನುಷ್ಯರಿಗೂ ವ್ಯಥೆ ಅವಜಯಗಳೂ ಬರಬೇಕೇ? ಎಂಬುದೇ ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ. ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂತಹ ಅನುಭವ ಒದಗಬಹುದು. ಏಕೆ? ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆ ಬರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಗೆ ಪಂಪಕವಿ ಉತ್ತರಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆಂದು ನಾನು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಚಿರಂತನ ಸತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಜಯವೆಂಬುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಸತ್ಯದ ಒಂದು ಅಂಶ ಒಮ್ಮೊಮ್ಮೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಅಸಫಲವಾದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದು ಅರಿವೋಟದ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಪಂಪಕವಿಯು ಕರ್ಣನಪಾತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಸಂದೇಶವನ್ನು ಬೀರಿದಂತಿದೆ.

ಕರ್ಣನಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠಗುಣಗಳಿರುವುದು ನಿಜ. ಆದರೆ ಆತನು ವಿಷಮ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ, ಶಾಪ, ದುರ್ವಿಧಿ ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಬೇಕಾಯಿತಲ್ಲಾ! ಇವುಗಳಿಂದಲೇ ಕರ್ಣನ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ದುರಂತವೊದಗಿತೇ? ಅಥವಾ ಅವನ ಜೀವನ ನಿಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ದುರಂತವೇ? ದುರಂತವೆಂದೇ ಗ್ರಹಿಸೋಣ. ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಗಳೇನು? ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ? ಹಾಗಲ್ಲ. ವೆಂದು ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ಪಂಪಕವಿ ಚಿತ್ರಿಸಿದ ಕರ್ಣನಲ್ಲಿ ಕೋಪ, ಅಭಿಮಾನ, ಯಶಸ್ಸಿನ ಹಂಬಲ, ಕುಲದ ಬಗೆಗೆ ದ್ವಂದ್ವ ಇವುಗಳೂ ಇವೆಯಲ್ಲ! 'ಕಲಿತನದ ಉರ್ಕು, ಜವ್ವನದ ಸೊರ್ಕು, ನಿಜೇಶನ ನೆಚ್ಚು, ತೋಚ್ಚಲದ ಪೊಡವು' ಕರ್ಣನ ಜೀವನ ವಾಹಿನಿಯನ್ನು ದುರಂತದತ್ತ ತಿರುಗಿಸಿರಬಹುದಲ್ಲವೇ 'ಅಟ್ಟಿತಿಂಬುವೆ' ಎಂದೂ ಕರ್ಣ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನಷ್ಟೇ. 'ಅಭಿಮಾನಂ ಒಂದೆ ಕುಲಂ' ಎಂಬುದೂ ಆತನ ಮಾತೇ ಅಲ್ಲವೇ? 'ಜಸಮ ಬಿಲ್‌ವಿದೀ' ಆತ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಇಳಿಯುತ್ತಾನಲ್ಲವೇ? ಈ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನಾವು ಕರ್ಣನ ಜೀವನವನ್ನು ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾನವನು ಸುಖ-ದುಃಖ ; ಆಶೆ-ನಿರಾಶೆ ; ಸೋಲು-ಗೆಲವು ; ಮೇಲು-ಕೀಳು ; ಪ್ರೇಮ-ದ್ವೇಷ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಧ್ವಂದ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕಾಣುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇದು ಮಾನವೀಯ ಭೂಮಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವಾಗ ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಕರ್ಣನು ಅನೇಕ ಸದ್ಗುಣಗಳಿಂದ ಕೂಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಆತನ ಜೀವನವು ಧ್ವಂದ್ಯಮಯವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಅದು ದುಃಖದಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಪರಿಣಮಿಸಿದೆ. ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಡೆಯದ ಸಾಫಲ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆತನು ಮರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಡೆದನೆಂಬಂತೆ ಪಂಪಕವಿ 'ದಿನಪನ್ನೋಳಗೂಡಿದುದೊಂದು ಮೂರ್ತಿ ತೇಜೋ ರೂಪಂ' ಎಂದು ಆತನ ಕೊನೆಯನ್ನು ಚಿತ್ರಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಆದರೆ ಮಾನವನು ತೇಜೋರೂಪ ವನ್ನು ಜೀವ ಕಳೆದಮೇಲೆಯೇ ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ ಜೀವಿಸುವಾಗಲೂ ಅದನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿದೆಯೆಂದು ಭರತೇಶ ತಿಳಿದಿದ್ದ, ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಅದನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಅದರ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನ ವನ್ನು ಭಕ್ತರಿಗೆ ಒದಗಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟ. ಮಾನವೀಯ ಅಂತಸ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಣ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠವಾದ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಭರತೇಶ ಅರಸುನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ, ಆಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ, ಪೂಜಾಗೃಹದಲ್ಲಿ, ಭೋಜನ ಶಾಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ, ಸಮರಾಂಗಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಸ್ತರೂಪದ ಬಾಳನ್ನು ಬಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ದೈವೀ ಜೀವನದತ್ತ ಆತನ ಗಮನವಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಸಾಧಕರ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಲೋಕಕಲ್ಯಾಣದ ಕಾರ್ಯ ಕೈಕೊಂಡು ಈ ಸಂಸಾರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ದೈವೀಜೀವನವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಗೊಳಿಸುತ್ತಾನೆ.

ಇಂತಹ ಈ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳು ಮಾನವನ ವಿಕಾಸದ ಮೂರು ಅವಸ್ಥೆಗಳ ಪ್ರತೀಕದಂತಿವೆ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ ಹಿರಿಮೆಯನ್ನೂ ನಾವು ಇಂತಹ ವಿನೋಚನೆಯಿಂದ ಅರಿತುಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿದೆ.

ನಿಷ್ಠೆಗಳ ತಾಕಲಾಟ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಎದುರಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಒಂದು ಸಮಸ್ಯೆ ಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಅದು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಮೆರುಗನ್ನು ತರುವ ಸಾಧನವೂ ಆಗಿದೆ. ಕರ್ಣನ ಪಾತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಂಪಕವಿಯ ಚಿತ್ರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು ಸುಂದರವಾಗಿ ಒಡಮೂಡಿ ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಕರ್ಣನ ಒಂದು ಗುಣವು ಆತನ ದೋಷವೂ ಆಗಿ ಪರಿಣಮಿಸಿದೆ. ಅದೊಂದರೆ ಆತನ ಭಲ. ನಮ್ಮ ಸುತ್ತಲಿನ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಆಗಾಗ ಇಂತಹ ಬಗೆಯನ್ನು ನಾವು ಕಾಣುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಇದರಿಂದಾಗಿ ಪಂಪನ ಚಿತ್ರ ಉದ್ಭೋಧಕವೂ ಹೃದಯಂಗಮವೂ ಎಂದು ನಮಗೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಉದರ ಪೋಷಣೆಗೆ ತನ್ನನ್ನು ಮಾರಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಮಾನವನನ್ನು ನಾವು ಕೇಳ್ತರಗತಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಅಭಿಮಾನ ಪೋಷಣೆಗೆಂದು ತ್ಯಾಗಮಾಡುವ ಕರ್ಣ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠನೇ ಅಹುದು. ಅಭಿಮಾನ ಪೋಷಣೆಗೆಂದು ತ್ಯಾಗಮಾಡುವವರನ್ನು ನಾವು ನಮ್ಮ ಸುತ್ತಲಿನ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗಾಗ ಕಾಣುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಅವರ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಧ್ವಂದ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಅಶಾಂತಿಯನ್ನೂ ಗುರುತಿಸುತ್ತೇವೆ, ಇರಲಿ. ಅಭಿಮಾನಪೋಷಣೆಗಿಂತ ಎತ್ತರದ ಅಂತಸ್ತುಗಳೂ ಇವೆಯಷ್ಟೆ. ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಕಡೆಗಣಿಸಿದರೆ ಹೇಗೆ ? ಕರ್ಣನ ಅಭಿಮಾನ ಪೋಷಣೆಯು ಋಷನ ಚಿಂತೆಗೆ, ಮನಸ್ಸಿನ ಅಶಾಂತಿಗೆ ಕಾರಣವೆಂದು ನನಗೆ ತೋರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಆಸಕ್ತಿಯ ಬಂಧನಕ್ಕೆ ಅಂಟಿಕೊಂಡ ಕರ್ಣ ಬದ್ಧನಾಗಿಯೇ ಉಳಿದಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಅಂತಹ ಆಸಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಅಳಿದ ಭರತೇಶ ಶುದ್ಧನಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಸಮದರ್ಶಿಯಾದ ಭರತೇಶನ ಪಾತ್ರ ಚಿತ್ರಣದ ಮೂಲಕ ರತ್ನಾಕರವರ್ಣಿ ಇದನ್ನು ನಮಗೆ ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕರ್ಣ ದುಃಖದ ಮಡುವಿನಲ್ಲಿ

ಈಸಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಆದರೆ ಭರತೇಶ ಗಣನೆಯಿಲ್ಲದ ಸುಖದೊಳ್ ಓಲಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಇನ್ನು ಪ್ರಭುದೇವನಾದರೋ ಸುಖದುಃಖಗಳ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯನ್ನೇ ಹೊಡೆದೋಡಿಸಿದ ಮೇಲ್ಮಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಂತು ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ಆನಂದವನ್ನು ಬೀರುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ.

ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಆಟ ಕರ್ಣನಿಗೆ ದ್ವಂದ್ವಮಯವಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರಲ್ಲಿ ಆತ ಗಾಸಿಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಭೋಗವಿದೂರನಾದ ಕರ್ಣ ಮಾನವೀಯ ಅಂತಸ್ತನ್ನು ದಾಟಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಭರತೇಶನು ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಆಟ ನಶ್ವರವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದೂ ಅದರ ಸುಖಮನುತೆಯನ್ನು ಅರಿತು ಅನುಭವಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ತ್ಯಾಗಭೋಗಗಳ ಸಮನ್ವಯವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಸಮತೆಯನ್ನು ಒಡಗೂಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ಭರತೇಶನ ಅಂತಸ್ತು ಕರ್ಣನಿಗಿಂತ ಎತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಆದನ್ನು ನಾವು ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣ ಜೀವನವೆಂದು, ದೈವೀಜೀವನದ ಒಂದು ಅವಸ್ಥೆಯೆಂದು ಕರೆಯಬಹುದು. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವನದು ದೈವೀಜೀವನದ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಅಂತಸ್ತು. ಆತನು ಮಾನವೀಯ ಜೀವನದ ಸೀಮೆಯನ್ನು ದಾಟಿ ಅಖಂಡಾನಂದದ ಧಾರೆಯನ್ನು ಕರೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಆತನ ಮನದೊಳಗೆ ಘನವು ವೇದ್ಯವಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂತೆಯೇ ಅವನಿಗೆ ಸುಖವಿಲ್ಲ; ದುಃಖವಿಲ್ಲ; ಕಾಲಕರ್ಮವಿಲ್ಲ, ಮಾನವದೇಹದ ಸ್ವೀಣ ಅವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಸಂಪರ್ಕವಿಲ್ಲ. ಜಡ ಸುಖವೆಂಬ ಉಪ್ಪಿನ ಸಮುದ್ರ, ತಪಸ್ಸೆಂಬ ಹಾಲಿನ ಸಮುದ್ರ ಇವೆರಡನ್ನೂ ಆತ ದಾಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಭರತೇಶ ಸಿದ್ಧಲೋಕದ ಪಥಿಕನೆಂದು ಚಿತ್ರಿತವಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಸಿದ್ಧಲೋಕದಿಂದ ಇಳಿದು ಬಂದ ಅತಿಮಾನಸಿಕ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಕರ್ಣನನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಲೋಕಪಥಿಕನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದೇನೋ ?

ಕರ್ಣನಿಗೆ ಆತನ ಹೊಣೆ ಭಾರವಾಗಿದೆ; ಭರತೇಶನಿಗೆ ಅದು ಲೀಲೆಯಾಗಿದೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಹೊಣೆಯ ಸೀಮೆಯಾಚೆಗೆ ವಿಹರಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕರ್ಣನ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಧಿ ಕ್ರೂರವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ನಿಂತ ನೆಲವೂ ಮುನಿದೇಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಆತನ ರಥದ ಸಾರಥಿಯೂ ಕೈಬಿಡುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಆತನ ಜೀವನರಥಕ್ಕೂ ಯೋಗ್ಯ ಸಾರಥಿ ದೊರೆತಿಲ್ಲ. ಭರತೇಶ ಭಾಗ್ಯವಂತನಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಸಕಲೈಶ್ವರ್ಯ ಅನುಕೂಲತೆಗಳೂ ಇವೆ. ಒಂದು ಊಟವೇ, ನೋಟವೇ, ನೃತ್ಯವೇ, ಸಂಗೀತವೇ, ಮನ್ನಣೆಯೇ, ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯವೇ, ಪರಿವಾರವೇ, ಪೆಂಡಿರೇ, ಮಕ್ಕಳೇ, ಭೋಗವೇ, ಯೋಗವೇ ಎಲ್ಲವೂ ಆತನಿಗಿವೆ. ಆದರೂ ಅದೆಲ್ಲವನ್ನೂ ಆತನು ಲನಣಸಮುದ್ರವೆಂದು ಅರಿತುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಅಂತೆಯೇ ಮುಂದೆ ಪಾಲ್ಗಡಲಿಗಾಗಿ ಪಯಣಬಿಳಿಸುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ತನ್ನ ಅಲಾಕಿಕ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ವಿಧಿಯ ಬಿತ್ತನ್ನೇ ಹುರಿದುಬಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕಾಲಕರ್ಮವೂ ಅವನ ಅಂಕಿತಕ್ಕೊಳಗಾಗಿದೆ. ಆಮದರಿಂದಲೇ ಆತನು ಅನುಗ್ರಹ ಶಕ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಪರಿಣಮಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ.

ಮಾನವೀಯ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯು ನಮಗೆ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಅಧಃಪತನದ ಹಾದಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ದುರ್ಗುಣಿಯ ಮಾತಂತೂ ಹೋಗಲಿ, ಸದ್ಗುಣಿ ಮಾನವನೂ ಈ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸಲಾರನೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ಪಂಪಕವಿಯ ಕರ್ಣನ ಪಾತ್ರ ಚಿತ್ರಣದಿಂದ ನಾವು ಅರಿತುಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತೇವೆ. ತಾನು ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ಸತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಣನು ಭ್ರಾಂತನಾದುದು ನಿಜ. ಆದರೆ ನಿಜದ ಅರಿವು ಭರತೇಶನ.

ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ತಂದಿದೆ. ಅವನ ತುಂಬುಜೀವನವೇ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿ. ತಮ್ಮ ನಾದ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿಯೊಂದಿಗೆ ಒಮ್ಮೆ ದ್ವಂದ್ವವನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಶಾಂತಿ ಭರತೇಶನನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿತು. ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯದ ಶಾಸನ ಬರೆಯಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದಾಗ ಅವನು ಮಾನವನ ಅಹಂಕಾರದ ಅಬ್ಬತಿಯನ್ನು ಅರಿತುಕೊಂಡ. ಅರಿವಿನಾಚೆಯ ಬೆಳಕು ಪ್ರಭುದೇವನ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ತುಂಬಿದೆ. ಅಂತೆಯೇ ಬಸವಣ್ಣನವರೂ ಕೂಡ “ನಾನು ಮರವೆಯ ಮರುಳು ನೀನು ಅರಿವಿನ ತಿರುಳು, ನಾನು ರಂಜಕನು ನೀನು ನಿರಂಜಕನು, ತಂದೆ ನೀವು, ತಾಯಿ ನೀವು, ಬಂಧು ನೀವು, ಬಳಗ ನೀವು, ನೀವಲ್ಲದೆ ಮತ್ತಾರು ಇಲ್ಲ... ಹಾಲಲದ್ದು ನೀರಲದ್ದು” ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಭುದೇವನನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಯಿತು.

ಕರ್ಮವೇ ತಾನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದ ಕರ್ಣ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಗೊಳಗಾದ. ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಮನೂ ಒಮ್ಮೆ ಇಂತಹ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಗೆ ಒಳಗಾಗಿದ್ದನಂತೆ. ಆದರೆ ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಮನು ಆ ಅವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ದಾಟಿ ಮೇಲಕ್ಕೇರಿ ಪವಿತ್ರನಾದ, ಪೂಜ್ಯನಾದ. ಭರತೇಶ ಕರ್ಮ ಬೇರೆ ನಾನು ಬೇರೆ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದು ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ. ಈ ಬಗೆಯ ದ್ವಂದ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಅತೀತನಾದ ಪ್ರಭುದೇವನ ಜೀವನ ಕಾಂತಿಯುಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಕರ್ಣನಲ್ಲಿ ಮನದ ಹಿರಿಮೆಯಿದೆ. ಭರತೇಶನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮದೃಷ್ಟಿಯ ಸಫಲತೆಯಿದೆ. ಮುಕ್ತಜೀವಿ ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಚಿತ್ತಭೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಆತನ ಮಾತೇ ಜ್ಯೋತಿರ್ಲಿಂಗವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಕರ್ಣನು ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾನವನ ನೋವಿನ ಪ್ರತೀಕವಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಭರತೇಶ ಮಾನವ ಸಾಧಿಸಬಹುದಾದ ನಲಿವಿನ ಬುಗ್ಗೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಮಾನವನ ಗುರಿಯ ಸಚ್ಚಿದಾನಂದದ ಮೂರ್ತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ.

ಕರ್ಣ ಕಲಿ; ಚಾಗಿ. ಭರತೇಶ ಭೋಗಿ-ಯೋಗಿ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಪ್ರಭೆಯ ಪುಂಜ.

ಅಥವಾ ವೀರಶೈವಪರಿಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅರಿತುಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದಾದರೆ, ಕರ್ಣನದು ಮಹೇಶಸ್ಥಲ ಭರತೇಶನದು ಪ್ರಸಾದಿ ಸ್ಥಲ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಐಕ್ಯಸ್ಥಲದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಲೋಕಕಲ್ಯಾಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಈ ಜಡಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಳಿದುಬಂದಂತಿದ್ದಾನೆ ಎಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು.

ಮಹಾಭಾರತವು ಕರ್ಣರಸಾಯನವಾಗಲು ಕಾರಣನಾದ ಕರ್ಣ ಮಾನವೀಯ ಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಫಲತೆ ಪಡೆಯದಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಭರತೇಶನು ಪುಣ್ಯತಂಡಿತ್ತ ಸುಖವನ್ನು ಉದಾಸೀನದಿಂದ ಉಂಡುಬಿಡುತ್ತ ಭಾಸುರ ಆತ್ಮನ ಅನುಭವದೊಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಪ್ರಭುದೇವ ಅನುಭವಿಯ ಅವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ದಾಟಿ ಆರೂಢಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಭೆಯನ್ನೂ ಅನುಗ್ರಹವನ್ನೂ ದಯಪಾಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾನೆ.

ಈ ಮೂರು ಚಿತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವ ಸೊಗಸು, ರಸವಂತಿಕೆ, ಮೆರಗು, ಸ್ಫೂರ್ತಿ, ದರ್ಶನ, ಬೆಳಕು ಇವುಗಳು ಕನ್ನಡ ಕವಿಗಳು ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ನೀಡಿದ ಅಮೂಲ್ಯ ಕಾಣಿಕೆಗಳಾಗಿವೆ.

ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನ ಕಲೆಯ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯ

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ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನವು ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಒಂದು ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟಕಲೆಯೆಂದು ಹಲವು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಆದರೂ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಇತರ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅಂಥ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇದರ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ತೋರಿಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ತೆಲುಗಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನವೆಂದು ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುವ 'ಸುಗ್ರೀವ ಸಖ್ಯ'ವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಕೆಲವು ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗಿನ ಪ್ರಬಂಧಗಳೂ ಮೈಸೂರು ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಹನುಮದ್ವಿಲಾಸವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನ ಪ್ರಬಂಧಗಳೂ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರಬಂಧಗಳು ಪಂಡಿತರ ಲೇಖನಿಯಿಂದ ಹೊರಬಿದ್ದುವಾಗಿ ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರ್ಗಲಕ್ಷಣವೇ ಅಧಿಕವಾಗಿ ತೋರಿಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಾಡುವಕ್ರಮವೂ ಗಂಧರ್ವಗಾನಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಭಿನ್ನವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ತೆಲುಗಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನ ಮೇಘದೂತವೇ ಮೂಲವೆಂಬ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವಿದೆ. ಧನಪತಿಯ ಶಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಗುರಿಯಾದ ಯಕ್ಷನು ಮೇಘವನ್ನು ದ್ವೇಷಿಸಿ ಹಾಡಿನರೂಪದಲ್ಲಿ ತೋಡಿಕೊಂಡ ಹೃದಯದ ವಿರಹದುಃಖವೇ ಯಕ್ಷನ ಗಾನವಾಗಿ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನಿಂದ ರಚಿತವಾಯಿತು; ಅದೇ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಮೂಲವೆಂದು ಅಂಥ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಕೆಲವರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಆ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನ ಪ್ರಬಂಧಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರ್ಗಲಕ್ಷಣವು ತುಂಬಿರುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯವೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲ, ಮೈಸೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಹನುಮದ್ವಿಲಾಸವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿನೋಡಿದರೂ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರ್ಗಲಕ್ಷಣವೇ ಅಧಿಕವೆಂದು ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಂಡಿತರೂ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ವಹಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಆಯಾ ಪಾತ್ರಗಳ ಹಾಡುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಹಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ; ಅಭಿನಯಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ನಾಟಕಗಳಿಗಿಂತ ಭಿನ್ನವಾಗಿರುವ, ಗಂಧರ್ವಗಾನಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಬೇರೆಯಾಗಿರುವ ಯಾವ 'ತನ್ನತನ'ವೂ ಈ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನರೂಪಕಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ತೋರಿಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ, ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಅನುತಾರತಳೆದ ರೂಪಕಗಳಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.

ತಮಿಳುನಾಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡುಮೂರು ಬೀದಿಗಳು ಸೇರುವಲ್ಲಿ 'ತೆರುಕೂತ್' ಎಂಬ ಒಂದು ವಿಧದ ಆಟವನ್ನು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಜನರು ಈಗಲೂ ಆಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ತೆರುಕೂತ್ತೆಂದರೆ ಬೀದಿಯಾಟವೆಂದರ್ಥ. ಇದು ರಾತ್ರಿ ೯ ಗಂಟೆಯಿಂದ ಮುಂಜಾವದ ತನಕವೂ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತದೆ. ನಾಲ್ಕು ಬಿದಿರ ಕಂಬಗಳನ್ನು ನೆಟ್ಟು ಬೀದಿಯನ್ನೇ ರಂಗಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾರ್ಪಡಿಸಿ ಈ ಆಟಗಳನ್ನು ಅಭಿನಯಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸ್ತ್ರೀಪಾತ್ರವೆ ನರ್ತನವಿದೆ; ಆರಂಭದಿಂದ ಕೊನೆಯತನಕವೂ ಹಾಸ್ಯಗಾರನು ಆಗಾಗ ಬಂದು ಹರಟಿಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವತನಿರುವಂತೆ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥನಿಗೆ 'ವಾದ್ಯಾರ'

ಎಂದು ಹೆಸರು. ಇವನು ಆಯಾ ಕಥೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಹಾಡುಗಳನ್ನು ಹಿಂದಿನಿಂದ ಹಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಕೆಲವೊಮ್ಮೆ ಪಾತ್ರಧಾರಿಗಳೂ ಅವನ ಜೊತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಹಾಡು ಮುಗಿದ ಬಳಿಕ ಅದರ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಮೂಲವಾಗಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡು ಪಾತ್ರಧಾರಿಗಳು ತಮ್ಮೊಳಗೆ ಸಂಭಾಷಣೆ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದಾದ ತರುವಾಯ ಪುನಃ ಹಾಡು ಕುಣಿತಗಳ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ. ಈ ಆಟಗಳು ಪಾಮರರ ಕೈಯ ಸೊತ್ತಾಗಿಯೇ ಉಳಿದಿದ್ದು ಪ್ರಗತಿಯ ಮೆರುಗನ್ನು ತಾಳಿದುವುಗಳಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೂ ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾತ್ರಧಾರಿಗಳು ವೇಷ ಧರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಕ್ರಮ, ಅವರ ಹಜ್ಜೆ ಗಾರಿಕೆ ಮೊದಲಾದ ವಿವಿಧ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿದರೆ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನಕ್ಕೂ ಇದಕ್ಕೂ ಸಾದೃಶ್ಯ ತೋರಿಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಕೇರಳದ ಕಥಕ್ಕಳಿಯೂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನವೂ ಕಲೆಗಳಾಗಿ ಪೂರ್ಣ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಆದರೂ ಇವುಗಳ ಮೂಲದ ರೂಪರೇಷೆಗಳನ್ನು ತೆರುಕೂತ್ ಎಂಬ ಈ ಆಟದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಾಣಬಹುದು. ಆಂಧ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಈಗ ಕ್ಷೀಣದಶೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿರುವ ಬೀದಿನಾಟಕಗಳೂ ಇದೇ ಜಾತಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದುವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಒಟ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ, ದ್ರಾವಿಡರಲ್ಲಿ ರೂಢಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಒಂದು ಮೂಲಕಲೆ ಬೇರೆಬೇರೆ ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಯಾ ಕಲಾಪಾಸಕರ ನಿರಂತರ ಪರಿಶ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಸಮಾಜದ ಅಭಿರುಚಿಗನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಗತಿಪಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಂದೆಂದು ಕೇರಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಥಕ್ಕಳಿ ಯಾಗಿಯೂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನವಾಗಿಯೂ ಭಿನ್ನರೂಪಗಳನ್ನು ತಾಳಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ತಮಿಳುನಾಡಿನ ತೆರುಕೂತ್ ಮಾತ್ರ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದದೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಬಾಲ್ಯಾವಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಉಳಿದದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಹೀಗಾಗಲು ತಮಿಳರಿಗೆ ದಾಕ್ಷಿಣಾತ್ಮ ಸಂಗೀತದ ಮೇಲಿರುವ ಪ್ರೇಮವು ಕಾರಣವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಇರಬಹುದು. ತಮಿಳುನಾಡು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಂಗೀತದ ಮಾನಸಪರೋಪರ. ಆ ಗಾನ-ಗಂಗೆಯ ಪಾವಿತ್ರ್ಯದ ಮುಂದೆ ಇದು ಕೊಳಚೆನೀರಾಗಿ ಉಳಿದುದು ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯದ ಸಂಗತಿಯೇನೂ ಅಲ್ಲ.

ಈ ಕಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹು ಹಿಂದಿನಿಂದ ಹರಿದು ಬಂದ ಪರಂಪರೆಯ ನಾಡಿಯ ಒಂದು ಮಿಡಿತ ಗೋಚರವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಪಾತ್ರಧಾರಿಗಳು ತೊಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ವೇಷಭೂಷಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅವರ ಹಜ್ಜೆ ಗಾರಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಭಾಗವತನು ಹಾಡುವ ಹಾಡಿನ ಧಾಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಈ ಮಿಡಿತವನ್ನು ನಾವು ಗುರುತಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇದೇ ಆ ಕಲೆಯ ತನ್ನತನ್ನ ಈ ಮೂಲ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಸಮಾಜದ ಅಭಿರುಚಿಗನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ಯಾವ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಯನ್ನೂ ಕಲಾಪಾಸಕರು ಮಾಡಬಹುದು. ಹೊರತು ಅದರ ಸ್ವರೂಪವನ್ನೇ ಆಳಿಸುವಂತಹ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ತಂದರೆ ನಾವು ಕಲೆಗೆ ಯಾವ ವಿಧದ ಸೇವೆಯನ್ನೂ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದಂತಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನ ಪ್ರಬಂಧಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಕಳೆದ ಎರಡು ಮೂರು ಶತಮಾನಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದುವು. ಅದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಪ್ರಸಂಗಗಳು ಈಗ ದೊರೆಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾರ್ಥಿಸುಬ್ಬನ ಕೃತಿಗಳನ್ನುಳಿದರೆ ಮಿಕ್ಕವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಯೋಗ್ಯತೆ ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಕವಿಗಳು ಒಂದೊಂದು ಮಟ್ಟಿನ ಹಾಡುಗಳಿಗೆ ಒಂದೊಂದು ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಈ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಾದರೋ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕಸಂಗೀತಕ್ಕೆ

ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಆದರೆ ಹಾಡುವ ಪದ್ಧತಿ ಬೇರೆಯೇ. ಜಾನಪದ ಗೀತೆಗಳ ರೀತಿಯ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಛಾಂದಸಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಹಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಗಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಭಾವವೇ ಪ್ರಧಾನ. ಭಾಗವತನು ಸಂದರ್ಭಾನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ಹಾಡುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೃದಯದ ಭಾವಗಳನ್ನು ತುಂಬಿಸಿ ಹಾಡುವುದು ಅತ್ಯಾವಶ್ಯಕ. ಒಂದೆರಡು ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳಿಂದ ಇದನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವರಿಸುವುದು ಅಸಂಗತವಾಗಲಾರದು. ಪಟ್ಟಾಭಿಷೇಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವ ಒಂದು ಪದ್ಯವಿದು—

ಬಂದೆಯಾ ಇನವಂಶವಾರಿಧಿ |
 ಚಂದ್ರ ನಾ ಬರುವಾಗ ನಿನ್ನೊಡ |
 ನೆಂದುದಿಲ್ಲವೆನ್ನುತ್ತ ಮನದಲಿ |
 ನೊಂದೆಯೇನೈ ||

ಇದು ರಾಗ—ಸೌರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ, ತಾಳ ತ್ರಿವುಡೆಯೆಂದು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ನಿಧಾನವಾಗಿ, ಕೇಳುವ ಹೃದಯ ಕರಗಿ ನೀರಾಗುವ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇನ್ನೊಂದೆಡೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣಸಂಧಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೀಮನನ್ನು ದ್ರೌಪದಿಯು ಮೂದಲಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಇದೇ ಜಾತಿಯ ಪದ್ಯವಿದೆ. ಅದು ಹೀಗಿದೆ—

ಸೆಳೆದು ಸೀರೆಯನುಟ್ಟು ಕರದಲಿ |
 ಬಳೆಯ ತೊಡು ನಾ ಪುರುಷವೇಷವ |
 ತಳೆವೆನನಿತರ ಮೇಲೆ ನೋಡೆ |
 ನ್ನಳವಿಯನ್ನು ||

ಇದೂ ರಾಗ—ಸೌರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ, ತಾಳ ತ್ರಿವುಡೆ. ರಾದ್ರಾವತಾರವನ್ನು ತಾಳಿದ ಪಾಂಚಾಲಿಯ ಆಗಿನ ಸ್ವರೂಪವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಯೋಗ್ಯವಾದ ಸಿಟ್ಟಿನ ಛಾಂದಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಆಗ ಕೇಳುವವರಿಗೆ ರೋಮಾಂಚವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಎರಡು ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ರಾಗ ತಾಳಗಳು ಒಂದೇ ಆದರೂ ಹಾಡುವ ಕ್ರಮಗಳಿಗೆ ತಾಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊರತು ರಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಸಂಬಂಧವೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಹೀಗಾಗಿ ಭಂದಸ್ಸನ್ನು ಗುರುತಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಹಿಂದಿನವರು. ಆಯಾ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವರಲ್ಲದೆ ಹಾಡುವ ರೀತಿಗೋಸ್ಕರವಾಗಿಯಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದು ಇದರಿಂದ ಖಚಿತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಸೌರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ-ತ್ರಿವುಡೆಯ ಭಂದಸ್ಸು ಹೀಗಿದೆ—

—ಁ ಁಁಁಁ —ಁ —ಁಁಁಁ
 ಏನು ಮುಖದಲಿ ಕಾಂತಿ ತಗ್ಗಿತು |
 —ಁ ಁಁಁಁ ಁಁಁಁ —ಁಁಁಁಁಁಁಁ
 ನೀನು ಜನನಿಯ ರೊಡನೆ ನಾನಿಹ
 —ಁ —ಁಁಁಁ —ಁ —ಁಁಁಁಁಁಁಁ
 ಕಾನ ನಾಂತಕೆ ಬಂದು ದೇತಕೆ |
 —ಁ ಁಁಁಁ
 ಮಾನ ನಿಧಿಯೆ ||

ಮೊದಲಿನ ಮೂರು ಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರುನಾಲ್ಕು ಮಾತೃಗಳ ಎರಡೆರಡು ಗಣಗಳು. ಕೊನೆಯ ಪಾದದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರು ನಾಲ್ಕು ಮಾತೃಗಳ ಒಂದೊಂದು ಗಣಗಳು. ಭಾಮಿನಿ ಷಟ್ಪದಿಯ ಪೂರ್ವಾರ್ಧಕ್ಕೂ ಇದಕ್ಕೂ ಬಹಳ ಸಾಮ್ಯವಿದೆ. ಭಾಮಿನಿ ಷಟ್ಪದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಇದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಎರಡು ಮಾತೃಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಉಳಿದೆಲ್ಲ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಎರಡೂ ಒಂದೇ ತೆರನಾಗಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರಾಗಣಗಳೇ ಕಂಡುಬಂದರೂ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನದ ಪದ್ಯಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಹಿಂದೆ ಅಂಶಗಣಗಳಿಂದಲೇ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದು ವೆಂದು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಜಾತಿಯ ಪದ್ಯಗಳ ಪರಿಶೀಲನೆಯಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಸೌರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ-ತ್ರಿವುಡೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಈಗ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಮಾತ್ರಾಗಣದ ಸ್ವರೂಪವನ್ನೇ ತಾಳಿದೆ.

ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯಿಂದ ಈ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡಿಸಬಹುದು. ಕರ್ಣಪರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ, ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣನು ಕರ್ಣನ ಶೌರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕಂಡು ಸ್ತೋತ್ರಮಾಡಲು, ಇದರಿಂದ ಅರ್ಜುನನು ವೈರಾಗ್ಯಹೊಂದಿ ತನ್ನ ಹೃದಯದ ವೇದನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೀಗೆಂದು ತೋಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾನೆ—

ಕೇದಾರಗೌಳ - ಅಷ್ಟತಾಳ

ಎನ್ನು ವದೇನು ನಾನೇಸುಗೈದರು ಕಷ್ಟ |

ವನ್ನು ನಿರರ್ಥವಲ್ಲಾ ||

ಘನ ಘಾತಕದ ಪ್ರಾರಬ್ಧಾನುವಶವಲ್ಲ |

ದಿನ್ನು ಪೇಳುವವಾರಿಗೆ ||

ಮಾನಸಿಕ ಯಾತನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊರಗಿಡಹುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮರ್ಥವಾದ, ಆ ರಸಕ್ಕೆ ಪರಿಪೋಷಕವಾದ ಧಾಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನ್ನು ಹಾಡಿದರೆ, ಕರ್ಣಶಲ್ಯರ ಉಪಾಲಂಭಾವಸರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಣನು ಕ್ರೋಧಾಗ್ನಿಯಿಂದ ಜ್ವಲಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವ ಅದೇ ಜಾತಿಯ ಪದ್ಯವನ್ನು ಹಾಡುವ ರೀತಿಯೇ ಬೇರೆ. ಆ ಪದ್ಯ ಹೀಗಿದೆ—

ಎಲೆ ಷಂಡ ಕೇಳು ನೀನಿಂದು ಕಿರೀಟಯ |

ಬಲುಹಿಗೆ ಬೆದರಿಕೊಂಡು ||

ಹುಬುಭಟನೆಂದೆನ್ನ ಜರೆದೆಯ ಕರ್ಣನ |

ಕಲಿತನಸರಿಯದಿಂತು ||

ಕ್ಷಣಕಾಲ ಮೋಗಿ ಸದ್ದಡುಗುವ ಗುಡುಗಿನಂತೆ ಇದರ ಧಾಟಿ. ಸಂಗೀತದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು ಯಾವ ರಾಗವೆಂದು ಯಾರಾದರೂ ಕೇಳಿದರೆ ಉತ್ತರಕೊಡಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದೇನೋ ನಿಜ. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನದ ಒಂದು 'ಮಟ್ಟ'. ಭಾವಪ್ರೇರಿತನಾದ ಹಾಡುಗಾರನ ಹೃದಯ ಚಿಲುಮೆಯಿಂದ ಚಿಮ್ಮುವ ರಸಸ್ತೋತ. ಇದೇ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನದ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯ. ಮೇಲಿನ ಎರಡು ಪದ್ಯಗಳ ಭಂದಸ್ತೂ ಒಂದೇ ಪ್ರಕಾರವಾಗಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಬಹುದು. ಅದು ಹೀಗಿದೆ—

— ೦ ೦ — ೦ ೦ — — ೦ ೦ — ೦ ೦ — ೦
ಎನ್ನುವ ದೇನುನಾ ನೇಸುಗೈ ದರುಕಷ್ಟ |

— ೦ ೦ — — ೦ — —
ವನ್ನುನಿ ರರ್ಥವಲ್ಲಾ ||

— ೦ — ೦ ೦ — — — — ೦ ೦ ೦ —
ಘನ್ನಘಾ ತಕದಪ್ರಾ ರಬ್ಧಾನು ವಶವಲ್ಲ |

— ೦ — ೦ ೦ — ೦ —
ದಿನ್ನುಪೇ ಉವದಾರಿಗೆ ||

ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಮತ್ತು ಮೂರನೆಯ ಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಲ್ಕು ನಾಲ್ಕು ವಿಷ್ಣು ಗಣಗಳು ; ಎರಡು ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದೊಂದು ವಿಷ್ಣು ಮತ್ತು ರುದ್ರ ಗಣಗಳು. ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾರಮಾಡಿದರೂ ಇದೇ ಲಕ್ಷಣವು ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತದೆ.

ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾದಿಸಂಗೀತವನ್ನು ಅಭ್ಯಾಸಮಾಡಿದ ಈ ಗಿ ನ ಭಾಗವತರು ಭಂದಸ್ಥಿನ ಗುರುತಿಗಾಗಿ ಸೂಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಈ ರಾಗಗಳಿಂದ ಮೋಸಹೋಗಿ ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾರ್ಗ ಸಂಗೀತದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಹಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಹಾಡುಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಭಾವದ ಕೊಲೆಯಾಗುವುದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ, ಕಲೆಯ ಮೂಲರೂಪವೇ ಮಾಸಿಹೋಗುತ್ತದೆ. ರಸೋತ್ಪತ್ತಿಯ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ರೀತಿಯ ಬದಲಾವಣೆ ತೀರಾ ಹಾನಿಕರವಾದುದು. “ನೆಳೆದು ಸೀರೆಯನ್ನುಟ್ಟು....” ಎಂಬ ಮೇಲಿನ ಪದ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಗೀತ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ಕೇದಾರಗೌಳ ರಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಷ್ಟು ಸೊಗಸಾಗಿ ಹಾಡಿದರೂ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದ ಧಾಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುವ ವೀರರಸವು ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಡಲಾರದು. ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನವನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಗೊಂಡ ಯಾವ ಕಿವಿಯೂ ಈ ಸುಧಾರಣೆಯನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಗತಿಸದು. ಪರಂಪರೆಯ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನೋಡಿದರೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದರೆ ಮಾತ್ರ, ನಾವು ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನದ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಂತಾಗುವದೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಮರೆಯಬಾರದು.



ಋತ, ಸತ್ಯ, ಧರ್ಮ—ಇವುಗಳ ಅನ್ಯೋನ್ಯ ಸಂಬಂಧಗಳು

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ಈ ಲೇಖನದ ಉದ್ದೇಶ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತವಲ್ಲ, ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಶ್ಯವಾದ ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಯನ್ನು ಬೇಡುವುದು. ವಾಚಕರು ಈ ವಿಷಯಪರಿಮಿತಿಯನ್ನು ಗಮನದಲ್ಲಿರಿಸಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕೆಂಬುದು ಲೇಖಕನ ಮೊದಲ ಬಿನ್ನಹ.

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ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ—ಆದರೆ ನಾನಾ ಆಕಾರವಿಕಾರಗಳ ಹಿಂದುಗಡೆ—ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ಅವಿಕಾರ್ಯವಾದ ನಿಯಮ ಅಥವಾ ಕ್ರಮ ಉಂಟೆಂಬ ನಂಬಿಕೆ ವೇದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರಿಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಸೂರ್ಯೋದಯ - ಸೂರ್ಯಾಸ್ತಮಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ಚಂದ್ರನ ವೃದ್ಧಿಕ್ಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ, ಋತುಗಳ ಪರ್ವಾಯಗತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ, ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ಕ್ಲೃಪ್ತಿ ಅಥವಾ ಗೊತ್ತಾದ ಏರ್ಪಾಟು ಕಾಣಬರುವುದನ್ನು ಮಹರ್ಷಿಗಳು ಗಮನಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರು. ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಜೀವರಾಶಿಗಳ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ನಿಯತಿ ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಗೋಚರಿಸಿತ್ತು. ಹುಲ್ಲಿನಿಂದ ಹುಲ್ಲು, ಪರವಲ್ಲ; ಮಾವಿನಿಂದ ಮಾವು, ಬೇವಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಷ್ಯನಿಂದ ಮನುಷ್ಯ, ಮರವಲ್ಲ, ಪುಗವಲ್ಲ; ಮೃಗದಿಂದ ಮೃಗ, ಮನುಷ್ಯನಲ್ಲ, ಗಿಡವಲ್ಲ—ಹೀಗೆ ಸಂತಾನಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ವಂಶನಿಯಮ ಉಂಟೆಂಬುದು ಅವರ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಗೆ ಬಂದಿತ್ತು. ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಭೂಮಿ, ನೀರು, ಬೆಂಕಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಮಹಾಭೂತಗಳ ಕಾರ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ನಿಯತಿಯುಂಟೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ ಅವರು ಕಂಡುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರು. ನೀರು ಸುಡಲಾರದು, ಬೆಂಕಿ ತಾಪುಮಾಡಲಾರದು, ವಾಯು ನಿಲ್ಲಲಾರದು, ನೆಲ ಚಲಿಸಲಾರದು. ಒಂದೊಂದು ಭೂತಕ್ಕೂ ಒಂದೊಂದು ನಿರ್ವಿಷ್ಟ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವುಂಟು. ಹೀಗೆ ಚರಾಚರ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ಚಲನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬರುವ ಕಟ್ಟುಪಾಡನ್ನು ವೇದದಲ್ಲಿ “ಋತ” ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಕರೆದಿರುವಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಋತವೆಂದರೆ ಜಗತ್ತಿನ ನಾನಾ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾದ ಮತ್ತು ತಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲಾಗದ ಮತ್ತು ಬದಲಾಯಿಸದಿರುವ ಕಾರಣಕಾರ್ಯಾನುಬಂಧ. ಬಿತ್ತಿದ್ದು ಬೆಳೆ; ಅಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು ಊಟ — ಈ ಸಂಬಂಧ ಸಾಂತತ್ಯವೇ ಋತ.

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ವಸ್ತುವಿನಲ್ಲೂ “ಆತ್ಮ” ಎಂಬೊಂದು ವಸ್ತು ಅಂತರ್ಭೂತವಾಗಿ ರುತ್ತದೆಂದಲ್ಲವೆ ವೈದಿಕ ಮತದ ಮೂಲ ಭಾವನೆ? ಆತ್ಮವು “ಅಹಂ”, “ಆಹಂ” (ನಾನು, ನಾನು) ಎಂದೊಕ್ಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿರುವ ಜೀವಮೂಲ. ಆ ಆತ್ಮವಸ್ತುವಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸತ್ತ್ವ, ಚಿತ್ತ, ಅನಂದ (ಇರೋಣ, ಅರಿವು, ನಲಿವು) ಎಂಬ ಮೂರು ಗುಣಗಳು ಸ್ವತಃ ಏನ ಇರುತ್ತವೆ. ಚಿತ್ತ (ಅರಿವು) ಎಂಬುದೇ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಲೋಕವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳಿಗೂ ಆದಿಕಾರಣ. ಚಿತ್ತೇ ಜೈತನ್ಯ. ಆ ಚಿದಂತದ ಸ್ವತಃಸ್ವರಣೆಯೇ ಋತ. ಅದು ಆತ್ಮದ ಸ್ವಯಂಕೃತ-ಆತ್ಮದ ಸ್ವತಶ್ಚಲಿತ.

ಈ ಋತದ ಭಾವನೆಯಿಂದ ಹುಟ್ಟಿಬಂದಿರುವುದು ಸತ್ಯದ ಭಾವನೆ ಯಾವುದು ಸರ್ವಕಾಲ ಸರ್ವಾವಸ್ಥೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಏಕರೂಪವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆಯೋ ಅದು ಋತ. “ಋ” ಅಂದರೆ ನಡೆಯುವುದು (“ಋ” ಗತಾ-ಜುಹೋತ್ಯಾದಿ). ಹಾಗೆಂದರೆ ಅನ್ಯಪ್ರೇರಣೆಯನ್ನಪೇಕ್ಷಿಸದೆ, ಅನ್ಯನಿರ್ಬಂಧವಿಲ್ಲದೆ, ತಾನೇತಾನಾಗಿ ಆದ ನಡವಳಿಕೆ ಅಥವಾ ಸಂಗತಿ. ಅದೇ ನೈಜ ಅಥವಾ ಸಹಜ. ಅದನ್ನು ಇತರರು ಬದಲಾಯಿಸುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದೇ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಯ ಸಮಸ್ತ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರ ವರ್ತನೆಗಳಿಗೂ ಮೂಲವಾದದ್ದು. ಗಿಡಕ್ಕೆ ಬೀಜ ಹೇಗೋ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗೆ ಋತ ಹಾಗೆ. ಪ್ರಾಣಿಯ ಗುಣಶಕ್ತಿ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವವೂ ಋತವೆಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಡಗಿಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಋತ ಹೀಗೆ ಸರ್ವಕಾಲಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ಇರತಕ್ಕದ್ದಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಅದು ಸತ್ಯ. ಸತ್ಯವೆಂದರೆ ಇರುವ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯವುಳ್ಳದ್ದು, ಎಂದರೆ ಕಾಲಭೇದ ದೇಶಭೇದಗಳಿಂದ ರೂಪುಗಡೆದ ಇರತಕ್ಕ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ. ಅಸ್ಮ=ಸತ್ (“ಅಸ್ಮ” ಭುವಿ) ಎಂದರೆ ಇರೋಣ. ಯಾವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂತತವಾದ ಇರುವಿಕೆಯುಂಟೋ ಅದು ಸತ್ಯ. ಇರುವಿಕೆ ಹೇಗುಂಟೋ ಅದರ ಹೇಳಿಕೆ-ಇದ್ದದ್ದನ್ನು ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದು-ಯಥಾರ್ಥ, ತಥ್ಯ. ಋತದ ವಾಗ್ಮೂಪ ಸತ್ಯ; ಸತ್ಯದ ಕ್ರಿಯಾರೂಪ ಧರ್ಮ.

ಧರ್ಮವೆಂದರೆ ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ವಸ್ತುವನ್ನು ಆ ವಸ್ತುವನ್ನಾಗಿ ಧರಿಸಿರುವ-ಎಂದರೆ ಉಳಿಸಿರುವ ಗುಣ ಅಥವಾ ಲಕ್ಷಣ (“ಧೃಇತ್” ಧಾರಣೆ). ಅದೇ ಅದರ ತತ್ತ್ವ—(ತತ್ + ತ್ವ) ಅದರ ಅದಾಗಿರುವಿಕೆ. ನಾಲಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನೀರನ್ನೂರಿಸುವುದು ಉಪ್ಪಿನ ತತ್ತ್ವ-ಅದರ ಧರ್ಮ. ಮುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದನ್ನು ಸುಸುವುದು ಬೆಂಕಿಯ ತತ್ತ್ವ, ಅದರ ಧರ್ಮ. ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಹುಲ್ಲು ಮೇಯುವುದು ಹಸುವಿನ ಧರ್ಮ, ಮಾಂಸತಿನಿಸುವುದು ಹುಲಿಯ ಧರ್ಮ. ಅದೇ ರೀತಿ ಅಂಗಚೇಷ್ಟೆ ಕಸಿಯ ಧರ್ಮ, ಗಂಭೀರವಾಗಿರುವುದು ಸಿಂಹದ ಧರ್ಮ. ಮನುಷ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಒಂದೊಂದು ವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದೊಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ ಲಕ್ಷಣ; ಒಬ್ಬೊಬ್ಬನದು ಒಂದೊಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ ಧರ್ಮ.

ಮನುಷ್ಯಪ್ರಾಣಿಯ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಧರ್ಮನಿರ್ಣಯ ಇತರ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿರುವಷ್ಟು ಸುಲಭವಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ಮನಸ್ಸು ಇತರ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಶಕ್ತಿವಂತವಾದದ್ದು, ಮತ್ತು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವುಳ್ಳದ್ದು. ಅದು ಸ್ವತಃ ಏನ ನಾಲಾರು ರೂಪಗಳನ್ನು ತಾಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದ್ದರಿಂದ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಧರ್ಮಸಾಂಕರ್ಯ ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಸಾಂಕರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸಿಕ್ಕದೆ ಅದರಿಂದ ತಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು

ಮನುಷ್ಯನಿಗಿರುವ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯ. ಇದೇ ಭಗವದ್ಗೀತಾದಿ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸ್ವಧರ್ಮೋಪದೇಶದ ಹಿನ್ನೆಲೆ.

ಹೀಗೆ “ ಋತು ”, “ ಸತ್ಯ ”, “ ಧರ್ಮ ”—ಈ ಮೂರೂ ಅರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನ್ಯೋನ್ಯ ಸಂಬಂಧವಾದ ಮಾತುಗಳು. ಹಿಂದೂ ಜನದಲ್ಲಿ “ಧರ್ಮ” ಎಂಬ ಭಾವನೆಯೂ ಆ ಪದವೂ ಪ್ರಚುರವಾಗಿರುವುದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಯಾವ ಜನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಯಾವ ಭಾವನೆಯೂ ಯಾವ ಪದವೂ ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿರಲಾರದೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಧರ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು ಹಿಂದೂ ಜೀವನನೀತಿಯನ್ನು ಸಂಗ್ರಹಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ಏಕಪದ. ಈ ಧರ್ಮದ ಅಡಿಪಾಯ ಋತು-

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ಋತದ ಭಾವನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರುನಾಲ್ಕು ಪದಗಳಿರುವಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

[೧] ಜಗತ್ತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಕ್ರಮ ಅಥವಾ ಸೃವಸ್ಥಿ.

[೨] ‘ಅವಶ್ಯಂಭಾವಿ’ಯಾದ ಕರ್ಮಫಲಸಂಬಂಧ ಮತ್ತು ಮುಣ-ಮುಣಿ ಸಂಬಂಧ:—ಕಾರಣವಿಲ್ಲದ ಕಾರ್ಯ ಉಂಟೇ ಉಂಟು ; ಬೇರಿದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊಳಕೆಯುಂಟೇ ಉಂಟು ; ಕರ್ಮ ತೇಷವಿಲ್ಲದ ಶುಭಾಶುಭಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಯುಂಟೇ ಉಂಟು.

[೩] ಸ್ವಭಾವ ವಿಕಾಸ: ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಜೀವಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಭೂತದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಯಾವುದೋ ಒಂದು ಗುಣಶಕ್ತಿಸಂಚಯ ಹುದುಗಿಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದೇ ಅದರ ಸಹಜ ಅಥವಾ ನೈಜ. ಈ ನೈಜ ಅನಾದಿಯಾದದ್ದು. ನೈಜವು ಜೀವದ ಜನ್ಮ, ಜನ್ಮಾಂತರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ವಿಸರಣಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ಪಡೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದರ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ ಮರದ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯಂತೆ. ಒಂದು ಮರಕ್ಕೂ ಅದರಿಂದಲೇ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಮರಕ್ಕೂ ಗಾತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೊಂಬೆಗಳ ಉದ್ದ ಸೊಟ್ಟುಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಎಲೆಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ತೋರಬಹುದು ; ಆದರೆ ಕಾಷ್ಠದ ಒಳರಚನೆ, ಹಣ್ಣಿನ ರುಚಿ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ತೋರದು. ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ನೈಜವೆಂಬುದೂ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ; ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಅಂಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಬಹುದು ; ಮುಖ್ಯಾಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಒದಲಾಯಿಸಲಾರದು. ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ನಡವಳಿಕೆಯ ನಿಯಮವು ಅಥವಾ ಧರ್ಮವು ಹಿತಕರವಾಗಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಮೊದಲು ಆ ನಿಯಮ ಆ ಜೀವದ ನೈಜಕ್ಕೆ ಒಗ್ಗುವಂಥಾದ್ದಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಸ್ವಭಾವಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರೋಧವಾದ ನಿಯಮ ಪ್ರಯೋಗಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಲಾರದು, ಅತ ಏನ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕರವಾಗಲಾರದು. ಧರ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು ಕವಚದಂತೆ. ಅದು ದೇಹದ ಅವಯವರೇಖೆಯನ್ನು ಅನುಸರಿಸಿದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿತಕರವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಧರ್ಮನಿಯಮ ಧರ್ಮಿಯ ಯೋಗ್ಯತೆಗೆ ತಕ್ಕಂತೆ ಇದ್ದರೆ ಅದು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ಅಭ್ಯಸನೀಯವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಋತದ ತತ್ತ್ವವನ್ನು ಅನುಸರಿಸಿರುವುದು ಧರ್ಮಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಗಳು.

[೪] ಪುಣ್ಯಕಾರ್ಯ - ಯಜ್ಞಯಾಗಾದಿ ದೇವಪೂಜಾವಿಧಾನಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಯಜ್ಞಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಯಾದ ನೀರು, ಬೆಂಕಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಪವಿತ್ರ ದ್ರವ್ಯಗಳು. ಇವಕ್ಕೂ ಋತವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಪರಂಪರಾಕ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಬಂದಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

— ೩ —

ನಮ್ಮ ದಿನಚರಿಯ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ “ಸತ್ಯ” ಎಂಬ ಮಾತಿನಷ್ಟು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ “ಋತು” ಎಂಬ ಮಾತು ಬಾರದಿದ್ದರೂ “ಅನೃತ” ಎಂಬುದು ಮಾತ್ರ “ಅಸತ್ಯ” ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮಾನಪದವಾಗಿ ರೂಢಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಋತವಲ್ಲದ್ದು ಅನೃತ, ಸುಳ್ಳು. ವೇದದಲ್ಲಿ “ಋತು”, “ಸತ್ಯ” ಎಂಬ ಪದಗಳನ್ನು ಒಂದಕ್ಕೊಂದೊಂದು ಸಂವಾದಿಯನ್ನುವಂತೆ— ಅವೆರಡೂ ಭಿನ್ನಾರ್ಥಕ ಪದಗಳಾಗಿ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಪರಿಪೂರಕಗಳಾಗಿವೆ ಎನ್ನುವಂತೆ—ಜೊತೆಯಾಗಿ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಿದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆ :—

“ಋತಂ ವದಿಷ್ಯಾಮಿ ಸತ್ಯಂ ವದಿಷ್ಯಾಮಿ ||”

“ಋತಂ ತಪಃ ಸತ್ಯಂ ತಪಃ ||”

“ಋತಂ ಸತ್ಯಂ ಪರಂಬ್ರಹ್ಮ ||”

“ಋತಂ ತ್ವಾ ಸತ್ಯೇನ ಪರಿಷಿಂಚಾಮಿ ||” — ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ.

ಹಾಗಾದರೆ ಋತಕ್ಕೂ ಸತ್ಯಕ್ಕೂ ಇರುವ ಅರ್ಥಭೇದವೇನು? ಶಂಕರಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಈ ರೀತಿ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ :—

“ಋತಂ ಯಥಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಂ ಯಥಾಕರ್ತವ್ಯಂ ಬುದ್ಧೌ ಸುಪರಿನಿಶ್ಚಿತಮರ್ಥಂ || ಸತ್ಯಮಿತಿ ಸ ಏವ ವಾಕ್ಯಾಯಾಭ್ಯಾಂ ಸಂಪಾದ್ಯಮಾನಃ ||”

[ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾನುಸಾರವಾಗಿಯೂ ನಡತೆಯ ಸಂದರ್ಭಕ್ಕನುಸರಿಸುವಂತೆಯೂ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನೊಳಗಡೆ ಜೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಆಲೋಚಿಸಿ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯೊಳಗಡೆ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡ ನಿಶ್ಚಯ “ಋತ”. ಅದೇ ನಿಶ್ಚಿತಾರ್ಥವು ಮಾತಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೆಲಸದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡು ಬಂದಾಗ ಅದು “ಸತ್ಯ”]

ಸಾಯಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ ಹೀಗಿದೆ :—

“ಋತಂ ಮನಸಾ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವಸ್ತುಚಿಂತನಂ | ಸತ್ಯಂ ವಾಚಾ ಯಥಾರ್ಥ ಭಾಷಣಂ ||”

[ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತ ಚಿಂತನೆ “ಋತ”. ಮಾತಿನಿಂದ ನುಡಿದ ಯಥಾರ್ಥ ವರ್ಣನೆ “ಸತ್ಯ”.]

“ಸತ್ಯಂ ಅಬಾಧ್ಯಂ | ಸತ್ಯತ್ವಂಚ ದ್ವಿವಿಧಂ ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕಂ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕಂ ಚ | ಹಿರಣ್ಯಗರ್ಭರೂಪಂ ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಂ | ತನ್ನಿರಾಕರಣೀನ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕಂ ಸತ್ಯಂ | ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಯಿತುಂ ಋತಂ ಸತ್ಯಮಿತಿ ವಿಶೇಷ್ಯತೇ | ಅತ್ಯಂತಂ ಸತ್ಯಮಿತ್ಯರ್ಥಃ ||”

[ಸತ್ಯವು ಬಾಧಿಸಲಶಕ್ಯವಾದದ್ದು. ಆ ಸತ್ಯವೆಂಬುದು ಎರಡು ಬಗೆ : ಒಂದು ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕ, ಒಂದು ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ. ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಕರ್ತನಾದ ಚತುರ್ಮುಖಬ್ರಹ್ಮ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲ ಜಗದ್ವ್ಯಾಪಾರವೂ ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟದ್ದು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿಯ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವು ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕ “ಸತ್ಯ”ವೆಂದೆನಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ. ವ್ಯವಹಾರ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ಬೇರೆಯಾಗಿಟ್ಟು, ಕೇವಲ ಪರಮಾರ್ಥವನ್ನೇ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಂಡಾಗ ಅಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವು “ಋತ”ವೆನಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಋತವು ಸತ್ಯದ ಒಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ ದತ್ತೆ. ಸತ್ಯದ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ನೈಜರೂಪವೇ ಅದು. ಸತ್ಯದ ಆದಿಮೂಲರೂಪವೇ “ಋತ.”]

ಸಾಯಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಕಡೆ ಹೀಗೆ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ :—

ವಿನಯತಃ ಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಿವೇಕೋ ಮನಸಾ ಪರ್ಯಾಯೋಚನಾ
ಮತ ವದನಂ |

ಪಶ್ಚಾದ್ವಚನೋಚ್ಚಾರಣಂ ಸತ್ಯವದನಮಿತಿ ತಯೋರ್ವಿವೇಕಃ ||

[ಹೇಳಬೇಕೆಂದಿರುವ ವಸ್ತುವು ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನು ಮೊದಲು ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪರ್ಯಾಯೋಚನಾ ದಾಗ ತೋರುವುದು “ಮತ” ; ಅಮೇಲೆ ಬಾಯಿಂದ ಉಚ್ಚಾರಣೆಮಾಡಿದಾಗ ಹೊರಡುವುದು “ಸತ್ಯ”. ಇದು ಅವೆರಡಕ್ಕೂ ಇರುವ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ.]

“ಮತ” ಶಬ್ದವು ಬಹುಶಃ “ಸತ್ಯ” ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾದದ್ದಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಇರಬಹುದು. ಶಂಕರಾಚಾರ್ಯರವರ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ “ಸತ್ಯ” ಎಂಬ ಪದವು “ಮತ” ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಅದರ ಅಸತ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕಿಂತ “ಅನೃತ” ಎಂಬುದು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು ಒಂದು ಕಾರಣ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಸೂತ್ರ ಭಾಷ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ—

“ಸತ್ಯಾನ್ವತೇ ಮಿಥುನೀಕೃತ್ಯ”

(ದಿಟವನ್ನೂ ಸಟಿಯನ್ನೂ ಬೆರೆಕೆಮಾಡಿ) ಎಂದು ಅವರು ಪದಪ್ರಯೋಗಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಗಮನಕ್ಕೆ ಬರಬೇಕಾದ ಅಂಶ ಇನ್ನೊಂದಿದೆ. “ಮತ”ವೆಂಬುದು “ಸತ್ಯ”ವೆಂಬುದರಿಂದ ಕೊಂಚಮಟ್ಟಿಗಾದರೂ ಬೇರೆಯಾದದ್ದಾದರೆ “ಅನೃತ”ವೆಂಬುದು “ಅಸತ್ಯ” ದಿಂದಲೂ ಅಷ್ಟುಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಬೇರೆಯಾದದ್ದಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.

ಮೇಲಣ ವಾಕ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಂಕರಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಸತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರೋಧವಾದದ್ದನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ “ಅಸತ್ಯ”ವೆಂದು ಹೇಳದೆ “ಅನೃತ”ವೆಂಬ ಮಾತನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಮುಖವಿರಬಹುದು. “ಮತ” ಎಂಬುದು ಸತ್ಯದ ಪ್ರಥಮಾವಸ್ಥೆ. “ಸತ್ಯ”ವೆಂಬುದು ಮತದ ದ್ವಿತೀಯಾವಸ್ಥೆ. ಹಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅನೃತವೆಂಬ ಮಾತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅಭಾವವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಸತ್ಯದ ಮೂಲಕ್ಕೂ ಕೂಡ ಅಭಾವವಾಗಿದೆ ಎಂದು—ಎಂದರೆ ಅದು ಅತ್ಯಂತ “ಅಸತ್ಯ” ಎಂದು—ಧ್ವನಿ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಸತ್ಯವು ಮತದ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಾರ್ಹತೆ, ಅನೃತವು ಸತ್ಯದ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಶೂನ್ಯತೆ.

“ಮತ” ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಕೆಲವು ಅರ್ಥಗಳಿವೆ :—

(೧) ಯಜ್ಞ (೨) ಉಂಟಾಗಿ (ಕಾಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ತಾನಾಗಿ ಉದುರಿದ ಧಾನ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ರಿಸಿ ಆಹಾರಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು) (೩) ನೀರು (೪) ಸೂರ್ಯ (೫) ವಿಷ್ಣು (೬) ರುದ್ರ (೭) ಮುಷ್ಠಿಪ್ರಭೇದ. ಹೀಗೆ ಒಂದರಿಂದೊಂದಾಗಿ ಅರ್ಥಗಳು ಹುಟ್ಟಿಕೊಂಡಿವೆ. ಅದರ “ಮತ” ಶಬ್ದದ ಬಹಳ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಅರ್ಥ “ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ ಸಂಗತಿ” ಅಥವಾ ಸತ್ಯಬೀಜ, ಮತ್ತು ಅಂಥಾ ಸಂಗತಿಯಿಂದ ಆಗತಕ್ಕ ಪರಿಣಾಮ ಅಥವಾ ಕರ್ಮಫಲನಿಯಮ ಎಂದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಶಂಕರಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಕಠೋಪನಿಷತ್ತಿನ—

“ಮತಂ ಪಿಪಂತಾ ಸುಕೃತಸ್ಯ ಲೋಕೇ”

ಎಂಬ ವಾಕ್ಯದ ಮೇಲಣ ಭಾಷ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ—

“ಋತಂ ಸತ್ಯಂ | ಅನತ್ಯಂ ಭಾವಿತೃತ್ ಕರ್ಮಫಲಂ | ಪಿಬಂತೌ ||”

ಎಂದು ಭಾಷ್ಯಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಸಾಯಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರು—

“ಋತೇನ ಮಿತ್ರಾಪರುಣಾ” (ಅ ೧, ಅ ೧, ವ ೪-೮) ಎಂಬ ಋಗ್ವೇದ ಮಂತ್ರದ ಮೇಲಣ ಭಾಷ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ—

“ಋತೇನ ಅನತ್ಯಂ ಭಾವಿತಯಾ ಸತ್ಯೇನ ಫಲೇನ |ಋತ

ಮಿತ್ಯದಕ ನಾಮ, ಸತ್ಯಂ ವಾ ಯಜ್ಞಂ ವಾ ಇತಿ ಯಾಸ್ಯಃ”

ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಪುನಃ

“ಋತೇನ ಯಾ ವೃತಾ ಋಧಾವೃತಸ್ಯ” (ಅ ೧, ಅ ೨, ವ ೯-೫)

ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ—

“ಋತೇನ ಸತ್ಯ ವಚನೇನ ಯಜಮಾನಾನುಗ್ರಹಕಾರಣಂ | ಋತಾವೃಧಾ |

ಋತಂ ಅನತ್ಯಂಭಾವಿತಯಾ ಸತ್ಯಂ ಕರ್ಮಫಲಂ | ತಸ್ಯವರ್ಧಕೌ ||”

ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಪುನಃ

“ಗೋಪಾಂ ಋತಸ್ಯ ದೀದಿವಿಂ”

ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ—

“ಋತಸ್ಯ ಸತ್ಯಸ್ಯ ಅವತ್ಯಂ ಭಾವಿನಃ ಕರ್ಮಫಲಸ್ಯ | ದೀದಿವಿಂ

ಪೌನಃ ಪುನ್ಯೇನ ಭೃತಂ ವಾ ದ್ಯೋತಕಂ ||”

ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಹೀಗೆ “ಋತ” ಎಂಬುದರ ಮೂಲಾರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಸತ್ಯವೆಂಬುದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಕರ್ಮಫಲ ವಿಷಯಕವಾದ ಋಣಬಂಧನವಿಧಿಯೆಂಬುದೂ ಸೇರಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ಉಂಟಾದದ್ದು ಮತ್ತು ಹಾಗೆ ಉಂಟಾದದ್ದರಿಂದ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ಫಲಿಸತಕ್ಕಂಥಾದ್ದು— ಸಹಜಸ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ತದ್ವಸ್ತುಕಾರ್ಯ, ನೈಜಚರ್ಯೆ ಮತ್ತು ತಜ್ಜನಿತ ಫಲ—ಈ ಸರಪಳಿಯೇ ಋತ. ಈ ಸರಪಳಿಯನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಲ್ಲದ ಕಾರಣ ಅದು ಒಂದು ಸಿಯಮ. ಹಾಗೆ ಅದು ಒಂದು ಪ್ರತ. ಆದದ್ದರಿಂದ ಅದು ಒಂದು ಧರ್ಮ. ಹೀಗೆ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಪರಿಣಾಮಪರಂಪರೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಋತವೆಂಬುದೇ ಧರ್ಮ.

— ಛ —

ಈ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಏಕಾಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬರಬೇಕಾದ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಇನ್ನು ಮೂರಿವೆ :

(೧) ಋತು (೨) ಋಜು (೩) ಋಣ

ಇವುಗಳ ನಿರ್ವಚನ ಹೀಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ :

(೧) “ಋತು” ಶಬ್ದವೂ “ಋ” ಧಾತುವಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದದ್ದು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ “ಋ” ಎಂದರೆ “ನಡೆಯುವುದು” “ಪಡೆಯಿಸುವುದು” ಎಂದರ್ಥ. (ಋ—ಗತಿಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಯೋಃ|| ಭ್ವಾದಿಗಣ) ಕಾಲಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ನಡೆಯುವಂಥಾದ್ದು ಋತು. ಅದು ಕಾಲಕ್ಷೃಷ್ಟಿ, ಅಥವಾ ನಿಯತಕಾಲೀನತೆ.

(೨) “ಋಜು” ಶಬ್ದವು “ಋಜ” ಧಾತುವಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದದ್ದು. “ಋಜು” ಎಂದರೆ ನಡೆಯುವುದು, ಇರುವುದು, ಸಂಪಾದಿಸುವುದು, ಅನುಭವಿಸುವುದು (ಋಜ — ಗತಿ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕನೋಪಾರ್ಜನೇಷು|| ಭೃದಿ) ಇದು ಸಹಜಗುಣಾನುಸಾರವಾದ ವರ್ತನೆ. ಅದೇ ಋಜುತೆ ಅಥವಾ ಆರ್ಜವ. ನಡೆನುಡಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೋಂಕುಕೃತ್ರಿಮಗಳಿಲ್ಲದಿರುವುದು.

(೩) “ಋಣ” ಶಬ್ದವು “ಋತ” ಶಬ್ದದಂತೆ “ಋ” ಧಾತುವಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದದ್ದು. (ಋ—ಗತಿಪ್ರಾಪಣಯೋಃ) ಹಾಗೆಂದರೆ ಸಾಲ, ಕಡ (ಕ.ಲಾಂತರದೇಯ ವಿನಿಮಯೋಪ ಲಕ್ಷಣಾರ್ಥಮ್—ಧಾತುಪ್ರತಿ) ಇಬ್ಬರು ಮನುಷ್ಯರ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವರ್ತನೆಯಿಂದ ಸಹಜವಾಗಿ ಆಗುವ ಫಲಾಫಲಸಂಬಂಧವೇ ಋಣ. ಜೀವಕ್ಕೂ ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೂ ಆಗುವ ಸಂಪರ್ಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ಉದಿಸುವ ಅನ್ಯೋನ್ಯ ಪರಿಣಾಮಪರಂಪರೆಯೇ “ಋಣ”.

ಋತವೆಂಬುದು ಋಜು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮಾನಾರ್ಥಕ ಪದ. ಮನಸ್ಸಿನೋಳಗಡೆ ಕೃತ್ರಿಮವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಇರುವಾಗ, ಮತ್ತು ಹೊರಗಡೆಯಿಂದ ಅದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಯಾವ ಪ್ರಭಾವವೂ ಬೀಳದಿರುವಾಗ ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಆ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಭಾವನೆ ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತದೆಯೋ ಅದು ಋತ. ಅಂಥ ಋತಕ್ಕೆನುಗುಣವಾದ ನಡವಳಿಕೆಯೇ ಋಜುವರ್ತನೆ ಅಥವಾ ಆರ್ಜವ—ಋಜುಮಾರ್ಗ. ಹೀಗೆ ಅದು ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ಉಂಟಾದದ್ದು ; ಕೃತಕ ವಕ್ರಗಳಿಲ್ಲದ್ದು ; ಆದ ಕಾರಣ ಅದು ನೈಜ ಅಥವಾ ನಿಜ.

ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ‘ನಿಜ’ ಎಂಬ ಮಾತಿಗೆ ‘ಸತ್ಯ’ ಎಂಬುದರ ಪರ್ಯಾಯಪದವಾಗಿ ರೂಢಿಯಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂಥ ರೂಢಿ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿದೆ. ‘ನಿಜ’ ಎಂದರೆ ‘ದಿಟ’ ಎಂದು ಬಳಕೆಯ ಆರ್ಥ. ನಿಜ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ‘ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ’, ‘ಸಹಜ’ ಎಂದು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಅರ್ಥವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಾವು ಜ್ಞಾಪಕಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದುಕೊಂಡು, ‘ಋತ’ ಎಂಬುದರ ಭಾವವೂ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ‘ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ’ ‘ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಸಿದ್ಧ’ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ, ಆಗ ನಿಜ, ಋತ ಎಂಬೆರಡು ಮಾತುಗಳೂ ಕನ್ನಡಪ್ರಯೋಗದಲ್ಲಿರುವಂತೆ ಒಂದಕ್ಕೊಂದು ಪರ್ಯಾಯಪದ ವಾಗಿರುವುದು ಯುಕ್ತವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

— ೫ —

ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಋತವಾಗಿದ್ದದ್ದು ಬಾಯಿಂದ ಸತ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಹೊರಡುವಾಗ ಏನಾದರೂ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತದೆಯೆ? ಹಾಗೆ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಒಂದೇ ಆಗಿರುವ ಪಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಬೇರೆಬೇರೆ ಮಾತುಗಳು ಅನಾವಶ್ಯಕವಾಗುತ್ತವಲ್ಲವೆ?

ವೇದವು ಎರಡು ಪದಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ಅವುಗಳಿ ಗಿರುವ ಅರ್ಥಭೇದಕ್ಕೂ ಅದು ಅನುಮತಿಕೊಟ್ಟಂತಾಯಿತು. ಆ ಭೇದ ಸರಿಯೆ? ಮಾತು ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಿಂದ ಬೇರೆಯಾಗಬಹುದೆ? ಅಂತರಂಗದಲ್ಲಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಬಾಯಿ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಬಹುದೆ?

ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನೋಳಗಣ ತಿಳಿವಳಿಕೆಗೂ ನಾವಾಡುವ ಮಾತಿಗೂ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವಿರತಕ್ಕದ್ದಲ್ಲ. ಹೊರಮಾತು ಒಳತಿಳಿವಿನ ಯಥಾವತ್ತಾದ ಪ್ರತಿಬಿಂಬವಾಗಿಯೇ ಇರಬೇಕು. ಅದೇ ಧರ್ಮ. ಆದರೆ ಅದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗದೆ ಇರುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳೂ

ಮನುಷ್ಯಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಮ್ಮೊಮ್ಮೆ ಬರುವುದುಂಟು. ನಮ್ಮ ನೂರು ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳ ಪೈಕಿ ತೊಂಭತ್ತೊಂಭತ್ತರಲ್ಲಿ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಮಾತಿನ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಡಮೆಗಳೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲದಂತೆ ವರದಿಮಾಡಲಾದೀತು. ಆದರೆ ಉಳಿದ ಒಂದು ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ಅಡಚಣೆಗಳೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಆಗ ನಾವು ಮನೋಗತವನ್ನು ವಾಕ್ಯಿನಿಂದ ರೂಪಗೊಳಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಪರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಿಸುವುದು ಲೋಕಹಿತದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬಹುದು. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಗಳು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಮೂರು :—

(೧) ಇತರ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಗಳ ಪರಾಮರ್ಶದ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆ.

(೨) ಭಾಷಾಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯದ ನ್ಯೂನಾತಿರೇಕಗಳು.

(೩) ಲೋಕಪರಿಣಾಮಚಿಂತನೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯತೆ.

ಆದಿದ ಮೂರು ಲೋಕವ್ಯವಹಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿತಕರವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಇದು ಮೂಲಸೂತ್ರ. ಹಾಗಿರಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಮಾತನ್ನಾಡುವವನಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಜಾಗರೂಕತೆ—ಒಂದು ಶೋಧನ ಬುದ್ಧಿ—ಇರಬೇಕು.

[೧] ಯಾವ ಮನುಷ್ಯನೂ ತನ್ನ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನೊಳಗೆ ಮೊದಲು ಹೊಳೆದದ್ದೇ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವೆಂದು—ಯಥಾರ್ಥದ ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣರೂಪವೆಂದು—ಭಾವಿಸಲಾಗದು. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅವನ ಅಂತಃಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಬಗೆಯ ದೋಷಗಳಿರುವುದು ಅಸಂಭವವಲ್ಲ. (i) ಅವನ ಕಣ್ಣು ಕಿವಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಜ್ಞಾನೇಂದ್ರಿಯಗಳು ಮಂದವಾಗಿರಬಹುದು, ರೋಗಗ್ರಸ್ತವಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಕಾಮಾಲೆ ಮೊದಲಾದ ವ್ಯಾಧಿಯಿರುವವನಿಗೆ ಹಾಲು ಅರಿಸಿನದ ನೀರಾಗಿ ಕಾಣಬಹುದು. ಇಂಥ ಪ್ರಮಾದ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಗಳು ಮನುಷ್ಯಬುದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಸಹಜವಾದವು. ಆ ದೋಷವನ್ನು ಕಳೆಯಲು ಅವನು ತನ್ನ ಅನುಭವವನ್ನು ಇತರರ ಅನುಭವಗಳೊಡನೆ ಹೋಲಿಸಿ ವಿಮರ್ಶಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಅವಶ್ಯಕ. (ii) ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೆಲವು ಪೂರ್ವವಾಸನೆಗಳೂ, ಪೂರ್ವಾಭಿಮಾನಗಳೂ ಅಂತರಂಗದ ತಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಡಗಿಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವೇ ಆಶಿ ಸ್ತ್ರೀತಿಗಳು. ಇವು ಒಳಗಿದ್ದುಕೊಂಡೇ ನಮ್ಮ ಕಣ್ಣಿಗೆ ಬಣ್ಣದ ಮೊರೆಯನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ; ನಮ್ಮ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯ ಕಾಲನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಪಕ್ಕಕ್ಕೆ ಸೊಟ್ಟಾಗಿರುತ್ತವೆ. ಅದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನ ಸಂಚಾರವು ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯದಂತೆಯೇ ವಕ್ರವಾಗಬಹುದು. ಈ ತೆರದ ಮಾನಸಿಕ ಪ್ರಮಾದವೂ ಅಪರೂಪವಲ್ಲ. ಇಂಥ ಅಪಾಯದ ನಿವಾರಣೆಗೂ ಅನ್ಯರು ಹೇಳುವ ಸತ್ಯವೇನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದು ತನ್ನ ಅನುಭವದೊಡನೆ ತುಲನಮಾಡಿ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸುವುದು ಅವಶ್ಯಕ. ಹೀಗೆ ಉಭಯ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಸ್ವಾನುಭವವನ್ನು ಪರಾನುಭವದೊಡನೆ ಉಪಮಾನಿಸಿ ಶೋಧನೆಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಶೋಧನೆಯಿಂದ ತನ್ನ ಮೊದಲ ತಿಳಿವಳಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಅಷ್ಟೋ ಇಷ್ಟೋ ತಿದ್ದಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದೀತು.

[೨] ಭಾಷೆಯ ಶಕ್ತಿಯು ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ಮಿತವಾದದ್ದು ; ಅಮಿತವಾದದ್ದಲ್ಲ. ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಭಾವನೆಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲ ಅವು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದಂತೆಯೇ, ಚ ತು ತಪ್ಪದಂತೆ, ಮತ್ತೊಬ್ಬರಿಗೆ ಅನುಭವ ಮಾಡಿಸಿಕೊಡಲು ತಕ್ಕ ಪದಸಾಮಗ್ರಿ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಮಗೆ ಒದಗಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಮನಸ್ಸಿನ ಕೆಲಸದ ನಯನವುಗಳನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ವಾಕ್ಯ

ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಒರಟು ಯಾನವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಲೋಕರೂಢಿಯ ವಾಕ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಅಂತರಂಗದ ಅಭಿವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗೆ ಬೇರೆ ಸಾಧನವಿಲ್ಲ. ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನ ಆಲಸ್ಯದ ಕಾರಣ ದಿಂದಲೋ, ನಮ್ಮ ವಿಸ್ಮೃತಿಯ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೋ, ನಮಗೆ ಭಾಷಾಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲದ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೋ, ವಚನ ಚಾತುರ್ಯ ಸಾಲದ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೋ ನಾವಾಡಿದ ಮಾತು ಅದನ್ನು ಕೇಳುವವರ ಕಿವಿಗೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವುದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚು-ಮಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಡಬಹುದು, ಅಥವಾ ಕಡಮೆ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬಹುದು. ಸಂಭಾಷಣೆಯ ಅವಸರದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಂಥಾ ನ್ಯೂನಾಧಿಕ್ಯಗಳು ಸಹಜವಾಗಿ ಬರುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ಋತವು ಸತ್ಯವಾಗುವ ಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಥಾವತ್ತಾಗಿ ಪ್ರತಿಬಿಂಬಿತವಾಗಿದೆಯೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲಾಗದೆ ಹೋಗಬಹುದು. ವಾಗ್ಮೀ ಸತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಮನೋಗತ ಋತದ ಸ್ಥೂಲಾಂಶಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡು ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಂಶಗಳು ಅಷ್ಟು ಸ್ಫುಟವಾಗದೆ ಹೋಗಬಹುದು.

[೩] ನಮ್ಮ ಮಾತು ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ಉಪಕಾರಕವಾಗಬೇಕೇ ಹೊರತು ಅಪಕಾರಕ ವಾಗಬಾರದು. ಋತವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇನೆಂದು ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೊಂದು ಕಷ್ಟವನ್ನೊದಗಿಸುವುದು ಧರ್ಮವೆನಿಸದು. ಒಂದು ಕುಟುಂಬದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಅಪಕಾರ್ಯ ನಡೆಯಿತೆಂದಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳೋಣ. ಆ ಸಂಗತಿ ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದ ಕೂಡಲೇ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು ಊರಲ್ಲಿಲ್ಲ ಸಾರಿ ಸತ್ಯಪ್ರಚಾರ ಮಾಡಿದೆವೆಂದು ತೃಪ್ತಿಪಡಬಹುದೆ? ಆ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಿಂದ ಆ ಕುಟುಂಬಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದಾಯಿತೆ? ನಮ್ಮ ಬಂಧುಮಿತ್ರಪರ್ಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಗಂಡಸಿಗೆ ಆತನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನೋ, ಅಥವಾ ಆಕೆಗೆ ಆತನ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನೋ, ತಿಳಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆ ಬರಬಹುದು ; ಮತ್ತು ಆ ವಿಚಾರವು ಸಮಾಧಾನದಲ್ಲವೆ ಕಹಿಯಾದದ್ದಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಅಂಥಾ ಪ್ರಸಂಗದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಜವಾದ ಸ್ನೇಹಿತನು ಹೇಗೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾನೆ? ಧಿಡೀರೆಂದು ತನ್ನ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವುದನ್ನೆಲ್ಲ ಒದರಿಬಿಡುತ್ತಾನೆಯೆ? ಇಲ್ಲ. ಒಂದು ನಯದಿಂದ — ಒಂದು ನಾಜೂಕಿನಿಂದ — ಒಂದು ಮರ್ಯಾದೆಯಿಂದ, ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾದವನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಅವನ ಮಾತನ್ನು ಕೇಳುವವರ ಮನಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ತಳಮುಳವೂ, ಕ್ರೋಧವೂ ಕೆರಳುವುದನ್ನು ಎಷ್ಟುಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ತಪ್ಪಿಸುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೋ ಅಷ್ಟುಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ತಪ್ಪಿಸಲು ಅವನು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಒಂದು ಮಹಾದುಃಖದ ವಾರ್ತೆಯನ್ನು ಒಬ್ಬ ಸ್ನೇಹಿತನಿಗೆ ತಿಳಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಸಂದರ್ಭ ಬಂತೆಂದು ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಳ್ಳೋಣ. ಆಗ ಋತವೆಂಬ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ಆ ವಾರ್ತೆಯನ್ನು ಧಟಕ್ಕನೆ ನುಡಿದುಬಿಡಬಹುದೆ? ಜಾಣನಾದವನು ತಾಳ್ಮೆಯಿಂದ ಆ ವಾರ್ತೆಗೆ ಪೀಠಿಕೆಕಟ್ಟಿ, ಕೊಂಚಕೊಂಚವಾಗಿ ಅದನ್ನು ಹೊರವಡಿಸುತ್ತ, ಕಡೆಗೆ ಆ ಸ್ನೇಹಿತನೇ ಯಥಾರ್ಥವನ್ನು ತಾನಾಗಿ ಗ್ರಹಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತಾನೆ. ದುಃಖದ ವೇಗವನ್ನು ಆದಷ್ಟುಮಟ್ಟಿಗೂ ಕಡಮೆಮಾಡಿ, ಸಹನೆ ಸೈರಣಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚುಮಾಡಿಸುವುದು ಸ್ನೇಹಿತನ ಉದ್ದೇಶವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ತೋರಿದ ಸಂಗತಿಯನ್ನು ಬಾಯಲ್ಲಿ ನುಡಿಯುವಾಗ ಒಂದು ಸಂದರ್ಭಾಚಿತ್ಯ ವನ್ನು ನೋಡಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಮಾತನಾಡುವವನು ತನ್ನೊಳಗಿನದಕ್ಕೂ ಹೊರಗಿನದಕ್ಕೂ ಒಂದು ಹೊಂದಿಕೆಯನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ಒಳಗಿನದನ್ನು ಬಿಡಬಾರದು, ಹೊರಗಿನದನ್ನು ಕೆರಳಿಸಬಾರದು, ಒಳಗಿನ ತಿಳಿಪಳಿಕೆಯಿಂದ ತಪ್ಪಬಾರದು ; ಹೊರಗೆ ಕೇಳುವವರ

ಮನಸ್ಸನ್ನೂ ಕೆಡಿಸಬಾರದು. ಋತುಕ್ಕೂ ಲೋಕಹಿತಕ್ಕೂ ಇರಬಹುದಾದ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿರೋಧವನ್ನು ಕಳೆದು ಅನುಕೂಲತೆಯನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇಂಥಾ ಅಂತರಂಗಬಹಿರಂಗ ಸಮನ್ವಯದಿಂದ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡ ಋತುವೇ ಸತ್ಯ.

ಋತುಸತ್ಯಗಳ ಅರ್ಥವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ಈ ಶ್ರುತಿವಾಕ್ಯದಿಂದ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡುತ್ತದೆ :—

ಋತಂ ತ್ವಾ ಸತ್ಯೇನ ಪರಿಷಿಂಚಾಮೀತಿ ಸಾಯಂ ಪರಿಷಿಂಚತಿ | ಸತ್ಯಂ
ತ್ವರ್ತೇನ ಪರಿಷಿಂಚಾಮೀತಿ ಪ್ರಾತಃ | ಅಗ್ನಿನಾ ಋತಮ್ | ಅಸಾವಾದಿತ್ಯಃ
ಸತ್ಯಮ್ | ಅಗ್ನಿಮೇವ ತದಾದಿತ್ಯೇನ ಸಾಯಂ ಪರಿಷಿಂಚತಿ | ಅಗ್ನಿನಾದಿತ್ಯಂ
ಪ್ರಾತಃ ||

ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹಗಲಿರುಳುಗಳೆರಡೂ ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲತತ್ತ್ವದ ಎರಡುಮುಖಗಳು. ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಏಕಾಕಾರವಾಗಿ ಗ್ರಹಿಸಿ ಸೇವಿಸಬೇಕಾದದ್ದು ಎಂದು ತಾತ್ಪರ್ಯ. ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಯಂ ಕಾಲದ ಹೋಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಧೈಯವಾದ ಅಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆ ಋತ ; ಪ್ರಾತಃಕಾಲ ಧೈಯವಾದ ಸೂರ್ಯದೇವತೆ ಸತ್ಯ. ಅಗ್ನಿ ಸೂರ್ಯರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ತೇಜೋಮಂತರಾದ ದೇವತೆಗಳೇ. ಆದರೆ ಅಗ್ನಿಯು ಕಾಷ್ಠಾದಿ ದ್ರವ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಡಗಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದು, ತಾನಿದ್ದರೂ ಹೊರಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾಣಿಸದಿರುವುದುಂಟು. ಸೂರ್ಯನು ಹಾಗೆ ಗೊಳವಾಗಿರುವನಲ್ಲ. ಋತವು ಒಂದೊಂದು ವೇಳೆ ಅಗ್ನಿಯಂತೆ ಗೊಳವಾಗಿರತಕ್ಕದ್ದು ; ಅದು ಮೊದಲು ಮನೋಗತವಾದ—ಹೃದಯಸ್ಥವಾದ—ಯಥಾರ್ಥಗ್ರಹಣ. ಸತ್ಯವಾದರೋ ಸೂರ್ಯನಂತೆ ಪ್ರಕಾಶಮಾನವಾದದ್ದು ; ಅದು ಮುಖಸ್ಥವಾದ, ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗತವಾದ ಯಥಾರ್ಥಪ್ರತಿಪಾದನ ಮೂಲರೂಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡೂ ಒಂದೇ. ಅಭಿವ್ಯಂಜನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಂಚ ಬೇರೆಬೇರೆ.

— ೬ —

ಧರ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಬಲ್ಲ ನಡತೆ. ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದು “ಸತ್” ಮನುಷ್ಯಬುದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಗೋಚರವಾಗಿರುವ ಸದ್ವಸ್ತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ವೋತ್ಕೃಷ್ಟವಾದ “ಸತ್” ಪದಾರ್ಥವು ಆತ್ಮವೆಂಬುದು. ಪರಮಾತ್ಮನೇ ಪರಮ ಸತ್—ಎಂದರೆ ಪರಮ ಶಾಶ್ವತನು, ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಪರಮ ಮಂಗಳನು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಪರಮಾತ್ಮನನ್ನೇ ಉದ್ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡು ನಡೆದ ನಡವಳಿಕೆಯೇ “ಧರ್ಮ”.

“ಋತ” ಶಬ್ದದ ಅರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿರುವಂತೆ “ಧರ್ಮ” ಶಬ್ದದ್ವರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಮೂರುನಾಲ್ಕು ಪದರಗಳು ಕಾಣಬರುತ್ತವೆ :

[೧] ಆತ್ಮಗುಣಸಂಪತ್ತು : ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ವಸ್ತುವಿಗೆ ಯಾವ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ಲೋಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಲೆ ಬಂದಿದೆಯೋ ಆ ಕಾರಣಗುಣ ಅಥವಾ ಶಕ್ತಿ ಅದರ ಧರ್ಮ. ಯೋಧನಿಗೆ ಕತ್ತಿಯ ಬೆಲೆ ಅದರ ಅಲಗಿನ ಹರಿತದಿಂದ ; ಅದರ ಹಿಡಿಕೆಯ ಚಿನ್ನರನ್ನಗಳಿಂದ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಗಾಯಕನಿಗೆ ವೀಣೆಯ ಬೆಲೆ ಅದರ ತಂತಿಯ ನಾದದಿಂದ, ಅದರ ಬುರುಡೆ - ದಂಡಗಳ ಆಲಂಕಾರದಿಂದಲ್ಲ. ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಅಲ್ಲವೆ ? ಅವನವನು ಅವನಪನ್ನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕರವಾದ ಗುಣವನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಅದನ್ನು ಲೋಕಜೀವನಕ್ಕೆ ವಿನಿಯೋಗಿಸುವುದು ಅವನವನ ಧರ್ಮ.

ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಯೋಧನು ಸಮರ್ಥನಾದ ಯೋಧನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ದೈಲುಕಂಬಿ ಭಾರ ಹೊರಬಲ್ಲದ್ದಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ವೀಣೆಯ ತಂತಿ ನವುರುನಾದವನ್ನು ಕೊಡತಕ್ಕದ್ದಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಹೀಗೆ ಅದರ ಅದರದರ ಲೋಕೋಪಯೋಗ ಯೋಗ್ಯತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮೃದ್ಧವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಬಗೆಯ ತತ್ವದಾತ್ಮಗುಣವ್ರಾಚಾರ್ಯನೇ ಧರ್ಮ. ಇದೇ ಸ್ವಧರ್ಮ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿ. ಇದಕ್ಕಾಗಿಯೇ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ. ಮನುಷ್ಯನು ತನ್ನ ಒಳಗಡೆ ಇರುವ ಸತ್ತ್ವವನ್ನೂ ತೇಜಸ್ಸನ್ನೂ ತನ್ನ ನೈಜಕ್ಕೆ ಅನುಗುಣವಾಗಿ—ಇತರರ ಅಡ್ಡಿ ಆತಂಕಗಳಿಲ್ಲದೆ—ಬೆಳಸಿ ಬೆಲೆ ತಂದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಅನುಕಾಶವೇ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ. ಹೀಗೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ನೀತಿಯೂಲ ಧರ್ಮತತ್ತ್ವದಲ್ಲೊಂದು.

[೨] ಅನ್ಯಗುಣಗೌರವ:- ಆತ್ಮಗುಣವಿಕಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬನಿಂದ ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬನಿಗೆ ಭಂಗವಾಗದಂತೆ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬನೂ ಸಂಯಮದಿಂದ ನಡೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದದ್ದು ಧರ್ಮ. ಸ್ವಧರ್ಮನಿಷ್ಠೆಯ ಜೊತೆಗೆ ಪರಧರ್ಮಗೌರವ ಸೇರಿರಬೇಕು. ತನ್ನ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವ ಮತ್ತೊಬ್ಬನ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನು ಕುಗ್ಗಿಸದೆ, ಕೂಡಿದ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೂ ಬೆಳೆಸುವುದಾಗಬೇಕು. ಮೃದಂಗದ ನಾದ ಪಿಟೀಲಿನದನ್ನು ಮುಳುಗಿಸಬಾರದು. ಹಾಡುವವನ ಕಂಠಶ್ರುತಿ ತಂಬೂರಿಗೆ ಮೀರಬಾರದು. ಮನುಷ್ಯರ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವ್ಯವಹಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ನಿಯಮವೇ ನ್ಯಾಯವೆಂದೂ ನೀತಿಯೆಂದೂ ರೂಪುಗೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದೇ ಧರ್ಮದ ತಿರುಳು. ನಮ್ಮ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನ್ಯಾಯ, ನೀತಿ, ಧರ್ಮ—ಈ ಮೂರು ಪದಗಳನ್ನೂ ವಿಕಾರ್ಥ ಪದಗಳಂತೆಯೇ ಬಳಸುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಅದು ಯುಕ್ತವಾದದ್ದೇ ಸರಿ. ಆತ್ಮಗುಣ ವಿಕಾಸವು ಪರಗುಣವಿಕಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಅನುಕೂಲವಾಗಿ ಸಹಾಯಕವಾಗಬೇಕು. ಹಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಅದು ಯುಕ್ತವೆನಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಆತ್ಮಗುಣವಿಕಾಸವು ಧರ್ಮದ ಒಂದು ರೂಪವಾದರೆ ಆತ್ಮಗುಣ ಶೋಧನೆಯೂ ಸಂಯಮವೂ ಧರ್ಮದ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ರೂಪ. ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದಂತೆಯೇ ನ್ಯಾಯವು ಧರ್ಮದ ಒಂದು ಪ್ರಕಾರ.

[೩] ಈ ಮೇಲಣ ಎರಡು ಭಾವನೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಜೀವಗಳ ನಾನಾತ್ವವನ್ನು ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಿದೆ. ಆ ನಾನಾತ್ವದ ಹಿಂದುಗಡೆ ಒಂದು ಏಕತ್ವ—ಅನೇಕ ಮಣಿಗಳ ಸರದ ಒಳಗಡೆ ಏಕಸೂತ್ರ ವಿರುವಂತೆ—ಅನ್ಯೋನ್ಯ ಸಂಬಂಧಕಾರಕವಾಗಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆ ಸೂತ್ರಾತ್ಮದ ಸ್ಮರಣೆಯನ್ನು ನುಸರಿಸಿದ ನಡವಳಿಕೆ ಧರ್ಮ. ಜಗತ್ತು ಈಶ್ವರನದು. ಈಶ್ವರಾಂಶ ಎಲ್ಲ ಜೀವಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಈಶ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಾತ್ಮತ್ವವನ್ನು ಅಭ್ಯಾಸದಿಂದ ಅನುಭವಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಎಲ್ಲ ಆತ್ಮಶಿಕ್ಷಣವಿಧಾನವೂ ಧರ್ಮಾಂಗವೇ. ಹೀಗೆ ಇಂದ್ರಿಯನಿಗ್ರಹ, ವಿರಕ್ತಿ, ಭಗವದ್ಭಾಷಣ, ಪರಮಾತ್ಮಚಿಂತನೆ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾನುಸಂಧಾನಕ್ರಮಗಳು ಧರ್ಮದ ಮುಖ್ಯೋದ್ದೇಶವಾಗುತ್ತವೆ.

[೪] ಜೀವದ ಕರ್ಮಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತಾರಪಡಿಸಿ ಅದು ವಿಶ್ವಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಲೀನವಾಗುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡುವ—ಎಂದರೆ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥತೆಯನ್ನು ಸವೆಯಿಸಿ ಲೋಕಹಿತಭಾವವನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಳಿಸುವ—ಎಲ್ಲ ಪುಣ್ಯಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳೂ ಧರ್ಮವಾಗುತ್ತವೆ. ಜೀವಾತ್ಮವು ದೇಹೇಂದ್ರಿಯಗಳ ಅಭಿಮಾನದಿಂದ ಸಂಕುಚಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಿಂದ ಕ್ರಮಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಬಿಡುಗಡೆಪಡೆದು ವಿಶ್ವಾತ್ಮಭಾವವನ್ನು ಅನುಸಂಧಾನಿಸಬೇಕು. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ದಾಸ,

ಪರೋಪಕಾರ, ಭೂತದಯೆ, ಜೀವಸಹಾನುಭೂತಿ ಮೊದಲಾದುವು ಸಾಧಕಗಳಾಗುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಆತ್ಮವಿಸ್ತರಣಾಭ್ಯಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಕಾದ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳು ಲೋಕಸಂಪರ್ಕದಿಂದ ಮನೆ, ಕುಲ, ರಾಜ್ಯ, ಸಮಾಜ, ಮಿತ್ರಗೋಷ್ಠಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಎಲ್ಲ ಸಾಂಘಿಕ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗಳೂ ನಿಸ್ವಾರ್ಥತೆಯ ಅಭ್ಯಾಸಕ್ಕೂ ಲೋಕಸಹಾನುಭವದ ಅಭ್ಯಾಸಕ್ಕೂ ಸಾಧಕಗಳಾಗಿ ಧರ್ಮ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳೆನಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಲೋಕಜೀವನವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲ ಸುಷ್ಯಪದ್ಧಿ ತವನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವಕ್ರಮ- ಲೋಕಜೀವನವನ್ನು “ಧರ್ಮ” ಅಥವಾ ಪರಿಪೋಷಿಸುವ ಕ್ರಮ-ಧರ್ಮವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ನಮಗೆ ಇಷ್ಟವಾದದ್ದಕ್ಕೂ ನಮಗೆ ಹಿತವಾದದ್ದಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ಬಂದಾಗ, ಕ್ಷಣಿಕ ಸುಖಕ್ಕೂ ಚಿರಕಾಲದ ಶುಭಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ಬಂದಾಗ, ಕೊಂಚಮಂದಿಯ ಲಾಭಕ್ಕೂ ಬಹುಮಂದಿಯ ಪ್ರಯೋಜನಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ಬಂದಾಗ, ದೇಹದ ಭೋಗಕ್ಕೂ ಜೀವದ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆ ಬಂದಾಗ, ದೊಡ್ಡದಾದದ್ದನ್ನೂ ಮೇಲಾದದ್ದನ್ನೂ ಆಲೋಚಿಸಿ, ಯಾವ ಬಗೆಯ ನಡತೆಯಿಂದ ನಾವು “ಸತ್” ಪದಾರ್ಥಕ್ಕೆ ಹತ್ತಿರಹತ್ತಿರ ಹೋಗುವುದು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸಾಧ್ಯ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆಯೋ ಆ ಬಗೆಯ ನಡತೆಯು ನಮಗೆ ಧರ್ಮವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಜೀವವನ್ನು ಧರಿಸಬಲ್ಲದ್ದು ಧರ್ಮ. ಧರಿಸುವುದೆಂದರೆ ಹೊತ್ತು ಕಾಪಾಡುವುದು. ಆ ಕಾಪಾಡುವ ಶಕ್ತಿಯೇ “ಸತ್” ತತ್ತ್ವ—ಎಂದರೆ ಪರಮಾತ್ಮವಸ್ತು, ದೇವರು, ಪರಬ್ರಹ್ಮ. ಆ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ ಅಂಥಾ “ಸತ್” ತತ್ತ್ವವನ್ನು ಆಧಾರವಾಗಿರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು “ಸತ್” ಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಗಾಗಿ ನಡೆದ ನಡವಳಿಕೆಯೇ ಧರ್ಮ.

ಹೀಗೆ ಆತ್ಮ, ಋತ, ಸತ್ಯ, ಧರ್ಮ, ನೀತಿ, ನ್ಯಾಯ, ನಿಯತಿ, ವ್ರತ, ಶ್ರೇಯಸ್ಸು ಇವೆಲ್ಲ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಅನುಬದ್ಧಗಳಾದ ಭಾವನೆಗಳು.

— ೨ —

ಈ ಮೇಲಣ ಚರ್ಚೆಯನ್ನು ಈಗ ಹೀಗೆ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು :—

ನಾವು ಮನಸ್ಸಿನೊಳಗೆ ಕಂಡ ಸತ್ಯವು—ಎಂದರೆ ಋತವು—ವಾಗ್ಯುಪದಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯವಹಾರ ಕ್ಷೀಣಿಯವಾಗ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸ ಪಡೆಯಲು ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥಪ್ರೇರಣೆಯ ವಿನಾ ಇರುವ ಕಾರಣಗಳು ಯಾವುವೆಂದರೆ :—

(೧) ಅದರ ಶುದ್ಧ ಸತ್ಯತೆಯ ಮತ್ತು ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣ ಸತ್ಯತೆಯ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಮಗೇ ಇರುವ ಶಂಕೆ: ನಮ್ಮೊಳಗಣ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಪ್ರಮಾದಗಳು ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯಬಾರದೆ ನಮ್ಮಿಂದ ತಪ್ಪುಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ಹಾಕಿಸಬಹುದೆಂಬ ಶಂಕೆ.

(೨) ಭಾಷೆಯ ಅಯುಕ್ತತೆ: ಇದು ನಿಘಂಟುವಿನ ನ್ಯೂನತೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿರಬಹುದು; ಅಥವಾ ನಮ್ಮ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯದ ನ್ಯೂನತೆಯಿಂದಲೋ ಅಜಾಗೃತಿಯಿಂದಲೋ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದು.

(೩) ನಾನಾಡಿದ ಮಾತಿನಿಂದ ಯಾರಿಗಾದರೂ ಕೆಡಕಾದೀತೇನೋ ಎಂಬ ಶಂಕೆ: ಕೆಡಕು ಎಂಬುದು ಅಹಿತ.

(೪) ನಾನಾಡಿದ ಮಾತಿನಿಂದ ಯಾರಿಗಾದರೂ ನೋವಾದೀತೇನೋ ಎಂಬ ಶಂಕೆ: ನೋವೆಂಬುದು ಅಸ್ಥಿಮ. (ನೋವೆಲ್ಲ ಕೆಡಕಲ್ಲ; ಉಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯನ ಕೈಯ ಪೆಟ್ಟು ಶಸ್ತ್ರವೈದ್ಯನ ಜೂರಿಯ ಹರಿತವೂ ನೋವುಸಬಹುದು, ಆದರೆ ಅದರ ಫಲ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯದು. ಇಷ್ಟವಾದದ್ದೆಲ್ಲ ಹಿತವಲ್ಲ; ಮಕ್ಕಳಿಗೆ ಚಿರುತಿಂಡಿ ಇಷ್ಟ, ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಲ್ಲ.)

(೫) ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ಮಹಾಧೈಯಕ್ಕೆ ಲೋಕಮಾನ್ಯದ ಅಂಗೀಕಾರವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಲು ಸಾಧಕವಾಗಬಹುದಾದ ಕ್ರಮಿಕ ನಿರೂಪಣೆಯ ಉಪಾಯ : ನಾವಾಡುವ ಮಾತಿನ ಅರ್ಥ ಬಹು ಆಳವಾದದ್ದಾಗಿ, ಅಥವಾ ಬಹು ಉನ್ನತದ್ದಾಗಿ, ಬಹುಗಹನವಾಗಿ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಜನಕ್ಕೆ ಪೂರ್ತಿ ತಿಳಿಯಲಾಗದ್ದಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಅಥವಾ ಅದರ ತತ್ತ್ವವು ಜನದಿಂದ ಯಾವ ನೀತಿನಿಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಬಯಸುತ್ತದೆಯೋ ಅದು ಅವರ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯ ಮಟ್ಟದಿಂದ ಬಹು ಎತ್ತರವಾಗಿ ಕೈಗೆ ನಿಲುಕದೆ ಇರಬಹುದು. ಆಗ ನಮ್ಮ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ತತ್ತ್ವವನ್ನು ಕೊಂಚಕೊಂಚವಾಗಿ ಕ್ರಮಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಹೊರಪಡಿಸಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಜನಕ್ಕೆ ಅದು ಗ್ರಾಹ್ಯವಾಗಬಹುದು. ಪಾಠಶಾಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೋಧಕನು ಬೋಧ್ಯವಿಷಯವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲ ಒಂದೇ ಪಾಠದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಸೋಪಾನ ಮಾರ್ಗದ ಕ್ರಮಿಕನಯದಿಂದ ಕಲಿಸುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಲೋಕಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿಯೂ ಸತ್ಯಭಾಷಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಅಂಶಿಕೋಪಾಯವನ್ನು ಅನುಸರಿಸಬೇಕಾದೀತು.

ಹೀಗೆ “ಮತ” ವನ್ನು—ಮಾನಸಿಕ ಸತ್ಯವನ್ನು—ಧರ್ಮವಾಗಿ ರೂಪಾಂತರಗೊಳಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಲೈದು ಶಂಕೆಗಳೂ ಆಲೋಚನೆಗಳೂ ವಿಚಾರಾರ್ಹಗಳಾಗಿ ಬಂದು ಸೇರಿ ಸತ್ಯದ ಬಾಹ್ಯರೂಪವನ್ನು ನಿಷ್ಕರ್ಷಮಾಡುತ್ತವೆ.

— ಉ —

ಧರ್ಮನಿಯಮಗಳು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿನಿಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಅನುಸರಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಒಂದು ವಾಕ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಚಿಸಿದೆ. ಆ ಎರಡು ಜಾತಿಯ ನಿಯಮಗಳೂ ಒಂದೇ ಅಲ್ಲವೆಂಬ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಅಂತರ್ಗತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಮನುಷ್ಯಪ್ರಾಣಿಗೆ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬರುವಷ್ಟು ನಿಯಮ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಸಾಲದು. ಪ್ರಪಂಚದ ಜಡಭಾಗದಿಂದ — ಭೂಮಿ, ನೀರು, ಸೂರ್ಯ, ಗಾಳಿ, ಮೋಡ : ಇವುಗಳ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ರಮಗಳಿಂದ ಅನುಮಾನಿಸಬಹುದಾಗಿರುವ ವಿಧಿವಿಧಾನಗಳು ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ಹೃದಯಜೀವನಕ್ಕೆ ಯುಕ್ತವಾಗವು. ಪ್ರಪಂಚದ ಚೇತನ ಭಾಗದಿಂದ ಮೃಗಪಕ್ಷಿ ಕ್ರಿಮಿಕೀಟಾದಿ ತೀರ್ಯಗ್ವಂತುಗಳ ವರ್ತನೆಯಿಂದ ಅನುಮಾನ ಮಾಡಲಾಗುವ ನೀತಿಗಳೂ ಮನುಷ್ಯನಿಗೆ ಸಾಕಾಗವು. ಹಲ್ಲಿ ಸೊಳ್ಳೆಗಳ, ಬೆಕ್ಕು ನಾಯಿಗಳ, ಹಸು ಹುಲಿಗಳ, ಹದ್ದು ಪಾರಿವಾಳಗಳ ನಡವಳಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಟ್ಟೆಯದೊಂದೇ ಕಟ್ಟಿಪ್ರಣೆಯಾಗಿ, ದೇಹಬಲವೊಂದೇ ನಿರ್ಣಾಯಕವಾಗಿ ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಸಿವಾದಾಗ ಬಾಯಿಗೆ ಏನು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದರೆ ಅದು ಸರಿ. “ಜೀವೋ ಜೀವಸ್ಯ ಜೀವನಮ್” (ಭಾಗವತ, ೧-೧೩-೪೬). ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ದಯೆಗೂ ದಾಕ್ಷಿಣ್ಯಕ್ಕೂ ಜಾಗವಿಲ್ಲ; ಇದು ಪೂಜ್ಯ ಇದು ತ್ಯಾಜ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ವಿವೇಕಕ್ಕೆ ಎಡೆಯಿಲ್ಲ; ಇದು ಮಾನ, ಇದು ಹೀನ ಎಂಬ ಉಚ್ಚ ನೀಚ ಭೇದಗಣನೆಗೂ ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲ. ಇಂಥ ಜೀವನವು ಮನುಷ್ಯಹೃದಯಕ್ಕೆಷ್ಟದು. ಅರ್ಜುನನು ಯುದ್ಧರಂಗದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಂತು ದೃಷ್ಟಿಪ್ರಸಾರ ಮಾಡಿದಾಗ ಅವನ ಬಾಯಿಂದ ಹೊರಟ ನುಡಿಯೇನು?—

ದೃಷ್ಟೇಮಂ ಸ್ವಜನಂ ಕೃಷ್ಣ ಯಯುತ್ಸಂ ಸಮುಽಸ್ಥಿತಮ್ |

ಸೀದಂತಿ ಮಮಗಾತ್ರಾಣಿ ಮುಖಂ ಚ ಪರಿಶುಷ್ಯತಿ ||

ಏತಾನ್ನ ಹಂತುಮಿಚ್ಛಾಮಿ ಘ್ನತೋಽಪಿ ಮಧುಸೂದನ |

ಅಪಿತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಯ ಹೇತೋಃ ಕಿಂನು ಕುಹೀಕೃತೇ ||

ಅದು ಹೃದಯದ ಧ್ವನಿ. ಈ ಅಂತರಂಗದ ಆಕ್ಷೇಪಣೆ ಒಡುವಿಗೆ ತಿಳಿದದ್ದಲ್ಲ. ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ತನ್ನ ಕರುಣನ ಮೇಲೆ ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ವಾಸನೆ ಒಂದರಡು ವಾರದ ಮುಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಇರುತ್ತದೆಂಬುದು ನಿಜ. ಆದರೆ ಆ ಕ್ಷಣಿಕ ಮಾತ್ರದ ಬಾಂಧವ್ಯವೊಂದರ ಹೊರತು ಇನ್ನಾವ ಬಂಧುಬಳಗದ ಯೋಚನೆಯೂ ಅದಕ್ಕಿರುವಂತೆ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ತನಗೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಆಹಾರ, ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಣಕ್ಕಿರಬಹುದಾದ ಅಪಾಯದ ಶಂಕೆ, ತನ್ನ ಹಿಂಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ತನಗೆ ಕ್ಷೇಮವೆಂಬ ನಂಬಿಕೆ — ಈ ಮೂರು ಮೃಗದ ಅಂತಃಕರಣವೃತ್ತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದುವು. ಅವು ಕೊಂಚಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಸಹಜವಾಗಿಯೂ ಇನ್ನು ಕೊಂಚ ಅಭ್ಯಾಸದಿಂದ ಬೆಳೆದೂ ಇರುವ ವೃತ್ತಿಗಳು. ಆ ವೃತ್ತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಹಿಂದಿರುವ ಪ್ರೇರಣೆಗಳು ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥದುವು; ಕೇವಲ ದೈಹಿಕ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥದುವು. ಹಸಿವು, ಹೆದರಿಕೆ, ತನ್ನವರೆಂಬ ನೆಚ್ಚಿಕೆ. ಈ ದೈಹಿಕ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ಚಿಂತೆಗಳು — ಪರೋಪಕಾರಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿ, ಅಂತರಾತ್ಮದೃಷ್ಟಿ, ಭಗವದ್ವಿಷಯ ಸ್ಮರಣೆ, ಭವಿಷ್ಯ ಹಿತಯತ್ನ ಇಂಥವು ಮೃಗಜಾತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಅನ್ಯಜನಪ್ರಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಮತ್ತು ಅಧ್ಯಾತ್ಮಪ್ರಯುಕ್ತವಾದ ಚಿಂತೆಗಳು ಮನುಷ್ಯಜಾತಿಯವು. ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯು ಇತರ ಜಂತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿರಿಸದಿರುವ ಯಂತ್ರವೊಂದನ್ನು ಮನುಷ್ಯಪ್ರಾಣಿಯಲ್ಲಿರಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾಳೆ. ಅಂತಃಕರಣವೆಂಬುದು ಆ ಯಂತ್ರ. ಆ ಯಂತ್ರದ ಅಂಗಗಳನ್ನು ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಜ್ಞರು ಎರಡೆಂದೂ ನಾಲ್ಕೆಂದೂ ಇನ್ನೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚೆಂದೂ ವಿಂಗಡಿಸುವುದುಂಟು. ಸುಖದುಃಖಾದ್ಯನುಭವಗಳು, ಪ್ರಿಯಾಪ್ರಿಯ ಸೂಚನೆಗಳು—ಇವು ಮನಸ್ಸಿನ ಕಾರ್ಯ; ವಸ್ತುಜ್ಞಾನ, ಸ್ಮರಣೆ ಇವು ಚಿತ್ತದ ಕಾರ್ಯ; ವಿವೇಚನೆ, ನಿಶ್ಚಯಗಳು ಬುದ್ಧಿಯ ಕಾರ್ಯ; ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ಶಕ್ತಿಗಳನ್ನೂ ಜೋಡಿಸತಕ್ಕದ್ದು “ನಾನು”, “ನನ್ನದು” ಎಂದುಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿರುವ ಅಹಂಭಾವ. ಇವು ಅಂತಃಕರಣಚತುಷ್ಟಯ. ಈ ಚತುರಂಗ ಸಮನ್ವಿತವಾದ ಯಂತ್ರವು ಮನುಷ್ಯನಲ್ಲಿರುವಷ್ಟು ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮಗ್ರಾಹಿಯಾಗಿ ಮತ್ತು ಅಷ್ಟು ಕಾರ್ಯಪಟುವಾಗಿ ಇನ್ನಾವ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಯಲ್ಲೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಅದ್ಭುತ ಯಂತ್ರದ ರಚನೆ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಕಾರ್ಯದ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವೇ ಹೊರತು ಬೇರೆಯಲ್ಲ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಧರ್ಮನಿಯಮಗಳು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿನಿಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕೆನ್ನುವಲ್ಲಿ ಹೃದಯಕ್ರಿಯೆ ಬುದ್ಧಿಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳಿಗೂ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾನವುಂಟುಂಬುದು ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಮನುಷ್ಯನು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯಿಂದ ಬೇರೆಯಲ್ಲ. ಅವನು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವೇ ಸರಿ. ಆದರೆ ಅವನದು ಒಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ ಲಕ್ಷಣ: ಹುಟ್ಟಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನು ಇತರಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳಂತಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇತರ ಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳ ಮಟ್ಟದಿಂದ ಮೇಲೇಳಬಲ್ಲವನು. ಈ ಆತ್ಮೋದ್ಧಾರ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯೇ ಅವನಲ್ಲಿ ಹುದುಗಿಸಿಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾಳೆ. ಆ ಮೇಲಕ್ಕೇಳುವ ವಿಧಾನವೇ ಧರ್ಮ. ಜನ್ಮದಿಂದ ಪ್ರಕೃತ್ಯಂಶವಾಗಿ, ಯತ್ನದಿಂದ ಪ್ರಕೃತ್ಯತೀತನಾಗುವುದು ಮನುಷ್ಯನ ವಿಶೇಷ ಧರ್ಮ.

ಸಮುದ್ರಮಧ್ಯದ ದ್ವೀಪವು ಭೂಮಂಡಲದಿಂದ ಅತೀತವಾದದ್ದೇ ಸರಿ. ಆದರೆ ಆ ದ್ವೀಪಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಬಯಸುವವನು ಹಡಗು ಸೇರುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ತನ್ನ ಮನೆಯಿಂದ ಒಂದು ಗಜವೋ ಒಂದು ಮೈಲಿಯೋ ನೂರು ಮೈಲಿಗಳೋ ಭೂಪ್ರಯಾಣಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ನೆಲವನ್ನು ನಡೆದು ನಡೆದೇ ಕಡಲ ದಡವನ್ನು ಮುಟ್ಟಬೇಕು. ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಸಮುದ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿದ್ದವನು ನೀರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಈಜಿಬಿಡಬೇಕು ನೆಲದಂಚನ್ನು ಮುಟ್ಟಬೇಕು. ಅದರಂತೆ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯೊಡನೆ ವ್ಯವಹಾರ ನಡೆಸಿಯೇ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಯನ್ನು ದಾಟಬೇಕು. ಆ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿತರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧಕವಾದ ವರ್ತನೆಯೇ ಧರ್ಮ.

PROBLEM OF MEANING

BY

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Meaning of meaning is a difficult problem. What do we understand by this term? From time immemorial thinkers of all civilized countries have been attempting at defining what meaning is. Grammarians, Linguists, Philosophers, Psychologists, Logicians, and Anthropologists are still trying to unravel the mystery of words. Really speaking the problem of meaning is an extremely complicated one. That is why we hear such statements as these: "No word ever has exactly the same meaning.....Many words can not be explained by synonyms, because the idea signified by them has not more than one application nor by paraphrase, because simple ideas cannot be described". "It is incident to words as to their authors to degenerate from their ancestors and to change their manners when they change their country."¹ "The statement of meaning is therefore the weak point in language study and will remain so until human knowledge advances very far beyond its present state."²

Indian Grammarians have attached the greatest importance to the problem of meaning. A Kannada grammarian of the 13th century in the argument to his work mentions thus: "By a proper study of grammar we know the import of the word, through the import of the word, we pass on to the meaning and through meaning, we realise 'tattva' and through 'tattva,' we attain salvation."³

From this we see the vital role of meaning in the whole set-up. Even in society, a person can get on well and speak impressively only when he knows how to use words. Words are magical. There is an old saying "The son can live if he has a tongue" (i.e. proper or judicious use of the power of speech). This is beautifully explained by Hayakawa when he says "Let us detect the previously undetected 'emery dust' (or whatever it is that heats up and stops our intellectual machinery) in language. This "emery dust" which is likely to block the smooth running of linguistic machinery can be got rid of, perhaps, by understanding the situation in which utterances are made".⁴

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1. Dr. S. Johnson : Preface to A Dictionary of the English Language.
 2. Bloomfield : Language p. 140.
 3. Kesiraja : *Sabdamanidarpana* : Sutra 3.
 4. Hayakawa : Language in thought and Action.

Among the Western Scholars it was Malinowski, the famous English Anthropologist who got away from "ideas" and preferred to strike a new path wherein the key concept of the technique is the concept of the context of situation. The phrase context of situation was first used widely in English by Malinowski. "It is a bit of the social process which can be considered apart and in which a speech event is central and makes all the difference. It proceeds on the assumption that language is social actively. It is expression of thought in the proper context only. It arouses emotions in the proper context. To understand an utterance we should know several factors such as the person, purpose, traditions, habits, environments etc".¹ In a particular context they interact, as it were, upon one another and produce a new effect, sometimes altogether novel and indescribable. Just as two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen under chemical combination produce a novel drop of water, utterances in different contexts produce meanings quite new and different from one another. By observing the several collocations of groups of words such as "set in", "set out", "set up", "toll the bell" we can appreciate this point. Even in a rigorous scientific subject like Mathematics, when the language is so technical we see sometimes an utterance having different interpretations in different contexts. "Triangle" does not mean the same thing everywhere. In plane Geometry the angles of a triangle possess properties totally different from those of a triangle in spherical Geometry.

When cultural differences are well marked, translation method becomes difficult and inadequate *e.g.*, "democracy", "Dharma" are untranslatable into other languages.

In this connection Professor Firth of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London prefers to have additional schematic constructs for linguistic work based on the principle of the context of situation. According to him the context of situation is a convenient abstraction at the social level of analysis and forms the basis of the hierarchy of techniques for the statement of meanings.² "The statement of meaning cannot be achieved by one analysis at one level in one fell swoop. Having made the first abstraction by suitably isolating a piece of "text" or part of the social process of speaking for a listener or of writing for a reader, the suggested procedure for dealing with meaning of its dispersion into modes, rather like the dispersion of light of mixed wave-lengths into a spectrum".³ By a spectrum analysis of white light we can realize

1. Firth: *Personality and Language in Society* : p. 7.
2. Firth: *Personality and Language in Society* p. 8.
3. Firth: *Modes of meaning* : p. 120.

the band of seven colours at various levels. That is the meaning of light; we have described light. In the same manner in order to realize the meaning of an utterance we have to make statements about it, dealing with it at various levels such as social context, syntax, vocabulary, phonology, phonetics. The latter named levels are the several colour bands of the utterance spectrum. From the white light of utterance we can realise the "vibgyor" of statements of meaning at various levels and vice versa. Only we are not always conscious of these multifarious levels at every utterance we make. Making statements about an utterance, starting from the social context level down to the phonetics level is termed as "Descending order of analysis" by Professor Firth. We may choose whichever order is convenient.

This theory of meaning advocated first by Malinowski and then developed by Firth has overcome many of the shortcomings of De Saussure's theory of general linguistics which is closely linked with the Sociology of Durkheim.

To him an individual is a function of the "Species particular", This theory reduces man to an "automaton". But man is more than that. "Though everywhere in chain, man is essentially free - he is born free". Along with *nurture*, there is *nature*. That is what Firth says: "You weave nature into nurture, and you do this with the most powerful magic-speech".

If we take into account that meaning in its full sense belongs only to sentences, pieces or complete utterances and avoid the pit fall of Stimulus-Response theory of behaviourism for each and every item bearing in mind always the context of situations, we may steer clear of all dangers. By this schematic procedure "beginning with social context and proceeding through syntax and vocabulary to phonology and even phonetics, we can make statement of meanings without reference to such dualisms and dichotomies as word and idea, expressions and covert expressions, language and thought, subject and object"*.

*Firth: Modes of meaning; p. 121.

THE DIALECT OF KĀNIKKĀR—A HILL-TRIBE IN SOUTH KERALA

(A. CHANDRA SEKHAR, M. S., Ph. D., NEW DELHI)

Abstract

I

This paper¹ presents a brief analysis of the materials that the writer gathered in 1947-'48 on the dialect of Kāṇikkār, a hill-tribe in South Kerala. The materials, which consist of two songs, a few 'mantras' and some conversational sentences, show no striking linguistic features from the standpoint of Dravidian problems. The vocabulary of the songs and mantras and the concepts in them show that the Kāṇikkār had been under Indo-Aryan influence and that they could not have been isolated in the hills of South Kerala until a few centuries ago. The paper stresses the need for studying the dialects of hill-tribes throughout India with a sense of urgency as these tribes are fast coming under civilising influences.

On the hills of the Western Ghats which form the border between the Tamil and Malayāḷam regions of South India live several hill-tribes. They eke out a precarious livelihood by hunting with bow and arrow and other primitive weapons and a little agriculture on the hill-sides. Kāṇikkār,² Malavēṭan, and Malayarayan are the names of some of these tribes. (A list of these tribes with descriptions of their social organization and habits of living will be found in L. A. Krishna Iyer's *Castes and Tribes of Travancore* published by the Government of Travancore.)

The present writer started a study of the dialects of the hill-tribes in 1947 and collected some materials on the speech of Kāṇikkār in the forests near Alakiya-pāṇḍipuram, Pēccippāra and Maṭattara. Since he was working under great handicaps without any recording devices or proper guides and with very inadequate amount of time and money for the job, what he could accomplish in two short field seasons was very little³. However, he ventures to make a few observations regarding the speech of the Kāṇikkār in this paper in the hope that he will thereby stimulate interest in the study of the dialects of the numerous hill-tribes of India which is one of the most urgent tasks before the student of Indian linguistics.

The speech of the Kāṇikkār, as far as I have been able to observe, does not show any striking peculiarities which would be of interest to the student of Dravidian linguistics. I have in my collection two

songs of about five hundred words each. One is from the Alakiya-pāṇḍipuram area which is in the extreme south where the local language is the Nāñjanād variety of Tamil. The other is from the Maṭattara area, about 40 miles to the north-east of Trivandrum, where the local language is Malayālam. It is remarkable that there is little difference between the Kāṇikkār's dialects in these two areas as represented in their songs, though their everyday speech shows some difference.

The following points about the Kanikkār's speech, as represented in their songs, are noteworthy :

(1) Usually the nominal forms end in *-a* as in Malayālam but rarely the *-ai* forms also occur. Examples, *āna*, *kutira* but *kollai* (A)⁴.

(2) —*ññ-*, or *ṇ* occurs as a rule where Old Malayalam and Tamil have *ṇr*. Examples, *coruvāññatu*, *collīṇu*, *naṭakññu* (A). There are no examples of *ṇr* forms in my materials. *ñt* does not change into *ññ*.

(3) Dental and alveolar *nn* occur in free alternation.

(4) *-tṭ* replaces *ṭṭ* in many instances :

e. g. *kettīyittu tūkkittu* (M).

(5) *b* sometimes replaces *v* or *p* ; e.g., *biṇṇhuru* for *viṇṇhuru* (*viṇṇhuru-ovu*) which also occurs in the same song, *biṇṇam* for *piṇṇam* (M).

(6) The characteristic Tamil-Malayalam *ḷ* is absent in the materials I have ; it is replaced by *ḍ* or *y* ; e.g., *ēḍumeyttani* (for Tamil-Mal. *eluttum eluttāni* (M)).

(7) The first person pronoun is *ñān* in the Maṭattara materials. In the Alakiyapāṇḍipuram materials it is *nān*.

(8) Personal termination for verbs is seldom used in the materials. But it may be noted here that in the everyday speech of the Kāṇikkār in the Alakiyapāṇḍipuram area the personal termination for verbs is common as in Tamil.

(9) The vocabulary shows a few words derived from Sanskrit such as *pūñchurika* (a knife with handle), *kailāyam* or *kailāsam* (*Kailāsa*) *manatu* (mind), *Pirammāvu* (*Brahmā*), *vegam* (*megha*, cloud), *vanam* (forest). A few archaic Tamil forms like *cāttu* (used in the sense of an invocation song) and *koṟaṅku* (thighs) occur. The rest of the words are those which commonly occur in Malayalam.

Among the materials I have collected⁵ there are a few mantras. Some of these, such as the one for snake-bite and the one for burns, show much influence of Sanskrit culture.

As a result of my study of the dialect of Kāṇikkār I am led to the conclusion that Kāṇikkār are not at all an aboriginal tribe. They seem to have been cut off from the rest of the people in the Tamil-Malayālam area a few centuries ago and compelled to live in the forests. Their songs and 'mantras' show a strong imprint of the general culture of south India with all its Indo-Aryan influence.

II

The material

The first of the two songs, which I am giving in this paper, is an invocation to God for relieving a sick person of his sufferings. The title of the song is "Brahmāvute viḷiccinnatū." The term Brahma is used for God. Brahma is conceived of as living in the region of the clouds, and Kailas is mentioned as his abode. On being invoked, Brahma comes down to the patient's room armed with bow and arrows, sword and other weapons and cuts away the chains that binds the patient, that is, relieves him of his sufferings.

vēgatte-p-pirammāvineṅkum
 viḷiyō talanniyale
 eṅkilippam pirammāvine nām
 viḷiccinnatum unṭu kaṇṭā
 aṟuvātānum kātakkoru
 viḷaṅkuru kāvilāyaṅka kaṇṭu
 viḷaṅkuru kāvilāyaṅka kaṇṭu
 manatiṭṭānō tirumanatū
 aṟuvātānum kātattoru
 viḷaṅkuru kāvilāyattū
 eṇṇāyiram paṭi kaṭantū
 eṇṇāyiram paṭiccakattū
 eṇṇūraṭukku nālōlaccu ceṇṇu
 paṇṇinṇē tirummanatō
 eṇṇūraṭukku nālōlayum-unṭu
 caṇṇatōṭi-k-kaḷiccinnatē
 olammāviyile kaṇṭuniṇṇēn eṇṭe
 āyān-pirammāvū
 "iṇṇēṇṭu nālōleyinnū
 iṇṇāṇam pōrunnatē
 puḷlayellām pōṭtānō avan
 avan kuḷirālakavaṇṇaccu
 vēgattāle cennileṅkil puḷle
 nampale-k-kuṇṇe-c-colluvēne"
 eṇṇūraṭukku nālōla pirammāvū
 vārikkūṭti-k-kēṭṭunnatū

kettiyittu tūkkittu pirammāvu
 karakara-k-karakkiyittu
 karakara-k-karakkiyittu pirammāvu
 uccum mēle beccu koṇṭu
 biccāttiruppattiyōnatu
 pāttinnōr kāṇakkōla
 munnūr maṭiccila tirumaruntum-unṭu
 mummaṭi corukunnatu
 maruntum māṭiccila pirammāve
 mummaṭi coruvunnatu
 nālōla nālttiyam pirammāve
 mummaṭi coruvunnatu
 mummaṭi coruvunnatu
 olavārum koccutkatti pirammāve
 mummaṭi coruvunnatu
 eṭum-ēyattāni pirammāvu
 mummaṭi coruvunnatu
 paṇṭāra pūṭṭuruppa pirammāvu
 valam tōlil-iṭṭuninnu
 valamārva carinṇu cennōru
 vīṇkuru pūṇcurika
 vīṇkuru pūṇcurika
 valaṇkayyile piṭikoḷlunnatu
 iṭamārva carinṇucennu
 bīṇkuru ceṇu parika
 bīṇkuru ceṇuparika
 iṭaṇkayyile piṭikoḷlunnatu
 melleyōn-ilakannēn-ente
 āyāmpirammāvu

cuṅukkane-p-pōyi kaṇṭu ninnālō
 raṇṭām tirumēnikālu
 “ eṇkaccu pōvān pirammāvu nīyu
 ulalcamayam koḷlunnatu ? ”
 “ nānō nān pōvinēti nān
 pulle bīḷippurattu ”
 “ pōvinatillām paṭṭamga pirammāvu
 pālari kūṭe koṇṭum pōrye ”
 niccalum nīrupōyitavaru
 pālariyum veccum koṇṭu
 pālariyum beccum koṇṭavaru
 parudatte colluvanu
 katarppaṇkatarppaṭṭallō
 āyān-pirammāvu

ōṭippōy paṭi maṇāñcālō
 raṇṭāntirumēnikaḷu
 paticcū mītte nīṇṭu kaṇṭum ninnu
 “pālari kūṭa koṇṭum pōrya ”
 “puḷḷa tirummanatā
 pālari taruvilōṭi
 koṇṭōṭi varuvineṭi ṇānu
 viḷankūr kāyillāyattu ”
 kailāttum paṭunnila pirammāvu
 eṇṇāyiram paṭi tīraṇṭu
 eṇṇāyiram paṭi tīraṇṭoru
 eṇṇāyiram paṭippurattu
 ponnin tiri muṭṭattu
 pōntu kutikkinē pirammāvu
 kailāsam baḷaṇcavaram
 kammāḷaccu kaṇunnatē
 nīṇkaḷukūṭi pōrinōneṇṭe
 viḷaṇkuru nāṭṭile māyananamme
 pirammāvōṭu kūṭi pōrāte pinne
 ārōṭu kūṭi pōruvānō
 kiyaṅkummele kōṭikoḷḷāmatu
 tekkummele kōṭikoḷḷām
 paṭiṇṇāṭṭu kōṭi koḷḷāmatu
 vaṭaṅkummele kōṭika koḷḷām
 nannāṇaṭuppaṭayō-y-itu
 nāḷayiram kōṭippaṭa
 villille nūrayitamōṇitu
 vāḷille nūrayitamō
 coṭṭa curike nāṇṭakam kaṭuttile
 pōrvāḷnalla nēr vāḷu
 taṇṭavāḷutunṭavāḷu
 kayyaṭakkam meyyaṭakkam
 aytammē patinēṭṭum-unṭu
 āni paṇiṇcē porunnatu

āyutaṇṇaḷum Pataccanumāyitṭu
 ūruvāyanampalattu (puḷḷaṭampalattu) pōvunnatu.
 avīṭe celluṇṇu. viḷaṇṅuruṣari biṭamiṭṭu
 (pīṭaṭṭil) cemmaṇṇu kēkkayā hu pōyi iccu
 pirammāvu iṇhinte puḷḷakaḷu pirammāvine
 kaitoyuvān. ivittīṭe nūrūtuninnu tānu
 tante puḷḷakaḷum ennu solli vaṭṭam koṇṭu
 tānu tante puḷḷakaḷum hā.

The following are the first few lines of another song entitled "Ammāvōṭu vāṭalu Cāttu" which I recorded. These lines describe the Forest deity—the entire forest area being conceived of as the physical form of the deity.

kuttu ētum ammallā
 koyiccu ētum ammallā
 pāṭṭu'tum ammallā
 paṇṇu'tum ammallā
 kāccū'tum ammallā
 kalakkū'tum ammallā
 uṇṇū'tum ammallā
 oṇṇkūtum ammallā
 oyaṇṭa varmalayellām
 ammakku tiruttale
 aṇṇattikkallukaḷellām
 ammakku tiruttāṭi
 nāṇkumaram pōṇkumaram
 ammakku maṇikkorāṇku
 tunna molankuṭiyellām
 ammakke tirukkayyū
 vārukaṇṇam kūvaḷakaḷellām
 ammakke tiruveraḷu
 pāyū vaḷḷi paṭaru vaḷḷi
 ammakku narampu vaḷḷi
 empillōṭu cempillellām
 ammakke kuḷumutī.

The mantram for burns

akki venṭu ganga nakki maḷatante tirumutikoṇṭu tūttigakkinnikkē
 suha. akkidēva akki koṇṭupō. vekkadēva vekkakoṇṭupō. sūtudēva
 sūtukoṇṭupō. taṇarudēva taṇariṭṭu niḷḷu. kuḷirudēva kuḷiriṭṭu
 niḷḷu. enneyum ninneyum paṭakkappaṭṭa paramēśaran tannāṇe
 kuḷittu taṇaṭu nikkē suhā.

The mantram for Snake-bite

aṇṭiyōṭu muṇṭikūṭi muḷḷummukaṇṇu mūrkkappampu va piḷaṇṭu
 kaṭiccukilum vā piḷakkate kaṭikkikilum paccamūli maruṇṭu paṇiccu
 irimpē vaṭiccu nālu pramāṇam kūṭṭi akattēccu kotukkaccilē viṣam
 illa garuḍaṇāṇē. garuḍāya namō, agastyāya namō.

Footnotes

1. Presented at the monthly meeting of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi held on December 1, 1956.

2. The system of transliteration followed in this paper is that of the Royal Asiatic Society with the following additions :—

l̥ represents the Tamil-Malayalam retroflexed continuant represented in Tamil writing with the symbol *ḷ*.

ṛ represents the Tamil-Malayalam heavily trilled *r* represented in Tamil with the symbol *ṛ*.

n̥ (without any diacritic mark) is to be pronounced as an alveolar sound while *n̄* as dental.

3. Writing this paper as I do from hurriedly made field notes almost ten years after gathering the materials, I have some doubts regarding the quality and quantity of some of the speech-sounds in the songs given in Section II of this paper. and I have no means of checking their accuracy.

I am grateful to the Deccan College Research Institute for financing my trips to the hills in South Kerala and to Professor C. R. Sankaran who warmly encouraged me in the work.

4. (A) means the materials from the hills near Alakiyapandipuram.

(M) means Madattara materials.

5. Part of the materials is given in Section II of this paper.

THE RĀMACĀRITAM AND ITS METRES

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The old Malayalam work Rāmacaritam has raised many points of controversy for a long time. A tolerably good edition of the work is still a desideratum and neither its linguistic nor literary aspects have been properly studied in detail. Its language particularly has been a perplexing problem, some scholars once going even to the extent of saying that it is Tamil and not Malayalam. No doubt, even a casual perusal of the work will prove that it is Malayalam cast into a Tamilistic mould. This incongruity of language has created difficulties for scholars studying the evolution of the language. Dr. Gundert wrote :—" This history (i.e. of the Malayalam language) commences for us, if we except a few inscriptions on copper and stone) with the Rāmacarita, in which we have the oldest Malayalam poem still in existence composed as it was before the introduction of the Sanskrit alphabet and deserving of the popular attention of the scholar, as it exhibits the earliest phase of the language, perhaps centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese. For several antiquated words...this poem is the sole authority." Since Gundert wrote this, a number of old Malayalam works both poetry and prose have been unearthed and published.² We have been fortunate enough to get an invaluable scientific treatise in the Līlātīlakam of the 14th century A.D. Apart from the result that it set at rest the calumny that Malayalam had no scientific cultivation behind it,³ it has provided us with a vantage ground from where we can have a clear view of the past and present conditions of the language.

1. Introduction to the Dictionary (1872), p. iii.

The remark that the R. was written before the introduction of Sanskrit alphabet is far from being correct as is evident from inscriptions and literary works. As regards its antiquity, see below.

2. To mention a few :—Prose works like Bhāṣā Kauṭaliyam (a 12th century Malayalam commentary for the first 7 adhikaraṇas of Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra), Pracīna Malayāla Gadya Mātrkākaḷ, Brahmānda Purāṇam etc. and poetical works like Unṇiyacci Caritam, Unṇiceirutēvī Caritam, Unṇunīli Sandēśam, Kānnāśśa Rāmāyaṇam etc.

3. Ellis wrote at about 1800 A.D. :—" There exists in Malayalam, as far as my information goes, no work on the language, no grammar, no dictionary ". (Article on Malayalam Language, The Indian Antiquary, 1878)

More than that. The *Lilātilakam* solves for us a knotty problem regarding the structure of our *Rāmacaritam*. Admittedly the *Lil.* is a treatise on the *Maṇipravāla* style⁴ a 'coral-pearl combination,' as it is called, of Malayalam and Sanskrit words—a style which, divested of its antique peculiarities, has developed into modern Malayalam beginning roughly from the period of *Eluthaccan* (16th century A.D.). But the above work casually mentions another literary style called *Pāṭṭu* as opposite to *Maṇipravālam* current at that time and to this type the *Rāmacaritam* exactly corresponds. It may even be said that no other *Pāṭṭu* work has come down to us which so fully satisfies the conditions laid down by the *Lil.* on this score. It defines *Pāṭṭu* (1.10) :—

“*Draṁiḍa-saṅghātākṣara-nibaddha-mēḍuka-moṇa-vṛttaviśeṣayuktaṁ Pāṭṭu*”.

(*Pāṭṭu* is that style wherein only the Dravidian or Tamil letters are used, where rhymes like *Edukai*⁵ *Monai*⁶ appear and the poem is written in Dravidian metres.)⁷ Explaining this the author says that this species of composition will contain an abnormal amount of Tamil forms. Sanskrit words are changed in *Pāṭṭu* to conform with the alphabetic limitations of Tamil, thus *Lakṣmaṇa* appearing as *Ilakkana*, *Sugrīva* as *Cukkirīva* etc. In effect this means that *Pāṭṭu* represents an artificial style with more Tamilisms in contrast with *Maṇipravālam* with its conspicuous Sanskrit leanings and that both do not represent the actual state of the language. Perhaps *Pāṭṭu* presented a more distorted picture. Some scholars argue that the *Rāmacaritam* has a dialectical colouring owing to its alleged birth in the southern parts of Kerala where Tamil influence predominates, but the assumption appears to be unwarranted. Nor can it be proved that it represents the language of the common people as opposed to the cultivated language of the high class. Taking all facts into consideration it appears better to assume with *Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer*⁸ that the work was written in the literary style used for *Pāṭṭu*

4. It is called *Maṇipravāla-lakṣaṇa* by the author. It contains 8 *Śilpās* written in the old *Sūtra-vṛtti* style in Sanskrit with Malayalam examples. The number of *Sūtras* is 151.

5 & 6. The *Toḍai* of the Tamil prosody. For explanation, see below.

7. The terms *Vṛtta-viśeṣam* and *Vṛtta-bhēdam* were used even in the 16th century to denote Dravidian metres as opposed to the Skt.

8. *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, Vol. I, p. 260.

writing in Malayalam in the mediaeval period* of which the Lil. makes specific mention. The obvious fact that the Rāmacaritam is a representative of style and not of a period reduces much of its value as a document for linguistic study. Still the work presents many interesting and instructive features and is invaluable for comparative study and verification.

Its date.

The date of the R. has not been settled satisfactorily. Scholars like Ullur Parameswara Iyer places it in the 12th century but most of others prefer a later date. In view of the aforementioned anomalous language position some scholars take it even to the post-Kṛṣṇagāthā period, (i.e. 15th century A.D.) which lacks conviction. The 12th century theory is based chiefly on the traditional belief that the work was written by a Travancore prince which has no evidence at all. While, as pointed out above, the Lil. definition of Pāṭṭu fully agrees with the structure of R., the 15th century Niraṇam works like Bhagavad Gīta, Rāmayaṇa etc. appear to be an advance on the model in that Sanskrit words are used in abundance in them with no letter changes. Hence it seems more reasonable to place the R. at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century A.D. The argument that in that case the Lil. which comes later ought to have mentioned its name or quoted from it is not valid since the author of the Lil. was not dealing with the Pāṭṭu literature in general but only casting a side glance at it.

Its author.

The last verse of the R. contains the name of the author which is Cīrāma and it is said therein that he wrote it, as was the vogue, with pious intentions. Cīrāma may well be Śrī Rāma or Siva Rāma, but the first seems to be more probable in the light of the inscriptional and literary evidence which gives such forms in plenty. The view held by Ullur that Śrī Rāma Varma, a Vēṇād Prince (A. D. 1195-1208) who had the title of Maṇikaṇṭha was its author is merely a guess. The utmost that can be claimed regarding the authorship of R. is that it might be from the pen of a non-Brahmin in view of the fact that the

9. "All this shows that Pāṭṭu referred to here was a literary form inherited by Malayalam from an ancient stage when the affinities of Mal. to Tamil were far more intimate than at the time of Līlātilakam"—L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, Grammar in Līlātilakam, p. 25.

Nambūdiris would prefer their Maṇipravāḷam and Pāṭṭus with their Tamil bias would not have attracted them. Similarly, the tradition that the work was written for the use of soldiers has nothing for its support. True, the poet at the end of the poem predicts victory in battle for its readers, but it is only one of the manifold blessings in that 'phalaśruti' and no emphasis is placed on the point. That the poem has its theme the story of the Yuddhakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa only also proves nothing. (Cf. Abhinanda's Rāmacaritam, the famous Sanskrit poem which begins from Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍam). Again, Cīrāma's Malayalam Rāmacaritam is not a light composition as the famous Kuñcan Nambiar's Tuḷḷal works which were avowedly meant for ordinary folk like soldiers. Rāmacaritam is a scholarly work meant for the educated class as is evident from its classical style and embellishments. It is also the forerunner of the later religious works like the Rāmāyaṇam, Bhāratam etc. of Eḷuttaccan and others. The battle themes have kindled the imagination of all ancient poets of the world ; but this does not show that they were meant for soldiers.

General characteristics.

Rāmacaritam is the biggest poetical work in mediaeval Malayalam, its prose counterpart being Bhāṣa Kauṭaliyam about which mention has been made (f.n. 2). The work contains 1814 quartrains in 164 Vṛttas or divisions. Each Vṛttam has on an average 11 stanzas or Pāṭṭus. In this arrangement the R. follows closely the mediaeval Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints of the Tamil country. This fact also, it may be mentioned in passing, supports the view that the work was not meant to be a war poem but a religious one. The author closely follows Vālmiki and at times imitates and even translates him, but on the whole his is an independent work. No doubt he was familiar with Kambār's immortal Rāmāyaṇa (c. 1200 A.D.) but his debt to the latter appears to have been exaggerated. Cīrāma is original at times in story conception and imaginative exuberance. Above all he is a master of diction. His description of Sita (Vr. 117-119) is a highly artificial piece of classical poetry. The poet has mastered the spirit of both Sanskrit and Tamil Muses and the Rāmacaritam has well stood the test of time in virtue of its merit only, for we know of no other literary work in such an 'unintelligible' language having been fondled so long by later generations.

The Metres.

So far no systematic attempt has been made to study the various metres found in the Rāmacaritam which are all Tamil in origin. The modern Malayalam metres with their mātra and gaṇa arrangements are quite different from their Tamil counterparts which have their

aśais and śīrs.¹⁰ In the eyes of one accustomed to Sanskrit tradition Tamil metres may seem to lack scientific precision, a defect which is perhaps compensated by their musical elasticity. Tōlkāppiyam (Seyyul, 10) says that sound scholarship is needed to divide aśais and śīrs according to the tune and the commentator Pērāśaraiyar demands a keen ear also. In effect this means that too much mechanical and scientific precision is not aimed at in this branch of discipline—a characteristic common to all Dēśi or purely Dravidian types of metres.

In R. the first verse represents, as a rule, the metrical types of all other verses in a Vṛttam or division. Though the number of metres used is comparatively small, the poet has procured variety by changing the internal arrangement of aśais and by beginning each Vṛttam in a metre different from the preceding one. Among the Tamil prosodic elements R. consistently uses the three kinds of Toḍai or rhyme, viz. Edukai, Mōnai and Antādi. Edukai is the rhyme where the second letters of each line agree.¹¹ Mōnai represents the agreement of initial letters.¹² The Antādi denotes the beginning of a stanza with what has gone before as the termination of the preceding stanza.¹³ The last mentioned device which may be a mnemonic one in origin is not only limited to individual verses but is extended to the divisions as well in Rāmacaritam. Thus the first line of a new Vṛttam begins with some words of the last portion of the last Vṛttam and the whole work is a rhythmic chain, so to say, from beginning to end.

As regards the number of metres employed in the work, calculations vary. Ullur's rough estimation gives 20,¹⁴ while Mr. N.V. Krishna

10. Aśai is a metrical syllable and śīr, a metrical foot. Aśais are two in number, nēr and nirai. Syllable with one vowel is nēr aśai (e.g. pa, pā, pāl); with two vowels, nirai aśai (e.g. para. parā, paral).

11. This is the modern Dvitiyaksaraprāsa in Malayalam. It seems the province of Edukai was extended from Tamil metres to Sanskrit metres also and its necessity was later on made a subject of hot controversy. However, it has found a permanent place in the verse-making technique of modern Mal. enhancing its beauty and refinement.

12. Sometimes a line is divided into two equal halves each half beginning with a similar letter. Both Edukai and Mōnai do not insist on identity of letters but only on similarity.

13. For Tamil Rhymes, see Dr. A. C. Chettiar, *Advanced Studies in Tamil Prosody*, pp. 49 f.

14. *Kēraḷa Sāhitya Caritram*, Vol. I, p. 254.

Warier arrives at 16.¹⁵ On close scrutiny, however, the number appears to be still smaller, viz. 7.¹⁶ This abnormal difference may be surprising, but it must be borne in mind that one and the same Tamil metre, say, a 7 ft. or 8 ft. Āśiriyam may look different in virtue of its different internal aśai arrangements. There is no letter fixity in Tamil, only aśais are counted. The peculiar musical tone which helps a Tamil scholar in scanning the lines is also absent in an outsider. It is also found that even Tamil scholars sometimes disagree among themselves in the aśai and śir division. Moreover, Ramacaritam was written by a Kerala author whose acquired proficiency in the Tamil metres has naturally left some traces of imperfection. All these are stumbling blocks for a Malayalam scholar with a different literary training. This explains the wide divergence of opinion noted above in the matter.¹⁷

An analysis of the Rāmacaritam metres gives the following result :—

<i>Serial No.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Total No.</i>
1.	14 Śir, Āśiriyam ¹⁸	12 Vr. (Nos. 4, 16, 59, 63, 85, 89, 93, 110, 112, 117, 146 and 157)
2.	10 " "	3 (Nos. 128, 152 and 164)
3.	8 " "	48 (Nos. 1, 2(i), 13, 19, 23, 24, 31, 35, 37, 41, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53, 55, 58, 60, 67, 69, 77, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 88, 90, 92, 97, 98, 100, 113, 115, 116, 119, 127, 131, 134, 137, 138, 147, 153, 159 and 161)

15. His unpublished thesis on the Malayalam Metres.

16. I am deeply grateful to Mr. V. Venkaṭarājulu Reddiar, retired Tamil Lecturer, University of Madras who took great pains to give me a metrical analysis of the work.

17. Even the present study is not claimed to be perfect or exhaustive in view of the difficulties involved.

18. In Tamil prosody lines with 2 metrical feet (śirs) are called Kuraḷ, with 3, Cintāḍi and with 4, Aḷapaḍi. A line with 5 śirs gets the name of Nedilāḍi, with 6 and above Kaḷinedilāḍi. In higher scales we get Cīrappu kaḷinedilāḍi, Idaikkaḷinedilāḍi, and Kadaikkaḷinedilāḍi (above 10 ft.). A 6 ft. Āśiriyam will thus be called a 6 Śir, Āśiriyā Kaḷinedilāḍi.

4.	7	„	„	31 (Nos. 17, 22, 26, 30, 33, 39, 54, 57, 64, 86, 91, 95, 96, 99, 101, 103, 108, 109, 118, 121, 124, 125, 130, 133, 139, 141, 143, 144, 150, 154 and 163)
5.	6	„	„	64 (Nos. 2(ii), 5, 7-10, 12, 14, 18, 20, 25, 27, 29, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 52, 56, 61, 62, 65, 66, 68, 70-76, 78, 82, 94, 102, 104, 106, 107, 111, 114, 120, 122, 123, 126, 129, 132, 135, 136, 140, 142, 145, 148, 149, 151, 155, 156, 158, 160 and 161)
6.	Kalittuṛa (5 Śīrs) ¹⁹			1 (No. 105)
7.	Kali (4 Śīrs) ¹⁹			6 (Nos. 3, 6, 11, 15, 21 and 28).

165*

Model lines can be scanned thus :—

1. 14 ft. (Śīr) Āśiriyam :—

Piriyaru tāta nīyi nganepi tāvu veḍintu nātum piḷuki yirantu
kāṭu muṛaintu pōntava rōta kanrāl (Vr. 4-1)
(All double aśai or īraśai śīrs.)

2. 10 ft. Āśiriyam :—

Iriva rumpeṛiya naṛṇavami yaṛṇum vaḷiyē
irūḷa ṛunnamāṇa kāṇpinoṭu tēmpu muṭalil
(Vr. 128-1)
(All īraśais except 2, 3, 7 and 8 which are
mūvaśais, i.e. having 3 aśais in a śīr).

3. 8 ft. Āśiriyam :—

Koṇṭaltan nīrameḷu nūṛu kōḍi
kuncira nīrayeḷu nūṛu kōḍi
(Vr. 10-1)
(All īraśai śīrs).

* Though R. contains only 164 Vṛttams, we get 165 as total as Vr. No. 2 appears to have been written in two metres. 2(i) is an eight ft. Āśiriyam while all others are 6 ft. Āśiriyam.

19. Kalittuṛai and Kali get always 5 ft. and 4 ft. respectively.

4. 7 ft. Āśiriyam :—

Pūṇṭa maiyalaṛa vēka laintupukaḷ minṇum
maṇṇava reḷuntupōr
(Vr. 17-1)

(the 2nd and 4th śīrs mūvasai ; others īraśai)

5. 6 ft. Āśiriyam :—

Allalpō mari kulatte yaṭakkīnā latīnu ninin
(Vr. 18-1)

(All īraśi śīrs)

6. Kalittuṛa :—

Maṇṇava nēmaṇam maitili taṇṇila lintōṇī
(Vr. 105-1)

(the 5th, mūvasai ; all others īraśai śīrs)

7. Kali :—

Iṛuntavaṇa mēiriḷ maṛaintitiḍa tūra
(Vr. 3-1)

(the 4th, īraśai ; others mūvasai śīrs).

(Note :—In items 1-3 above two lines constitute one line of a verse. Note also that each line is divided into two equal parts which begin with identical or similar letters. This is the mōṇai rhyme of which notice has been made).

It will be found from the above analysis that the Āśiriyam ranks first²⁰ and there again the 6 ft. type gets predominance. It is also interesting to note that the latter has got the closest resemblance with the modern Kēka in Malayalam (Cf. R. No. 148, “Ennadu kēṭṭa nēra mēriṇa kōpa tīdē” with “Rāvaṇa bhagi niyūm krandaṇam ceytu connāḷ—Eḷu.”) Some other modern metres also have their counterparts in R. for example, Druta Kākālī can be recognised in R. No. 21, Induvadaṇa in R. No. 3, 37 and 80, Taraṅgiṇi in R. 51 and 92, Maṇikānci in R. 13, Madanārta in R. 100 and Sarpiṇi in R. 24. Sanskrit metres like Mallika (R. 22), Pathyālaka (R. 117) and Tōṭakam (R. 66) are also found. It is held that Tōṭakam, Madanārta, Mallika etc. are Dravidian in origin taken over to Sanskrit later, which is perhaps debatable in view of the fact that even Tamil which can claim the highest degree of independence is found to have been greatly influenced in the mediaeval period by

20. It may be noted that Āśiriyam called Agaval also by Tōlkappiyanār is the most ancient of the Tamil metres. Its unparalleled ease and freedom seems to have made it very popular just like the Blank verse in English. Āśiriyam traces may perhaps be detected in the old religious songs of Kerala.

Sanskrit (See the Maṇipravāla prose works and grammatical treatises in Tamil. The word Vṛttam itself is a case in point).

The Modern Mal. Metres and the Rāmacaritam Metres.

The question naturally arises as to whether the present Malayalam metres like Kēka, Taraṅgini etc. for which we get counterparts in R. are the lineal descendants of the latter. Obviously they are not. There is evidence to show that by the time of Rāmacaritam Malayalam was already in possession of a rich variety of elegant metres. The Taraṅgini of the Tuḷḷal fame is seen in the earliest Campūs like Uṇṇiyacci Caritam. A great part of the similarity noted above between R. metres and modern Malayalam metres appears also be accidental, for example a 6 ft. Āṣiriyam of R. may at times exactly correspond to the metrical definition of modern Kēka, but most often it does not. It may further be pointed out that even where resemblance exists, it does not extend even to two consecutive lines, not to say a verse or full Vṛttam. The aśai arrangement in Tamil is quite different and as pointed out already, there is no fixity in the number of letters (for Malayalam Kēka it is 14). Even in cases of complete agreement it is difficult to postulate a theory of origin, for instance the Laḷita Ragale of Kaṇṇada exactly agrees with the Malayalam Kākali but it cannot be held that the Ragale was the source of the latter. The Bengali Payār metre gets 14 letters in a line but in no way can it be connected with Mal. Kēka. The same view seems to be that in Tamil Nad including Kerala a number of Dēsi metres were in existence in ancient days and many of them might have got independent development in different cultural environments. This does not militate against the view of natural relationship of some metres or the borrowal of some. However, Rāmacaritam does not appear to have exerted any appreciable influence on the development of the later popular or literary Malayalam metres. The sesquipedalian types like 14 ft. Āṣiriyam etc. found in R. and the later Niraṇam works totally disappear from the language. (It may be mentioned that even in the Tamil mediaeval classics such long metres are absent). A tendency for curtailment of long metres appears to have been at work as in the case of Taraṅgini where a former single line was divided into two later. Also, out of some old metres Malayalam seems to have selected the most rhythmic and musical. It is interesting to note that with all the linguistic affinity with Tamil, Malayalam has followed a different course in its metrical arrangements. Of all the Tamil general types of metres, viz. Āṣiriyappā, Kalippā, Venpā and Vañcippā, only the first two can be said to have exerted some influence on the Malayalam types.



A scene from Kutiyattam

—Courtesy of the Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode.

KŪṬIYĀṬṬAM

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Kerala is unique not only in contributing to the growth and development of All India culture imbibed by the study of Sanskrit language and culture, but also in retaining the best and most representative relics of its traditional style. In medicine (Ayurveda), astrology, astronomy and various other Sastras, the contributions of Kerala to Sanskrit literature are too well known to require any elucidation here. The poets and playwrights in Sanskrit were many in Kerala from time immemorial. But the most surprising and heartening fact in this aspect is that nowhere in India but in this country the enacting of Sanskrit plays in its purest and classical form is being most successfully done even today. Kūṭiyāṭṭam is the name popularly given to this system of staging Sanskrit dramas.

In fact Kūṭiyāṭṭam, as the term suggests, is only a specialised and sectional aspect of various types of dances and dance-dramas prevalent in Kerala. The most comprehensive term denoting all types of such histrionic arts is Kūttu, a pure Dravidian word meaning dance. Kūttu claims great antiquity as is often referred to by writers on the subject as a very popular art-form in vogue even in the days of the ancient Dravidian classic, Śilappadikāram. Whether the Kūttu referred to in Śilappadikāram is the same type that is being seen at present is still a matter for researchers to decide later in the light of better and more credible evidences. It is obvious, and suffice too here to say, that Kūttu has been prevalent in Kerala even in very early times, and either the same or a better developed form of Kūttu, known as Cākkyār Kūttu is still popular in the country.

Kūttu is at present a ritualistic temple-dance performed by the Cākkyārs, a community exclusively devoted to this sacred performance. They belong to the intermediary caste (Antarāla - Varga ; Ambalavāsis) and enjoyed absolute freedom of speech on the stage during the performance of Kūttu. "Personal references, pointed allusions, and innuendos were the weapons put into the hands of the Cākkyārs and these they used unsparingly, whether the victims were princes or nobles, patricians or plebians, when the good of the society necessitated an exposure of their conduct. Of course,

the serious characters are never the mouthpiece of this satire, but only the inevitable Vidūṣaka. From the days of Tōlan down to the present time, Kūttu has been serving not merely as a pleasant recreation but as an effective social tonic." ¹

Although Kūttu has a good variety of entertainments, at present three forms, viz, (i) Prabandham Kūttu, (ii) Nañnyār Kūttu and (iii) Kūtiyāṭṭam are popular. Of these the first one is the most popular and the other two are very seldom enacted. Prabandham Kūttu is a mono-act in which Cākkyār appears in the attire of 'Vidūṣaka' and narrates a Purāṇic story, profusely quoting verses from 'Prabandhams' or 'Campu Kāvya'. It is more or less an antique form of Kathākālākṣēpas with the notable difference that the same can be conducted only in temples where provision for its staging will be made. The permanent stage in temples is known as Kūttampalam. In this variety of Kūttu, Nañnyār plays the cymbals and Nampyār beats Miḷavu, a sort of drum.

The next variety, Nañnyār Kūttu is very rare in these days. A woman appearing solo on the stage and reciting verses with suitable commentations finally acting in pantomime is very interesting a feature. The accompaniments of this dance-recital are cymbals and Miḷavu as in the other variety.

The third and the most important variety of Kūttu is Kūtiyāṭṭam. "The term itself is quite significant. It is composed of two words, Kuṭi, meaning combined, and āṭṭam, meaning acting, and yields the idea, combined acting. It is mixed or combined either because both the Cākkyār and the Nampyār appear on the stage to act, or because more characters than one appear on the stage, or because there is a mixture of narration and acting, or again, as we are inclined to think, because of all these facts." ²

The stage for Kūtiyāṭṭam is the usual Kūttampalam inside the temple, constructed almost in the same design and plan as envisaged by Bharata in his 'Nāṭyasāstra'. A few temples in Kerala, where special Kūttampalams are constructed inspire us with the thought that there is the perfection of architectural skill combined with the knowledge of principles of Indian dramaturgy giving the technical details of constructing a typical theatre. Kūttampalam is to be decorated specially for such occasions. The decorating process is called 'Rangaprasādhanaṁ'. With tender leaves of coconut, plantain trees and red silk the pillars of the Kūttampalam are

1. Prof: K. R. Pisharody M.A., "The Kerala Theatre"

2. Ibid

decorated tastefully. The ceiling of the stage too is covered entirely with red silk if the same is not already painted with the pictures of gods. The actors and the actresses in the green-room now pay obeisance to the gods and the Achāryas. They have to be very careful in the execution of this most sacred preliminary item ; in case they break any code of rituals, the anger of gods and Acharyas are to fall upon them. There is no instrumental music for this item. And that is why they do this off the stage. This is almost a parallel to the 'Tōṭayam' now being done in a Kathakalī performance. At the end Nampyār beats 'Miḷāvu' and Nañnyār sings a benedictory song called "Akkitta" praising the God Gaṇapati, Goddess Sarasvati and Lord Siva.

'Araṇṇu Taḷi' is to follow 'Akkitta', in which Nampyār gives a summary of the story to be enacted. They call the summary "Tamil", more popularly known as "Nampyāruṭe Tamil" meaning the vernacular version of the story narrated by Nampyār. Obviously this narration is in Malayalam.

After 'Araṇṇu Taḷi,' a curtain (Tiraśśīla) is held and the character of the play makes his appearance. If the character appears as the hero of the play, there should be a duplication of the main percussion instrument, Miḷāvu and also the playing of "Pancal vādyas", the five instruments literally. This is to indicate the royal grandeur of the character. The same flourish of instruments is to be had whenever the hero appears on the stage. If the character is to enact a verse (ślōka) first, he recites a portion of it and begins his "Abhinaya". For the whole of first night of the performance his "Abhinaya" of a line of the stanza stands through.

It is very important and indispensable too, at this juncture to have an idea of the method of "Abhinaya", taken up by Cākyars in Kūṭiyāṭṭam. After reciting the stanza in Sanskrit in a particular "Rāga", the actor picks up a key-word in it and begins to explain the various shades of meaning, first verbally as if a teacher would do in a class, and then resorts to a pantomimic representation of the idea contained in it. A classical example may be cited here to show the method of acting a ślōka.

Yasyām na priyamaṇḍanāpi
mahisī dēvasya maṇḍodari
Snēhālumpati pallavān na ca
punarvījanti yasyām bhayāt

Vijantō malayānilā ravikarai-
 raspr̥ṣṭa bāladrumā
 Sēyam sakraripōrasōkavanikā
 bhagnēti vignāpyatām

In Abhisēka Nāṭaka, Sanku Kārṇa reports the destruction of Aśōkavanika. The actor having recited the sloka commences his 'abhinaya' by posing the question, "How was the garden of Aśōkavanika?" He recites again a relevant portion of the verse, describing Aśōkavanika and begins to explain each and every epithet, supplementing his explanation with 'abhinaya.' "Devasya mahisi maṇḍōdari Yasyām pallavan na lumpati". This is the first epithet of Aśōkavanika. "Maṇḍōdari, the consort of our king never plucks off a tender leaf from this garden. Why? Out of love for it." So much he recites and acts. Next he poses as Mandodari and shows by gestures that she is very much fond of adorning herself. Yet she won't dare plucking a tender leaf from that garden. Now the actor resorts to an 'abhinaya' still more expatiating the idea contained in it. He shows by his facial expression that Maṇḍōdari goes to this garden with her comrades. One of her comrades wants to adorn the queen with a tender leaf and dares plucking one. She feels she should'n't do it, for the queen will be angry with her if she plucks one tender-leaf. Still she desires to adorn her Mistress. Once again she goes near a plant to take a tender-leaf. Another girl remarks that the queen would be angry with her if she plucks a tender leaf. The actor thus shows in all details that the garden 'Aśōkavanika' is so much loved and respected by the consort of Rāvaṇa and her comrades that they never dared to pluck a single tender-leaf from there although Maṇḍōdari loves decoration very much! To enact so much it takes not less than an hour. The whole of the stanza is thus acted in detail and this indeed is the most interesting and instructive aspect of Kūṭiyāṭṭam as far as scholars are concerned. To others this long and weary expatiation of smaller details will be monotonous and therefore, provision is made in Kūṭiyāṭṭam to entertain the masses.

The first day's programme will be over with so much. It is from the next day onwards that the 'mass-interest' is aimed at. The court-fool, known as 'Vidūṣaka' appears on the second day. There will be only one "Miḷavu"; no 'Pancavāḍya'. Vidūṣaka is to recite a benedictory sloka first and then tries to connect the idea contained in it with the main trend of the play. His explanation and 'abhinaya' will be embedded with wit and humour. He would establish in his long and funny harangue that he too, as any one else,

is a victim to providence and that is how he happened to be a court-fool, dancing to the tune of the whims and fancies of a king. Announcing the first sentence to be enacted by him next day, the performance comes to a close.

From the third day onwards Vidūṣaka has his very important role. Himself having determined to make his own livelihood, he finds out a method to achieve his aim. According to the Hindu philosophy, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣa are the four objects of life ; Vidūṣaka too has the four objects of life, but not the same as accepted by others. His are Aśanam (eating), Rājasēva (service to a king), Vinōdam (pleasure) and Vancanam (deceit). He devotes a day for each and takes them up one by one in the order of Vinodam, Vāñcanam, Aśanam and Rājasēva so that he may, at the end of the fourth day of his 'Puruṣārtha explanation', connect it with the main story of the play establishing that his entry into the service of a particular king (hero of the play) as a court-fool (Vidūṣaka) was a result of such an adventure.

It is during this 'Puruṣārtha explanation' the illiterate masses among the audience are entertained with all sorts of interesting episodes narrated by Vidūṣaka. Many of them may even cross the boundary of decency, especially when he dwells on 'Vinōda'. The achieving of 'vinōda' is mainly through women. Therefore, the Vidūṣaka has to go in for detailing the character of all women-folk he meets in a place. Aśanam (eating) also calls forth many an interesting episode, the most captivating feature of the same being a recital of 'Curry-slōkas', literally the verses on curries. In order to entertain the masses such verses will be written either in pure Malayalam or in Maṇipravala style.

Having obtained his final objective of life viz. service to a king, the Vidūṣaka proceeds now to connect his role with the play enacted. He then recites his portion from the drama, whether it be prose or verse. This aspect of Kūṭiyāṭṭam is known as "Nirvahaṇam" which is usually enacted during day time. If there are more characters they too have their 'Nirvahaṇam' on the same day so that the introduction of all the characters of a play is thus achieved by the actors. Excepting Vidūṣaka no other character in the play is privileged to explain the meaning of his dialogue either in prose or in verse composed in the native language.

After the "Nirvahaṇam" of all the characters, the next day is devoted to real "Kūṭiyāṭṭam", literally the combined acting of all

of them. This is to continue for three nights. A complete drama is never taken up for Kūṭiyattam. It is customary to act only one "Aṅka". After finishing the 'aṅka' all the characters except the hero exit from the scene and it is the duty of the hero to execute the final item called "Aṅkam muṭikka". Nampyār is to beat the Mīlavu then and this is known as "Muṭiyakkitta Kottuka", literally the beating of final 'akkitta.' Naṇṇyār sings muṭiyakkitta and Cakkyar dances to its tune. After the dance Cakkyar performs the "washing of his legs" (pada prakshāḷana) and drinking of holy water" (Ācamana). He takes then a burning wick from the bell-metal lamp and extinguishes it. He lights it once again and places it in the lamp-pot. With this Kūṭiyattam comes to a close.

The items narrated here do not pertain to a particular play. They form only a general outline of items in their usual order, traditionally followed by the actors. Each play has its own mode of presentation to be altered slightly according to number of characters appearing in it. In "Subhadrā Dhananjayam", for example, the following is the mode of presentation:—The hero, Arjuna appears on the first day and with his preliminary 'abhinaya' of "love in separation" (Vipralambha) the first night's performance will be over. The second day is the 'Nirvahaṇa' of Arjuna, in which he narrates the incidents which forced him to go on a pilgrimage, thus giving the audience a brief resume of the story so far, leading to the main plot of the play. In fact this is just like a "purvāṅga" of a drama. The third day also Arjuna appears and proceeds to Dvāraka to see Lord Kṛṣṇa and thus get an opportunity to meet his fiancée, Subhadra. The 'abhinaya' of the third night terminates with Arjuna's entering into a hermitage on his way to Dvāraka. He is there expecting the arrival of his comrade, Kauṇḍinya, the Vidūṣaka. On the fourth day enters Vidūṣaka and then the usual themes connected with his personal history and recent errand are presented. The subsequent four days are exclusively devoted to his 'abhinaya' of "Puruṣārtha explanation" and then on the ninth day the real drama "Kūṭiyattam" commences. An 'aṅka' of Subhadrādhhananjaya is then completely enacted, for which they take three nights. Thus it takes altogether eleven complete nights for the Cakkyārs to enact this particular story, and that, be it noted, only one 'aṅka' from it and not the entire play is enacted.

"According to the tradition of the Cakkyārs the number of Acts in which they can train themselves, or are trained is seventy two, including the one-act dramas and Prahāsanas." *

“Kūṭiyāṭṭam” has played a very significant role in the formation and development of Kerala culture. From a close study of the different aspects of this peculiar “drama” it can be seen that it was the fountain-head of a new language, the modern Malayalam. Vidūṣaka’s verses in a hybrid language of Sanskrit and vernacular for the sake of entertaining the illiterate masses gave birth to the language of “Maṇipravāḷam”, the pride of modern Malayalam. So also, the origin of Kathakalī is directly traced to Kūṭiyāṭṭam and it needs no further elucidation to show that the art of Kathakalī is the reservoir of Kerala culture in all its aspects.

It should be clearly pointed out here that Kūṭiyāṭṭam is the chief agency through which the Dravidian culture got itself transformed into a new type absorbing the best of Aryan elements thus forming the modern Kerala culture which is noted for its catholicity and high degree of synthetic characteristics.

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VEDIC PURAMDHI

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With several other meanings, the word *puramdhi* signifies also the 'gift' (of a god to human beings). The gods, or at least some of them, are accompanied by *puramdhi* when they come to men : Thus Soma is *puramdhivant* (IX. 72.4); Agni is invoked with *puramdhi* accompanying him (*sucase puramdhyā*, II. 1.3). At times the term is given a significant epithet : *gojīva*, IX. 110.3, in a passage where soma is intended, 'hastening (towards the vessel where freshly pressed liquor is poured) with (or by means of) *puramdhi* consisting of flowing milk'; the gift of milk alludes to the liquid which is mixed to the bitter juice of soma to sweeten it. The term *puramdhi* is the opposite of *arāti*, the true meaning of which is definitely the 'absence or want of gift', IV. 26.7; 27.2; 50.11, and everywhere (refrain); similarly *puramdhi* is *rātisā*, VII. 36.8. As a personification the word means, in several lists of divine names, the Goddess of Liberality, by the side of Agni, of Pūṣan, and above all of Bhaga, the god of happy 'distribution'. It seems therefore that by attributing the sense of gift, the depth of interpretation itself is arrived at quickly. Its translation given by several scholars by the word 'Wunscherfüllung' hardly adds anything new to the above meaning; it is a translation with an etymological leaning, corrupt at its source and which simply expresses the fact that *puramdhi* is probably a compound where the first member is the root *pr* (*pur*), to fill.¹

1. In fact this compound word is not easily explicable on the basis of morphology. The final *-am* is seldom used except before the name of an agent to the primary suffix *-a* (always in the Rgveda, *hr̥damśani*; and rarely with some other nouns in *-i* in later language); the sense thus obtained is 'one who holds plenitude' (if we assume *pur* is plenitude, which has but the apparent support of V. 66.4; cf. Geldner and Oldenberg, *Notes* ad. loc.); but this is not particularly illuminating. The feminine description (which is the case almost always in all the passages where it is determinable, contrary to what is set down by Gr.; on IV. 26.7, see below), would let us presume one point of departure 'actionis', and consequently the meaning 'receptacle of plenitude', which ignores an internal accusative; further this sounds unusual (Debrunner, *Nominal Suffix*, p. 300); the word *vr̥ṣandhi*, similar in form but obscure in meaning, has been explained by *vr̥ṣa-sandhi* (Hoffmann, *Münch. Stud. z. Sprachwiss.* 8, p. 15) but a *puravandhi*, 'delivery of plenitude (of gift)' is not derived easily. In every way the anomaly persists.

It seems possible, however, to specify the nature of the gift. It is none else than the 'gift' of poesy, of inspiration, towards which we are directed by so many other elements of Vedic vocabulary. Though it has to be said that even if most of the passages are unhelpful, there are still amongst them a few which can definitely lead us in that direction. The fact that there is an expression *rātiśācam puramdhiṃ* (VII. 36.8), 'the *puramdhi* accompanied by gift' permits us to presume that *puramdhi* is not exactly a synonym pure and simple of *rāti*. In enumerations *puramdhi* is intentionally placed beside *dhi*, 'poetic thought', e.g., X. 65.13 and 14 (passages invoking, besides, Sarasvatī, the goddess of inspiration); also IV. 50.11 (refrain repeated in several places), II. 38.10; V. 41.6; VIII. 19.1; 92.15; X. 39.2. Juxtaposition is not, of course, proof of identity unless the R̥gveda is a big book of tautology, but it is an important indication under the present conditions of this text. Expressions like 'create (*janaya*) the *puramdhi*!' (IX. 94.36), 'rouse up (*ud.....ārayatām*) the *puramdhis* (plural!)' (X. 39.2), or 'throw into confusion (*iṣaṇaḥ*) all the *puramdhis*!' (IV. 22.10), 'wake up (*jigṛtaṃ*) the *puramdhis*!' (I. 158.2; IV. 50.11) are suitable in the contexts where they occur to indicate this special 'gift' as being divine kindness or favour in general. When it is stated, 'Indra will give victory (or the body) with *puramdhi* for his ally', (VII. 32.20, *śiṣasatī vājam puramdhyā yujā*), it is the human formulae that incite the god to victory. One mantra which contains the same typical words is very illuminating. It is III. 62.11, *devasya savitur vayam vājayantaḥ puramdhyā bhagasya rātim imāhe*, 'In order to win, thanks to the inspiration (obtained) from the god Savitar, we implore the favour of Bhaga.' Savitā is one of the givers of *puramdhi*. The latter is said to be 'rich' (i.e., conferring wealth, *revati*) (I. 158.2), even as *dhiṣaṇā* (another name for Inspiration) is *dhanyā* (V. 41.8). The verse V. 41.6 invokes Vāyu and (no doubt) Bṛhaspati too, as guardians of the law of ritual, *ṛtasāpaḥ*, as incitors of *puramdhis* (*iṣudhyavaḥ.....puramdhiḥ*, (if that is the correct meaning of the controversial word *iṣudhyu*, on which see Lommel KZ. 67, p. 16); in the end, beautiful (divine) brides are requested to impregnate our thoughts (actually, these *puramdhis*, these inspirations)', *vāsavīr no atra patnīr ā dhiye dhuḥ* (ibid); if this rendering could actually be accepted, the meaning of *puramdhi* would be indisputable. At another place it is mentioned that the Aśvins have given *puramdhi* to one of their proteges. *Kakṣivant* (I. 116. 7); moreover we have a parallel passage where this *Kakṣivant* extols an exploit of the Aśvins; it was undoubtedly there that the literary theme is given; we can conclude from this that *puramdhi* is the gift which has made possible this success; it is just a step. Finally the

sentence, 'when you make ready the *niyut* (in other words, when you commence the rite), you give a free flow (at the same time) to the *puramdhi*'. *ni yad yuvethe niyutaḥ.....upa.....sṛ jathaḥ puramdhiṃ*, (I. 180. 6) is self-explanatory if the meaning 'inspiration' is given to *puramdhi*.

Thus this word is yet another of the numerous words which, either in their obvious meaning or in a metaphorical sense signify speech and its powers. The common personification of a word of this type (cf., *Dhī*, *Dhīṣaṇā*, *Vāc*, *Kratu* etc.) is better than if it referred to an ordinary 'gift'. It is 'Inspiration' which most naturally accompanies the Soma, the day the latter is attracted by the divine eagle (IV. 26. 7 and 27.2); (from 26. 7d it appears that *puramdhi* is meant here as a masculine spirit¹).

1. But this deduction is not conclusive and this would be the only clear instance of the masculine gender; cf. under the references cited by Oldenberg, *Notes*, ad. loc., and also *Sieg Festg. Jacobi*, p. 230; Charpentier, *Suparnasaga*, p. 139. —A *puramdhi*, adjective (in the sense of 'generous' or its analogue) once admitted by Gr. for I. 181. 9 is to eliminate *pūṣeva.....puramdhi* and is an instance of *luptopamā* — 'as Pūṣan (so) *Puramdhiḥ*' (cf. Oldenberg, *Notes* on this passage and on *Puṣānam.....puramdhiṃ*, VI. 21. 9). There remained only III. 61. 1, where *puramdhi* could be an epithet, but more probably a substantive apposition (of course feminine) of the Dawn. In the dual there is *puramdhi* (IX. 90. 4) as a metaphorical appellation of the Sky and the Earth, 'the two Bounties'; it is well known that the most varied and unexpected terms are used to denote this couple before the mysterious *rodasi*. The use of *puramdhi* in this sense is confirmed by its similarity with the dual *dhiṣaṇe*.

Again, *Puramdhi* is the proper name for a certain female whom the *Āsvins* help at a safe delivery (I. 116. 13; 117. 19; X. 39. 7). (Will 'plenitude' which is in the name signify the pregnant woman?). One would be tempted to add to these three passages, the reference I. 116. 7, which also belongs to the cycle of the *Āsvins* (for another interpretation, see above). Lastly the *Puramdhi* is qualified by the epithet *vīrakukṣi*: 'she who has a male in her womb' (X. 80. 1) is not like the previous, a single female, but rather the 'pregnant woman' in general, whom god *Agni* is invited to give to man. This 'pregnant woman', the living 'gift' could very well be allegorically the Inspiration which carries in its womb the *dhi*, 'poesy'. Would this not, after all, be the best semasiological etymology: 'She who has poesy for (or as a sign of) pregnancy'?

NIRVACANĀNI

BY

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1. *anujīrṇā*.

In dealing with the Vedic root *jav* 'to move' H. W. Bailey¹ produced for the first time an acceptable etymology for the noun *jāra* 'lover' ('he who comes to'). This explanation throws light on an example accompanying Pāṇini's rule 3.4.72, and, in its turn, it is confirmed by that. The example illustrates three alternative ways in which the same thing can be said: *anujīrṇo vṛṣalīm Devadattaḥ*; *anujīrṇā vṛṣalī Devadattena*; *anujīrṇam Devadattena*. According to the accepted interpretation *anujīrṇa* means "grown old or decayed after or in consequence of (MW)." The meaning 'grown old after' is quite pointless, since naturally Devadatta will grow old after, i.e. later, than any *vṛṣalī* who happens to be older than him. This difficulty is recognised to the extent that an alternative translation is offered ('decayed in consequence of'), but apart from the inherent implausibility of this, it does not render correctly the meaning of *anu*. An entirely satisfactory meaning can be got by comparing *jāra* with the above etymology. The phrase means simply that Devadatta has (in colloquial English) been 'running after' the *vṛṣalī*, a situation which would naturally give rise to comment by teacher and fellow pupil².

2. *arṇasūti*-

This compound which occurs three times in the *Rgveda* (1. 63. 6; 2. 20. 8; 4. 24. 4.) is usually interpreted (e.g. in Geldner's translation) to mean 'winning of water' or 'a contest the object of which is to win water.' The idea behind this—which is never, however, gone into or examined in any detail—is that getting command of a water-supply was one of the regular sources of armed conflict among the ancient Aryan tribes. The etymological connection assumed is with the well-established Vedic word *arṇas* 'flood, flowing water,' besides which there is *arṇava* which survives into Classical Sanskrit in the sense of 'ocean,' and, more rarely an adjective and noun *arṇa* 'flowing' and 'flowing water'.

This interpretation is a possibility, though, it must be insisted, far from certain, on account of the multiplicity of meaning inherent

1. TPS 1953, p. 35

2. For an example of like nature, cf. 1. 3. 23. *tīṣṭhate hanyā chātrebhyaḥ*, *tīṣṭhate vṛṣalī grūmaṇṭrebhyaḥ*.

in the root. The Indian tradition speaks of the root *r* 'gatau', which does not tell us much, since that meaning, in the vaguest sense, is attached to scores of other roots in the Dhātupāṭha. Comparison with other IĒ languages reveals that a variety of roots of different meaning (and originally of different form) have coalesced in this Sanskrit root : e.g. 'to rise' (Gk. *ornūmi*), 'to fit' (Gk. *araviskō*), 'to win, gain' (Gk. *arnumai*), and others besides. This complication has nowhere been properly worked out in detail, nor is this the place to go into it, but is to be borne in mind in studying rare Vedic words containing the root, and one should consider carefully which of the proposed meanings is most likely to suit the context. It is evident that in the case of the word *arṇasāti* the root meaning 'to win, gain' has a very suitable meaning. The Greek word is used in the sense of 'to win by contest', which brings it particularly close to the context in which *arṇasāti* is used, and the same is the case with the closely related old Iranian (o. s. *arənu-* 'contest (for a prize)') where the root is well represented.

The following passage of the R̥gveda may be cited to show that an explanation is to be sought on these lines.

5. 50. 4 : *yātra vāhnir abhīhito dudrāvad droṇyaḥ paśuḥ | nṛmānā virāpastyō 'rṇā dhīreva sánitā*. This verse is not without its obscurities but a comparison with a race-horse emerges clearly enough, even though there remains some doubt as to whether it is Soma or Agni who is being compared. Geldner cites 6. 2. 8. which speaks for Agni and where the same comparison with a race-horse appears : *krátvā hi drōṇe ajyásé'gne vāi ná kṛtyaḥ* "through skill thou art anointed in the wooden vessel, O Agni, as a successful race-horse (is driven)". This being so the meaning of *arṇa-* can be defined with certainty. Whereas in the passages containing *arṇasāti-* there was a possibility that strife over watering places might be referred to, there is none here. The race-horse contends for a prize, and we may interpret, *arṇa-* as synonym of *vāja-*, and the compound *arṇasāti-* as a synonym of *vāiasāti-*. Translate: "when the yoked chariot-horse runs, the animal of the wooden container (Soma or Agni), of heroic mind.....he wins prizes like a skilful (race-horse)."¹

The word *vāja*, of much more frequent usage may mean 'contest', 'victory in a contest' or 'the spoils of victory', and the same sphere of meaning suits *arṇa-* in the three contexts where it is used. For instance in 1. 63. 6 :

1. Taking *dhīreva* (as Roth does) to be for *dhīraḥ iva* with irregular sandhi, and leaving *virāpastya-* untranslated, as of uncertain meaning.

tvām ha tyād indrārṇasātau svārmīlke nāra āiā havante |
tāva syadhāva iyām ā samaryā ūtir vaieṣu atasāyyā bhāt.

Here the statement is that Indra's help is to be called on in battle or contest and this idea of battle or contest is expressed in this verse by four synonyms: *arṇāsātau* *āiā* *samaryā* *vāieṣu*. Translate: "Thee, O Indra, men call upon there in battle, in contest for a glorious reward; this thy aid, O mighty one, is to be called on in war, in (battles for) prizes". In 2. 20. 8. the term is used in connection with a battle of Indra, not the fight with Vṛtra, to release the waters where an interpretation of *arṇa-* as 'water' would have been appropriate, but the fight with the Dasyus which resulted in the destruction of their metal forts, a context which has nothing to do with water:

tāsmā tavasyām ānu dāyi satrēndrāya devēbhir ārṇasātau |
prātiyād asya vājram bāhvōr dhūr hatvī dāsyūn pūa āyasīr nitārit

To that Indra by the gods was given power to prevail always in the contest; when they placed the Vajra in his arms, slaying the Dasyus he overthrew their metal forts". The same general meaning is to be understood also in 4. 24. 4:

Kratūyānti kṣitāyo yōga ugrāśuśānāso mithō ārṇasātau |

sām yād viśo āvavrtranta yudhmā ād in nēma indrayante abhīke.

"The peoples have in mind military action, a strong one, hoping for victory over each other; when the warring clans have come together, then the people on one side seek the help of Indra in battle." Geldner in his note quotes some passages which mention water as one of the things, as Ayan tribes regularly fought about. This cannot prove that *arṇa-* here means water, since there is nothing in the context to indicate this, and as shown above some contexts are definitely against it.

The noun *arṇas-* though normally quite clear has caused some difficulty in one passage, 1. 122. 14; *hīraṇyakarṇam maṇigrivam arṇas tām no viśve varivasyantu devāḥ*. 'Golden - eared' and 'jewel-necked' are unexpected epithets to be applied to a noun meaning 'flood', so Grassmann notes the word here as being of uncertain meaning. The context indicates that what is being spoken of is a gift of cows to the singer. Their hands and necks were decorated in the way described to increase the value of the gift. Geldner thinks the moving herd is metaphorically regarded as a flood. Alternatively we may have a second *arṇas* derived from *ar-* 'to gain', since it is the winning of valuable property as a result of prowess in song which is the topic of the verse. In that case translate, "This prize (of cattle) with golden horns and jewelled necks, may the gods cherish it for us".

3. *usij-*

The earliest interpreters of the Veda connected this word with the root *vas-/us-* 'to wish, desire' and considered it to be an adjective, meaning 'desirous, eager, etc.' The dictionary of Monier-Williams follows this line of interpretation and renders the word "wishing, desiring, striving earnestly, zealous", and he in his turn is followed by M. Mayrhofer, according to whose etymological dictionary the word means 'desiring, striving hard', with no further elaboration, even though Avestan *usig-* 'a kind of priest hostile to the Zarathushtrian religion' is quoted in comparison.

That this word is not a simple adjective but a type of priest has long been realised, and the Iranian comparison was largely instrumental in making this clear. Bergoigne¹ dealt with this question in some detail, and he established beyond doubt that the term denoted a type of priest, and in particular an ancient and semi-mythological type. At the same time he was prepared to admit the derivation from *vas/us*, on the ground that these priests were zealous priests, and in this he has been generally followed. Geldner however is more circumspect. In his version he retains the term untranslated, and insists that the proper meaning of *usij-* has not yet been found.²

That an agent noun based on a root meaning simply 'to wish, desire', should be used to denote a kind of priest of presumably specialised function, does not on the face of it seem very likely. Nor is there anything in the contexts where the word occurs to render this particularly plausible. It is also to be borne in mind that an etymology might have to be sought outside Sanskrit itself, in some other IE language or languages.

In the Hittite language there occurs a verbal root *huk-*/*huk* (Sg. 3 *hukzi* Pl. 3 *hukonzi*) which means, according to Sturtevant's rendering,³ 'to set free from witchcraft, charm, cure.' The practitioners were primarily concerned with good magic, counteracting the effect of witchcraft, disease and other evil influences by charms and incantations. From this root Hittite derives an action noun *hukmai-* 'charm, incantation, conjuration', and the professional priest who performed these functions was known as *hukmatalla*. An etymological connection was proposed with IE *wekw-* 'speak' (Skt *vac-*) but against this is the fact that labio-velars are reflected in Hittite, and there is no

1. La Religion Védique, I, pp. 57 ff.

2. Note on the translation of 3. 15. 3.

3. E.H. Sturtevant, *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals*, p. 50 ; cf. further *Language*, 16. 85, n.

such trace here. Later¹ Sturtevant gave up this etymology only to substitute something even less plausible.

There are no phonetic difficulties in the way of comparing the Hittite root with the root that is extracted from the Vedic noun *usij-*. The weak form of the Hittite root *huk-*, would correspond, according to the normal rules to Sanskrit *us-*. As regards meaning we are obviously very much in the same sphere. It is not a question of vague connections of meaning, such as was assumed between *vas/us-* 'to desire' and *usij-* 'a kind of priest', or between IE *wekw-* 'to speak' and Hitt. *huk-/huk-* 'to conjure, charm.' Both the Sanskrit noun *usij-* and the Hittite verb *huk-/huk-* are concerned with religious-magical activity of an ancient type.

The information available about the *usij-* is of a nature to support this equation. The term belongs essentially to the pre-Zoroastrian and pre-Vedic periods, only surviving into the very earliest historical period in both cases. The *usig-* (nom. sg. *usixš*) is referred to in one passage only by Zarathushtra (Y 44. 20) as a supporter of the old religion to whom he was opposed. The opposition was effective, and nothing more is heard in Iran about this type of priest. Though the word *usij-* occurs frequently in the Veda it does so mainly with reference to ancient rather than contemporary events. The *usij-* priests referred to are those of the legend, who assisted Indra in liberating the cows, who discovered the hidden Agni etc. What in the past had been a regular order of priests has been transferred to the field of legend and mythology. In the developed Vedic system as it eventually established itself over North India there was no longer any order of *usij-* priests.

Reference to the legends shows that it was by means of incantations that the *usij-* priests achieved the feats which were attributed to them. For instance when the demons had hidden away the cows, the pen in which they were hidden is opened with the aid of spells and incantations uttered by the *usij-* priests (along with the *bhrgu-* and *angiras-*, other ancient orders with whom they are associated). This is frequently referred to, e.g. :

4. 16. 6. *āsmānam cid yo bibhidur vācobhīr vrajam gōmantam usijo vī vavruh.*

"The *usij-* priests who broke the rock with their words opened the pen of cattle" cf. 4. 1. 15, 10. 45. 11.

The incantation uttered by the *usij-* priests is in some places referred to by the term *samsa-*, e.g. 5.3.5 *dasasyānta usīṣaḥ samsam āyòḥ*

1. Ibid.; C. Gr. p. 50.

(= 4.6.11 *namasyānta usījah śāmsam āyóh*) = 'honouring the incantation of the *usj-*, the *āyu-* (Agni is referred to). Likewise in 2.31.6:

utā vah śāmsam usījām iva śmasi

'And for you we pronounce an incantation like (an incantation) of *usīj*-priests'.

Thus it can be seen that their functions are near enough to those of the corresponding Hittite priests. So there is nothing in the way of identifying the two roots which phonetically correspond exactly.

4. *śmasi*

In the passage cited above (RV. 2.31.6) the verbal form *śmasi* has been translated 'we proclaim'. This is against the usual interpretation which sees in *śmasi* an abridged form of *usmasi* 'we wish'. The root *sās-* 'to proclaim, teach, command, etc.' is an enlargement of a simpler root form *sā*. Traces of this simpler root are preserved in Indo-Iranian, in O.P. *θātiy* 'proclaims', Av. *sātar-* 'ruler, commander' and in Skt. *āsā* 'wish, hope' (: *āsāste* 'wishes, hopes')¹. The original inflection in singular of this root, corresponding to the O.P. form would be 1**sāmi*, 2**sāsi*, 3**sāti*. In the first person plural the root appears in its weak form, and this involves the elision of the radical *a*. The form therefore is quite regularly *s-masi*. Compare the way in which *dudāmi* and *dadhāmi* are weakened to *dadmas(i)* and *dadhmas(i)* respectively. Compare also the Hittite first plurals from roots in *-a* of the type *dummeni*, *tarnummeni* Sg. 1 *dahhi*, *tarnahhi*, 2. *dāi*, *tarnai*). Here *-u-* is an epenthetic transitional vowel covering the original elision.

Thus the proposed explanation presents no difficulties either from the point of view of phonetics or meaning. The other explanation is up against insuperable phonetic difficulties, since such an elision is without any parallel and must be regarded as impossible in the Vedic languages, where *usmasi* occurs repeatedly as the first person plural of *vas-*. The accident that in the only passage where the form occurs it appears in company with *usīj-*, wrongly interpreted as derived from *vas-*, was responsible for this explanation. One wonders what would have been made of *śmasi* if there had not been this juxtaposition.

5. *vī*..... *grñāse* RV. 6.35.5.

A root *gūr-* 'udyamane' ('to raise aloft') is recorded by the Dhātupāṭha, and attested in literature. Its field of application however is fairly restricted, and it is hardly used except with the prefixes *ap-*, *ava* and *ud* in the sense of raising a weapon with the intention of striking somebody, an offence catered for by the law-books :

1. On this root see F.B.J. Kuiper, *Acta Orientalia* XII, 191 ff.

(1) *apa-*: T. S. 2, 6, 10, 2 *yò'pagurātai saténa yālayāt, tasmād brāhmaṇāya nāpagureta ná nīhanyāt* 'whoever should lift up (a weapon to strike) him he should punish with (a-fine of) a hundred, therefore one should not lift up (a weapon to strike) a Brāhmaṇa, and should not strike him.' Likewise RV. 5.32.6 : *uccāir indro apagūryā jaghāna* 'Indra raising aloft (his weapon) slew him'.

2. *ava-*: Manu uses *avagur-* in the same context in which *apagur-* appears in the T.S. : *na kadācid dviḥ tasmād vidvān avagured api/ na tādāyet tṛṇenāpi*. The past participle is *avagūrṇa-* (P. 8.2.77.)

(3) *ud-*: *nāma udgurāmāṇāya cābhighñate ca* VS. 16, 46. 'Homage to him both when he raises (his hand to smite) and when he smites'. (But T.S. in the corresponding passage has *apaguramāṇāya*); Yājñ. 2.2.15 *udgūrṇe prathamō daṇḍaḥ*, etc.

The version sometimes given (both by commentators and translators) 'threaten by raising one's voice, shouting' is incorrect, and in all places where this *gūr-* is used with the three prepositions mentioned above the meaning is raise up hand, weapon, ready to strike).¹

This root *gūr-* is connected with Ar. *gar-* 'to throw, hurl' (*niyairē* 'they are hurled down') and Gk. *bállo* 'throw' (IE *gʷel-*) as was first pointed out by Neisser². The root is also dealt with by Wackernagel³, but he makes the mistake of confining the meaning 'raise (hand, weapon) to strike' to the compound with *ud-*. That this cannot be so is clear from the juxtaposition of the passages above, and his mistake was due to relying on the wrong rendering just referred to (raise voice, threaten). The root must be kept quite clear both from *gr-* 'to proclaim' (from confusion with which comes the wrong meaning 'threaten by shouting') and from *gur-* 'to welcome' (with which it is given in one article by BR.). In addition to the above contexts it appears in a different setting with *prá* in RV. 1, 173, 2 : *prá mandayúr manām gūrta hotā* 'May the exhilarating Hotṛ-priest propel forth his hymn of devotion'. This interpretation is in accordance with a very frequently expressed notion, cf. 2, 33, 8 *prá..... vṛṣabhāya.....suṣtutim ivayāmi*, etc., etc.

In the article referred to Wackernagel expresses the theory that this root would originally be conjugated in the ninth class. In one passage of the R̥gveda, to judge by the context and the meaning required, such a form is actually preserved: 6.35.5:

1. H. Pertel, 211, 8, 287-8.
2. BB. xiii, 291, ff.
3. KZ. 67, 159 ff.

tām ā nūnām vṛjānam anyātkā cāc chūro yāc chakra vī duro gr̥ṇīṣe |
mā nīv aham sukhadūghasya dhenor āṅgirasān brāhmaṇa vipra jinva .

The interpretation of *gr̥ṇīṣe* in this verse has caused considerable difficulty, as a glance at the notes of Oldenberg and Geldner will show. The various renderings proposed ('(opening) the doors you are praised', 'you sing open the doors' etc.,) all fail to carry conviction. On the other hand all the difficulties vanish and a perfectly natural rendering is obtained if we take this as the root meaning 'to throw, hurl, heave etc' (IE. *gw̥l̥* > *gr̥*.) which as Wackernagel remarked is a root that might be expected to inflect in the ninth class. Translate therefore:

"(Bringing) hither that pen (of cows) as on the other occasion, when, O Śakra, as a mighty hero thou dost throw open the doors, may I not be without my portion of white-milking kine; stimulate with the power of prayer the Āṅgirasas, O wise one".

6. *Vārdala-*

Skt. *Vārdala-* 'a rainy day, bad weather' is quoted only from lexica, but elsewhere in Indo-Aryan it is very well represented: Pa. *Vaddalika* 'rainy weather' (Vin. 1.3., etc.), BHS *Vardala* nt. 'rainy weather', *Vardalika* 'id', AMg. *Vaddalaa-*, *Vaddalaga-* 'a cloud', *Vaddaliyā* 'a cloudy, dull day'; the word is general in the modern Indian vernaculars; cf. *Nep. Dict* s. v. *bādal*.

As regards its origin Monier-Williams remarks 'probably from *vār* + *dala*, according to some from *vārda* + *la*. On the other hand Edgerton (*BHS Dict*, s. v.) considers the possibility that the long *ā* of the Sanskrit form may have arisen by popular etymological association with *vār*, *vāri* 'water'.

In view of the frequently occurring *vārīda* 'water-giving, cloud', one would be inclined to regard the apparent connection with *vār* 'water' and *dā* 'to give' as the real rather than the popular etymology, providing the form can be satisfactorily accounted for. A compound *vārda-* 'cloud' is recorded, though only from a very late text, and the second of Monier-Williams' explanation adds the suffix *la* to this. A much easier and more natural explanation can be obtained if we assume that it stands for original **vār-dada* - 'water-giving'. Compounds of this type in which the form of the last member is modelled on the present stem of the root are not uncommon.

1. The poet asks for cows, and Indra's providing them is figuratively represented in terms of the myth according to which Indra originally provided cows for mankind by breaking open Vala.

mon¹, and examples occur from the reduplicating class (*sardhañjaha-*, *iḍādadha* - etc.). So a compound * *vār-dada* would be of a perfectly normal type, and would be used as naturally in the sense of cloud as *vārida*. The change from *d* to *l* in intervocalic position is known to occur sporadically in Prakrit and even in Sanskrit (e. g. *ālāna* 'rope for tying elephants' from *ādāna*) and therefore there is no difficulty in assuming such a change in the present case. The word is in any case dialectal in origin, since it was not in use in standard Sanskrit.

A compound of a similar type appearing in a disguised form in Pali may be mentioned here. This is *Irandatī*, name of the daughter of the Nāga king who figures in the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*. As it stands the form defies analysis, but it becomes perfectly clear when one remembers the wellknown fact that original voiced consonants sometimes appear as unvoiced in Pali. In this way *Irandatī* stands for * *Irandadī* i.e., *irām-dadī*, a compound of similar structure and meaning to Vedic *iḍādadha* quoted above.

7. *siṣṭakti*

This reduplicated present is by general agreement attached to the root *sac* = 'to accompany'. This was already the opinion of Yaska *Nirukta* (3, 21, *siṣaktu sacata iti sevamūnasya*) and he is followed by Sāyaṇa (cf. the commentary on I, 18, 2) and by the consensus of modern scholars. As such the form appears also in works of comparative I E Grammar.²

A different interpretation is indicated by the following passage of the Atharva-veda in the Paippalāda recension (II, 82)

Agnim te hāras siṣaktu yātudhāna svāhā ...

Vātam te prāṇas siṣaktu ...

Sūryam te cakṣus siṣaktu ...

antarikṣam te śrotram siṣaktu ...

paramam te parāyatam manas siṣaktu.....

āpas te rasas siṣaktu

oṣadhis te lomāni siṣajantu²

Evidently to the author of this hymn is concerned the reduplicated *siṣaktu* is attached to the root *saj* - 'to adhere' and not to the root *sac* - 'to accompany'. The authority of this passage outweighs that of Yaska who wrote much later when the form had long been completely obsolete. Consequently the same interpretation is to be recommended for the other Vedic passages in which this reduplicated present is found. It so happens that among the forms occurring,

1 List in Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* II. 1, § 76 b.

2. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II, 3, 108; Meillet, *Introduction* p. 204.

apart from the present instance,—*siṣakṣi*, *siṣakti*, *siṣaktu*, *siṣakta*—there are none with a vocalic termination, and consequently confusion was possible.

The meanings of the two roots —*sac-* ‘to accompany, associate with’, *saj-* ‘to adhere, cleave to, stick to, be attached to’, are close enough to make difficult in most contexts to decide on the basis of meaning alone which root is involved, but nevertheless to attach the forms to *sac-* rather than *saj-* was in fact begging the question. Now that the question is unambiguously settled, it is possible to see that in some contexts the attribution to *saj-* makes a better sense. An instance is 10. 5. 1, *siṣakty ūdhar niṇyor upāsthe*, since a calf attaches itself to the udder when suckling, the root *saj-* is obviously more appropriate here than the root *sac-*.

Corresponding to Vedic *siṣakti* Avestan has *hiš haxti* (for **hiṣaxti*) which was likewise explained as form *sac-* (Ir. *hac-*). Nevertheless Bartholomae’s rendering (‘sich heften, haften an’) indicates pretty clearly that the form belongs, like Vedic *siṣakti*, to the root *saj-* (Ir. *haj-*).

8. *Kuluñcā-*

This word occurs only in VS 16, 22, and in the corresponding passages of the other Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda (TS. iv, 5, 3, etc.), in the section devoted to Rudra. The meaning usually attributed to this word is ‘pluckers of hair’ which is given by Monier-Williams following Böhtlingk and Roth. On the basis of this interpretation an exceedingly implausible etymology was proposed by Charpentier (IF 28, 172), to the effect that it was derived by haplology from **kacaluñca-* through **ka-luñca-*.

On the other hand A.B. Keith pointed out (in a note to his translation of TS.) that *kuluñca-* presumably means ‘thief’. This follows necessarily from the context since the word *kuluñcā-* occurs among a list of synonyms for thief—*kuluñcānām pātaye nāmaḥ* along with *stonānām pātaye nāmaḥ*, *stāyūnām p^o n^o*, *taskarāṇām p^o n^o*, *muṣṇatām p^o n^o*, *vikrntānām p^o n^o*. The interpretation given by Mahidhara in his commentary on VS is on these lines: *kum bhūmim kṣetvāgrhādī-rūpām luñcanti havanti kuluñcāḥ, kutsitam luñcanti vā*. Of the alternatives the second is to be regarded as the correct one among the various sorts of thieves mentioned *kuluñcā-*, containing the prefix *ku-* ‘small, mean, inferior’ will be a ‘petty thief, pilferer’.

1. These mantras occur nowhere else, but the idea expressed has parallels, e.g. TA 6. 4. 1. *sūryam te cakṣur gacchatu, vātam ātmā*, etc.

² See *Indian Linguistics*, xvi (1955) *Chatterji Jubilee Volume* p. 187 ff.

RIGVEDIC SAHASĀVAN

By

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1. The word *sahasāvan-* is only used in the *Riksamhitā*, where it occurs 13 times. Besides there is one occurrence of a vocative *savasāvan*, which is mostly, but without apparent reason, referred to a stem *savasāvanti* -; cf., e.g., Grassmann, *Wörterbuch des R.V.*, col. 1387 (but cf., 1729 b !), Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 195, Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Grammatik* III, 258 (but cf., II, 2, 901 !). The formation of *sahasāvan-* has not yet been explained. Wackernagel, Kuhn's *Zeitschr.* 46, 272 (= *Kleine Schriften* I, 291) refrained from expressing an opinion. The following brief note does not claim to present a solution to the problem, its mere object being to state more precisely the problem itself.

It is clear that the sole normal adjectival derivative of *sáhas-* is *sáhasavanti-*, which occurs 19 times in the *Riksamhitā*, and has a close parallel in Avestan *hazahvan-*. There is no possibility to connect *sahasāvan-* with this word, nor is it likely at all that a purely linguistic explanation can be proposed. For several reasons, indeed, it must be doubted that *sahasāvan-* has ever belonged to the normal speech of the Vedic period. Not only its abnormal mode of formation (as against *sáhasavanti-* and its restricted use (only in the archaic Rigvedic idiom), but also the fact that no other case-forms but the vocative *sahasāvan* are attested suggests the idea that *sahasāvan* is an artificial creation of the Rigvedic poetic idiom alone. As for the *hapax legomenon* *savaśāvan* 1. 62. 11d, its occurrence in the first maṇḍala might perhaps be due to its being a late incidental imitation of *sahasāvan*.

2. If this conclusion is correct, the prosodical character of *sahasāvan* (— — — —) must be taken into consideration as a possible factor of importance. The natural place for a word of this rhythmic pattern is after the caesura of a *Triṣṭubh* or *Jagatī* stanza: as a matter of fact, in the 11 passages where *sahasāvan* occurs in such a stanza, it always stands at that place. This, however, is also the normal place for the adjective *sahasānā-*, whose 4 occurrences in *Triṣṭubh* pādas always stand after the caesura. Since *sahasānā-* is not used in the vocative, it may be stated that from the viewpoint of poetical technique, *sahasāvan* functions as the vocative of *sahasānā-*.

However, it is not clear why no vocative of *sahasāna-* should have been used; its absence from the Rigvedic hymns might, indeed be attributed to the small number of occurrences. As a matter of fact, there is one word of quite the same structure, which also stands in 7 out of the 9 occurrences, after the caesura and which is employed thrice in the vocative case, viz. *śavasāna* (I. 67. 13c., VII. 93. 2a, VIII. 68. 8a). There is however one great difference, which shows that a technical problem of versification is involved in the use of these forms: while *śavasāna* stands in all the three passages before a consonant, the vocative *sahasāvan* is followed by a vowel in 8 out of the 13 occurrences (I. 91. 23b, VI. 15. 12b = VII. 4. 9b, VII. 4. 6b, 43. 5b, X. 21. 4b, 93. 11b, 115. 8a). This fact can hardly be merely incidental. Since there was no special reason for the poets to prefer words with initial vowel after *sahasāvan* (as will be shown below), it would seem that the artificial form owes its origin primarily to the poets' need of a suitable antevocalic variant of *sahasāna*. In our text, however, it also occurs before consonants, and since the majority of these cases (I. 189. 5d, III. 1. 22a, V. 20. 4b, VII. 1. 24c, 19. 7a) belong to the family collections, we must conclude that the use of *sahasāvan* has formed part of the poetical technique down from the earliest historical times. That *-āvan* is a mere prosodical variant of *-āna* is clearly illustrated by *śavasāvan* in *spṛśānti tvā śavasāvan manīṣāḥ* I.62.11d, as against *sunīthāya naḥ śavasāna nodhāḥ* in 13c.

These observations, however, do not explain the origin of the formation *sahasāvan*. In the absence of other words in *-āvan* (besides *sahasāvan* and *śavasāvan*) an analogical explanation can hardly be considered. It is even extremely doubtful, whether the analogy of other adjectives in *-van* - generally could be taken into consideration. To demonstrate this, an excursus is needed.

3. It is a well known fact that the Rigvedic vocative forms in *-an* and *-in*, although written *-ann* and *-inn* before vowels (in accordance with the rule of the classical language), must often be read as *-an*, *-in* in this position. On metrical as well as linguistic grounds Benfey and Oldenberg hold the readings with *-nn* in our text to be due to normalization by later editors. Oldenberg, it is true, later modified this view by introducing the theory of vowels of intermediate quality to account for some apparent incongruities (Zeits. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. Vol. 62, 1908, pp. 486—490). Wackernagel and Debrunner, Altind. Gramm. I,

330, III, 275, however, were obviously not convinced. The following results of an inquiry made independently from Olenberg's and based upon a different system of classification would seem to confirm Benfey's theory. The synopsis is confined to the vocative form in *-an* (except for *maghavan*, which will be discussed in a separate section) and consider only the cases where long and short syllables can be distinguished with sufficient certainty (5th syllable of *Gāyatrī* and 9th syllable of *Tristubh—Jagatī*). An attempt has been made to explain the evidence without having recourse to the theory of 'half long' vowels. There is a total number of 143 occurrences according to my countings (*-an* 106 *-man* 26, and *-van* 11, including *sādūvan* I. 24. 3c.)

The ending is short :

(a) in the 5th syllable of *Gāyatrī* pādas :

iyām te pūṣann āghrṇe III. 62. 7a

vēmi tvā pūṣann ṛñjāse VIII. 4. 17a

asmākam pūṣann avitā VIII. 4. 18c

ātoḥ pariḥmann ā gahi I. 6. 9a

vyaśvadāvan iyaṭe V. 18. 3d

prā viśvasāmann atrivād V. 22. 1a

(b) in *Tristubh* and *Jagatī* pādas with caesura after the 5th syllable :

vṛtrām yād vajrin vṛṣakarmann ubhnāḥ I. 63. 4b

sā no nāvyebhir vṛṣakarmann ukthāḥ I. 130. 10a

indram tām sumbha purukarmann āvase VIII. 70. 2a

dānāya mānaḥ somapāvan astu te I. 55. 7a

The ending is probably long :

Only in one late hymn of the tenth maṇḍala, whose poet deviates from the old type of versification and uses *viśvakarman* in a pāda with the caesura after the fourth syllable :

yā madhyamā viśvakarmann utemā X. 81. 5b.

4. Quite different, however, is the case of *maghavan*. With some 10 exceptions it stands always after the caesura (about 132 times), which number comprises 38 occurrences before a vowel. If the caesura is after the 5th syllable, we find mostly the fixed phrase *maghavann indra* (I. 178. 5a; IV. 29. 5a; VI. 44. 18a; 46. 10c; VII. 32. 23c; VIII. 3. 14c; 18a; 4. 4a; 51. 6a; 52. 8a; 53. 1a; 61. 14c; 100. 6b; X. 33. 3c). There are 7 exceptions which for the

most part belong to the two latest maṇḍalas (I. 84. 19c; 102. 7a; III. 53. 5a; VII. 20. 9b; X. 102. 3c; 103. 10a; 147. 3a). The remaining passages have *maghavann* in the syllables 6-8 with caesura after the fifth syllable : III. 32. 1c; 36. 10a; 43. 5b; 47. 4a; VI. 44. 10a; 17b; VII. 19. 8a; 9a; 29. 1d; 32. 25a; VIII. 36. 2a; 54. 7c; 90. 4a; 97. 1a; 8c; X. 131. 5d; 167. 3c.

In all passages *maghavan* stands in a place, where the metre requires a long final syllable. Since there was a very strong predilection to put it after the caesura, the two possible types of verse-structure were :

XXXX *maghavann* — — —
 XXXXX *maghavann* — — —

Strictly speaking, accordingly, the poets would only have been able to use the word if followed by a consonant. Liturgical considerations, however, may have demanded that formulae like *maghavan indra* should find a place in the hymns. Here sheer necessity has compelled the poets to use *maghavan* before vowels, although its last syllable was, no doubt, short : Oldenberg rightly reads *maghavan indra* instead of the traditional reading.

5. The case of *sahasāvan* is obviously different from that of *maghavan*. Prosodically it belongs to *purukarman*, *vṛṣakarman*, *somopāvan* (see p. 3) ; so we should expect to find it, like these words after the caesura, in the places 6-9 of the pāda. It may also be noted, that *saha ānā-* always stands in this place when the final syllable is short, but in 5-8, when that syllable is long, e. g. *prā vo devām cit sahasānām agnim* VII. 7. 1a, as against *jñeyā bhāgām sahasānó vāreṇa* II. 10. 6a.

Curiously enough, this is not the case. In all the 11 passages, where *sahasāvan* stands after the caesura, this caesura is after the fourth syllable so that a long value is required for *-van*. Nevertheless the poets use *-van* before vowels in no less than 6 passages, viz.

tvām u naḥ sahasāvann avadyāt VI. 15. 12b, VII. 4. 9b

tvayā vayām sahasāvann āskrāḥ VII. 43. 5b

mā tvā vayām sahasāvann avirā VII. 4. 6b

urjo napāt sahasāvann iti tvā X. 115. 8a

kūcit śāntam sahasāvann abhiṣṭaye X. 93. 11b

rāyo bhāgām sahasāvann abhi yudhya I. 91. 23b

Probably also in X. 21. 4b (metre: *astārapaṅkti*), since the poets were free to use the word, like *purukarman* etc. in *pādaś* with the caesura after the 5th syllable, the circumstance that they deliberately did not, allows but one conclusion: the ending of *sahasāvan* was different from that of the vocatives of stems in *-ant-*.¹ Oldenberg twice substitutes the reading *sahasāvan* for *sahasāvann* (Noten ad I. 91. 23b, VI. 15. 12b), but this may be a mere lapsus.

6. The implications of this prosodical statement are clear: if *-vann* is consistently used as a long syllable before vowels, the ending must historically represent *-n* plus a consonant (probably *-t*). However, the form *sahasāvan* cannot be referred to a stem in *-vant-*, since the Rigvedic adjectives in *-vant-* have always a vocative in *-vaḥ*. The three exceptions mentioned in our manuals (e. g., Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, 195, Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Gramm., III, 268, Renou, Grammaire de la langue vedique, 198) do not stand a critical examination: *arvan* occurs in two hymns, where the corresponding nominative is *ārvā*, not *ārvān* (I. 163. 12a, VI. 12. 4c), *satāvan* may be equally well referred to a stem in *-n* (Oldenberg, note ad VI. 47. 9b), and *śavasāvan* belongs, together with *sahasāvan*, to a separate class. We are bound to conclude that such vocative forms in *-van* do not occur before the Atharva-Saṃhitā. Since *sahasāvan*, on the other hand, belongs to the oldest stock of the Rigvedic language, it is impossible to refer it to an adjectival stem in *-vant-*.

Accordingly only one possibility would seem to remain, viz., to assume a participial stem in *-ant-* which would involve that *sahasāvan* is the product of re-interpretation of a group of two words **śahasā'van* or rather **śahas'āvan*). Only reluctantly will one accept this explanation, not so much because vocatives of participles in *-ant-* are unknown² for in this case *āvan* might have been a nominative as rather because this hypothesis allows no demonstration and therefore is devoid of further interest. Moreover, since the phrase **śahasā avati* is unknown and unlikely to have existed, this would presuppose an older model in analogy to which *sahasāvan* would have been created (e. g., **āvasā'van*, cf. *yāsminn āvithāvasā duroṇē* X. 120 7b). Such a theory is plainly unsatisfactory but, if our preceding conclusions are correct the chance that the true explanation can still be found is slight.

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- 1 Oldenberg, ZDMG. 62, 489, considers this a possible conclusion but refrains from accepting it.
 - 2 *Satāvan* VI. 47. 9b, Lanman, Noun-inflection 509, and *śatāvan* I. 24. 3c, Padapatha, are probably both adjectives.

BHAVADEVĀ'S VYAVAHĀRATILAKA

BY

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INTRODUCTION

Judging from the imposing list of works attributed to BHAVADEVĀ BHATṬA by his earlier biographers¹, he must have been a versatile writer. However, this paper will be concerned with one limited aspect of his literary activity only, viz. with the author's work in the field of legal procedure. As far as our present knowledge goes, there are reasons to believe that BHAVADEVĀ composed no more than a single treatise on this subject, entitled VYAVAHĀRATILAKA, which "must have been a valuable work on judicial procedure. Unfortunately this work has not yet come to light"² We may still hope that one day a Ms. of the Vyavahāratilaka will be found. Even though the majority of the data collected in this article would, then, become useless, in the meanwhile it cannot be without importance to bring together carefully all information about this "valuable" work. This information will bear not only upon the content of the treatise itself, but at the same time it will be used to ascertain BHAVADEVĀ's point of view with regard to a number of litigious points of legal procedure and to add to determine his place in the history of Hindu Law and Dharmaśāstra in general.

All fragments from the Vyavahāratilaka³ known so far belong to the field of legal procedure only; not a single one is found to bear upon substantive law⁴. Consequently, the Vyavahāratilaka may be said to have belonged to the same category of works as the Vyavahāramātrkā, the Vyavahāratnākara, the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi, the Vyavahārasaukhyā, etc., in which adjective law is the only subject-matter dealt with. Moreover, inasmuch as no reference to any work called Vivādatilaka has been found, it seems as if BHAVADEVĀ has not written on substantive law at all.

In one nibandha only the Vyavahāratilaka figures on the list of sources which in this kind of texts has often been added in one of the initial or final stanzas: VARDHAMĀNA'S Daṇḍaviveka (356.10). But references to the Vyavahāratilaka in the text are met with in at

least ten nibandhas, which can be arranged in chronological order as follows :

HARINĀTHA's Smṛtisāra ⁶	A.D. 1300-1350 ⁶
MISARU MIŚRA's Vivādacandra ⁷	ca. 1450
VĀCASPATI MIŚRA's Vyavahāracintāmaṇi ⁸	1450-1500
VARDHAMĀNA's Daṇḍaviveka ⁹	1450-1500
PRATĀPARUDRA's Sarasvatīvilāsa ¹⁰	1500-1525
RAGHUNANDANA's Vyavahāratattva ¹¹	1520-1570
ṬODARAMALLA's Vyavahārasaukhya ¹²	1565-1589
NANDAPAṆḌITA's Vijayantī (on Viṣṇusmṛti) ¹³	1595-1630
MITRA MIŚRA's Vyavahāraprakāśa ¹⁴	1610-1640
ANANTADEVA's Rājadharmakaustubha ¹⁵	1650-1675

In other words : the Vyavahāratilaka is prior even to HARI-NĀTHA's Smṛtisāra, i.e., it must have been written before A.D. 1300. This is in keeping with a passage from the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (428.26-27) where the Vyavahāratilaka and the Smṛtisāra have been referred to together, whereas their point of view has, then, been opposed to that of नव्याः (cf. Fragment XIII).

The *terminus ante quem* for the Vyavahāratilaka can even be brought down far beyond A.D. 1500. Indeed, one fragment (XVII. NOTE 1) will be found not only to illustrate clearly the close relationship of the Vyavahāratilaka and the Pradīpa, but at the same time the former will prove definitely to have preceded the latter. Unfortunately, the Pradīpa too, has been lost ; otherwise it might well have served as an important source for the reconstruction of the Vyavahāratilaka. If we may judge from the said fragment, the Pradīpa seems to have largely held the same point of view as the Vyavahāratilaka, but at the same time it further elaborated and rectified the theories of its predecessor by introducing a number of ingenious provisos and qualifications. In the same way, such expressions as अवदेवप्रदीपादयोऽप्येवम् (Fragment IX : Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 155.4, Vyavahāraprakāśa 66.18) should not, therefore, be interpreted as if both texts corresponded verbatim ; here too, the Pradīpa may have further developed BHAVADEVA's treatment of the problem. Inasmuch as there are good reasons to assign the Pradīpa to a date prior to A.D. 1150 ¹⁶, a fortiori the Vyavahāratilaka too, should have been composed before the middle of the 12th century A.D.

In the case of most dharma-nibandhas the *terminus ante quem* derived from the works in which they have been quoted finds a valuable

counterpart in a terminus post quem to be established upon the basis of the works referred to in the nibandha under consideration. It goes without saying that we are less fortunate in this respect with regard to nibandhas which are known through sparse fragments only, the more when, as is the case with the Vyavahāratilaka, not a single reference of the kind is contained in these fragments. The only hint might perhaps be derived from Fragment I, where the Vyavahāratilaka seems to have formulized its point of view as a direct criticism of VIJÑANEŚVARA's Mitākṣarā. If A.D. 1070-1100 is taken as the date of composition of the Mitākṣarā¹⁷, the Vyavahāratilaka should have been composed about or after the beginning of the 12th century.

Both termini taken together, the Vyavahāratilaka might, then be said to have been written in the first half of the 12th century A.D.¹⁸

FRAGMENTS

I. Relative Weight of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra.

In accordance with such texts as Yājñavalkya 2.21cd :

अर्थशस्त्रात्तु बलवद्दर्शशस्त्रमिति स्थितिः ।

it has been generally accepted that in cases of conflict between mutually inconsistent prescriptions of arthaśāstra and dharmaśāstra, the latter only should prevail. In a number of nibandhas this discussion has been illustrated by means of the example of the admissibility or non-admissibility of legal self-defence against an assassin belonging to the *brāhmaṇavarṇa*. In these nibandhas the texts forbidding such self-defence are said to be dharmaśāstra (e.g., MANU 11.90, etc.), whereas the texts, in which it has been allowed, are considered arthaśāstra (e.g., MANU 8.350-351, etc.); according to YĀJÑAVALKYA 2.21cd. the latter should, then, be rejected in favour of the former. Again, in other nibandhas the same example often has been referred to merely to prove its impropriety as an illustration of the rule contained in YĀJÑAVALKYA 2.21cd. The Vyavahāratilaka too, must have belonged to this latter group.

BHAVADEVĀ's point of view has been preserved in at least three¹⁹ sources, viz. a brief reference in the Sarasvatīvilāsa (154) and two more lengthy quotations in the Daṇḍaviveka (244-246) and the Vyavahāraprakāśa (16-17), the latter of which, though apparently drawn from the same source as the Daṇḍaviveka, creates the impression of being the more systematic rendering of the original text²⁰.

It cannot be hoped here to reconstruct the original wording of the Vyavahāratilaka, but at least no doubt can be left as to the general impact of BHAVADEVĀ's statements. In his opinion even dharmasāstra does not forbid to kill the assassin who is a brāhmaṇa ; his exposition mainly seems to have consisted in a refutation of the usual interpretation of the following text of UŚANAS which might well be quoted against this point of view :

आततायिवधे न दोषोऽन्यत्र गोब्राह्मणात्

Indeed, this text should not be interpreted as a single sūtra : "One does not incur any guilt by killing an assassin except if the latter is a cow or a brāhmaṇa". On the contrary, the above text should be divided into three separate sūtras, as follows :

1. आततायिवधे न (दोषः) "No guilt in case of the murder of (a brāhmaṇa acting as) an assassin".

2. दोषोऽन्यत्र - "Guilt elsewhere", i.e., when killing (a brāhmaṇa) under any other circumstances.

3. गोब्राह्मणात् (स्नातः प्रायश्चित्तं कुर्यात्) - "(If one has killed a brāhmaṇa acting as an assassin,) he should perform a penance by bathing from a cow or a brāhmaṇa". As far as the expression "bathing from a cow" is concerned, BHAVADEVĀ refers to a text of VYĀSA and explains : "bathing with the water from the horn of a cow"; "bathing from a brāhmaṇa" is explained as "bathing accompanied by the muttering of the aghamaṛṣaṇa, etc."

II.

There is another reference to BHAVADEVĀ in connection with killing an assassin. The Daṇḍaviveka (238.24) concludes a certain argumentation with the words: एतच्च भवदेवमतमाश्रित्योक्तम् "The preceding exposition is based upon the theory of BHAVADEVĀ."

This reference raises a double problem :

1. The precise extent of the "preceding exposition". Most probably the words एतच्च...उक्तम् refer to the preceding sentence only: अत्र उच्यते...इति i.e., Daṇḍaviveka 238.22-23: प्रियाघर्षिणो वचनादेवाततायित्वमाततायिवधे वचनादेव पापभावः That means : (a) One who violates another person's wife is an assassin, because it has been actually said so in a smṛti-text. (वचनात्) (b) One who kills an assassin is not guilty, according to another smṛti-text. Consequently, he who kills the person who violates his wife is not guilty.

2. The statement "is based upon the theory of BHAVADEVĀ" is highly ambiguous. (a) Either it only means, that the above

'preceding exposition' is in keeping with the general conception of BHAVADEVĀ's work. Indeed, BHAVADEVĀ has explained the text (वचन) of UŚĀNAS in such a way that even a brāhmaṇa who acts as an assassin may be killed with impunity. If so, the present reference to BHAVADEVĀ merely confirms the preceding Fragment I. (b) or it may also mean, that BHAVADEVĀ actually wrote down this very "preceding exposition". In that case, the Vyavahāratilaka must be assumed also to have quoted another text, viz. the one enumerating the प्रियाधर्षिन् among the assassins, i. e., a text of BRHADVIŚṆU which so far is known to have been quoted in the Daṇḍaviveka only (234.18-19. Dhka 1612):

उद्यतासिः प्रियाधर्षी धनहर्ता गरप्रदः ।

अथर्वहन्ता तेजघ्नः षडेते आततायिनः ॥

In this latter case only VARDHAMĀNA's remark एतच्च भवदेवमतमाश्रित्योक्तम् affords a substantial addition to the information gathered in Fragment I.

III

With regard to persons who only indirectly abet the accomplishment of a murder (निमित्तिनः) the Daṇḍaviveka (77) prescribes that they should incur no other punishment than a rebuke, etc., but they should not be punished physically. In support of this statement VARDHAMĀNA refers to the following passage from BHAVADEVĀ:

यदा विहितवाग्दण्डधनदण्डशरीरादिदण्डेष्वपराधानुरूपेषु गलपाशादिना म्रियते तदापि न दोषः । मन्युत्पादनेऽपि दण्डानां विहितत्वेन निषेधानवकाशात् । यतो न हि स्यादित्यनेन साक्षात्परप्राणवियोगफलव्यापारकर्तृत्वं निषिध्यते । न च निमित्तिनो वाग्दण्डनिमित्तातिरिक्तव्यापारे कर्तृत्वमस्ति । तदेव हि मन्युत्पादनद्वारेण परम्परया वधकारणमतः कथं तस्य निषेधविषयत्वमपि ।

At first sight it might look as if the Vyavahāratilaka also contained a chapter on साहसः. However, there are valid reasons to believe that the above passage actually belonged to the paragraph on the killing of an assassin: (1) In the preceding paragraph, the Daṇḍaviveka refers to a passage from the Mitakṣarā (2.21), which does belong to VIJÑĀNEŚVARA's treatment of the ātāyins: if a brāhmaṇa who acts as an assassin is killed unintentionally, the perpetrator should suffer a minor penance but no punishment. (2) The words न हि स्यात् in the quotation from BHAVADEVĀ have been taken from MANU 4.162 (Dhko 1627); this verse too, has been discussed under Mitakṣarā 2.21. (3) In the Vyavahāraprakāśa (17.5-7) it has been

explicitly stated that the text of UŚANAS (Fragment I) has been quoted in a context dealing with the penance for killing a brāhmaṇa, both for the perpetrator himself and for persons connected with him as well.

IV. Two Types Of Legal Procedure.

BHAVADEVĀ distinguishes two different types of legal procedure (Vivādacandra 111-18-20):

पुरुषशक्तिमात्रनिरूपणार्थं व्यवहारे परमेवमादयो दोषा भवन्ति । प्रमेयस्वरूप-
मात्रार्थं तु व्यवहारे एवमादिदोषानपेक्ष्य भूतानुसंधानेनैव व्यवहर्तव्यम् ।

It is very difficult to hazard any definite conclusions as to the impact of these words in the Vyavahāratilaka. Most probably the distinction refers to legal procedures being based upon भूत and छल, respectively. E. g., YĀJÑĀVALKYA 2.19 (Dhko 87), NĀRADA Mātrkā 1.29 (Dhko 94), etc. In the first case the decision is based upon the examination of facts, i. e., upon the *objects* of right cognition (प्रमेय); in the other case it is based upon "the capability of men" (पुरुषशक्ति)²¹, i. e., upon the parties' cleverness of producing *instruments* either of right cognition or of false disputation (e. g., छल). In the Vivādacandra (11C-111) itself both these types of legal procedure have been qualified as तत्त्वनिर्णयरूप and जल्पसधर्म²², respectively. The "errors" (दोषा) referred to by BHAVADEVĀ in case of a decision dependant upon the capability of men can, of course, not be ascertained upon this mere fragment. They must be such that they might lead to a wrong decision of the law-case.

V. Definition Of a Valid Complaint (भाषास्वरूप)

Numerous nibandhas have quoted the same series of verses; generally under the name of BRĤHASPATI (Dhko 144), less frequently under that of BRĤHASPATI-KĀTYĀYANA (Dhko 144, 152) or KĀTYĀYANA (Dhko 152), enumerating the requirements of a valid complaint. Two (BRĤHASPATI 2.14-15 = KĀTYĀYANA 141-142) or perhaps even three (+ BRĤHASPATI 3.1 = KĀTYĀYANA 143) of these verses also occurred in the Vyavahāratilaka.

On one of these requirements, viz. लोकसिद्धत्वं, BHAVADEVĀ's comment has been preserved as follows: (Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 92.3-4),

यत्र श्रुतमात्र एव लोकानां सम्प्रत्ययस्तल्लोकसिद्धम् । तेन निर्धनकृतो
लक्षसंख्यस्वधनप्रयोगाक्षेपो बाधितः ।

Cf. also Vyavahāraprakāśa 52.19-21, practically identical, apparently via Vyavahāracintāmaṇi.

Both in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi and in the Vyavahāraprakāśa, BHAVADEVĀ'S interpretation has been quoted against their own authors' explanation which in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (90.9) has been worded as follows : लोकव्यवहारविरुद्धार्थकम् . Cf. also Sarasvatīvilāsa 90.3.

BHAVADEVĀ'S interpretation is not known to have occurred in any earlier nibandha, but it has been closely followed (together with the example) in the smṛtisāra (86, Dhko 147a 11-14); cf. also Vyavahārasaukhya 28.

VI. Definition Of The Reply By Way Of Denial (मिथ्योत्तर).

In order to define the second type of reply ²³, viz. the reply by way of denial, the Vyavahārasaukhya (29a4) quotes the following quarter-verse of HĀRĪTA :

मिथ्या साध्यस्य निवृत्तिः (=VYĀSA 1. 24d, Dhko 187) TOṆARA-MALLA adds the commentary of BHAVADEVĀ, as follows :

अत्र भवदेवः शतं मे धारयसि गृहीतत्वादित्युक्ते यो हेत्वपलापद्वारेण साध्यापह्नवं करोति तदैवं मिथ्योत्तरं न तु हेत्वपहारद्वारमन्तरेण साध्यस्यापह्नवो (?) वक्तुमशक्यत्वादित्यभिधाय हेतोः स्वरूपासिद्धिर्मिथ्योत्तरमिति विवेक्तव्यमित्याह ।

No doubt, this text needs some emendation, which may become possible after comparison of the other mss. of the Vyavahārasaukhya. But even now the author's intention is sufficiently clear : not only should the reply by way of denial reject the *probandum* of the plaint, but it should do so through a denial of its *probans* ²⁴. And this condition brings about a modified definition : "The reply by way of denial is such that it maintains the *probans* of the plaint to suffer from the fallacy called *svarūpāsiddhi*."

Example. Take the plaint : "Hundred suvarṇas (*paṅśa*) are due by you (*sādhyā*), since you have borrowed them from me (*hetu*)". The reply by way of denial shall state हेतोः स्वरूपासिद्धिः i. e., हेतोः पक्षाधर्मता or हेतोः पक्षावृत्तित्वम् ²⁴. In other words: the defendant shall maintain, that "the fact of having been borrowed" is not "a quality of" or "does not occur in" the hundred suvarṇas.

The requirement of the reply by way of denial, also to reject the *probans* of the plaint, has been accepted by a great number of nibandhakāras ²⁵. As far as we know, the idea of स्वरूपासिद्धि is an innovation due to BHAVADEVĀ. It has been directly incorporated in HARINĀTHA'S Smṛtisāra (92a4 sqq.), whereas in VĀCASPATI'S Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (141.3) it is found back in the same context

of the reply by way of denial, though with a completely different function.

Finally, in view of the establishment of the interdependence of the different nibandhas it might not be unimportant to mention the fact that the Smṛtisāra (which directly, though anonymously, borrows from the Vyavahāratilaka) and the Vyavahārasaukhya (where BHAVADEVĀ's commentary is explicitly quoted) are the only nibandhas to ascribe the above quarter-verse containing the definition of मिथ्योत्तर to HĀRĪTA (as against VYĀSA elsewhere), and therefore, to conjecture this peculiarity to go back to the Vyavahāratilaka.

VII. Definition of the reply by way of exception

On the verse BRĤASPATI 3.19 (Dhko 166)

अर्थिना लेखितो योऽर्थः प्रत्यर्थी यदि तं तथा ।

प्रपद्य कारणं ब्रूयात् प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं हि तत् ॥

BHAVADEVĀ is known to have commented as follows :

अर्थिना पूर्ववादिना स्वसाध्यसिद्धौ यो हेतुस्ततः प्रत्यर्थी उत्तरवादी यदि तं हेतुं प्रपद्य तथा प्रतीत्य हेतोः सिद्धत्वमसि ज्ञत्वं चानादृत्यान्यदेव साध्यविपरीतहेतुरूपं कारणमुत्तरमिति ब्रूयात्तदा तत्कारणोत्तरं पूर्ववादिनः प्रत्यवस्कन्दनं भवति । एवं हि सबलकारणोत्तरव्याप्तिर्भवति । न हि तुल्यबलहीनबलयोः कारणे (?) हेत्वभ्युपगमोऽस्ति । एवं हि तत्तददीयेयं भूमिः क्रमागतत्वादित्युक्ते उत्तरवाद्याह— मदीयैवेयं क्रमागतत्वादिति । तथा तथैव मदीयैवेयं दशवर्षभुक्तत्वादिति । न चानयोः पूर्वहेतुस्वीकारः¹²

In other words : according to BHAVADEVĀ a reply by way of exception is as follows : the defendant takes cognizance (प्रपद्य) of the *hetu* of the plaint, but, without bothering about its trueness or untrueness, in his reply he mentions an exception in the form of another *hetu* which contradicts the *sādhya* of the plaint. In this way BRĤASPATI 3.19 applies to all three kinds of reply by way of exception.

This statement can only be understood in its historical context. The early nibandhas (Vyavahāramātrkā 301, Vyavahārakalpātaru 69) held BRĤASPATI 3.19 to mean that the defendant accepts (प्रपद्य) the *hetu* of the plaint to have been true, and the *hetu* mentioned by him in his reply is intended to show that the *sādhya* of the plaint is no longer true. BHAVADEVĀ objects to this interpretation, for in

this way the definition is too narrow, i. e., it suffers from *avyāpti*, with regard to :—

(1) a reply by way of an equally strong exception. E.g. Plaintiff: This landed property is mine, since I obtained it by inheritance. Reply: It is mine, since I obtained it by inheritance.

(2) a reply by way of a weaker exception. E.g. Plaintiff: This landed property is mine, since I obtained it by inheritance. Reply: It is mine, since I have been using it for ten years.

Basically, both opinions only differ with regard to the interpretation of the term प्रपद्य, but far more important than this are the consequences which result from this minor difference of opinion. Indeed, it is upon the interpretation of प्रपद्य that depends the solution of the problem whether BRHASPATI 3.19 applies to the reply by way of exception in general; or to the reply by way of a stronger exception in particular. Moreover, since BRHASPATI 3.19 is to contain the definition of the term प्रत्यवस्कन्दन, the above difference of opinion also bears upon the connotation of this term, viz. whether it should be considered synonymous with कारणोत्तर or with बलवत्कारणोत्तर, respectively.

Apart from the Vyavahāramātṛkā and the Vyavahāra-kalpataru referred to above, the interpretation objected to by BHAVADEVĀ has also been held in such important nibandhas as the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi (142.1), the Vyavahāratattva (207-208), and the Viramītrodaya on YĀJÑAVALKYA 2.7. Both views have been juxtaposed in the Vivādacandra (116), whereas BHAVADEVĀ has been followed in the Smṛtisāra (93, Dhko 267), and in the Vyavahāraprakāśa (58 sq.)²⁸

As far as the present enquiry is concerned, two points should be specially noticed: (1) the Smṛtisāra again adopts BHAVADEVĀ's point of view, and (2) the interpretation of the Vyavahāratilaka cannot be traced back beyond BHAVADEVĀ.

VIII. The Fallacies of the Reply (उत्तराभासाः)

The texts KĀTYĀYANA 188+174 (Dhko 176—177), which have been quoted in numerous nibandhas, enumerate the various fallacies of the reply. With regard to one of these defaults, the Vyavahāratattva (207.7) quotes the following extract from the Vyavahāratilaka: अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापि = अनन्वितार्थपदव्याप्तम्.

This statement has been further confirmed by the explicit reference to BHAVADEVĀ's variant reading अस्तव्यस्तपदव्यापि in the

Vyavahāraprakāśa (at least according to Vidyasagara's edition, Calcutta 1875, p.85, whereas the ChSS—edition has यद्व्यस्तपदव्यापि).

Even though MITRA MIŚRA thinks it fit to explicitly object to this reading, it actually makes little difference except that in this way two different defaults of the vulgate reading, viz. यद्व्यस्तपद and अव्यापि, have been reduced to one.

BHAVADEVĀ's reading, which is not known to have occurred in any older nibandha, is found again in the Smṛtisāra (82—90, Dhko 177, although in the commentary only; in the text of KĀTYĀYANA 174 it has. असम्बद्धपदव्यापि) the Vyavahāratattva (see above), and the Vivādārṇavasetu (105, Dhko 177). BHAVADEVĀ's interpretation occurs in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (157.5), where it is used to explain the reading असम्बद्धपदव्यापि.

IX. Mixed Reply (संकीर्णोत्तर)

The Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (155.3) states, that BHAVADEVĀ, the Pradīpa, etc., have held the same point of view as VĀCASPATI. It is, however, difficult to be sure about the exact extent of the passage of the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi covered by the reference: "In the same way BHAVADEVĀ, etc."; most probably VĀCASPATI has in mind to refer to his entire discussion of the "mixed reply" (Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 150-155). It is even more difficult to determine the exact content of the Vyavahāratilaka. In view of all this the main tendencies only will be summarized here; for the details the reader be referred to the text of the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi itself ²⁰.

Imagine a law-case as follows. Plaintiff: You owe me a hundred coins, since you borrowed them from me. Reply: Fifty coins have been paid back, twenty-five I owe indeed, but the other twenty-five have not been borrowed at all.

Before the time of BHAVADEVĀ it had been generally held, upon the authority of such texts as KĀTYĀYANA 189-190 (Dhko 179), that a reply of this kind was invalid "on account of mixture" which involves the burden of proof to be upon both parties simultaneously.

BHAVADEVĀ introduced a very important innovation. He said: It is not impossible that the above reply did correspond to the actual situation and, therefore, it would be wrong to prevent the defendant from producing a true reply. It cannot have been the intention of KĀTYĀYANA 189-190 to forbid a reply of this kind; indeed, these texts are based upon a logical or an equitable motive (न्याय) whereas their application by the earlier jurists was

completely illogical and inequitable. Actually, KĀTYĀYANA 189-190 are only intended to prevent cases as follows. *Plaint*: You owe me a hundred coins, since you borrowed them from me. *Reply*: These hundred coins have been borrowed or they have not; they have been cleared off or I still owe them. In other words: here we are faced with a mixed reply with regard to one and the same part of the *plaint-amount*, and here the burden of proof would be upon both parties with regard to the same object, which is impossible.

The fact that such an innovation has been associated with the name of BHAVADEVĀ is important. It proves that he was considered to have played a substantial part in the particular evolution of Hindu Law which consists in the transition from a narrow and strict application of the *text* of the prescriptions to a broad and supple adaptation to reason and equity.

X. Relative weight of the three types of "Human" evidence ²⁰

We know NĀRADA 1.76 (Dhko 218, 402) to have been quoted in the Vyavahāratilaka as follows:—

त्रिविधस्यास्य दृष्टस्य प्रमाणस्य यथाक्रमम् ।

पूर्वं पूर्वं गुरु ज्ञेयं भुक्तिराभ्यां गरीयसी ॥

The variant reading *भुक्तिराभ्यां* has been explicitly ascribed to BHAVADEVĀ in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (501.3), and it has been referred to as the *lectio facillior* (501.4) as against the vulgate reading used by VĀCASPATI himself: *भुक्तिरेभ्यो*.

BHAVADEVĀ'S reading is not known to have been used by any other nibandhakāra; except for the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi, the Smṛtisāra (111, Dhko 402) is the only text to refer to it anonymously. Nevertheless BHAVADEVĀ'S intention is clear: the vulgate reading offers a considerable difficulty. After the three types of "natural" evidence have been enumerated in NĀRADA 1.75 (Dhko 218, 402): documents, witnesses, and possession, in NĀRADA 1.76 it is added that among these each preceding one is weightier than the following, whereas possession is weightier than "these" (plural! i.e., weightier than at least three others). That is the reason for such ingenious explanations as, e.g., the one found in the Vyavahārakalpataru (182): "possession of long standing is weightier than (1) documents, (2) witnesses, and (3) possession of short standing". BHAVADEVĀ apparently preferred to replace the plural by a dual in order that among the three natural means of proof one should be said to be weightier than the other two: possession is weightier than documents, documents are weightier than witnesses.

Whatever the merit of BHAVADEVĀ'S reading may be, we do not want to blame his successors for having returned to the plural एभ्य thereby anticipating a principle which, later on, modern textual criticism would elevate to one of its dogmas (*lectio difficilior*!).

XI. A single witness to be allowed in cases of violence.

The text VYĀSA 1.90 (Duko 344) has been quoted in the Vyavahāratilaka as follows (Vyavahāratattva 213) :

शुचिक्रियश्च धर्मज्ञो योऽन्यत्राप्यनुभूतवाक् ।
प्रमाणमेकोऽपि भवेत् साहसेषु विशेषतः ॥

In accordance with this *lectio singularis* (against the vulgate reading साक्षी यत्रानुभूतवाक्) BHAVADEVĀ is said to have added the following commentary : अनुभूतवाक् स्थानान्तरे सत्यत्वेन.

No other nibandha is known to have adopted BHAVADEVĀ'S reading ; except for the additional stress laid upon the witness' truthfulness having been experienced in other cases too, there is no practical difference with the usual interpretation.

XII. Incompetent witnesses (असाक्षिनः)

Like most other nibandhas, the Vyavahāratilaka must have quoted the long list of incompetent witnesses "because of disqualification" (दृष्टत्वात् दोषतः)³¹ contained in NĀRADA 1.178-187 (Dhko 306-310). For only one out of this long list BHAVADEVĀ'S interpretation has been noticed in the later nibandhas :

निर्धूतः—लोकभयशून्यः (Vyavahāraprakāśa 118.31).

The usual interpretation of निर्धूतः is "one who has been abandoned, expelled, excommunicated" (Aparārka 2.71, Smṛticandra III 180, Parāśaramādhavīya III 99, etc.), either by his relatives (Madanaratnapradīpa 44, also quoted Vyavahāraprakāśa 117, etc.), or by the village, the king, the family, the guild, etc. Nāradyamanusamhitā-bhāṣya 2.161, Vyavahārakalpataru III, Vyavahāraprakāśa 117, etc.). As far as the commentaries on NĀRADA 1.182 are concerned, except for BHAVADEVĀ'S we have not been able to find any other different interpretation. With regard to the occurrence of the same term in YAJÑAVALKYA 2.71 (Dhko 285) the Aparārka explains : शिष्टैर्गर्हितः "despised by the wise".

BHAVADEVĀ'S interpretation for the first time occurs in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 297.11 (कश्चित्), then in the Madanaratnapradīpa 44 (प्राच्याः), and in the Vyavahārasaukhya 43 (केचित्); it is in the Vyavahāraprakāśa 117 only that it is found ascribed to भवदेव. The Vivādacandra (141.3) on NĀRADA 1.182 has the usual explanation

(see above), but the same text (139.19) on YĀJÑAVALKYA 2.71 follows BHAVADEVĀ, without, however, mentioning his name.

One hesitates to draw any definite conclusions from these sparse data, but at least one might be tempted to infer that even the author of the Vyavahāraprakāśa must have possessed a copy of the Vyavahāratilaka.

As to the meaning given to the term by BHAVADEVĀ, "free from the fear of people", "not afraid of other people", a hint might perhaps be drawn from the Smṛtisāra, which so far has proved to owe a great deal to the Vyavahāratilaka. The Smṛtisāra, (102) on YĀJÑAVALKYA 2.71 explains : निष्कम्पः "who does not tremble, quiver, who is immovable"; in all probability we must interpret लोकभयशून्यः to mean "who does not care about danger, viz. about punishment for delivering false evidence, etc."⁸⁹.

XIII. Invalid deposition of witnesses (अनिगद).

The following exposition concerns the well known text NĀRADA 1.234 (Dhko 322, Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 428) :

न्यूनमभ्यधिकं वापि प्रब्रूयुर्यस्य साक्षिणः ।

तत्प्यनुक्तं विज्ञेयमेष साक्षिविधिः स्मृतः ॥

On this verse VĀCASPATĪ MĪŚRA first quotes the point of view of BHAVADEVĀ, the Smṛtisāra, etc. (428.1-26), and further opposes it to that of नव्याः. As far as the Smṛtisāra is concerned, we have been able to check the correctness of this reference (Smṛtisāra 119-120, Dhko 322, which was found to nearly verbatim correspond with Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 428,1-26). It is not improbable, that in its turn the Smṛtisāra had borrowed the passage entirely from the Vyavahāratilaka; however, the close verbal correspondence may equally well have been limited to the Smṛtisāra and the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi only, against a completely different wording in the Vyavahāratilaka. For that reason (as also because of the length of the passage involved, which can easily be consulted in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi and in Dhko) we will confine ourselves to giving a summary of the ideas which certainly must have been expounded by BHAVADEVĀ.

In any case, whether the witnesses declare a lesser or a large amount, no decision should be made upon this basis, but new evidence should be produced concerning the entire subject-matter. (1) In the case of a declaration of a larger amount, the party in whose favour this declaration is made should not, therefore, a fortiori be declared victor. Indeed the attention said to a transaction is directly proportional to one's interests involved, and

since the party is undoubtedly more directly concerned with the matter than the witnesses, the amount remembered by the former must be postulated to be more correct than the one remembered by the latter. Consequently, the witness' declaration is based upon an error, and persons who err about the amount may be supposed to err about the other elements too. (2) In the same way, a declaration of a lesser amount does not bring about the other party's victory. If a defendant denies a claim of a hundred coins, he is not cleared by the fact that the plaintiff's witnesses depose that fifty only have been borrowed. Conclusion: In neither case has the doubt been removed by the witnesses' depositions; the cases cannot be decided without further decisive evidence being produced.

Note. So far the quotation from BHAVADEVĀ, the Smṛtisāra, etc., in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi. In the next paragraph (428.27-37) VĀCASPATI refers to the point of view of the THE NEW SCHOOL, who draw a distinction with regard to the declaration of a lesser amount. This need not concern us in this paper, except in so far as it raises a problem the solution of which is to be left to the editor of the Smṛtisāra^{ss}. Indeed, the passage ascribed to THE NEW SCHOOL in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi also occurs in the India Office Ms. of the Smṛtisāra which was the only Ms. available to us. In this way the Smṛtisāra juxtaposes two different points of view on the same matter without any further comment. Comparison of other Mss. will enable the editor to decide about the possibility of an interpolation in the I.O.Ms.

XIV. Punishment of false witnesses

A lection singularis from the Vyavahāratilaka in the verse MANU 8.108 (Dhko 270)=NĀRADA? (Dhko 325) has been preserved in the Vivādacandra (150.3-4):

यस्य दृश्येत सप्ताह्वात् कृतदिव्यस्य साक्षिणः।

रोगोऽग्निर्ज्ञातिमरणमृणं दाप्यो दमं च सः ॥

cf. the vulgate reading : उक्तवाक्यस्य or उक्तसाक्ष्यस्य.

The Daṇḍaviveka (347.19-21) not only confirms this variant reading, but it also adds BHAVADEVĀ'S commentary (the quotations seems to be verbatim):

यदि कृतदिव्यस्य सप्ताह्वाभ्यन्तरे रोगादिकमुपलक्ष्यते तदासौ कूटसाक्षी ऋणं दाप्यो दण्ड्यश्च ।

BHAVADEVĀ'S reading has not been attested in any other source. The restriction thus (unintentionally ?) introduced by him seems not to have been approved of by the other nibandhakāras. E.g.

the Vivādacandra (150) raises the following objection against it. Is the application of the rule restricted to depositions where an oath has been made, the witness who has been exempted from making an oath⁵⁴ would be free from guilt even if he does suffer from a severe illness, etc. This would be illogical!

XV. Title is not necessary to supplement adverse possession.

The following quotation from the Vyavahāratilaka has been preserved in the Vyavahāratattva (226. 24-26) : —

व्यासवचनं प्रतिवादिनोऽसंनिधाने पुरुषैकद्वयभोगाभिप्रायम्, त्रैपुरुषभोगस्य तत्रैव प्रमाणत्वात् ।

From the mere text of the Vyavahāratattva it would not be possible to ascertain which verse of VYĀSA this commentary refers to. Fortunately, however, the same words are also found in the Smṛtisāra (Dhko 391b 24-26), and there it is clear that the commentary refers to “a verse of VYĀSA”, which actually corresponds to NĀRADA 1.87 (Dhko 407) :

अनागमं तु यो भुङ्क्ते बह्वन्यद्दशतानि च ।

चौरदण्डेन तं पापं दण्डयेत् पृथिवीपतिः ॥

The point of view of BHAVADEVĀ is as follows. Some people raise the objection, that a title is the *conditio sine qua non* for possession to create ownership. And in support of this statement they quote such verses as YĀJÑĀVALKYA ? (Dhko 401) = NĀRADA 1. 85 (Dhko 405), NĀRADA 1.86 (Dhko 406, in the Smṛtisāra under the name of PULAHA), and VYĀSA ? = NĀRADA 1.87 (Dhko 407). BHAVADEVĀ rejects this theory. With regard to the texts of YĀJÑĀVALKYA and PULAHA he may be conjectured to have explained them as referring to possession of short standing only (thus the Smṛtisāra), and with regard to “the text of VYĀSA ” we now know for certain that in his opinion it applied to “possession held for one or two generations in the absence of the owner, since even in this case possession held for three generations does lead to ownership”.

XVI Adverse Possession.

The Vyavahāratattva (208.18-21) refers to the Vyavahāratilaka with regard to a variant reading in YĀJÑĀVALKYA 2.24 (Dhko 389) :

पश्यतोऽब्रुवतो हानिर्धनस्य दशवार्षिकी ।

परेण भुज्यमानाया भूमेर्विशतिवार्षिकी ॥

as against the reading of ŚŪLAPĀNI :

पश्यतोऽब्रुवतो हानिर्भूमेर्विशतिवार्षिकी ।

परेण भुज्यमानाया धनस्य दशवार्षिकी ॥

Notice the fact, that again BHAVADEVĀ'S innovation has been adopted by the Smṛtisāra only (94, 106, 109, Dhko 392a17-18).

XVII. The Theoretical basis of adverse possession being a source of ownership.

The problem raised here is as follows : Does possession *create* ownership, or is it a *valid means of proof* of it ? BHAVADEVĀ'S point of view has been quoted at great length in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi (501.7-29) and—apparently via the latter—in the Vyavahāraprakāśa (160.19-161.13). Cf. also Vyavahāraprakāśa 162.25 sqq. for a discussion of BHAVADEVĀ'S point of view.

BHAVADEVĀ explains as follows :—Adverse possession does not *create* ownership, just as a sacrifice performed for somebody else does not create any benefit for the officiating priest. Nor is it a *valid means of proof* (प्रमाण) of ownership, for possession and ownership are not connected by an invariable concomitance (व्याप्ति) required in a valid inference⁸⁷. Actually, adverse possession would not be possible without the owner's tolerating such possession, and this tolerance cannot be accounted for but by the owner's intention to renounce or to relinquish (त्याग) his property. In other words : " Bhavadeva maintains that adverse possession for the prescribed period to the knowledge of and without any opposition from the owner has the effect of raising a *presumption* that the owner must have abandoned the property, which being taken up by the possessor, he acquires a title to it by a sort of appropriation (*parigraha*) of a thing which is for the time without an owner "⁸⁸.

The Vyavahāratilaka also explains why land should be considered " relinquished " after twenty years only, whereas for other objects this is the case after ten years : as compared with other objects landed property yields a more considerable profit as it is of much greater importance.

NOTE 1.—Although we are not directly concerned with the Pradīpa whose point of view has been discussed immediately after BHAVADEVĀ'S (Vyavahāracintāmaṇi 501.3054, Vyavahāraprakāśa 161.14-162.4), an occasional reference to it should be made here, since a comparison of both standpoints might be most instructive as to the mutual relation of both nibandhas, which have been associated on more than one occasion. The Pradīpa can be summarized as follows : " Pradīpakāra also accepts this (=Bhavadeva's) view, but with a little emendation ; he says that the presumption arises from adverse possession extending over the prescribed period coupled with the impossibility of ascribing non-resistance

to mere indifference or good-naturedness of the owner, and the character of the presumption is that the owner has either transferred the thing to the person in possession or has abandoned it in his favour, it being unnecessary to select between the two " 89. As to the historical data to be derived from this comparison, cf. supra (INTRODUCTION).

NOTE 2.—In the Vyavahāratātva (223.14) BHAVADEVĀ ranks among the authors according to whom adverse possession *creates* ownership. In view of the above detailed references to BHAVADEVĀ'S point of view in the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi and the Vyavahāraprakāśa, we must decide to BHAVADEVĀ'S name having been erroneously inserted in RAGHUNANDANA'S list.

XVIII. Decision of the case.

The Vivādacandra (164.15) quotes the following reading of BHAVADEVĀ :—

रोगोऽग्निर्बातिमरणं शुद्धिं तस्य विनिर्दिशेत् ।

Most probably this verse has been intended to reproduce BHAVADEVĀ'S wording of the second half of NĀRADA 1. 531 Dhko 314), against the vulgate reading :

ऊर्ध्वं यस्य द्विसप्ताहद्वैकृतं सुमहद्भवेत् ।

नाभियोज्यः स विदुषा कृतकालव्यतिक्रमात् ॥

So many verses dealing with the party's falling ill, etc., within a certain period after his having made an oath or after his having undergone the ordeal of the holy water, have been preserved, that BHAVADEVĀ can easily be pardoned to have completed NĀRADA 1 331ab in this way. Cf. MANU 8.108cd (Dhko 270), the same verse under the name of NĀRADA (Dhko 323), KĀTYĀYANA 410cd (Dhko 342), KĀTYĀYANA 457cd (Dhko 511), PITĀMAHA 162cd (Dhko 518).

CONCLUSION

On another occasion already we have been in a position to point out the unavoidable limitations of the conclusions to be drawn from mere collections of fragments of a lost nibandha 40. The same restrictions also apply in the case of our knowledge of BHAVADEVĀ'S Vyavahāratilaka.

There have been cases where the reference to the Vyavahāratilaka proved to be extremely vague, so much so that it became nearly im-

possible to derive any conclusions from it (IV), or that we were left with a choice between two possible interpretations (II).

On the other hand, however, we have been able to collect a number of definite data.

In a few cases these data bore upon a mere variant reading adopted by BHAVADEVĀ in a quotation from the *smṛti* :

1. अस्तव्यस्तपद्व्यापि, in KĀTYĀYANA 174 (VIII),
2. आभ्यां, in NĀRADA 1.76 (X),
3. योऽन्यत्राप्यनुभूतवाक्, in VYĀSA 1.90 (XI).
4. कृतदिव्यस्य in MANU 8.108 (XIV),
5. The reading of YĀJÑAVALKYA 2.24 (XVI),
6. रोगोऽग्निर्ज्ञातिमरणं शुद्धिं तस्य विनिर्दिशेत्, as the latter half of NĀRADA 1.331 (XVIII).

Fragment VI shows the Vyavahāratilaka to have ascribed a text of VYĀSA to HĀRĪTA and in Fragment XV the text NĀRADA 1.87 is found to have been attributed to VYĀSA.

A different explanation is known to have been given for the terms लोकसिद्ध (V) and निर्धृत (XII).

Far more important is BHAVADEVĀ'S point of view with regard to the following controversial problems :—

1. The right of legal self-defence against an assassin is extended to the assassin who is a Brāhmaṇa. This rule is based upon a very interesting, though far-fetched, interpretation of a text of UŚANAS (I).

2. The reply by way of denial is said not only to reject the *sādhya* and the *hetu* of the plaint, but also to aim at the *hetu* of the plaint being स्वरूपसिद्ध (VI).

3. The text BRĤHASPATI 3.19 should be interpreted in such a way that it serves as a definition for the term which is applicable to all three kinds of a reply by way of exception (VII).

4. A reply should be considered "mixed" and, therefore, unacceptable when it causes the burden of proof to be upon both parties with regard to the very same part of the subject-matter (IX).

5. Victory or defeat should not be proclaimed upon the mere fact that the witnesses depose a lesser or a larger amount; in either case further evidence should be collected (XIII).

6. Such texts as NĀRADA 1.87, in which a title is described as the *conditio sine qua non* for adverse possession to be a source of

ownership, always refer to possession held for a period less than three generations (XV).

7. Adverse possession is a source of ownership, because it creates a presumption of the owner's "relinquishing" his property in favour of the possessor (XVII).

Reference has already been made to the mutual relation of the Vyavahāratilaka and the Pradīpa. On the same lines one cannot fail to be struck by a number of correspondences between the Vyavahāratilaka and the Smṛtisāra. Although we have not been able to trace more than a single reference to BHAVADEVĀ in HARINĀTHA'S work (footnote 5) there are a number of cases where both works correspond, against all other nibandhas known so far :

1. The interpretation of the term लोकासिद्धि (V).
2. The fact of the VYASA 1.24d being ascribed to HĀRĪTA, and the introduction of the idea of स्वरूपासिद्धि in the reply by way of denial (VI).
3. The interpretation of BRĤHASPATI 5.19 (VII).
4. The variant reading to NĀRADA 1.76 (X).
5. The text NĀRADA 1.87 being referred to as व्यासवचनम् (XV).
6. The variant reading of YAJÑAVALKYA 2.24.

In the first two cases only the Vyavahāratilaka and the Smṛtisāra have also been followed by the Vyavahārasaukhyā.

Most of the points of view on the seven controversial problems enumerated above cannot be traced back farther than the Vyavahāratilaka. However, in view of a number of early nibandhas still being unknown, it might be too rash a conclusion to hold all these theses to have originated with BHAVADEVĀ himself. Anyhow, from the few cases that are known to us, BHAVADEVĀ may be said to have been a highly independent author who did not hesitate to go against the traditionally held views. In the Sarasvatīvilāsa (154.16) his interpretation of the sūtra of UŚANAS (I) has been said not to be found in any other nibandha. As a result of his discussion of the mixed reply (IX) BHAVADEVĀ appears to occupy an important place in the evolution of Hindu Law from mere formalism towards reason and equity. And his theoretical treatment of adverse possession as a source of property (XVII) is a most valuable contribution towards understanding the mutual relation of possession (a fact !) and ownership (a right !).

Such important extracts from the Vyavahāratilaka make us regret the fact that we do not possess a complete copy of a text which MM. Kane rightly qualified as "a valuable work on judicial procedure".

FOOT NOTES

1. Monmohan Chakravarti : Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bengal, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 8 (1912), p. 333-348. In this article there is no reference to the Vyavahāratilaka. - P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra I*, Poona 1930, p. 301-306.

2. Kane, op. cit., P. 302.

3. Some of these fragments have been printed in the *Dharmakośa*, Vyavahārakāṇḍa. Ed. L. S. Joshi, Wai, 1937-41. In the course of this paper the *Dharmakośa* will be referred to by means of the abbreviation "Dhko".

4. For the only fragment about which this question might be raised, see Fragment III.

5. The India Office Library authorities kindly made available a microfilm of the Ms. of this text in their possession. Apart from a number of striking correspondences which will be referred to in due course, only one explicit reference to BHAVADEVĀ has been found in the *Smṛtisāra* (107lb, Dhko 32lb 9). Moreover, this single reference is such that we have not been able to derive any conclusions with regard to the content of the Vyavahāratilaka. In the chapter on *मुक्त्यपवाद*, i.e., the cases where adverse possession does *not* lead to ownership, after quoting MANU 8.146 (Dhko 381), HARINĀTHA refers to *हल्लयुधनिबन्धे स्वरसः* (Dhko 391a29). Upon the basis of the text as we have it through the single India Office Ms., it is not possible to decide as to where this reference to HALĀYUDHA ends: most probably it ends with the words *अन्यपरत्वाच्चेति* (Dhko 391b 9). Then follows the statement : *भवदेवनिबन्धे लिखितम्*. If these words belong to the preceding quotation, an indefinite part of the above mentioned reference to HALĀYUDHA actually belongs to the Vyavahāratilaka; if they are meant to *introduce* a quotation from BHAVADEVĀ'S work, it is again not possible to say where this quotation ends. As a matter of fact, the expression *भवदेवनिबन्धे लिखितम्* should be expected to refer to a *variant reading* of some *smṛti*-text in the Vyavahāratilaka (Cf. *भवदेवेन...लिखितम्*: Fragment XIV, and *भवदेवे...लिखितम्*: Fragment XVIII), whereas the question of such variant reading apparently does not come up here.

6. Since these dates are much disputed in many cases, for the sake of uniformity all of them have been taken from Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra I*.

7. Ed. R. K. Jha. Patna 1931.
8. Ed. L. Rocher, Ghent 1956.
9. Ed. K. K. Smṛtīrtha, Baroda 1931.
10. Ed. R. Shama Sastry, Mysore 1927.
11. Ed. Jīvananda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 21.895.
12. Ms. in the B. O. R. I., Poona.
13. Cf. footnote 19.
14. Ed. V. P. Bhāṇḍārī. Benares 1929.
15. Ed. K. K. Smṛtīrtha, Baroda 1935.
16. Kane, op. cit., p. 335.
17. Kane, op. cit., p. 290.
18. M. M. Chakravarti, op. cit., p. 345, upon completely different arguments, also concludes to A. D. 1150 as a terminus ante quem. His terminus post quem, however, is based upon highly dubious traditions (p. 345-347). He says : " Bhavadeva's time falls in the eleventh century, possibly in its first half. It would not be safe, however, to put much value on traditions reported several centuries after ". Elsewhere (History of Navya Nyāya in Bengal, in the same Journal 11 (1915), p. 260, and : Contributions to the History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā, ibid. p. 312) the same author assigns BHAVADEVĀ to the *second* half of the eleventh century.—Kane, op. cit., p. 305, thinks of " about 1100 A. D. "
19. We have not been able to check a fourth source which is to be found in NĀNDA PAṆḌITA on VIṢṆU 5.189.
20. Cf. L. Rocher : The Vīramitrodāya on the Right of Private Defence, in : Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute 12 (1954), p. 442-462, especially p. 491-453, where this text has been translated and interpreted.
21. The term शक्ति might also have been intended to have a more technical meaning, as it is known to have constituted a point of dispute between Mīmāṃsakas and Naiyāyikas (Cf. Tarkasamgraha ed. Y. V. Athalye, BSS 55, 21930, p. 333 sqq.)
22. For जल्प, cf. Nyāyasūtra 1.2.22.
23. The four types of reply are : confession (सम्प्रतिपत्ति), denial (मिथ्या), exception (कारण), and former judgment (प्राङ्न्याय).
24. It is a well known fact that the plaint and the reply in the dharma-nibandhas take the form of an inference of the type : " Hundred suvarṇas (pakṣa) are due by you (sādhya, probandum), since you have borrowed them from me (hetu, probans). "
25. Cf. Tarkasamgraha, p. 307.

26. It can be traced back as far as JIMŪTAVĀHANA'S Vyavahāramāṭṛkā (300. 22; 301. 8); the question might, then, be raised, whether it was BHAVADEVĀ who preceded JIMŪTAVĀHANA, or vice versa. VĀCASPATI'S point of view, according to which the definition साध्यस्य निवृत्तिः suffers from अतिव्याप्ति has been criticized by MITRA MĪSRA : cf L. Rocher, The Reply in Hindu Legal Procedure : Mitra Mīśra's Criticism of the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi, in : The Adyar Library Bulletin 20 (1956), p. 6-9.

27. The same extract also occurs in the Rājadharmakaustubha (391) with the following variant readings : प्रपद्य - तथा प्रपद्य, चानादित्या-न्यदेव—चानादित्य तदेव; रूपं-रूप० ; इति. om. भवति... om.

28. For an exhaustive discussion of the vyavhāraprakāśa on the subject, as against the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi, cf. L. Rocher, The Reply.....p. 9 seq.

29. This whole passage from the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi has been reproduced in the Vyavahāraprakāśa (65. 83-66. 19), including the statement भवदेवप्रदीपादयोऽप्येवम्. As to a number of textual problems connected with the text of the Vyavahāraprakāśa, Cf. the edition of the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi, p. 30.

30. Hindu lawyers draw a distinction between "human" or "natural evidence" (मानुष, दृष्ट) and "divine" or "supernatural evidence" (दैविक, अदृष्ट). The former is threefold : witnesses' documents, and possession (to which circumstantial evidence is sometimes added) : the latter is of two kinds : ordeal, and oath.

31. In the ancient texts five types of incompetent witnesses have been discerned, as follows : on account of a text, because of disqualification, because of discord, a deposition suo motu, and a witness of intervening death. Cf. NĀRADA 1.157 (Dhko 301).

32. This interpretation is fully consistent with MEDHĀTITHI'S commentary on MANU 8. 62, where householders and people having a son are declared competent witnesses for the very reason that, in the interest of their families, they cannot be un-moved by the punishment for false evidence. Indeed, other people might feel completely indifferent to it, since they can always save themselves by escaping to another country, etc.

33. An edition has been announced in the G. O. S., by Dr. Umesha Mishra.

34 E.g., The Brāhmaṇas : GAUTAMA 13.14, Dhko 429.

35. Although the Smṛtisāra does not actually refer to BHAVADEVĀ, we are the more entitled to rely on HARINĀTHA'S work, because we indirectly know this passage of the Smṛtisāra to be

based upon the Vyavahāratilaka. Indeed, they are the only nibandhas in which NĀRADA 1. 87 has been quoted under the name of VYĀSA. Notice the fact that in the Vyavahāratattva itself (226.9-11) the same verse has been ascribed to NĀRADA !

36. The above passage in the Vyavahāratattva strongly creates the impression that in the Vyavahāratilaka this verse YĀJÑĀVALKYA 2.24 has also been quoted in connection with the example of a reply by way of a weaker exception (Cf. VII) and the fact that in that case the burden of proof is to be upon the plaintiff. It is, however, not possible to be sure about the exact extent of the quotation from BHAVADEVĀ in the Vyavahāratattva.

37. Practically this means that one cannot say as follows : " Wherever there is possession, there is ownership ; wherever there is no ownership, there is no possession ".

38. Sen, P. N., *The General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence* (Tagore Law Lectures 1909). Calcutta 1918, p. 106.

39. Sen, *op. cit.* p. 106-107.

40. Cf. Halāyudhanibandha, in : *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda*, 3 (1954), p. 329 seq.

SVATVA RAHASYAM: A 17TH-CENTUARY CONTRIBUTION TO LOGIC AND LAW

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The famous *Navya-nyāya* school in Bengal eclipsed in brilliance and prestige all other Indian educational products ; consisting of a succession of brilliant teachers, themselves the fruit of that orthodox system of *guru-śiṣya-ṭaramparā* which enabled education to be the common enjoyment of successive generations of persons of like inclinations and often of close neighbourhood, they found in Logic the best medium of instruction to elicit the mental gifts of the cream of the intelligent youth of the country. The object of this paper is to give a brief description of a treatise which was produced while that school was in its prime. A typical product of the *navya-nyāya* technique, a specimen of the tools with which the masters cultivated learning, the *Svatva-rahasyam* ("The Secret of Property") is characteristically anonymous and challenges those who may be interested in it to attribute it to its author, or at least to its proper period. This is a task which can be attempted by one who is interested in the subject matter of the work, but his suggestions can only be tentative until a master of the *navya-nyāya* itself has confirmed or rejected the attribution upon purely stylistic grounds—a possibility open to one who has studied the voluminous literature (most of which is still in manuscript) on Logic in general, and to no other.

The *Svatva-rahasyam* has a peculiar fascination. Its topic is, the present writer believes, the only one which directly links Logic with practical everyday affairs, and one of the very few topics in which the hyper-realism of the Logicians will tolerate the condominium of a *śāstra* and a *smṛti* other than their own. In dealing with Property the *naiyāyika* is obliged to admit the *pramāṇa* of the texts of the *dharma-śāstra*, and we have the entertaining picture of a confirmed observer of experience grappling with authorities which in the majority of cases are several stages removed from direct experience. And the subject of Property occupied the minds of the "new logicians" from the time of the celebrated Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (c. 1520-50) at the latest until Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana (c. 1790) at the earliest ; and between those periods a number of highly inter-

esting speculations were put forward in a number of works and tested in turn by reference to law and to practice. The series is not quite complete, since vital links have disappeared, but one, apparently, of the earlier works after Raghunātha was the *svatva-vicāra* (tentatively dated c. 1600-10), which has been edited in translation in the B. S. O. A. S. for 1956 (Vol. xviii), and of the remaining works and fragments, Jayarāma's *Svatva-vādārtha*, parts of the works of Gokulanātha, and lastly the *Svatva-rahasyam* itself are shortly to be prepared for publication along with the *Svatva-vicāra*.

Apart from the views which the author expresses there is no internal evidence of any sort which would assist a close dating of this work.¹ We are forced therefore to rely upon the views expressed for our purpose, and this can, within certain limits, be a suitable method to employ. The practice of all members of this school was to mention, so far as was relevant and consistent with brevity, the views of predecessors: and this practice, essential for scholarly productions, was adhered to with exceptional rigidity where the previously-published views were to be refuted and if the author's thesis was to be sustained. Any other course would have led to ridicule. If therefore we find that a view is not mentioned by an author which conflicts with his own, or which would have been of assistance to him, we are justified in supposing that the view was not known to him; and the only exception arises in a case where the view in question was notoriously unpopular and did not at that time require to be mentioned, since refutations of it were too trite to repeat. By this method we can go a long way towards attributing the *Svatva-rahasyam* to its author, although as yet we are unable to go to the final stage in the process.

But first a few words on the work itself. It is found in very few manuscripts and all are in poor condition, unless we except the one described by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (New series), ii, p. 226 (No. 259), which cannot be traced. Not one of our manuscripts has a proper *incipit* with invocation; the colophons are not very helpful, except the three Sanskrit verses which are printed by Haraprasad Sastri from his "find" and which, apart from a perhaps not altogether useless

1. He refers to the *Mitākṣarā*, to Śulapāṇi, to Vacaspati Miśra, to Hariśarma (whose date is as yet quite uncertain), apparently to Bhaṭṭācārya-cūḍāmaṇi, who was Jīmutavāhana. The reference to Cūḍāmaṇi is not perfectly clear as all the manuscripts are corrupt and the reading may possibly be Hariśarma-bhāṣyācārya cūḍāmaṇi; and Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi was of course Śrīnātha, the oldest commentator on the *Dāyabhāga*.

praise of Kṛṣṇa^a give no plain information of which we can make use at this stage. The Madras manuscript (R. No. 3217) in Grantha characters is called *Svatva-vāda*, which seems to be a librarian's label, since the text is a substantial fragment from the middle of our work and lacks both *incipit* and colophon. Ms. IO. 861 commences *atha svatva-vicārah* and ends *iti svatva-rahasyam*; Ms. A.S.B., I.B. 26, a close relation of the preceding, reads likewise; Ms. A. S. B., G. 3913, which is perhaps a better manuscript, omits the *atha svatva-vicārah* and ends *iti svatva-vicāra-* (followed by an erasure); Haraprasad Sastri's manuscript commenced without the *incipit*, as does the last-mentioned, but ends *iti svatva-vicārah*. G. 3913 is labelled *Svatva-vicāra-rahasyam*, although we cannot be sure upon what authority. Such a title, though not impossible, would require some explanation, and upon the whole I think that *svatva-rahasyam* is the most appropriate title that could be bestowed upon this work. The differences between the readings in the manuscripts are multitudinous, and some are very difficult to account for unless the author's dictation was differently reproduced by different pupils. But that is a subject for another disquisition.

The work may be divided into six chapters, each dealing copiously with an aspect of the problem; all these aspects having been discussed, it would appear, very largely by previous writers. Some, we can see, were of great practical importance, and large sums of money might change hands should a Judge follow one rather than another solution in a given dispute. The contents of the chapters may be summarised as follows:

Chapter I: Admission that Property is a distinct 'category', assertion that Ownership is another 'category'; the sixth (i.e. genitive) case denotes either; investigation of the denial that Ownership is a 'category'; assertion that Property and Ownership are one and the same 'category'.

Chapter II: How is Property produced? By abandonment, and by mere *pātilya*, for example. Investigation of the father's death as the 'cause' of his sons' Property. Life is not a cause of Property. The Property of one person obstructs the Property of another. The father, etc., are succeeded by their descendants because the extinguishing of their Properties permits a particularly qualified *birth* to 'cause' something characterized by the successor's Property.

2. Mathurānātha Tarkavāṛiṣa was a Vaiṣṇava, and praises Kṛṣṇa in some of his colophons.

3. For a brief introductory account of these and other doctrines mentioned here and below see the article in B. S. O. A. S. (1956) xviii referred to above.

Chapter III : Investigation of life being a general cause of Property. The text of Gautama, "wealth is taken by birth alone",⁴ refers to the birth of children to slaves and cattle, and not to Property being produced by the birth of sons, etc., in themselves. In fact the 'cause' generally of something characterized by the Property of a determinator is the absence of death, not life.

Chapter IV : Discussion of the question whether an estate descends to sons as a unitary or a fractional Property. After scrutinising the prevailing view that Property in an estate is unitary he asserts that it is fractional from its inception and that the casting of lot merely manifests a pre-existing Property in the sharer. The text, "wealth is common between spouses", merely gives the wife authority to make certain uses of her husband's property. Sons have no right in their fathers' property during his lifetime. 'Buried treasure' is defined as "the capacity to be common Property when every element of Property has been extinguished which was characterized by the existence of a Property over the whole other than that of the finder."

Chapter V : The 'cause' of Property in a gratuitous transfer is not gift but acceptance. There can be a theft of an object which does not belong to anybody.

Chapter VI : Discussion of relinquishment. There are six sorts, viz. sacrifice, oblation, gift, sale, distribution, and renunciation. A relinquishment which is followed by Property is a gift. The definition of gift as "that transaction which gives rise to the extinction of Property and produces the special Property of another" is wrong. Appropriation is of four kinds, acceptance, finding, purchase, or exchange. In the *vr̥ṣotsarga* the Property of the releasor is extinguished. The release of a tank is both *homa* and a *dāna*. *Śvāddha* is not a conjunction of gift and sacrifice, but is merely oblation.

It does not require much searching to discover that a work which contains these opinions, expressed in the manner in which they are expressed, is later than a group of writers which have been dated in the period c. 1610—50. Our author is certainly later than Kamalākara,⁵ and almost certainly later than Mītra

4. The backbone of the Mitākṣarā system of family law, now, after eight centuries and a quarter of ostensible authority, laid low by the Hindu Succession Act, 1956.

5. For his date see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, i, 437. He deals with the nature of Property in the *Vivāda-tāṇḍava*, ed. Baroda, 1901, 279, as follows: *tatra svatvam padārthāntaram eveti Śiromaṇi-bhaṭṭācāryaḥ. svam iti vyavahāra-viśayatvam śakti-viśeṣo vetyanye.*

Miśra;⁶ he is definitely later than Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana,⁷ Rāma-bhadra Sārvabhauma,⁸ Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana⁹ and Raghudeva Nyāyālankāra¹⁰. He is quite clearly earlier than Gokulanātha, who refers to him¹¹—but this is of little assistance to us since we do not

6. For his date see Kane, op. cit., 446. He agrees that Property is a 'category' (Vīramitrodaya, *Vyavahāra-prakāśa*, 24) but does not investigate the means. He is prepared to admit that *śvāddha* is *yāga* and *dāna* (*śvāddha-prakāśa*, 8). He agrees that acceptance perfects gift (*Vya-Pra*, 33), but has a less exact idea of what right the donor retains if the acceptance is delayed (34-5). *Pratītya* as a cause of extinction of Property is that which is coupled with the non-performance of penance: a view which our author counters. Mitra Miśra adheres to the principle of unitary right and has an unsatisfactory concept of the function of a partition (42).

7. Who appears to have lived about 1640, though there is some doubt about it. His celebrated *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* does not so much as hint that *svatva* as an *atirikta-padārtha* deserves discussion—indeed he totally ignores it, and thus silently differs from Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Viśvanātha Siddhāntapañcānana [if distinct] was prepared to attack the *samśkāra* school, but is not elaborate on *padārthatva*.

8. His view was: "caitrayedam dhanam" iti pratīti-viśayo dhana-vṛtti-caitra-vṛtti-sambandhopītyarthah, tat svatvam (*Padārtha tattva-vivēcanaprakāśa*, Benaras, 1916, 117). I am much exercised in mind as to what is the connection, if any, between this Rāmabhadra and the Rāmabhadra (? Nyāyālankāra) who wrote the *Dāyabhāga-vivṛtti*. See note 15 below.

9. He is generally dated, about 1650. His *Svatva-vāda* laments that the work of Śaṅkara (? Śaṅkara Miśra) is now out-of-date, and this makes it impossible that the *Rahasyam* could have existed in Jayarāma's day apart from the fact that the many views which Jayarāma there investigates are more superficial and less original than those of the *Rahasyam*. He obviously knows the *Svatva-vivēca* and holds views which the *Rahasyam* condemns such as that which Mitra Miśra held about *pratītya* and the view that estates descending to multiple heirs are held in one property. In the *Kāvakavāda* (in *Vādārthasamgraha*, Bombay 1914 at 24 and ff.) he expresses views condemned in the *Rahasyam* including an objectionable, (but then regular definition of *dāna* as *sva-svatva-dhvaṃsāpara-svatva-proyojakam*.

10. The commentator on Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (reprinted from *The Pandit*, Benaras, 1916). He differs from Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma somewhat; and on p. 64 appears a definition of property with reference to acquisition and alienation which Jayarāma sets out to deal with in his *svatva-vāda*, and which is not taken seriously in the *Rahasyam*.

11. Gokulanātha's attitude to the subject is much more advanced and might be compared with Śrī Kṛṣṇa Tarkalankāra's. His reference to our author, by his characteristic theory of the oneness of Property and Ownership, appears in the *Siddhānta-tattva-vivēka* (Ms. IO. 1436 b) at f. 115b.

know Gokulanātha's date for certain. That he is obviously earlier than Śrī Kṛṣṇa Tarkālaṅkāra¹³ (c. 1750) would be useful to some extent if there were not better evidence at our disposal. In fact it seems quite evident that Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya, the paternal grandfather of Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana, had studied this subject very fully, had read this work and the *Svatva-vicāra*, and evolved a new synthesis of his own¹⁴. This viewpoint would certainly have been mentioned in the *Rahasyam* if it had been known to its author, but since it seems to presuppose reasoning such as is to be found in the *Rahasyam* it is very likely, if not certain, that Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya was a successor and not merely a contemporary of our author. The date of Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya is not difficult to fix. Jagannātha was a very old man when he compiled the *Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava*,¹⁴ and lived thereafter well over his century. It seems that he was born about 1690, and this must be his grandfather's *floruit*, or if not, then it fell not long before that date.

In the interval between c. 1650 and c. 1690 brilliant *navyanaiyāyikas* were not rare, but amongst those of front rank two stand out

12. Śrī Kṛṣṇa's views are discussed in Jagannātha's passage (see below) but scattered throughout his works are innumerable instances of difference from the *Rahasyam*. One obtains the impression that he felt a substantial difference in development between himself and that work, and a century in point of time might not be too much. In numerous cases he improves on our author, e. g. the effect of the *ṛṣṭotsarga*; the text "wealth is common to both spouses" refers to the husband's property and does not imply a common ownership; he develops the notion of Property-ness; and disposes of the awkward text of Gautama in a fashion somewhat more attractive than the *Rahasyam*.

13. Vācaspati's views are given very fully by Jagannātha in the *Vivāda-bhaṅgārṇava* (Ms. IO. 1768 = Colebrooke's *Digest*, 2 vol. edn. Madras, 1864-5, ii, 186-93). He follows our author in the view that acceptance, not gift, causes Property, and that there can be theft of a given-but-not-accepted object. But his most striking departure from the *Rahasyam* is found in his remarks on the nature of Property. Our author comments: *kecit tu-svatvam eva padārthāntaram; tan-nirūpakatvam eva svāmitvam, na tu tadapi padārthāntaram*; and then he goes on to prove his theory of the oneness of the two concepts. Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya, however, utilising the fact that the author of the *Rahasyam* did not spend any time on the *samskāra* theory (which is fully dealt with in the *Svatva-vicāra*), concocts the following: *svatvam tāvat tat-tad-dravya-ṛtti-samskāra-viśeṣa [iti Mīmāṃsaka-matam]; naiyāyika-mate tu tad-dravya-nirūpita-svāmi-ṛttypūrvam eva svāmitvam, tacca nirūpakatā-sambandhena dravya-ṛttiḥ iti*. This is evidently an advance on the plain and straightforward *Rahasyam*, but as to whether it is the last word *anyad etat*.

14. On this see Kane, op. cit., 465.

immediately : Mathurānātha and Gadādhara. Mathurānātha was related to Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma as pupil's pupil, and, if the identification were correct, this might be significant, since undoubtedly the author of the *Rahasyam* was acquainted with a Rāmabhadra's views, which seem to be the immediate predecessors of his own.¹⁵ Again Mathurānātha was related to Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana as pedagogical nephew,¹⁶ and Jayarāma's attitude to the subject, though not lacking in zeal, lacks the form and profundity of our author's. However, I am not prepared to be certain that Mathurānātha was the author of our work. Gokulanātha refers to him as *Jyāyān* and I am not aware that this was a title of Mathurānātha. Until better evidence of ascription appears, or evidence destructive of the suggestion is produced, I am prepared to hazard that the author of the *Svatva-rahasyam* was Gadādhara. A discussion of the merits of his approach to the problem in comparison with his predecessors and successors will, it is hoped, appear shortly in another place.

15. The identification of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma and Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṅkāra might be suggested ; at any rate the date of the latter is not certain. In his commentary on the *Dāyabhāga* (Bharat-candra Śiromāṇi's edn., 15,) he says : *vaṣṭuto dhana-niṣṭham na svatvam nāma padārthāntaram kintvātma-niṣṭham svamyam, dhanam tan-nirūpaka-mātram*, and later on, *naiyāyika-naye svāmitva-nirūpakam eva svatvam*. This is definitely a stage not far removed from that which the author of the *Rahasyam* reached, and some connection between them will probably be made out. On the whole, until evidence is produced, it seems more likely that the commentator on the *Dāyabhāga* was not the Sārvabhauma, and if the author of the *Rahasyam* were indeed Gadādhara the likelihood that this close predecessor was some distance from Jayarāma seems both high and satisfactory.

16. See D.H.H. Ingalls, *Materials for the study of Navya-nyāya Logic*, Harvard, 1951, 21-22.

SOME COMMENTATORS ON THE MEGHADŪTA

By

DR. S. K. DE.

The great popularity and currency of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* is indicated not only by the existence of a large number of original manuscripts in the different libraries of India, Europe and America,¹ but also by the fact that more than fifty Sanskrit commentaries are known to exist, of which about a dozen of the more important ones are available in print.

Vallabhadeva

The earliest known commentary is the *Pañjikā* of Vallabhadeva, which has been critically edited by E. Hultsch (London 1911). Vallabha was a Kashmirian who described himself as the son of Rājānaka Ānandadeva, father of Chandraditya and grandfather of Kayyāta; and he had the surname of Paramārthacihna. He is known to have commented upon several standard poetical works, including those of Kālidāsa (*Raghu*^o and *Kumāra*^o), Mayūra, Ratnākara and Māgha, as well as upon Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷamkāra*. As his grandson Kayyāta wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Devī-sataka* in 977-78 A.D. during the reign of Bhīmagupta of Kashmir (977-82 A.D.), Vallabhadeva's probable date would be the first quarter of the 10th century. Durgaprasad and Parab² suggest and Hultsch accepts this date; but K. B. Pathak³, not on very cogent grounds, would bring it down to 1100 A.D. This commentator Vallabhadeva should be distinguished from the anthologist Vallabhadeva, also a Kashmirian, who compiled the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, but who belonged probably to the middle of the 12th century.⁴ Whatever might have been the exact date of our Vallabhadeva, there cannot be any doubt he is to us the earliest known commentator on the *Meghadūta*; and his commentary, therefore deserves careful consideration from the point of view of textual study.

1. Much useful information about these mss. were given by Dr. V. Raghavan, from the materials of the New Catalogus Catalogorum,
2. See footnotes to the Kāvyaḷamāla ed. of *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* and of *Devī-śataka*.
3. In the introd. to his ed. of the *Meghadūta*, Poona 1916 (2nd ed.).
4. S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 471-72; A. B. Keith's objections in *BSOS*, v, pt. i, p. 27f., and De's rejoinder in *ibid*, v, pt. iii, p. 499f.

Hultzsch's edition of the commentary (as well as the text commented upon) is based on three Śaradā (—Kāśmīrī) and one Devanāgarī manuscript. He is right in holding that this last manuscript is highly conflated and in consequently basing his edition of the Kashmiri text of Vallabhadeva chiefly on his three Kashmiri manuscripts. It is interesting to note that Vallabha's text gives 112 stanzas, but one of these he himself believes to be imitative and spurious; hence 111 stanzas are given by him as genuine.¹ This point is highly important in view of the well known fact that the popular text of the *Meghadūta* suffered a great deal from interpolation. Vallabhadeva rejects and excludes from his text as many as 19 such interpolated stanzas.

Sthiradeva

The next important commentary is the *Bāla-probodhīnī* of Sthiradeva, which has been edited (along with its text) from one manuscript existing in the Mandlik collection of the Fergusson College, Poona, by V. J. Paranjpe (Poona 1936). Sthiradeva's date and provenance are not known. He is mentioned by name, along with Vallabhadeva and Āsaḥa or (Āṣaḍa)², by the presumably Jaina commentator Janārdana³ and is found reproduced in extenso by the anonymous, but presumably Jaina, commentary *Sāroddhārīnī* on the *Meghadūta*. He might have been Jaina, but manuscripts of his commentary are found today in Poona (Mandlik collection), Baroda (Oriental Institute), Alwar, Tanjore (Sarasvatī Mahal) and Mithila. There is little evidence to show that he is, as his editor presumes, earlier than Vallabhadeva; but since Janārdana's date⁴ lies between 1192 and 1385 A.D., he appears to be a fairly old commentator.

Paranjpe's manuscript of the commentary is dated in Samvat 1521 (= ca. 1465 A.D.). There are two other manuscripts in Baroda a

1. The Devanāgarī MS (no. 226/Or. 3352) of Vallabha's commentary in the British Museum gives 113 stanzas, slightly in excess of 112 given in Hultzsch's edition.
2. Āsaḍa, son of Kaṭuka, wrote the *Viveka-mañjarī* in 1192 A.D. (P. K. Gode in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, ii. pp. 199f). But nothing is known of this Jaina writer's comm. on the *Meghadūta*.
3. Peterson, *Three Reports*, p. 324.
4. See below on Janārdana, and the *Sāroddhārīnī*.

Oriental Institute (Acc. no. 1408 and 12266) which we have also examined. They designate the commentary simply as *Ṭikā*. Both the manuscripts are incomplete,—the first beginning with comments on the stanza *kartum yac ca prabhavati mahim*, the second with those on the stanza *haste līlā-kamalam*. The date of the first manuscript is illegible, but the second was written in Samvat 1630 (= ca. 1574 A.D.). These much later versions of the commentary contain a large number of spurious stanzas, the first admitting 7 and the second 13. Contrary to this later conflated text tradition, however, Paranjpe's manuscripts presents the text as containing only 112 stanzas, of which one is declared spurious by the commentator himself. It therefore, agree with the number 111 given as genuine by Vallabhadeva ; and on his point its independent testimony is valuable.¹

SOUTH INDIAN COMMENTATORS :

Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha

The commentary of Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha, entitled *Pradīpa*, was made available in print in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series² in 1919. He is referred to by Mallinātha (generally as Nātha ; on *Raghu*³ i.7 ; *Megha*⁴ 4, 65, 98) as a predecessor, as well as by Dinakara⁵ and Cāritravardhana⁶. As Dakṣiṇāvarta quotes the authority of the lexicographer Keśava-svāmin⁷ of the 12th A.D. and is himself quoted by Aruṇācala who is also cited by Mallinātha, he probably belonged to the 13th century,

Kshetresh Chattopadhyaya⁸ rightly draws attention to some curious interpretations and capricious readings given by Dakṣiṇāvarta; but in spite of these strange vagaries, some of which Mallinātha pointedly disputes, Dakṣiṇāvarta appears to follow a tradition which omits, in agreement with Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva, all the 19

1. The Tanjore MS (Sarasvatī Mahal Library, no. 3885) is dated 1600 A.D., but curiously enough, the number of stanzas it gives appears to be only 106 !
2. Edited from two MSS.
3. For Dinkara Misra, see below.
4. For Cāritravardhana, see below.
5. Author of *Nānārthārṇava-samkṣēpa* (ed. Trivandrum Skt. Ser. 1913). His date is given as end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century.
6. *Kuppusaami Sastrī Comm. Volume*, pp.17-23.

spurious stanzas, and even the stanza *gatyutkampād* in addition. He thus gives a total of 110 as against 111 genuine stanzas included by Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva. He thus confirms generally and independently the position of the last two commentators in this respect.

Pūrṇa-sarasvatī

The *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī, pupil of Pūrṇa-jyotirmuni, was edited from two manuscripts and published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, in 1909. The date of this commentary is uncertain ; but in the preface to the printed text we are informed, rather vaguely, that the commentator " seems to have lived some three centuries ago in the state of Cochin ". Probably he flourished in the second half of the 14th or the first half of the 15th century A.D.²

This interesting commentary, like that of Dakṣiṇāvarta, gives a total of only 110 stanzas, and excludes all the stanzas not included in the *Pradīpa*. In his interpretation, however, he is more or less independent.

Pūrṇa-sarasvatī was also the author of *Ṛajulāghvī* or *Mālatī-mādhava-kathā* (ed. N.A. Gore, Poona 1943) and *Hamsa-sandēśa* (ed. Trivandrum Skt. Series, 1937). He wrote also a commentary, called *Rasamañjarī*, on the *Mālatī-mādhava* (ed. K. S. Mahadeva Sastri, Trivandrum Skt. Series 1953). He appears to have written also a *Ṭippanī* on the *Anargha-rūghava*.

Parameśvara

Another scholiast from Cochin is Parameśvara, whose *Sumanora-maṇi* commentary was edited from three manuscripts and published by the Travancore University Manuscripts Library from Trivandrum in 1946. He was the son of Ṛṣi and Gaurī of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiri family of Malabar, and flourished probably between 1400 and 1500 A.D.², about the middle of the 15th century. The commentary exists

1. On the date of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī see C. Kunhan Raja in *Poona Orientalist*, ix, pp. 142-48. On citations in his commentary see N.A. Gore in the same journal, pp. 133-41. Since he quotes Citsukha by name he should be later than the first half of the 14th century.
2. On the identity and date of Parameśvara see Kunhan Raja in *Poona Orientalist*, ix, p. 148 and *Introd. to the Trivandrum ed.* On the two recensions of the commentary see *Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume and Adyar Library Bulletin* for Feb. 1945.

in a shorter and a longer recension. It shows familiarity with the commentary of Pūrṇa-sarasvatī, and confirms the Malabar tradition mentioned above, which gives 110 stanzas as the total extent of the poem it comments upon.

Sarasvatītīrtha (Narahari)

The *Vidvajjanānurañjinī* commentary of Sarasvatītīrtha is not yet in print, but manuscripts of it exist in the libraries of the Bhandarkar Institute, Cambridge University and Asiatic Society of Bengal. This Sarasvatītīrtha appears to be identical with the Andhra scholiast Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha, who wrote a commentary on the *Kumāra*°, as well as one on the *Kavya-prakāśa*, entitled *Bāla-cittānurañjinī*. This last commentary gives us the information that he was born in Samvat 1298 (= ca. 1242 A.D.) in Tribhuvanagiri in the Andhra country. He traces his own genealogy from Rāmeśvara of Vatsa-gotra, and describes himself as the son of Mallinātha and Nāgammā and grandson of Narasimha, son of Rāmeśvara. When he became an ascetic, he took the name of Sarasvatītīrtha and composed his commentaries at Kasi.¹ He also refers to two works, *Smṛti-darpaṇa* and *Tarka-ratna* (with its *Dīpikā* commentary), written by himself. The colophon describes Sarasvatītīrtha as Paramahansa Parivrajakā-cārya.

Sarasvatītīrtha's commentary on the *Meghadūta* is indeed remarkable for its acuteness of exposition, which drew the encomium of K.B. Pathak; but since it admits 12 spurious stanzas (giving a total of 123 stanzas), its text-tradition cannot in this respect be taken as very reliable, nor do its readings always seem authentic. It appears to accept the conflated West Indian text, which differs from that of the Malabar commentators mentioned above.

Mallinātha

Kolācala Mallinātha Sūri, author of the *Sanjīvanī* commentary, is well known as a commentator on the standard Mahākāvyas of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Māgha and Śrīharṣa. He was also the author of the *Tarālā* commentary on the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara. He has been assigned to the latter part or end of the 14th century.²

1. S.K.De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i. p.171.

2. On Mallinātha's date see S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i. p. 228 and references cited therein; V. Raghavan in *NIA*, ii. pp. 442f

Mallinātha's commentary on the *Meghadūta* is deservedly popular for its learned yet lucid exposition ; and in spite of its late date, it has been often considered to be authoritative. But it cannot be said that it represents the best text-tradition of the *Meghadūta*. It is true that it omits nine spurious stanzas and expressly declares the interpolated character (Prakṣipta) of six more ; but it admits at the same time four such verses. In the readings of passages also, it cannot be said that Mallinātha always gives us the most authentic forms. And yet, like Nilakanṭha's very late commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, the *Saṅgīvinī* has practically superseded by its reputation and currency most of the earlier commentaries on the poem. Nevertheless, the critical insight of Mallinātha, as against that of some West Indian Jaina commentators who accept a very much interpolated text, is shown by the fact that if we leave aside the stanzas omitted or declared spurious by himself, the total number of stanzas in his text ¹ is not more than 115, which is not very much in excess of that of the Malabar commentators, on the one hand, and Vallabhadeva and Sthirādeva, on the other.

It seems, therefore, that the South Indian text-tradition was not uniform. The commentators of Malabar preserve, as against Sarasvatīritha and Mallinātha, a text comparatively free from conflation. It should be noted that most Telugu and Grantha manuscripts either include Mallinātha's commentary or generally follow his text.

Mallinātha's commentary has been printed much earlier and more often in India than any other ; and for a time it practically standardised the text of Kālidāsa's poem. It was first printed (in lithograph) at Benares in 1849, then at Calcutta (Madanmohan Tarkalamkar) in 1850, at Madras (in Telugu characters) in 1859, and at Bombay (Krishna Shastri Bhatavadekar) in 1866. In 1869 Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar brought out at Calcutta a careful edition of the text with Mallinātha's commentary in Devanagari characters. He utilised the Benares, Calcutta and Bombay editions, as well as a manuscript from the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and gave extracts from some Bengal commentaries.² His three source-texts and manuscripts

1. In this respect Mallinātha agrees more or less with the total number given by Bengal commentators.
2. He must have used them in manuscript, for they were not in print. Stenzler's edition (Breslau 1874) also notes readings from these Bengal commentaries.

contained respectively 121, 118, 125 and 116 stanzas ; but even with such meagre and uncertain material, it is remarkable that he had the critical acumen to declare that only 110 stanzas were genuine. Other later and noteworthy editions of the text with Mallinātha's commentary are those of V. S. Islampurkar (Bombay 1889), which gives extracts from six commentaries ; of G. R. Nandargikar (Bombay 1894), which is valuable for having utilised a large number of manuscripts of the text and commentaries ; and of K. B. Pathak (Poona 1894), which gives Jinasena's text.

BENGAL COMMENTATORS

Sanātana Gosvāmin

Sanātana Gosvāmin was an older contemporary and disciple of Caitanya, the founder of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. His commentary, entitled *Tātparya-dīpikā*, was edited from three manuscripts and published by J. B. Chaudhuri (Calcutta 1953-54).¹ Sanātana, son of Kumāra and brother of the equally famous Rūpa Gosvāmin, was originally a high official at the Muhammadan court of Gauda and lived near by at Rāmakeli where he met Caitanya for the first time in about 1513 A.D. Soon after this he renounced the world under the Samnyāsa name of Sanātana given by Caitanya, and became in subsequent years the centre (along with Rūpa and his nephew Jīva) of the arduous and prolonged theological and literary activity of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava sect at Vṛndāvana. The most flourishing period of Sanātana's literary activity falls between 1533 and 1554 A.D., but it probably began as early as 1495 A.D. His commentary on *Meghadūta* which contains no Namaskriyā to Caitanya, was written probably in the latter part of the 15th century before he relinquished secular activity and began his theological labours at Vṛndāvana.*

The portion of this commentary on stanzas occurring in the Uttara-megha is extremely meagre, because the author, taking them to be easy (*sugamam*), did not take care to explain them. As a commentary it is lucid, but hardly distinguished. The total number of stanzas included in the text is 115.

1. Published in the journal *Prācya-vāṇī*, ed. J. B. Chaudhuri. x-xi (1953-54). These editions do not note any variant readings. Two of the MSS are from the India Office (no. 3774/1381A and 3779/1570).
2. See S.K.De, *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement*, Calcutta 1942, pp. 108f.

Kalyāṇamalla

The *Mālatī* commentary of Kalyāṇamalla is not yet printed, but it is available in the comparatively modern Colebrooke manuscript (no. 3774/1584 ; also no. 3777/529) existing in the India Office Library and its copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, on which H. H. Wilson's *editio princeps* (Calcutta 1813) of the *Meghadūta* was based. Kalyāṇamalla, son of Gajamalla and grandson of Karpūra of Padmanābha family, appears to have been a local Chief of Bhūriśreṣṭha, and is styled Rājarsi in the colophon. Bhūriśreṣṭha, also mentioned by Kṛṣṇa-Miśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya*, is now identified with the once flourishing Bhursut Perganna¹ in the the district of Burdwan, Bengal. He was a patron of the well known scholiast Bharata-mallika, who also commented on the *Meghadūta* ; but Kalyāṇamalla's work, perhaps written independently, has no agreement with that of his protege. It is a briefer and much easier commentary-meant perhaps for beginners. The total number of stanzas commended upon is 115.

Bharata-mallika

The *Subodha* commentary of Bharata-mallika on the *Meghadūta* was edited by J. B. Chaudhuri from four manuscripts² and published at Calcutta in 1951. Bharata-mallika, otherwise Bharata-Sena, son of Gaurāṅga-Mallika and descended from the family of Vaidya Harihara Khān, was a Bengali Vaidya or physician by caste, who has patronised by Kalyāṇamalla mentioned above. He was a voluminous scholiast, who composed commentaries also upon *Raghu*^o, *Kumāra*^o, *Kirāta*^o, *Śiśu*^o, *Ghaṭakarparakāvya* and *Bhaṭṭi*, and wrote extensively on grammar and lexicon. The number of his works listed in various catalogues of manuscripts or published is about 17.

The date of his commentary on the *Meghadūta* is uncertain. Its editor would assign³ it to 1675-76 A.D. ; but we are inclined to

1. It is associated with the famous Bengal poet, Bhārat Candra Rāy Guṇākar (1st half the 18th century) as his native place.
2. Three MSS. from India Office and one from Calcutta Asiatic Society.
3. His argument is based chiefly on a Vaidyaka work called *Chandra-prabhā*, ascribed to Bharata-mallika and bearing the date (apparently post-colophon) of Saka 1597 (= 1675 A.D.). The MS is said to have been written by the author himself. But the authenticity of this evidence is open to doubt. Such a work, called *Chandra-prabhā*, is entered nowhere under the authorship of Bharata-mallika, except in an apocryphal print by a Calcutta Vaidya in 1892, on which alone the editor relies.

agree with Colebrooke ¹ and Rajendralal Mitra ² that Bharata-mallika flourished in the middle of the 18th century A.D.

Even if this commentary of *Meghadūta* is comparatively recent in date, it is remarkably full and erudite, though sometimes unnecessarily subtle and pedantic, and shows familiarity with the works of previous commentators. The number of stanzas ³ it comments upon is 114.

Rāmānatha Tarkālamkāra

Rāmānatha's commentary, entitled *Mukṭāvalī*, yet unprinted, is included in the Colebrooke manuscript of the India Office mentioned above (no. 3774/1584). Nothing is known about the author or his date, but he appears to have been a comparatively modern writer. There is nothing remarkable in his commentary, except his knowledge of rhetoric, lexicon and grammar ; but his text gives a total of 116 stanzas.

Haragovinda Vācaspati

Haragovinda, son of Vaṅkavihārīn Gaṅgopādhyāya of Krishnanagar (Bengal), is also a modern commentator, perhaps of still later date. His hardly remarkable commentary is included in the Colebrooke Manuscript of the India Office mentioned above, and is not yet printed. Nothing is known of the author ; but Keith would identify him with Haragovinda Vācaspati, author of *Jñāpakāvalī*, which belongs to the Samkṣipta-sāra school of grammar. The name of Haragovinda's commentary on the *Meghadūta* does not appear in the India Office manuscript, but it is given as *Samgatā* in the manuscript which Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar used for his edition. The total number of stanzas it comments upon is 115.

1. Ed. *Amarakośa*, p. 6. Bharata-mallika wrote a *Mugdha-bhodiṇī* commentary on this lexicon.
2. In his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (vi, p. 145) Mitra writes in 1882 that Bharata-mallika "lived at Kanchrapara in the Hooghly district about 150 years ago". Haraprasad Sastri endorses this view and says that he had seen Bharata-mallika's grandson, Lokānatha-mallika (*Catalogue of A.S.B. Manuscripts* vi, 1931, p. 307).
3. The India Office MS no. 3775/994b, however, contains 116 stanzas.

Kaviratna Cakravartin

No information is available about this commentator. We could not obtain a copy of his *Artha-Bodhini* commentary printed in Bengali characters (with a Bengali translation) at Calcutta in 1850; but we have seen the Calcutta Asiatic Society's manuscript of this commentary (No. 4956/10802) written in Bengali characters, as well as a Bengali manuscript of the same in the Dacca University library. There is nothing striking in this commentary, but its text has a total of 115 stanzas.¹

It is noteworthy that the number of stanzas in the text commented upon by the Bengal commentators is between 114 and 116, usually 115.

SOME OTHER EASTERN COMMENTATORS

Śāśvata

The only available manuscript of Śāśvata's commentary, entitled *Kavi-priyā*, exists in Asiatic Society's library at Calcutta (No. 4953/5646). It is fragmentary and is wanting in many folios. These fragments have been edited by J. B. Chaudhuri (Calcutta 1953), along with his edition of Sanātana's *Tātparyadīpikā*. The manuscript bears the date in Nevārī era 540 (= ca. 1330 A.D.). Śāśvata, therefore, must have been a fairly old writer; but the Nevārī script of the manuscripts may be taken as going against the presumption, which is sometimes made, that Śāśvata belonged to Bengal. The second introductory verse of his commentary, quoted by Rajendralal Mitra² from a manuscript of the same in Devanāgarī characters, speaks of Vallabha's commentary as weighty and authoritative; and in many cases Śāśvata's readings do not agree with those of Bengal commentators. Even if Śāśvata's exact provenance is not known, it is probable that he belonged to some region in Eastern India. Śāśvata's text contained 115 stanzas.

Divākara Upādhyāya

The commentary of Divākara, entitled *Ṭikā* or *Dyotikā*, noticed in the Mithila Catalogue, is available in the India Office manuscript

1. Nothing is known of Kavicandra's *Manoramā* commentary on the *Megha*, a MS of which in Bengali characters is noticed by Rajendralal Mitra (*Notices*, ix, p. 251, No. 3174); nor of the *Ṭikā* of Ravikara (*ibid*, x, p. 112, No. 3371) in Bengali characters, except that this Ravikara may be identical with Ravikara, son of Harihara and commentator on Piṅgala and the *Vṛttaratnakara*.
2. *Notices*, viii, p. 187, No. 2740.

No. 3780/1516. He was a protege of some king of Mithila and wrote (according to Nandargikar) his commentary on *Raghu*^o in 1385 A.D. He commented also upon *Kumāra*^o. His text of *Meghadūta* contained 125 stanzas.

Jagaddhara

Another Maithili scholiast is Jagaddhara, who gives an account of himself and his family in his well known commentary on the *Mālatī-mādhava*. He traces his genealogy to one Caṇḍesvara and informs us that he was the son of Ratnadhara and Damayantī and grandson of Vidyādhara. His ancestors were Mīmāṃsakas, except perhaps his father who was a judicial functionary to some local chief. Jagaddhara's commentary on the *Meghadūta* is entitled *Rasa-dīpikā*, as it is known from Rajendralal Mitra's Notices (v, p.287, no. 1966) of a manuscript in Maithili characters ; but no manuscript is known to be available now in any library. Jagaddhara commented also upon *Kumāra*^o, as well as upon *Vāsavadattā*, *Veṇī-samhāra*, *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Bhagavad-gītā*, etc. According to R. G. Bhandarkar, "Jagaddhara lived after the fourteenth century but how long after we have not the means of determining".¹

Bhagīratha Miśra

The exact provenance of the *Tattva-dīpikā* commentary of Bhagīratha Miśra is not known. He is described as the son of Harṣadeva of the Piṭamuṇḍi family and as having lived under Jagaccandra of Kūrmācala. But the only two known manuscripts of this commentary² are found in Bengal and written in Bengali characters. Bhagīratha commented also upon *Raghu*^o, *Kirāta*, *Śiṣupāla*^o and *Naiṣadha*. His text of the *Meghadūta* contained 114 stanzas.

Dinakara Miśra

Of similarly unknown date and provenance is Dinakara Miśra, son of Dharmāṅgada and Kamalā. He wrote a *Ṭīkā* on the *Meghadūta*, of which a manuscript exists in Baroda Oriental Institute (no. 11364). His *Subodhinī* commentary on the *Raghu-vamśa* is better known

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1. Preface to his ed. *Mālatī-mādhava*, which contains Jagaddhara's commentary on the drama, p.xxi.
 2. MS no. 221 in Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices*, i. p. 127, no. 212 and MS no. II. C.23 of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta.

and is utilised by S.P. Pandit and G.R. Nandargikar. A manuscript of this (*Raghu*^o) commentary in the Bhandarkar Institute (no. 444 of 1887-91) is dated in Samvat 1441 (= ca. 1385 A.D.). He commented also on the *Śiśupāla*^o.

Makaranda Miśra

Makaranda Miśra, who is sometimes taken to be another Bengal commentator, probably lived like Śāśvata in a region adjoining Bengal. The only known manuscript of his commentary, entitled *Megha-saudāmini*, in Devanagari characters, exists in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, (no. 4955/1076). The total number of stanzas given by his text is 118, which is somewhat in excess of the usual number given by Bengal commentators.

WEST INDIAN COMMENTATORS

Cāritravardhana

Of the West Indian commentators, who are mostly Jaina writers, Cāritravardhana is perhaps the best known and earliest. Son of Rāmachandra Bhiṣaj, he had the title of Vaidyādhara or Sāhitya-vidyādhara, and belonged to the Kharatara-gaccha. He wrote commentaries also on the *Raghu*^o and *Kumāra*^o, as well as on *Śiśupāla*^o, *Naiṣadha* and *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*. His commentary on the *Meghadūta* has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series (Benares 1931: reprinted 1953) under the descriptive name Cāritravardhanī.

In the Calcutta Asiatic Society's manuscript of the commentary (no. 4954/10070), dated Samvat 1643 (= ca. 1587 A.D.), many folios are missing. The only recorded complete manuscript¹ appears to be the Bhandarkar Institute MS no. 345 of 1895-98. The name of the commentary does not appear in these manuscripts, but Cāritravardhana's commentaries on *Raghu*^o and *Kumāra*^o are both entitled *Śiśu-hitaiṣiṇī*. Cāritravardhana refers to Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha, but he does not accept the Malabar tradition of the text. G. R. Nandargikar would place him before Divākara Upādhyāya (see above) whose commentary on *Raghu*^o is dated 1385 A.D. P. K. Gode² agrees with Nandargikar's dating, but sets the upper limit at 1172 A.D.

1. The rarity of manuscripts of this commentary is mentioned in the preface to the Chowkhamba edition which, however, does not utilise the BORI MS, nor give variant readings and any account of its own manuscript material. Aufrecht (iii, 100) records only this MS.

2. *ABORI*, xv, pp. 109-11.

The Jaina tradition of the text, embodied in this and the following commentaries, goes even further than that found in the adaptation of Jinasena¹, who includes nine spurious stanzas, but excludes ten, giving a total number of 120. Cāritravardhana admits as many as eleven spurious stanzas, and omits only eight. Thus, the total number of stanzas in the printed text is 122 ; but the BORI MS gives 118. It would appear that whatever may be the intrinsic value, the Jaina commentaries followed a faulty text-tradition of a much interpolated text.

Janārdana

Janārdana is described as a pupil of Ananta. A manuscript of his *Ṭīkā* on the *Meghadūta* exists in the Baroda Oriental Institute Library (no. 2176). He also commented upon the *Raghu*^o as well as on the *Vṛtta-ratnākara* and *Kāya-prakāśa*. His full name is given Janārdana Vyāsa ; and he may or may not have been a Jaina writer. He refers to three previous commentators by name, Vallabha, Asaha or Āsaha and Sthiradeva,—of whom Āsaha or Āṣaḍa is the only writer known as a Jaina. P.K. Gode² approximates Janārdana's date between 1192 and 1385 A.D. His text contained 126 stanzas ; and in this numbering he agrees with those of most Jaina commentators.

Kanakākīrti-gaṇi

Kanakakīrti, pupil of Jayamandira, who was a pupil of Jina-candra Sūri, of Kharatara-gaccha, wrote an *Avacūri* on the *Meghadūta*. It appears to have been printed in lithograph from Benares in 1867. The British Museum manuscript of this commentary (no. 224/or 21456) is found dated in 1462 A.D., but the Leipzig University manuscript (no.416) contains no date. It is thus a fairly old work. The number of stanzas commented upon is 125 (as given by the Leipzig MS).

Lakṣmīnivāsa

The *Śiṣya-hitaishī* commentary of Lakṣmīnivāsa, son of Śrīraṅga and pupil of Ratnaprabha Sūri of Bṛhad-gaccha, is another early Jaina commentary. The Bhandarkar Institute manuscript (no. 344 of 1895-98) of this commentary was written in Samvat 1713 (= ca. 1547 A.D.) ; but the Berlin manuscript no. 1545) is dated earlier in Samvat 1514 (= ca. 1458 A.D.) It is a commentary of not much intrinsic value, and the total number of stanzas given by its text is 126 (Berlin MS. 125).

1. As in K. B. Pathak's ed. of the *Megha*^o, Poona 2nd ed. 1916. Jinasena's *Pārśvābhīyudaya* is edited independently by Yogiraj Panditacharya (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay 1909).

2. *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, ii, p. 188f.

Megharāja

Megharāja-gaṇi or Megharāja-sādhu wrote the *Subodhikā* or *Sukha-bodhikā* commentary, a manuscript of which in the Bhandarkar Institute (no. 390 of 1884-87) is dated in Samvat 1460 (= ca. 1404 A. D.). P. K. Gode¹ would place this commentary between 1172 and 1404 A. D. The total number of stanzas it comments upon is 127.

Mahimasimha-gaṇi

The commentary of Mahimasimha-gaṇi, pupil of Śivanidhāna of Kharatara-gaccha, is also called *Sukha-bodhikā*. It was composed, as the colophon of one of its manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Institute (no. 389 of 1884-87) states, in Samvat 1693 (= ca. 1637 A. D.). It is a fairly late commentary and is in no way very remarkable. The number of stanzas in its text is 126.

Samayasundara-gaṇi

Contemporaneous with Mahimasimha was Samayasundara-gaṇi, pupil of Sakalacandra, who was a pupil of Jinacandra. His commentary on the *Meghadūta* is simply called *Ṭikā*. He wrote commentaries also on the *Raghu*^o (*Arthālāpanikā*), and *Vṛtta-ratnākara* (*Sugamā*). His *Vāgbhāṭalāmkāra-vṛtti* was composed in Ahmedabad for one Harirāma in 1636 A. D. The only manuscript of his commentary on the *Meghadūta* exists in the Panjab University library (no. 4513, *Catalogue*, ii, p. 262). Unfortunately the manuscript was not accessible to us.

Sumativijaya

Sumativijaya, pupil of Vinayameru, wrote about the same time his *Sugamānvayā* commentary, two manuscripts of which exist in the Bhandarkar Institute². P. K. Gode³ would place Sumativijaya in the latter half of the 17th century, while K. S. Pathak (*op. cit.*, p. xxi) states that Sumativijaya wrote his commentary at about Samvat 1690 (= ca. 1634 A. D.). Sumativijaya composed a commentary on also the *Raghu*^o, which was completed at Vikramapura. The merit of his *Sugamānvayā* as a commentary is not much; but like Janārdana, Lakṣminivāsa and Mahimasimha, he comments on a text of 126 stanzas.

Vijaya-Sūri

Vijaya-gaṇi or sūri's *Ṭikā* (also called *Sukha-bodhikā*) was composed in Samvat 1709 (= ca. 1653 A. D.), as stated in its manuscript in the Bhandarkar Institute (No. 443 of 1887-91). Vijaya Sūri is said to have been a pupil of Rāmavijaya-gaṇi of Tapagaccha. He commented also upon the *Raghu*^o and *Kumāra*^o (both called *Subodhikā*). Vijaya Sūri's text of the *Meghadūta* like that of Megharāja, contained 127 stanzas.

1. *Poona Orientalist*, i, no. 3, p. 50.

2. No. 549 of 1891-95 and No. 351 of A, 1882-83.

3. *ABOBI*, xiii, p. 341-43.

Kṣemahaṃsa-gaṇi

Kṣemahaṃsa-gaṇi, pupil of Jinabhadra Sūri of Kharataragaccha, wrote a *Tīkā* on the *Meghadūta*, the date of which is not given by either of its two manuscripts in the Bhandarkar Institute (Nos. 329 of 1884-86 and 346 of 1895-98). He wrote commentaries also on the *Vāgbhaṭālamkāra* and *Vṛtta-ratnākara*. His text contained 123 stanzas.

The Sāroddhārīṇī

This is probably a Jaina commentary, but in its only available manuscript, belonging to the Bhandarkar Institute (No. 157 of 1882-83), the name of the author is missing. The manuscript is dated Samvat 1617 (= ca. 561). P. K. Gode¹ would place this work widely between 1173 and 1561 A.D. K. B. Pathak, however, thinks that this commentary knows that of Mallinātha; if that be so, then the date may be put between 1420 and 1561. In Pathak's opinion this work is "next only to Mallinātha's work in point of merit", but its importance need not on that account be exaggerated from the point of view of the textual study of the poem; for in common with most Jaina commentators it accepts a much interpolated text, which gives a total number of 125 stanzas.

The Meghalatā

This is also a Jaina commentary of unknown date and authorship, which was noticed by Rajendralal Mitra (ix, p. 163, No. 3076) and of which a manuscript exists in the Bhandarkar Institute (No. 160 of 1882-83). It is of the usual Avacūri type, and its text gives 126 stanzas.

It will be seen from this brief review that from the time of Jinasena (first quarter of the ninth century) the Jaina tradition, represented by these commentaries, incorporates so many suprious stanzas that their total number fluctuates between 125 and 127, much further than 120 of Jinasena. This is a much more conflated text than those given by Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva, by the Malabar commentators, by the Bengal and East Indian scholiasts, or by the Tibetan translation and the Sinhalese paraphrase.

It is important, in the case of the *Meghadūta*, to take into account the text given by different groups of commentators. It appears from an examination of manuscripts that the commentaries had already so fixed the different text-traditions that they found themselves reflected in the independent manuscripts of different groups or regions. This peculiar circumstance of text-transmission makes it clear, that, not so

1. *ABORI*, xiv, pp. 130-31.

much existing manuscripts (which are mostly later in date) as the commentaries should be taken as our chief guide for textual study. Only if some old manuscript, anterior in date to the commentaries, could be found, it might furnish textual evidence unaffected by their influence.¹

It is not possible within the limits of this article to discuss the comparative authenticity of readings given by different groups of commentaries; but we can briefly indicate here the comparative extent of the original text given by them. The shortest text, consisting of 110 stanzas, is given by the Malabar commentators, Dakṣiṇāvarta-nātha, Pūrṇa-sarasvatī and Parameśvara. The Kashmirian Vallabhadeva and Sthiradeva of unknown provenance give a text of 111 stanzas. Among other South Indian commentators, Mallinātha gives 115 and Sarasvatī-tīrtha 123 stanzas. Among Eastern commentators generally and Bengal commentators in particular, Sanātana Gosvāmin, Śāśvata, Kalyāṇamalla, Kaviratna Cakravartin and Haragovinda Vācaspati each gives 115 stanzas; Ramanatha Tarkālamkāra 116; Makaranda Mīśra 118; but Bhagīratha Mīśra and Bharata-mallika 114 each. The Maithili commentator Divākara Upādhyaya, however, stands apart and gives 125 stanzas. It should be noted in this connection that the Tibetan translation² gives 117 and the Sinhalese paraphrase³ 118 stanzas. The longest and most interpolated text is given by the Jaina commentators, thus: Vijaya Sūri and Megharāja, each 127 stanzas; Janārdana, Lakṣmīnivāsa, Sumativijaya, Mahimasimha, the *Meghalatā*, each 126; Kanakakīrti, as well as the two Jaina adaptations *Nemidūta* and *Śīladūta*, and the *Sāroddhārīnī*, each 125; Kṣemamahāsa 123; Cāritravardhana 122; and the adaptation of Jināsena 120. From these facts it is clear that, in spite of diversity, there is a general agreement in the matter of extent between the text of the Malabar commentators, on the one hand, and that of Kashmirian Vallabhadeva, as well as Sthiradeva, on the other. As there is no *prima facie* possibility of mutual contamination, we can take this agreement as original and not secondary; and it is probable that Kālidāsa's text originally contained not more than 110 or 111 stanzas. This number was increased by a process of accretion, through the centuries, differently in different regions, so that some inferior manuscripts are found to contain the maximum of 130 stanzas.

1. This question has been discussed in detail in the Introduction to our edition of the *Meghadūta*. In the constitution of the text we have made use of most of these commentaries and noted readings from them, as well as from the Tibetan translation and Sinhalese paraphrase.

2. *Die tibetische Übersetzung von Kālidāsa's Meghadūta*, Berlin 1907 (Date about 13th century).

3. Ed. T. B. Pānabokke, Colombo 1893. (Date unknown).

THE ŚIVA SŪTRAS OF PĀṆINI

(An Analysis)

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Grammar has four main divisions; they are Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Prosody. Prosody is generally treated as a separate subject and is often omitted in books on grammar. All the three divisions are dealt with by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, though he does not deal with the subjects in the order mentioned above. But his later commentators take phonology in the beginning, after the preliminaries of technical terms and rules of interpretation. Pāṇini himself starts his work with an enumeration of the sounds in the Sanskrit language. He arranges them in his own way and the sounds as arranged by him are as follows, in fourteen *Sūtras* :

१. अ इ उ ण् २. क ल-क् ३. ए ओ-क् ४. ऐ औ-च् ५. ह य व
र-ट् ६. ल-ण्
७. ज म ङ ण न-स् ८. झ भ-ञ् ९. घ ढ ध-ष् १०. ज व ग ङ
द-श् ११. ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त-व् १२. क प-य् १३. श ष स-र् १४. ह-ल्

Doubts have been raised about the scientific character and the utility of this arrangement of the sounds adopted by Pāṇini¹, which is quite different from the arrangement which we are familiar with. In this arrangement, the long vowels are omitted and we do not see the *Anusvāra* and the *Visarga*. The order is also different for the semi-vowels and the class-consonants. The letter *h* comes twice, once immediately after the vowels and then again at the very end of the enumeration. The twenty five sounds of the five classes of consonants are given in the order of the fifth, fourth, third, second and first letters, and they are not arranged in five classes according to their position of articulation, like gutturals and palatals. Even in this re-grouping, the order like gutturals and palatals is not kept up in giving the letters. The fourth letters are split up into two groups of two and three each. The first letters are given in two groups of three and two letters each, the former group being added on to the five second letters as a single group of eight letters. The semi-vowels are also split up into two groups of three and one, and the letter *h* is

added on to the first of these two groups, at the beginning. One may at first sight be persuaded to feel that this is a sort of confusion and jumble, without any scientific basis or definite order.

It will also be noted that at the end of each of the fourteen groups, there is a letter added which is mute, which only indicates the terminus of a group and is not a part of the sounds of the language enumerated. The purpose of adding such mute consonants is to effect further grouping. Thus, if any letter of the alphabet in the order in which they are arranged by Pāṇini, is added on to such a final mute consonant, the combination includes that letter and also all the letters up to the mute consonant at the end ^a. Such a mute consonant is termed an *it*. Pāṇini uses such mute letters throughout his grammar for a variety of purposes. According to this combination the letter *a* taken along with the final mute consonant *k* includes all the simple vowels, and the combination *ec* includes all the diphthongs. *jaś* includes the third letters of the class consonants. *śar* includes the three sibilants.

Although a very large number of such combinations are possible in theory, Pāṇini actually makes use of only a limited number. We come across only 40 such combinations ^b in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Such a combination is called a *Pratyāhāra*, in the tradition of the interpretation of Pāṇini. The 40 *Pratyāhāras* used by Pāṇini are:

I. According to the first letter selected :

The first Letters selected	The final mutes added	Total No.
1. अ	ण ण् क् म् च् श ल्	7
2. इ	क् ण् च्	3
3. उ	क्	1
4. ए	ङ् च्	2
5. ऐ	च्	1
6. ह	श् ल्	2
7. य	ञ् ण् म् य् र्	5
8. व	श् ल्	2
9. र्	ल्	1
10. म	ण्	1
11. ङ	म्	1
12. ण	श् र् ल् श् ष्	5

The first Letters selected	The final mutes added	Total No.
13. भ	व	1
14. ज	श	1
15. ब	श	1
16. ख	य, र	2
17. छ	व	1
18. च	र	1
19. श	र, ल	2
Total		40

II According to the final mute added :

Final mutes	First letters to which the final mutes are added	Total No.
1. य्	य म झ ख	4
2. व्	छ	1
3. र्	य झ ख च श	5
4. ल्	अ ह व र झ श	6
5. ज्	य	1
6. म्	य ऊ अ	3
7. ङ्	य	1
8. ण्	अ इ य	3
9. च्	अ इ ए ऐ	4
10. ट्	अ	1
11. क्	इ उ	3
12. श्	अ ह व झ ज ब	6
13. ष्	भ झ	2
Total		40

Some among these combinations occur only once ; numerically many of them are not of very frequent occurrence. What is important is not the number of times such combinations occur. What we have to take note of is the number of letters which some of the combinations include. If by such a device, the repetition of long lists of letters can be avoided even a few times in the grammar, such a consequent brevity is sufficient justification for adopting the system,

even when many of them can easily be discarded as leading to no saving by themselves. There is the rule in the *Mīmāṃsā* that when there is a feast got ready for the reception on the arrival of the son-in-law in a house, the feast can be taken advantage of by a casual visitor to the place also⁴, and this rule is applicable in the present case too. Some of the combinations help in avoiding the repetition of long lists of letters, like *ac*, *al*, *hal*, *yay* and *yar* and the combinations are of great importance in the system of Pāṇini's grammar. This device has been made use of in giving lists of suffixes also, like *sup*, and *tin* and *tan*.

Pāṇini has 14 groups in his arrangement of the sounds of the Sanskrit language, and he requires 14 final mutes to denote the ends of the 14 groups. When we examine the mutes which Pāṇini has selected for making the terminus of the groups, it will be found that all the consonants so selected come within the sibilants, the semi-vowels, the first letters of the class-consonants and the last letters (nasals) of the class-consonants. All of them together will come to 17⁵; and so he has actually to discard three of them. It is found that he discards the three dental sounds from among the first and last (nasal) letters of the class-consonants and the sibilants⁶. He also discards the first letter of the labial class *p*. Then he has only 13 letters left for the 14 groups, and this necessitates the repetition of one of them; he actually gives the letter *n* twice, once after *a i u ṛ* and again at the end of the semi-vowels⁸. I do not know why he selected the final mutes from four sets of consonants, and then why he omitted one more than what he should have done. He could easily have selected the first and the last (nasal) letters of the five classes and the four semi-vowels, to make up the required number of 14.

Among the combinations given above, there are three combinations with the letter *n* as the final mute, namely, *an in* and *yan*. Since *y* comes after the first *n*, *yan* can be only with the second *n*. But *an* and *in* can mean two groups, and to avoid the possible confusion, there is the general rule that *an* is with the first *n* and *in* is with the second *n*. There is an exception to this also, which will be dealt with presently.

After having selected four sets of consonants from which he could adopt the final mutes, I do not know why he dropped the dentals in devising the combinations of sounds in the alphabet of the language. Perhaps the dental sounds are unstable, and there is the possibility of confusion arising out of such phonetic changes in the

symbols indicating the combinations. But why did not Pāṇini make use of *p* and why did he not make use of *h* either, even if some such explanation is possible for discarding the dentals? If he had simply omitted the three dentals, he would have had the needed 14 consonants for the finals. Or he could have taken up the letter *a* along with the sibilants. The reason cannot be that such combinations with the letters that he has dropped might be confused with other symbols that he has used in the grammar with the same letters, but with different values. For, Pāṇini uses the same symbol as indi- cating such a-combination and also as having other values. Thus, the first combination possible, namely, *an* has also the value of the suffix *an* with the mute sound *n*, in the *Taddhita* portion⁹. There are other cases too of symbols having different values.

Among the three dentals which he has omitted, he uses the letter *t* for another purpose. In the alphabet, as arranged by Pāṇini, there are no long vowels separately given. The character of a sound does not alter whether it is short or whether it is long. So, he does not include the long vowels as separate sounds in his arrangement. But there are many cases where he has to restrict the applications of certain grammatical operations to either the short or to the long form of the same vowel. In such cases he adds the mute sound *t* to indicate that the symbol relates only to that particular form and not to the other form of the vowel¹⁰. In the very beginning of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ¹¹, the symbols *āt* and *at* occur, and they mean the long *ā* and the short *a* respectively. Similarly, the symbol *it* means the short *i*. This symbol *it* is also used as a generic name for all such mute letters employed by Pāṇini, which have only such an indicative value. Pāṇini has given rules to determine whether a letter is mute when he employs it in his original terminology. Thus, nasalised vowels, final consonants etc. are mute in his original terminologies¹². Such mute letters are only indicative of certain grammatical values and do not have any place in the language itself, when grammatical operation is closed, such mute letters must be dropped¹³. When the *Taddhita* suffix *an* is added, only the sound *a* remains and the mute letter *n* drops out of the word¹⁴. I am not able to determine why Pāṇini uses this particular symbol *it* among many such, as the generic term to indicate the mute letters. Some suggestions have been given that it may be the abbreviated form of the Sanskrit word *iti*. I am not satisfied with such an explanation. We cannot also give any explanation why he has used such individual cases as *krī tatpuruṣa*, *bahuvrīhi* and *dvigu* to designate the general class under which the words come in his grammatical terminology. This too is like that.

When Pāṇini gives only the short *a i u* and *ṛ* in his alphabet and when really there are their long forms also in the alphabet, he says that in his treatise a sound means its own *Savarṇa* (concordant sound) also¹⁵, except when to a vowel the mute letter *t* is added. The short and the long forms of a vowel are mutually concordant. Similarly, all the five letters of the same class are also mutually concordant. The mute letter *u* is added to the first letter of the five classes¹⁶, and that symbol means all the five letters of the class. What he says is that the combination of the sounds in the alphabet included in the symbol *an* and a sound with the mute letter *u* added to it denote their concordance also. Sounds are concordant when their place of articulation and the effort in production are the same¹⁷.

The question arises here whether the symbol *an* includes only the sounds *a, i* and *u* or all the vowels, the aspirate *h* and the semi-vowels, i.e., all the letters from the beginning to *l*. It will be the former if the mute letter is the first *n* and it will be the latter if the mute letter is the second *n*. The general rule is that in the combination *an* the mute letter is the former and in the combination *in* it is the second *n*. The tradition of Pāṇinian interpretation makes an exception here; in this particular *Sūtra*¹⁸ where the combination *an* and the sounds with the mute letter *u* added to it indicate their *Savarṇas* also, the mute letter is the second *n* and not the first, as is the general rule.

Such an exception is necessitated by the fact that the vowel *ṛ* which will fall outside the combination *an* if the mute letter here is the first *n*, has both a short and a long form. Such forms are concordant to each other. The semi-vowels too have a pure and a nasalised form, which are mutually concordant, and the semi-vowels too fall outside the combination *an* if the mute letter here is the first *n*. To avoid this difficulty, the mute *n* in the combination *an* is taken to be the second in this particular *Sūtra* and in all other cases, it is the first *n* in the combination *an*.

But when we make such assumptions to avoid a difficulty, other difficulties arise if we take the combination *an* as having the second *n* as the final mute. There are the sounds *e* and *ai* which have the same place of articulation and the same effort in production¹⁹. There is a similar relation between *o* and *au*²⁰. Therefore *e* and *ai* become mutually concordant and *o* and *au* also become mutually concordant in the same way. If the combination *an* in this *Sūtra* has the second *n* as its final mute, the combination will include the diphthongs, and consequently, when Pāṇini uses the sound *e* or *o*, it includes also the

sound *ai* or *au*, just as the sound *a* means both the short *a* and the long *a*. And this is not acceptable. This leads us to the assumption of another rule that, as an exception, there is no concordance between *e* and *ai* or between *o* and *au*. Such an exception is taken as implied by the fact that while he does not include the long forms of the simple vowels, he gives all the four diphthongs separately²¹. But all such difficulties can be avoided if even in this *Sūtra* *an* is taken as combined with the first *n* as mute as in the other *Sūtras*.

Either *ṛ* will be excluded when the combination of *an* is with the first *n* as mute or the diphthongs will be included if the combination is with the second *n*. Now, there is the rule that when the simple vowels (*a* to *ḷ*) are followed by their concordant sounds, the resultant vowel will be the long form of that vowel²². The combination of *pitṛ* with *ṛṇa* will be *pitṛṇa* according to this rule; it can also be without any euphonic combination²³. The *Sūtra* presumes that all the simple vowels (*a* to *ḷ*) have their *Savarṇa* vowels. If in the combination *an* the final mute is the first *n*, then the symbol *an* means only the three vowels *a*, *i* and *u*, and the *Savarṇa* vowels will be restricted to these; and we want it for the sound *ṛ* also; and for this, the combination *an* must be with the second *n* as the final mute, so that sounds beyond the first final mute *n* are also included within the operation of the *Sūtra*.

There is a possible escape by saying that while short vowels like *a* and *i* can be followed by the long also, the short *ṛ* can never be followed by a long *ṛ*; there is also no possibility of a long *ṛ* sound being followed a short *ṛ* sound, in the way in which short *a* can follow a long *ā*. Thus, in the case of the sound *ṛ* the only possibility is for a short *ṛ* being followed by another short *ṛ*. An example like *hoṛṛ + ṛkūra* is only an artificially manipulated one, and grammar fixes the language as it is available in general usage. Therefore usages in language limit the scope of operations in grammar, and an artificial example, theoretically possible, has no place in grammar. Pāṇini was writing a descriptive grammar. Thus Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa says in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* that we shall not throw away usages in the works of great writers like Mūrāri and Bhavabhūti, even when such usages are not technically within the rules of grammar²⁴. It is also a well-known dictum that the verbal form *vacanti*, though grammatically correct, is not a legitimate form in usage²⁵. Thus, the rule of Pāṇini about lengthening of the vowels when similar vowels are in juxtaposition is when the two vowels are the same or, if there is a *Savarṇa* sound, when the two vowels are mutually *Savarṇas*. In the

case of the sound r , it is very difficult to find a case where in such a juxtaposition there is the long r as the resultant, in the case of usage by writers of established authority. Such a long form is only in the case of the vowels a , i and u . In the case of r , the two r sounds remain separate as *pitrr̥ṇa* and they are not at all combined.

It may be asked why Pāṇini extended this rule to r also, using the symbol *ak* instead of *an*. One possible answer is this. While Pāṇini knew that the rule cannot have any application in the case of $ṛ$ which has no long form, he extended the application of the rule to that sound also; he could as well have divided r and $ṛ$ into two groups with another final mute after r instead of putting them together into a single group, and in this *Sūtra*, he could have used a combination that will exclude $ṛ$.

There is one place where we may think that when Pāṇini has used the short r , he means both the short and the long forms of the sound. Thus there is the case of the dental n becoming the cerebral $ṇ$ when it comes after the sounds r , r and $ṣ$ ²⁶. Pāṇini uses only the two sounds r and $ṣ$. But it is accepted by all the grammarians that the change takes place after r also; and such is the fact in the language. We have the word *pitṛṇām*, where the cerebralisation is after the long $r̄$ ²⁷.

Curiously enough, such a close student of grammar like Bohtlingk says that Pāṇini has forgotten the sound r in this *Sūtra*. But the Indian tradition is that the sound means not only that pure consonant, but also the vowel sound in which that sound comes, though as a bit and not as full sound. The other parts of the sound are also made up of vowel bits and not full vowels. I need not go into this problem. In this case, the question of the short sound included in the Alphabet of Pāṇini, indicating the long sound too, does not arise, and as such, for the purpose of the similar functioning of a short and a long r there is no need to say that the sound r includes its long also.

The sound r is not a very common one in the language; it is not like its short form $r̄$, which is very common. The long form does not appear at the beginning or the end of a word or of a grammatical element. It is an occasional lengthening of the short vowel unlike the other vowels. Thus the sound has no relation to *Sandhi*. But there are other modifications that need consideration by us in this connection.

There are roots which contain radical $r̄$ (long) as well as $r̄$ (short). Thus there are the roots: $r̄$ $ir̄$ $dr̄$ $vr̄$ $śr̄$ etc. We

cannot say that they serve no purpose by having the long \bar{r} as radical and may as well be short. We are dealing with the work of Pāṇini and Pāṇini takes them as long. We have to note *Sūtras* like $\bar{r}ta id dhātoḥ$, $\bar{r}to vā$ and $\bar{r}ochatyṛtām$ ²⁸ Pāṇini gives separate rules for radical long \bar{r} . But the general modifications of *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* are there, and *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* are for the sounds i u r and l ²⁹, and they refer to the long also. The substitutes a \bar{a} i.e., *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* and the substitutes i and u for r have r added to it. Great complications arise in such cases if short r does not mean its long also, and this can be only if the combination an in the *Sūtra* under discussion has the second n as final mute.

That Pāṇini used the same sound n twice as mute is unhappy. But we can say that of the two combinations possible with this mute, one with the first letter a is with the first mute n and one with the second letter i is with the second n . But to say that even here there is an exception, not specifically mentioned by Pāṇini, is a position which I feel very diffident to accept, and it is to escape from this difficult position between the two horns of a *dilemma* that I said that some other explanation must be found. I am scrutinising all the cases and my thesis is subject to this limitation.

Now, it is not merely a question of the short and long forms of the vowels ; there are the pure and the nasalised forms of the vowels and the semi-vowels, and such nasalised forms are the *Savarṇas* of the pure forms. When Pāṇini uses the pure sound, it has to be taken as including its nasalised form also, and this is possible in the case of the semi-vowels only if in the combination an in the *Sūtra* under consideration the final mute is the second n . The examples usually given are *Samyantā* and *Samivatsara*. An *Anusvāra* becomes the *Savarṇa* of the latter if it is followed by any consonant other than the sibilants and the aspirate h^{30} . And this is optional if the *Anusvāra* is the final of a *Pada*³¹. In *śam*, the final *Anusvāra* becomes n before the suffix *ta*, since n is the *Savarṇa* of r , and the form is *Śānta* and not *Sām̐ta*. But in a word like *Samyantā*, in which the *Anusvāra* in *sam* is at the end of a *Pada* according to the technicalities of Pāṇini, it can be either *Samyantā* itself or *Saṃyantā* ; in *Samivatsara* it can be also *Saṃvatsara*.

Now, what does the above *Sūtra* say ? All that is said in the *Sūtra* is that the *Anusvāra* becomes a *Savarṇa* of the following sound, retaining its nasal character. It is well known that if it is the class-consonants that follow, the *Savarṇa* of the following sound is the nasal of that class and not the other sounds in the class which are

also its *Savarna*⁸². The forms will be like *Anka*, *Pañca*, *Danta*, *Kaṇṭha* and *Stambha*. In the same way, when an *Anusvāra* is followed by a semi-vowel, the *Anusvāra* is changed into the corresponding nasalised semi-vowel.

In this context, the question is not whether a semi-vowel has a *Savarna* or not; the point is whether when Pāṇini gives the semi-vowels, he includes the nasalised form of the semi-vowels also in it⁸³. The combination *aṇ* under question relates only to such an inclusion of a *Savarna* when the pure sound is given by Pāṇini, and the question does not arise whether *there is* a possibility of there being such a *Savarna*. The short *r* may have the long *ṛ* as its *Savarna* and so may the semi-vowels have their *Savarnas* in the nasalised form. When I say that the combination *aṇ* in the *Sūtra* under discussion does not take note of the *Savarna* of the sound *ṛ* and of the semi-vowels, I do not mean at all, that Pāṇini did not recognise such *Savarna* sounds for them. What is meant is simply this that when Pāṇini gives the short *r* sound or the semi-vowels, they *do not include* the *Savarnas* also. Pāṇini manages the enumeration of the sounds of the alphabet in such a way that by this repetition of the final mute, there is no confusion arising and there is also no need for adopting exceptions and further limitations. The combination *aṇ* *always* includes *a*, *i* and *u* and the combination *iṇ* includes all vowels (except *a*) and *h* and the semi-vowels.

Pāṇini does not include the *Anusvāra* and the *Visarga* in his enumeration of the alphabet. It does not mean that he did not recognise them. He mentions them in the body of the grammar and prescribes rules for their grammatical operations. These two sounds are something peculiar to the Sanskrit language, and they stand by themselves. He does not include the two sounds in his enumeration of the alphabet since there is no occasion for him to combine them along with the other sounds. His main purpose in the enumeration is to scientifically combine the sounds in a way that will suit his scheme. There is also another difficulty. It is not possible to give these two sounds by themselves just as he can give the other sounds. Sanskrit language does not have any stems ending in the *Anusvāra*, and in the *Visarga* and it is not possible to give any declensional forms for them. Pāṇini can say *Mātuḥ*⁸¹ meaning "of the stem *Mātr*" and he can also give the declensional form *uḥ*⁸⁵ meaning "of the sound *r*" in the same way. But he cannot use such a declensional form for the *Anusvāra* or *Visarga* sound as a stem. Therefore he does not include the two sounds in the enumeration of the alphabet.

It is not quite correct to say that the *Śiva Sūtras* of Pāṇini is the *Alphabet* in Pāṇini's grammar; what the *Śiva Sūtras* are is a re-arrangement of the sounds in the Sanskrit language to suit a particular scheme, adopted by Pāṇini in his grammar of the Sanskrit language. The alphabet of the Sanskrit language is known from the *Prātiśākhya*³⁶ and other earlier works. Many of the terms used by Pāṇini are already met with in such earlier works. Pāṇini simply adopts such a traditional alphabet and he adapts it to his own purposes, and his main purpose is to make some scientific combinations of the sounds. That is why Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita says in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī* that the *Śiva Sūtras* have as their purpose the manipulation of combinations like *aṇ*³⁷. In the alphabet, Pāṇini gives the consonants with the sound *ā* added to them, and such an addition is only for convenience in pronunciation.³⁸ The final mutes too are outside the real alphabet.³⁹

In re-arranging the traditional alphabet, Pāṇini first of all takes the first three vowels as a group and ends the first *Sūtra* with the final mute *ṇ*⁴⁰. If he wants to take *a* alone, he can do so,⁴¹ and there is no need for the letter to be given separately in the alphabet. That is why he does not end a *Sūtra* with *a* alone. There is no need for Pāṇini to take *a* and *i* together. Therefore he does not end a group with *i* either.

Then Pāṇini takes the two vowels *ṛ* and *Ṛ* as a single group. They have a peculiar position in Sanskrit. Such sounds are not found in other languages. No foreigner can pronounce them properly, and even in India their pronunciation varies very much from locality to locality. It is its local variant that made the original attempts at Roman transliteration represent the sound *ṛ* as *Ri*. In other localities, it has the pronunciation of *Ru*. Really the sound is neither a pure vowel nor a pure consonant; it is a combination of bits of vowels and consonants. But the combination is unitary and forms a single sound instead of a combination of more than one sound each coming after the other.

A vocal bit is followed by the consonantal bit, and the same vowel bit is repeated. These three elements form a single unitary sound. The consonant may be either *r* or *l*. In forming the long form of these sounds, the second vowel bit is prolonged, and the first vowel bit and the consonantal bit remain unmodified. Thus, the sound *ṛ* may be represented as *ə r ə* and its long form as *ə r ē*. There is a theoretical possibility of a long form for *Ṛ* also, which can

be represented as ə l ə; but the sound does not find a place in the language. Even the short form *l* is limited in the language to just a single root and its formations, as the root *klp* and its past participle *klpta*. For the sound *r*, the long form is limited, as far as my knowledge goes, to the accusative and genitive plural forms of words ending in *r*.

The vowel bit develops into a full vowel in the *Guṇa* form as *ar* or *al*, and in its *Vṛddhi* form as *ār* or *āl*. There is only a single vowel element in this developed form and the consonantal element also develops into a full consonant. The consonantal bit will be either *r* or *l* and the whole sound will be *ar* or *al* and *ār* or *āl*.

The vowel bit can develop into *i* or *u* also. Thus the vowel bit *r* in *mātr* develops into *u* as is said in the *Sūtra*⁴³:

Mātur utsānkhyāsambhadvapūrvāyāḥ

Pāṇini puts all such cases of the modification of the sound in the *Sūtra* *ur an raparah*⁴⁴. The modification has application for the sound *l* also, though the *Sūtra* takes notice of only the sound *r*. There is much written on the point in ancient commentaries, and many attempts have been made and elaborate discussions have been raised to include the modification of the sound *l* also in this *Sūtra*. I have already said that the modification of *l* is confined to its *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* formations, and there is only one root in which the sound is found in the language. Pāṇini is a practical grammarian and it is on account of his practical bias that various devices had to be resorted to in later times to adapt his work to the needs of theoretical completeness and logical consistency.

After putting these two peculiar sounds of the language into a group ending it with the mute *k*, the four semi-vowels are put into two groups. Pāṇini recognises the sound *a* as a low grade vowel like *i* or *u*, and also as a *Guṇa* grade like *e* or *o*. But he does not repeat the sound *a* along with the *Guṇa* grade; he simply says in the body of the grammar that the short *a* has a *Guṇa* grade value and the long *ā* has a *Vṛddhi* grade value,⁴⁵ from the point of view of vowel-gradation.

Pāṇini took the simple vowels in the order of *i u r* and *l* and he arranges the semi-vowels in the corresponding order according to their place of articulation as *y v r* and ⁴⁶. He has to give

the aspirate sound *h* along with the semi-vowels ⁴⁶ and also along with the sibilants ⁴⁷. So he gives it in two places. Since in the arrangement of the simple vowels, there was the sound *a* in the very beginning, he finds it convenient to give the sound *h* before the semi-vowels, in the very beginning of the consonants. He has also to take the sounds *y v* and *r* separately without *l*, and along with the sound gives *ḷ* as the final ⁴⁸, and so he ends a group with *h* and the three semi-vowels and mute, and he takes *l* as a separate group with the mute *ṇ*. Semi-vowels have a very intimate relation with the vowels and so Pāṇini shifts them from their usual place in the traditional alphabet and assigns them a position after the vowels.

It is then that Pāṇini takes up the class consonants. For philological purposes, he has to arrange the consonants according to their phonetic qualities like hard or soft and simple or aspirate, or nasal. So he discards the order according to the place of articulation followed in the traditional alphabet and arranges them as the first letters, second letters etc., in the five classes. Noting their relative affinities with the vowels and the semi-vowels, the nasals are taken up first ⁴⁹ and then Pāṇini proceeds backwards through the fourth, third, second and first letters of the traditional alphabet. In this traditional alphabet, the five classes are given in the order of their place of origination as gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals and labials. But this is not the order followed in the arrangement of the vowels, and having accepted the order of the vowels in the traditional arrangement, Pāṇini follows up the same order, which he had also given in arranging the semi-vowels. Thus we had

i u ṛ ḷ,

and correspondingly we have :

y v r l

ñ m ṇ n

In the vowel and semi-vowel groups, the gutturals *a* and *h* had a position in the very beginning. But this position does not fit into Pāṇini's needs. So instead of

ñ ñ m ṇ n

he places the gutturals in the middle and arranges them as :

ñ m ñ ṇ n

This is followed up in the other consonants also, except in the last group of the class consonants, as :

ñ m ṇ n
jh bh, gh ḍh dh,
j b g ḍ
ch ph kh th
c ṭ t, k p.

In the arrangement of the five classes of consonants, we find some peculiarity. The fourth letters of the alphabet, given as the second line here, are split up into two groups of 2 and 3 letters. In the same way, the first letters, given in the final line here, form two groups of 3 and 2 letters ; the second letters, given in the fourth line, do not form a separate group, being continued as a single group along with the first 3 letters of the next line. Pāṇini has his reasons. He wants *jh* and *bh* separately ;⁵⁰ he does not want the second letters of the class consonants separately,⁵¹ while he wants to take the first 3 of the first letters of the classes along with the second letters⁵², without the remaining 2 of the first letters of the classes. That is why he has made such a grouping. It is not a symmetrical grouping as five times five letters. It is a scientific grouping, and science may not always follow up a scheme of symmetry. It will also be noted that in the last line of the five classes of consonants above, there is a slight change in the order. It ought to have been : *c p k ṭ t* But he wants to separate *k* and *p* from the others, and so he gives the 3 letters in that order, omitting *k* and *p*, and then he gives these 2 in their traditional order.

This is followed by the three sibilants in their traditional order and he gives *h* in its traditional position at the very end .

Pāṇini knew the traditional alphabet and he accepted that alphabet as the basic alphabet. That is the alphabet that is found in the *Prātisākhya*s. He recognised its scientific value also. Pāṇini uses symbols like *ku* and *pu*. These symbols show what importance Pāṇini had attached to the traditional alphabet. Pāṇini indicates all the five classes of consonants with such symbols, as *ku*, *cu*, *ṭu*, *tu* and *pu* ⁵³. Unless Pāṇini had accepted the classes as starting with *k c ṭ t* and *p* he could not have used them. If he had based the symbols on his own arrangement, he should have used the symbols with the nasals as the first letter, with the final mute *u* added to them, to indicate the five *Savarna* letters.

The traditional order of the letters followed up in the earlier texts like the *Prātisāhkyas*, gave more emphasis on the place of articulation. But Pāṇini had to emphasise the other philological values like vowel-gradation, hard and soft consonants, simple and aspirate and nasal sounds and the different phonological behavior of the same sound or of *Savarṇas* in different conditions. Since he wanted a new order of the sounds of the alphabet for his own mode of treatment, which is philological, he gave the same sounds in a parallel order, keeping as closely to the original order as was possible. The criticisms against Pāṇini's *Śiva Sūtras* are unfortunate. In conclusion I must categorically assert that there is no element of *superstition* when the *Śiva Sūtras* are assigned to divine origin or divine inspiration ; it was only the mode of presentation in those days.

Notes

1. The remarks of the late Hannes Skold in his essay on *Facts and Conjectures about the Śivasūtras* in his collected *Papers on Pāṇini* may be taken as a mild specimen of the criticisms that have been levelled against the *Śiva Sūtras* in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

2. ādir antyena sahetā 1 1 71

3. I take an only as a single *Pratyāhāra* and not as two, one with the first n and the other with the second n. If they are taken separately there will be 41.

4. jāmātraratham śrapitasya sūpasya atithyupayogitvāt.

5. k c t t p ; ṇ ñ ṇ n m ; y r l v ; ś ṣ

6. t n and s

7. First in the *Śiva Sūtra*

8. Sixth in the *Śiva Sūtras*.

9. See : prāgdīvyato ' ṇ 4 1 83

10. taparas tatkalasya 1 1 70

11. vṛddhir ād aic 1 1 1 and ad eṇ guṇah

12. upadeśe ' j anunāsika it 1 3 2 and hal antyam
1 3 3

13. tasya lopah 1 3 9

14. aśvapati + aṇ = aśvapata ; the final ṇ is not found in the resultant form.

15. aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayah 1 1 69.

16. Pāṇini uses all the five symbols like ku and pu in aṭkupvān-numvyavāye 'pi (8.4-2), cu and tu in cutū (1-1-3) and tu in stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ (8.4-40).

17. Tulyāsyaprayatnam savarṇam 1 1 9. Sounds having the same position of articulation and the same effort in production are concordant. Effort is internal and external, and here it is the external effort that is meant. All class consonants have touch *spārśa* as effort ; it is easy touch *īṣatspārśa* for semi-vowels and open (*vivṛta*) for sibilants and h, and also for vowels. Thus, vowels and sibilants and h have the same effort. When their position of articulation is also the same there is concordance between a vowel and a sibilant or h.

18. Given in Note 15 above.

19. Place of articulation is throat-cum-lip and effort is *vivṛta* (open).

20. Place of articulation is throat-cum-palat and effort is *vivṛta* (open).

21. It must be understood that framing of rules on the basis of such implications in the text of Pāṇini must be limited to cases where there is absolute necessity and where the implication is very manifest. In the present case, can we not as well say that since apart from the sounds c ṭ t (v) k p (y) the sounds beginning with ñ m ṇ n (m) up to kh ph ch ṭh th are separately given, they are not the *savarṇas* of the former ? A presumption like that will bring about a complete break down of the *anudīt-Sūtra*.

22. akah savarṇe dīrghaḥ 6 1 101.

23. By the Sūtra ṛty akah 6 1 121.

24. The whole statement is :

viśrāmasyāpaśabdaivam vṛtyuktam nādrīyāmahe
murāribhavabhūtyādīn apramāṇīkaroti kaḥ.

25. See : svikṛtāṇ ca śāstrān vitānām api vacanti ityādīnām śiṣṭāprayuktatvenāsādhutvam sarvaiḥ in Nageśa Bhaṭṭa's Laghumāñ-jūṣā, P. 103 in Chowkambhā Sanskrit Series edition of 1925.

26. raśābhyām no ṇaḥ samānapade 8 4 1.

27. The word pīṭṇām has this cerebralisation after ṛ : the sound ṛ is made up of ə r and ə, and as such, n does not follow the r sound, but only the vowel bit and if the cerebralisation takes place even when there is the intervention of a vowel by the Sūtra aṅkupvā-ṇnumvyavāye' pi (8-4-2), here the vowel bit is not a vowel as mentioned by that Sūtra. Such is the line of such discussion.

28. 7 1 100 ; 7 2 38 ; and 7 4 11.

29. iko guṇavṛddhī 1 1 3.

30. anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ 8 4 58.

31. vā padāntasya 8 4 59.

32. And not any other of the five consonants in that class, because there is the nasal element of the *Anusvāra* in the nasal of the class. In *śām ta*, *m* should become the concordant of *t*, and *th d dh* and *n* are all such concordants of *t*; but we accept only *n* and not the others.

33. Thus, in the *Sūtra* given in Note 30, does *yay* include both the pure and the nasalised *y* and *v* also? Certainly not. It is only the substituted *y* and not the original *y* that is nasalised.

34. In *mātur ut saṅkhyāsambhadrapūrvāyāḥ* 4 1 115.

35. As in the *Sūtra* *ur aṇ raparaḥ* 1 1 51.

36. All the *Prātiśākhya*s have their own alphabet; they differ very slightly from one another; in the main the alphabet is the same.

37. See; *iti māheśvarāṇi sūtrāṇy aṇādisamjñarthāni* after the *Śiva Sūtras* in the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*.

38. See: *hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇṛtāhaḥ* in the *Siddhānt-Kaumudī* after the *Śiva Sūtras*.

39. See: *parātyāharaeṣv itām na grahaṇam anunāsikaḥ ityādinirdeśasāmarathyāt* in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* under the *Sūtra Upadeśe* 'j anunāsika it (1- 3- 2). But such an implication is not necessary in the context. The very way in which the sounds are given is sufficient evidence of the fact; if anything more is needed, the rule that such indicatory mutes are to be dropped will serve the purpose.

40. These are the basic vowels in the Sanskrit Language.

41. He can simply say *a*, as in *ād guṇaḥ* (6- 1- 87)

42. Given in Note 34.

43. 1—1—51 given in Note 35.

44. *Vṛddhir ād aīc* (1- 1- 1) and *ad eṇ guṇaḥ* (1- 1- 2), given in note 11.

45. There is the rule: *yathāsaṅkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām* (1- 3- 10) and this concord in the order is necessary in *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* (1- 1- 45) and *iko yaṇ aci* (6- 1- 77).

46. To include it in the combinations *aṭ aś haś* and *iṇ*.

47. To include it in the combinations *val ral jhal* and *śal*. See *Praudha Manoramā* under the *Śiva Sūtras* for this and the previous Notes.

48. As in *aṭkupvāṇnumvyavāye* 'pi 8- 4- 2)

49. To make the combination *am* and *yam*.

50. For the need of the combination *yañ*

51. There is no combination with these five second letters of the class, excluding the first letters.

52. For the combination *chav*.

53. Given in Note 16.

RAGHUVAMŚA XII. 21

By

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

प्रभावस्तमितच्छायमाश्रितः स वनस्पतिम् ।

कदाचिदङ्गे सीतायाः शिष्ये किञ्चिदिव श्रमात् ॥

Kālidāsa says here that when moving about in the forests, Rāma rested once under a tree whose shade was made stationary as a result of his greatness. There is no episode or exploit of Rāma alluded to here, for which we might try to trace the source in Vālmīki's text in one recension or other or in any other version of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is of course easy to pass by the verse as containing nothing striking or peculiar requiring explanation; as Rāma is an incarnation of divinity, this tree-shade becoming fixed or any other miracle could easily be assumed. The commentaries, from Vallabhadeva to Mallinātha, mention nothing.

Vallabhadeva¹ has no remark at all on this: किंभूतं वनस्पतिं प्रस्ता-
(भा) वमितितच्छाये (स्तिमितच्छायम्) ।

Hemādri : प्रभावः सामर्थ्यं तेन स्तंभितच्छायम् ।

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha : रामस्य प्रभावाद् व्यवस्थितच्छायम्

Mallinātha : प्रभावेण स्वमहिम्ना स्तंभिता स्थिरकृता छाया यस्य, तं- ।

Arunagiri : स्तिमिता² निश्चला छाया यस्य ।

Nārāyaṇa : The same words as in Arunagiri.

Caritravardhana : प्रभावोना(वेना)नुभावविशेषेण स्तंभिता छाया यस्य
सस्तम्— ।

Sumativijaya : प्रभावेण विशेषेण³ स्तंभिता छाया यस्य, तं- ।

Guṇavijayagaṇi : प्रभावेणानुभावविशेषण(वेण) स्तंभित (ता) छाया यस्य
सः, तं- ।

Makkibhaṭṭa follows Hemādri's wording but reads like Arunagiri and Nārāyaṇa, *stīmīta* instead of *stumbhita*.

Dinakaramiśra : प्रभावं ॥ अनुभावविशेषेण स्तंभितच्छाया यस्य, तं- ।

1. Extracts from mss. of some of the unpublished commentaries quoted here were kindly supplied by Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, B. O. R. I., Poona; references to other unpublished commentaries are to mss. of these in the Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library and the Adyar Library.
2. Vallabhadeva reads here प्रभावस्तिमितच्छायम् Arunagiri and Nārāyaṇa also do so.
3. Evidently the word *anubhāva* before *viśeṣaṇa* was dropped in the ms.

Nandargikar also does not make any special note here in the Text, Introduction or Notes in his edition.

I was led to examine this verse because of inexplicable extra-Vālmīki allusions to obscure elements of the Rāma-Ravana story available in Kālidāsa, e.g. in the same canto, verse 88.

The reference here to the tree-shade not moving because of the greatness of Rāma is however no allusion to any episode, nor is this 'prabhāva' to be taken in a general devotional context as a concomitant of Rāma being Viṣṇu's avatāra. The 'stambhana' of a vanaspati's chāyā as a natural effect of one's prabhāva is one of the *lakṣaṇas* of *Mahāpuruṣas*. The *Mahākāvya* which is a classical continuation of the *Itihāsa* is the glorification of a 'superman', and the concept of a superman runs through the epics on Rāma and Kṛṣṇa-Nārāyaṇa to Vedic literature. Along with this concept of superman runs also that of the *Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇas* which comprise physical characteristics and intellectual, moral and spiritual endowments, expressed by the terms *Sāmundrika lakṣaṇa*, *Vyāñjana* and *Anuvyāñjana*; those born to rule or lead men, particularly royalty, *Cakravartins*, were endowed with these attributes, and with these *pārthiva-vyāñjanas* or *pārthiva-lakṣaṇas* as Vālmīki refers to them, one's royal or lordly birth or title to that status was recognised or accepted. The tradition of royal or superhuman marks on body or palm or sole has evidently very ancient roots and could be traced to Indo-European heroic legend and myth. In Sanskrit which preserves a good deal of the elements of such ancient traditions, we find these *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* in the descriptions of the personality of such heroes as Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in *Itihāsa* literature. It is on this background that we have to understand the list of 'Guṇas' with which Vālmīki opens his account of Rāma and frequently describes him or projects the attractiveness or superior character of his personality. Even in respect of textual-criticism and the deciding of the readings in these descriptive contexts in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a correlation, of passages bearing on *Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas* would be useful. Later however, with the increasing emphasis on the metaphysical and devotional basis of the greatness of such personalities, the traditional beliefs of the folk relating to the superman decayed or became overlaid with philosophical, mystical and emotional descriptions. Not only was this tradition lost to the later authors of the heroic *Mahākāvya* and *Nāṭaka*, but even in the earlier literature, classical or epic, the portions embodying such descriptions were not understood in the proper light and consequently left open to textual variations.

Fortunately, the parallel literature of epical character on the Buddha, which rose in close relation to or in imitation of the epics

and purāṇas, preserve well this tradition of lakṣaṇas and anuvyañjanas of the Mahāpuruṣa.¹ The set descriptions are not confined to these marks of the superman but extended also to typical tests of strength² and learning, and ideas which bring out the greatness of the superman. In the latter category comes the idea of 'chāyāstambhana' or a tree keeping its shade static, despite the passage of the hours of the day, when the Mahāpuruṣa comes and rests or stays under it. The *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu* refer to this when describing the Buddha.

(a) *Lalitavistara* (edn. Lefmann, Halle, 1902) pp. 142-4 :

ततोऽन्यतम अमात्यो बोधिसत्त्वं पश्यति स्म, जम्बुच्छायायां पर्यङ्कनिषण्णं
ध्यायन्तम् । सर्ववृक्षाणां च तस्मिन् समये छाया परिवृत्ताभूत्, जम्बुच्छाया च
बोधिसत्त्वस्य कायं न विजहाति स्म । स तं दृष्ट्वा आश्चर्यप्राप्तस्तुष्ट उदग्र आत्त-
मनाः प्रमुदितः प्रीतिसौमनस्यजातः शीघ्रं शीघ्रं त्वरमाणरूपो राजानं शुद्धोदन-
मुपसंक्रम्य गाथाभ्यामध्यभाषत—

पश्य देव कुमारोऽयं जम्बुच्छाया द्वि ध्यायति ।
यथा शकोऽथवा ब्रह्म श्रिया तेजेन शोभते ॥
यस्य वृक्षस्य छायायां निषण्णो वरलक्षणः ।
सैनं न जहति छाया ध्यायन्तं पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥

Lines 21—22

व्यावृत्ते तिमिरनुदस्य मण्डलेऽपि
व्योमार्भं शुभवरलक्षणाग्रधारिम् ।
ध्यायन्तं गिरिनिचलं नरेन्द्रपुत्रं
सिद्धार्थं न जहति सैव वृक्षच्छाया ॥

p. 134.

परिवृत्तसूर्यं न जहती सुगतस्य छाया ।

1. See Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1932, pp. 299 ff., 305, and my paper 'Buddhological Works and the Epics', *Adyar Library Bulletin* ii (Dec. 1956) .
2. See my paper above referred to, for tests of lifting and flinging with the toe a huge carcass and piercing with arrow seven sāla or tāla trees.

(b) The Mahāvastu (Senart) vol. 2, pp. 45-7 :

p. 45 जम्बुच्छायायां बोधिसत्त्वो निषण्णो पूर्वाह्ने परिवृत्ते दिवसकरे छाया
बोधिसत्त्वं न जहति ।

The same again on p. 47 :

व्यावृत्ते तिमिरनुदस्य मण्डलस्मि...सिद्धार्थं न जहति जम्बुच्छाया ।

When collated with the above, Kālidāsa's verse describing Rāma resting under a tree whose shade had been rendered stationary by his greatness attains a significance which has so far been missed.

In fact vestiges of the tradition of Mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇas are seen in Kālidāsa ; e.g. the ' webbed fingers ' of little Bharata in the *Śākuntala*, VII. 16, which discloses his royal character :

राजा—(बालस्य हस्तमवलोक्य) कथं चक्रवर्तिलक्षणमप्यनेन धार्यते,
तथा ह्यस्य—

प्रलोभ्यवस्तुप्रणयप्रसरितो विभाति जालप्रथितांगुलिः करः । etc.

YĀSKA'S DEFINITION OF THE ' VERB ' AND THE ' NOUN ' IN THE LIGHT OF BHARTṚHARI'S EXPLANATIONS

By

DR. K. KUNJUNNI RAJA

In the *Nirukta* Yāska defines the VERB and the NOUN thus :
भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्, सत्वप्रधानानि नामानि ¹ A verb is chiefly concerned with *bhāva*, whereas nouns have *sattva* as the chief element in their meaning. What is the exact meanings of the terms *bhāva* and *sattva* here, and how does Yāska distinguish between the verb and the noun?

The term *bhāva* is derived from the root *bhū*, meaning 'to become'; and the word *sattva* is derived from the root *as*, meaning 'to be.' These two roots *as* and *bhū* are almost synonymous and mean 'to exist'; the *Dhātupāṭha* gives the meaning of *bhū* as *sattā* (' *bhū sattāyām* '), and Pāṇini himself allows the substitution of *bhū* for *as* in its non-conjugational tenses. (' *aster bhūh* '). The term *bhāva* in the definition is usually translated as 'Becoming', and *sattva* as 'Being'; ² but one of the six modes of this *bhāva*, enumerated by Vārṣṇāyaṇi and referred to with approval by Yāska, ³ is ' *asti* '. ⁴ Thus there is a possibility of confusion between the two terms. ⁵

Now we shall consider how far the great grammarian-philosopher Bhartṛhari is helpful in clarifying Yāska's definitions of the verb and the noun.

In the third chapter of *Vākyapadīya* Bhartṛhari says ⁶ that *sattā* or Existence is the meaning of expressions; it is one and the same, but

1. *Nirukta*, 1. 1.

2. See Saarup's translation of the *Nirukta*.

3. *Nirukta*, 1. 2 : षड् भावविकारा भवन्तीति वार्ष्णायणिर्जायते ऽस्ति-विपरिणमतेवर्धतेऽपक्षीयते विनश्यतीति ।

4. Prof. J. Brough has noted this difficulty in his paper on 'Audumbarāyaṇa's Theory of Language', *BSOAS*, XIV. i. He translates *bhāva* as 'Being-and-Becoming'.

5. It may be noted that even though *asti* and *bhavati* appear to be synonymous, the former is normally used in the static sense of 'being', and the latter in the dynamic or continuous sense of 'being and becoming'.

6. *Vākyapadīya* iii, Benares edn. p. 29.

appears manifold under different *upādhis* or conditions, and is consequently called the different *jātis* or the universals.

सम्बन्धिभेदात् सत्तैव विद्यमाना गवादिषु ।

जातिरित्युच्यते, तस्यां सर्वे शब्दा व्यवस्थिताः ॥

Here *sattā* does not mean objective existence, but only a referential existence. The theory that all expressions have *astyartha* (the meaning of 'is', or referential existence) as their meaning, which is referred to by Bhartṛhari in the second chapter of the *Vākyapadīya*⁷ and which has been criticised by Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Śāntirakṣita,⁸ also points to the same view. This *sattā* or *astyartha* may be identified with the *Śābdātattva* or Brahman itself, which appears as the phenomenal world on the basis of its own powers such as the time-factor.⁹ *Sattā* may be considered as the meaning aspect, and *Śābdātattva* or the *Sphoṭa* the expression aspect of the Brahman; really the two are identical; *śabda* and *artha* are only the two aspects of the same Great Principle, and there is no real difference between them. Bhartṛhari says¹⁰ :

एकस्यैवात्मनो भेदौ शब्दार्थावपृथक्स्थितौ ।

This *sattā* or *Śābdabrahman*, on the basis of one of its own powers, the time-factor, or the *Kālasākti*, superimposed on it, appears as a process with its six modes as indicated by Vārṣayāṇi, namely production, existence, transformation, growth, decay and destruction :

अध्याहितकलां यस्य कालशक्तिमुपाश्रिताः ।

जन्मादयो विकाराः षड् भावभेदस्य योनयः ॥¹¹

Bhartṛhari says¹² that this *sattā* or Reality, when it appears in a temporal sequence in various particular things is called *Kriyā* or

7. VP. ii. 121 :

अस्त्यर्थः सर्वशब्दानामिति प्रत्याय्यलक्षणम् ।

अपूर्वदेवतास्वर्गैः सममाहुर्गवादिषु ॥

8. *Tantravārttika*, p. 297, and *Tattvasaṅgraha* : The criticism is that if all words mean *astyartha*, there will be no difference in the meanings of words and, therefore, linguistic discourse will be impossible.

9. VP. i. i.

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।

विचर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥

10. VP. ii. 31

11. V.P. i. 3. Note that among the philosophers Maṇḍana-mīśra also held the *Sattā-Brahman* theory.

12. VP. iii. p. 30.

bhāva, and when viewed without such a temporal sequence, it is called *sattva*. Thus it is clear that according to Bhartṛhari *sattva* and *bhāva* are only the two aspects of the same *sattā* or Reality, seen from the static and dynamic points of view respectively :

प्राप्तक्रमा विशेषेषु क्रिया सैवाभिधीयते ।

क्रमरूपस्य संहारे तत् सत्वमिति कथ्यते ॥

Bhāva is an all-comprehensive process including every activity of the world, even existence viewed as a dynamic process. *Sattva*, on the other hand, is Reality seen from a static point of view; it is the same as *dravya* or substance, or the essence or the soul of things¹³. The verb is chiefly concerned with the process of being and becoming, and the nouns have the *sattva* or essence as their meaning. These verbs and nouns are concerned not merely with the activities and the things in this world, but with every conceivable process and entity¹⁴.

Bhartṛhari's views could be found in a clearer manner in Nāgoji-bhaṭṭa's *Laghumañjūsā*. There it is stated¹⁵ :

अस्तिभवतिविद्यतीनामर्थः सत्ता । अनेककालस्यायिनीति कालगत-
पौर्वापर्येण क्रमवतीति तस्याः क्रियत्वम् ॥

And Yāska himself has indicated this by saying :¹⁶

‘पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्टे ।

13. VP. iii. p. 85 :

आत्मा वस्तु स्वभावश्च शरीरं तत्त्वमित्यपि ।

द्रव्यमित्यस्य पर्यायाः तच्च नित्यमिति स्मृतम् ॥

14. Even verbal nouns have the static element predominating in their meanings. See *Mahābhāṣya*, 2. 2. 19 :

कृदभिहितो भावो द्रव्यवद्भवति ।

15. *Laghumañjūsā*, p. 556. Cf. Aristotle's distinction between a noun and a verb : a noun does not involve the idea of time, a verb involves the idea of time.

16. *loc. cit.*

सङ्कर्षकाण्डस्य विषयपरिचयः

जैमिनीयमीमांसायाः द्वादशलक्षण्याः परिशिष्टात्मकः चतुरध्यायीरूपः देवताकाण्डापरनामधेयः सङ्कर्षकाण्डः प्रसिद्ध एव सर्वेषां पण्डितानां विमर्शकानां च । तस्य च सङ्कर्ष इति वा सङ्कर्षण इति वा नाम्नः प्रवृत्तौ इदमेव निमित्तं यत् द्वादशाध्याय्यां सङ्गतानां प्रकीर्णानां न्यायानां सङ्कलनम् इति । तस्य देवताकाण्ड इति प्रसिद्धौ श्रीअण्णयदीक्षितैः युक्तिरुक्ता—यस्मात् देवताविषयविचाराः अस्मिन् काण्डे कतिपये वर्तन्ते तस्माद्देवताकाण्ड इति । तत्रान्योऽपि हेतुर्वक्तुं शक्यते इति मम भाति—पूर्वमीमांसायां नवमाध्याये देवताया विग्रहविभोक्तृत्व-पेश्वर्य-प्रसन्नत्व-फलप्रदानात्मकं विग्रहादिपञ्चकं निराकृतम् । केवलं शब्द एव देवतेति च निरटङ्कि । सङ्कर्षे तु देवतायाः विग्रहादयः सन्ति इति भाष्यकारो ब्रवीति । तथा हि-षोडशाध्याये सङ्कर्षचतुर्थे द्वितीयपादे स होमायोहेत आहुतिसंयोगात् इत्यधिकरणे “गार्हपत्यः खिष्टकुद्भवतीति वचनात् तदधिष्ठाया देवतायाः स्विष्टकृत्वम्” इतिवदन् भाष्यकारः अधिष्ठातृदेवतासत्त्वमभ्युपैति ।

एवं तत्रैव षोडशतृतीयपादे यस्यै देवतायै इत्यधिकरणे “यस्यै देवतायै हविर्गृह्यते तां मनसा ध्यायेत्” इति विधौ ध्येयत्वेन श्रुतः देवताशब्दो वा उत तत्तदेवताकारो वा इति विचारे पूर्वपक्षी ब्रूते “किं प्राप्तम्? रूपध्यानमिति यथा लोके कान्तां ध्यायन्नास्ते इत्यादौ विग्रहस्यैव ध्येयता तथाऽत्रापि । नन्वप्रमाणकं देवतारूपम् । उच्यते । स्मृत्युपचारान्यार्थदर्शनेभ्यः देवताविग्रहोऽध्यसीते । ननु निरस्तं विग्रहादिपञ्चकम् । सत्यं निरस्तम् । न पुनस्तन्निरासोऽधिकरणार्थः । न देवतातः फलं न देवताप्रयुक्ता धर्माः न च स्वरूपेण देवता कर्मण्यङ्गाभावं प्रतिपद्यते इत्यधिकरणार्थः । यत् पुनः देवताध्यानमुपदिश्यते तत्तेतिहासपुराणमन्त्रार्थवादस्मृत्यधीतदेवतास्वरूपं यथा चोदनासु गृहीते हविषि पुरावषट्परात् ध्येयमिति प्राप्ते ब्रूमः” इति ।

सिद्धान्तश्च “देवतासंबन्धिनश्शब्दस्यैव ध्येयत्वं तस्य श्रुतिसमवायात् मुख्यत्वाच्च” इत्यादि । अत्र यद्यपि देवताविग्रहाङ्गीकारः पूर्वपक्षे दृश्यते तथापि सिद्धान्ते तदनिराकरणात् युक्त्यन्तरेण सिद्धान्तोपपादनात् सिद्धान्तिनः देवतविग्रहङ्गीकारः सूच्यते इति । तस्मात् अस्य देवताकाण्ड

प्रसिद्धिरूपपद्यतेतराम् । अस्य च भाष्यं देवस्वामिकृतमेकमेव लभ्यते इदमेव चोदाहृतं अप्पय्यदीक्षितैः परिमले प्रदानाधिकरणे, (३-३-५१) वाक्यसंवादात् । तत्र 'भवस्वामिभाष्ये' इति लिखनं तु लेखकप्रमादादेवेति वृष्टव्यम् । शबरस्वामिभाष्ये "संकर्षे वक्ष्यति" 'संकर्षेवक्ष्यते' इति स्थलद्वये वर्तते (१०-४-२२-१२-२-११) नैतावता अत्र श्रीशबरस्वामिनापि भाष्यं विरचितमिति शङ्क्यतरति, यतः तदुभयं "सङ्कर्षे तद्भाष्यकारो वक्ष्यति" । "तद्भाष्यकारेण वक्ष्यते" इति विवरीतुं शक्यते । यदि शबरस्वामिना विरचितं अभविष्यत्तद्भाष्यं तदा तदपि साम्प्रदायिकाः अरक्षिष्यन् । न चैवं दृश्यते । अन्यच्च अत्रैव तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादे आदौ "इतः परं भावदासमेव भाष्यम्" इति वाक्यमुपलभ्यते भवदासेन आवृतः षोडशाध्याय्याः भाष्यं विरचितम् देवस्वामिनापि रचितम् । तृतीय-द्वितीयपादमारभ्य तु भावदासमेवोपलभ्यत इति तदर्थः । भवदासः शबरस्वामिना खण्डितः इति जिज्ञासासूत्रे वार्तिककारः कथयति "पदद्वयमर्थद्वयवाचिलोकप्रसिद्धमपि भवदासेनैकपदीकृत्यान्तर्यमात्रार्थं व्याख्यातम्" इति तत्र न्यायरत्नाकरटीका । अतश्च तद्भाष्यं अतिप्राचीनमित्यपि स्पष्टम् । सोऽयं संकर्षकाण्डः भट्टप्रभाकरखण्डदेवादिप्रणीत बृहती, नयविवेक वार्तिक भाट्टदीपिकादिग्रन्थान् संमुद्रय प्रकाशितत्रता अनेन मद्रपुरीविश्वविद्यालयेन न चिरादेव मुद्रापयिष्यते । तस्य पूर्वैकत्वेन इदानीमत्र संकर्षकाण्डीयान् विषयान् विभज्य दर्शयिष्यामः ।

संकर्षकाण्डे षष्ठ्युत्तरत्रिशतं (३६०) अधिकरणानि पञ्चोत्तरस्तशतं (७०५) सूत्राणि च विलसन्ति ।

तत्र प्रथमाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे द्विचत्वारिंशत्सूत्राणि पञ्चदशाधिकरणानि च गण्यन्ते । तेष्वधिकरणेषु अनुवषट्कारयागस्य कर्मान्तरत्वम्, सौत्रामणीयागस्य कत्वङ्गत्वं पशौ शमिता अध्वर्युगणस्य एव ग्राह्य इत्यादयो विषया निरूपिताः द्वितीयपादे एकविंशतिः अधिकरणानि त्रयस्त्रिंशत्सूत्राणि च गण्यन्ते तत्र पत्नीं सन्नह्येत्यत्र पत्नी यजमानस्यैव ग्राह्या, न त्वध्वर्याः, वैमृधस्यानियतत्वं अभ्युदितेष्टिदोष्टयोः पृथक्करणं इत्यादयो विषयाः विवेचिता दृश्यन्ते । तृतीयपादे अष्टपञ्चाशत्सूत्राणि त्रिंशत्सङ्ख्याकान्यधिकरणानि च दृश्यन्ते ।

तत्र च सह कुम्भीभिरभिक्रामेदित्यत्र कुम्भयोरेव सहप्रदानं न त्वाग्नेयहविषः यूपविरोहणे प्रायश्चित्तं प्रकृतौ इत्यादयो विषया वर्णिताः । चतुर्थपादे चतुष्पञ्चाशत्सूत्राणि चतुर्विंशतिरधिकरणानि चोपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र च चातुर्मास्येषु आमिषानुनिषेधव्याजिनस्यैव "वाजिनेनोपसिञ्चति" इत्यत्र ग्रहणं, तत्रैव अनुवषट्कारयागाः, हुतशेषादेव कर्तव्यः इत्यादिकं निरूप्य यूपविषये बहवो विचारः प्रवर्तिताः । चतुर्थे मुष्टीन्निर्वपति इत्यादौ अध्वर्युमुष्टरेव ग्राह्यत्वं च निरणायि

द्वितीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे अशीतिद्वयं सूत्राणि एकचत्वारिंशदधिकरणानि च विद्यन्ते तत्र च अग्निचयने इष्टकाः मृन्मय्यः अग्निमय्यः चतुरश्राः कर्तव्याः ताश्च पक्वा एव न त्वामाः वैदिकाग्निना तासां पाकः इत्यादयः इष्टकासंबद्धा एव विचाराः दृश्यन्ते । अयंच इष्टकापाद इत्यपि प्रसिद्धः ।

द्वितीयपादे चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्सूत्राणि विंशतिरधिकरणानि च भवन्ति । अयं चावदानपाद इत्युच्यते । जामदग्नवानां पञ्चममवदानं प्रधानद्रव्यादेव न तु आज्यात् इत्यादयः अवदानसंबद्धा एव विषया निरूपिताः

ग्रह्यसूत्रेषु 'प्रदानवदेव तदुक्तं' इत्यत्रोदाहृतं 'नाना वा देवता पृथग्ज्ञानात्' इति सूत्रं अत्रैव पादे दृश्यते ।

तृतीयपादे च चत्वारिंशत्सूत्राणि षोडशाधिकरणानि च गण्यन्ते । अयं प्रैषपाद इत्युच्यते । अत्र च यजेत्यादयः प्रैषा दृष्टार्थाः । अनूयाजेषु देवान्यजेति प्रैषस्य सर्वार्थत्वं इत्यादयः प्रैषसंबन्धिनो विषया निरूप्यन्ते ।

चतुर्थपादे अष्टपञ्चाशत्सूत्राणि त्रिंशदधिकरणानि च भवन्ति । अयं च होमपाद इत्युच्यते । अत्र च आग्नेयोऽष्टकपाल इत्यादौ न केवलं त्यागः होमोऽप्यावश्यकः अश्रुतदेवताकेषु होमेषु देवताया आवश्यकत्वं दर्विहोमेषु चतुर्गृहीतत्वानावश्यकत्वं इत्यादयः होमसंबन्धिनो विशेषा वर्ण्यन्ते ।

तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमे पादे पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्सूत्राणि चतुर्विंशतिरधिकरणानि च भवन्ति । अयं च कालपाद इत्युच्यते । अत्र च दर्शपूर्णमासयोः प्रतिपद्यनुष्ठानं तत्रापि अहनि, सस्यं नाश्रीयादित्यत्र यागयोग्यानामेव निषेधः इत्यादयो विचाराः संदृश्यन्ते । द्वितीयपादे सप्ततिः सूत्राणि अष्टत्रिंशदधिकरणानि च भवन्ति । अयं च अग्निपाद इत्युच्यते । अत्र च सभ्यावसथ्ययोः लोकत्र एव संपादनं इतरेषां निर्मन्थ्यादुत्पादनं, प्रतिकर्म गार्हपत्यादितरयोः उद्धरणं इत्यादयः अग्निसंबद्धा विचाराः उपलभ्यन्ते । तृतीयपादे षट्चत्वारिंशत्सूत्राणि त्रयोविंशतिरधिकरणानि च भवन्ति । अयं च ग्रहपाद इत्युच्यते । अत्र सोमयागीयग्रहसंबद्धाः विचाराः उपलभ्यन्ते । चतुर्थपादे द्वाविंशतिसूत्राणि चतुर्दशाधिकरणानि च दृश्यन्ते । तत्र आर्षेयवरणसंबद्धा विचाराः कृताः अयं च आर्षेयपाद इति प्रसिद्धः ।

चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमपादे एकोनत्रिंशत्सूत्राणि चतुर्दशाधिकरणानि च प्रमीयन्ते । तत्र च सामीधेनीसंबद्धो विचारः प्रायेण दृश्यते । द्वितीयपादे च त्रयत्रिंशत्सूत्राणि सप्तदशाधिकरणानि च गण्यन्ते । विषयश्च निगदसंबद्धा विचाराः । तृतीयपादे एकत्रिंशत्सूत्राणि एकविंशतिरधिकरणानि च दृश्यन्ते । वषट्कारसंबद्धा विषया विचार्यन्ते । चतुर्थपादे याज्यापुरोनुवाक्याविषया विचाराः समुल्लसन्ति । तत्र च अष्टादशसूत्राणि द्वादशाधिकरणानि चेति । यद्यप्युपलभ्यमानपाठकासु इदं सूत्रं इदं भाष्यं इति विवेकेन पाठो न दृश्यते । अत एव सङ्कर्षकाण्डस्य सूत्रपाठो नास्तीत्यपि बहवः प्रतिपन्नाः तथापि मद्रपुरीयविश्वविद्यालयसंस्कृतविभागस्थसंकर्षप्रथमाध्यायसूत्रपाठस्य संकर्षभाट्टी-पिकापुस्तकस्य च सहायेन मया सूत्रभाष्यविवेको निरणायि ।

महाराष्ट्रीय संतों का हिन्दी-प्रेम

BY

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मराठी संतों ने बहुत पहले से ईसा की तेरहवीं शती से हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में अपना लिया था। उनका संचार समस्त देश में विशेषकर उत्तर भारत में लगातार होता रहता था। अतः वे लोकभाषा में उपदेश देना अपना धर्म समझते थे। संस्कृत धर्म और दर्शन के क्षेत्र में समाहत भाषा रही है पर जहाँ जनता के बीच किसी विचार या भाव को रूढ़ करने का प्रश्न उठा है, वहाँ लोकभाषा का ही आश्रय लिया गया है। बुद्धकाल में जब “तथागत” को “मध्यमप्रतिपदा” की अनुभूति को लोकसुलभ बनाने की प्रेरणा हुई तब उन्होंने लोकभाषा पालि का ही सहारा लिया था।

हिन्दी मध्यदेश की भाषा है—उसका जन्म शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश से हुआ है। यह ऐतिहासिक तथ्य है कि मध्यदेश की भाषा प्राचीन युग से ही अन्तरप्रान्तीय व्यवहार की भाषा रही है। अतः हिन्दी को यह पद पूर्व परम्परा से ही प्राप्त हुआ है। भारतीय चिन्तकों में राष्ट्र के ऐक्य की भावना सदा प्रबल रही। देश भले ही विभिन्न राज्यों में बँटा रहा हो, पर सांस्कृतिक दृष्टि से समूचे भारत ने कभी विभाजन स्वीकार नहीं किया। प्रांत प्रांत के भाषा-भेद ने कभी विचारों के आदान-प्रदान में बाधा नहीं डाली, और इसका मुख्य कारण यही है कि बहुजन व्यवहृत किसी एक ‘देशभाषा’ को माध्यम बनाकर लोग देश के एक छोर से दूसरे छोर तक भ्रमण कर अपने मत का प्रचार करने की क्षमता रखते थे।

यदि ऐसी बात न होती तो सुदूर केरळ में जन्म लेनेवाले शंकराचार्य का मत उत्तर भारत में कैसे फैल पाता? क्या शंकराचार्य अपनी स्थानिक बोली के सहारे समस्त देशकी विचार-धारा को प्रभावित कर सकते थे?

रामानुजाचार्य, मध्वाचार्य, वल्लभाचार्य आदि आचार्यों ने भी उत्तर भारत में जो धर्म-जागृति और क्रान्ति की, उसमें उनकी लोक अथवा देश-भाषा को अपनाने की प्रवृत्ति ही प्रमुख है ।

महाराष्ट्र के संतों में भी लोक-मंगल की भावना प्रबल रही है । अतएव जहां उन्होंने अपने प्रान्त में जनता को ज्ञान, भक्ति और धर्माचार की ओर प्रेरित करने के लिए 'मराठी' में उपदेश दिए, वहां समस्त देश विशेषकर उत्तर भारत की जनता तक अपने विचार पहुँचाने के लिए उन्होंने हिन्दी में भी अपने भजन गाए ।

महाराष्ट्र में महानुभाव, बारकरी, दत्त और रामदास सम्प्रदायों की प्रधानता रही है । प्रत्येक सम्प्रदाय के संत की हिन्दी-वाणी मिलती है ।

महानुभावी संत चक्रधर, महदाइसा के अतिरिक्त दामोदर पंडित की चौपदियाँ बहुत प्रसिद्ध हैं । ऐसा जान पड़ता है कि महानुभाव-पंथ में दीक्षित होने के पूर्व 'पंडित' नाथ-मतावलम्बी रहे हैं । उनकी चौपदियों में नाथों पर खूब व्यंग-प्रहार है । नागपुर के स्वर्गीय हरिभाऊ नेने के पास लगभग तीन सौ वर्ष प्राचीन शिवकालीन एक पांडुलिपि थी, जिसमें दामोदर पंडित की अनेक चौपदियाँ लिखी हुई थीं । उसी जीर्ण-शीर्ण पोथी के पृष्ठ का छायाचित्र यहाँ दिया जाता है जिसमें निम्न 'चौपदी' अंकित है —

(छायाचित्र-१)

“पढो हो पंडित, गुनो हो शास्त्र, अलौडो सकल पुराणा ।

उसमें कर्म कु हा धंदा उगलति गुरमुखे खुणा ॥

सुन हो बाबा, सुन हो पंडित, सुन बैरागी भाई ।

हमारा साषी बीरला बूझै, बूझति बीरला कोई ।

अनंत पुरषा हो अनंत भाषा पुकारति नाना विचार ।

सत्रहि मिलकर रहनि नैनसि पंथ तो अपरम्पार ।

छायाचित्र-१

[illegible]

दामोदर पंडित की चौपदियां

छायाचित्र-२

उर्णपचक॥

ज्याहा ज्या उता हातां मसही ॥ सवे
सोवत सो पावे रही ॥ १॥ ज्या हा ली
ज्या वेता हा दील ज्या वे ॥ २॥ मनी न मोहो
के छु नही भोवे ॥ ३॥ येक छ्य पावे येक
दीखा वे ॥ ज्या हा पावे ता हातां मली ज्या
वे ॥ ४॥ तां मदा सब दा उगी छ्यले ॥ ज्या
हा ज्या उता हातां ममीले ॥ ५॥

समर्थ रामदास का एक पद

सिद्धांत सिद्धन सिद्धति सारे, अबधुत के हम राजे ।
सबहि व्यापिनि जग की स्वामिनि उस पर जंजीर बाजे ।

राजाधिराज हमने नहि भाषा, अमर सार सुष पाया ।
नागार्जुन पुत्त श्रीमुख बचनीं निर्मूल का मुल खाया ॥

दामोदर पंडित के गुरु नागार्जुन थे । अतएव वे अपने पदों में श्रद्धावश उनकी छाप प्रायः डालते हैं । दामोदर पंडित का महानुभाव पंथ में दीक्षित होने का समय शाके ११९४ अर्थात् ईसा सन् १२७२ है । उस समय हिन्दी लोकभाषा बन चुकी थी । इतना ही नहीं महानुभाव मार्गी संत उसमें लिखने भी लगे थे । एक विशिष्ट बात यह है कि भाषा में खड़ी बोली की ओर रुझान है । “सुनो हो बाबा”, “सुन बैरागी भाई”, “पढो हो पंडित”, आदि में क्रिया के विधि-रूप खड़ी बोली के हैं । उसमें, कोई, हम, उस आदि सर्वनाम खड़ी बोली के हैं । अबधुत के राजे, जग की स्वामिनि, निर्मूल का मूल, में षष्ठी-विभक्ति खड़ी बोली की है ।

अमीर खुसरो की खड़ी बोली में मुकरियाँ, पहेलियाँ, दामोदर पंडित के पश्चात् लिखी गई हैं । अतः उनमें “पंडित” की अपेक्षा स्वभावतः भाषा की अधिक सफाई है । फिर भी महाराष्ट्र में रहनेवाले दामोदर पंडित ने खड़ी बोली में तेरहवीं शताब्दी में रचना की, यह क्या कम महत्व की बात है ? हिन्दी-साहित्य के इतिहास की यह विस्मृत श्रृंखला है ।

तेरहवीं शताब्दी से हमें लगातार मराठी संतों की हिन्दी रचनाएँ उपलब्ध होती हैं । तेरहवीं-चौदहवीं शताब्दी में नामदेव ने तो उत्तर भारत में पंजाब तक यात्रा की और अपने बारकरी मत का प्रचार किया । पंजाब के योमान नामक स्थान पर आज भी नामदेव महाराज का मंदिर और उनके मत्तावलम्बियों का अस्तित्व पाया जाता है । सिक्खों के “आदि ग्रंथ” में जहाँ अनेक प्रसिद्ध संतों की वाणियाँ हैं वहाँ नामदेव के पद भी संगृहीत हैं और प्रचुर संख्या में हैं । एक पद है :—

“मोहि लागत तालबेली, बछरै बिनु गाय अकेली ।
पानीआ बिनु मीनु तलफै, ऐसे राम नामा बिनु आपरो नामा ।

जैसे गाइ का बाछा छूटला, थन चोखता माखनु यूटला,
नामदेव नाराइनु पाइया ।”

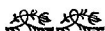
सोलहवीं शताब्दी में एकनाथ महाराज के भी कई हिन्दी पद पाये जाते हैं। उनकी ‘गौलों’ (गोपी-परक पद) बड़ी मधुर हैं। आध्यात्म रस से सराबोर हैं। कुछ पंक्तियों का आस्वाद लीजिए :—

“मैं दधि बेचन चलि मथुरा, तुम कैव ठारे नंदजी के छोरा ।
भक्ति का अचला पकरा हरी, मत खेंचो मोरी फाटी चुनरी ।
द्वैतन की मोरी अँगिया फारी, क्या कहूं? मैं नंगी नार उधारी ॥”

तुकाराम के अभंग और साधियाँ भी हिन्दी में प्राप्य हैं। सत्रहवीं शताब्दी में प्रसिद्ध क्रांतिकारी संत समर्थ रामदास ने महाराष्ट्र में जन-जागृति का सर्वविश्रुत कार्य किया है। वे शिवाजी के आध्यात्मिक गुरु थे। उनकी प्रेरणा से शिवाजी महाराज ने “स्वराज्य” की जय-घोषणा की। समर्थ के मराठी ग्रंथों और अभंग, पद आदि के अतिरिक्त हिन्दी में भी कई पद प्राप्त हुए हैं। यहां एक पद दिया जाता है (छायाचित्र—२) जो लगभग ढाई सौ वर्ष प्राचीन पांडुलिपि के एक पृष्ठ का छायाचित्र है। चित्र के अक्षर स्पष्ट हैं। उसमें भाषा के रूप और लिपि की ओर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

संतों ने व्याकरण सम्मत भाषा को लिखने या बोलने की कमी चिन्ता नहीं की। अतः पद में ‘जहाँ’ के स्थान पर ‘ज्याहां’ शब्द-रूप मिलते हैं। महाराष्ट्रीय हिन्दी की यह सामान्य प्रवृत्ति है। शब्दों में ह्रस्व-दीर्घ का विपर्यय भी बहुत पाया जाता है।

जिस प्रकार महानुभावीय, दत्त सम्प्रदायी संतों ने हिन्दी में भजन गाए हैं, उसी प्रकार रामदासी संतों ने भी हिन्दी को अपनाया है। यह परम्परा आज तक जारी है। तुकड़ोजी महाराज के हिन्दी भजन, हिन्दी मराठी जनता चाव से सुनती है। यह बात अवश्य है कि महाराष्ट्रीय संतों की भाषा में उत्तर भारतीय संतों के समान निखार नहीं है, जो स्वाभाविक है। पर यह हमारे लिए गौरव की तथा अभिमान की बात है कि संतों ने सदियों पूर्व हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में अपना कर देश की एकता का मार्गदर्शन किया।



तेलुगु और हिन्दी साहित्य की समानान्तर गति-विधि

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इतिहास से स्पष्ट होता है कि ईसा की सातवीं शताब्दी में आंध्र देश पर चालुक्य राजाओं का अधिकार था और उन्होंने तेलुगु को राजभाषा के रूप में स्वीकृत किया था। तत्कालीन शिलालेखों में इसके प्रमाण विद्यमान हैं। उन शिलालेखों की भाषा से यह भी ज्ञात होता है कि उस समय भी भाषा प्राकृत के निकट थी। अतः आंध्र भाषा का उद्गम सातवीं शताब्दी से ही माना जाता है। पर स्थायी साहित्य का सृजन ईसा की ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में नन्नय्या के समय से होने लगा था। नन्नय्या के पूर्व भी आंध्र साहित्य के नमूने मिलते हैं। पर नन्नय्या के भाषा-सागर में वे सभी लहरें विलीन हो गयी थीं। अतः नन्नय्या ही आंध्र के प्रथम उल्लेखनीय कवि माने जाते हैं।

इसी प्रकार अपभ्रंश या प्राकृताभास हिंदी के पद्यों का सब से पुराना पता आचार्य रामचंद्र शुक्ल के अनुसार विक्रम की सातवीं शताब्दी के अंतिम चरण से लगता है। पर स्थायी साहित्य का सृजन विक्रम की ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में मुज्ज और भोज के समय से ही होने लगा था। इस से यही निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि हिन्दी और तेलुगु में भाषा और साहित्य का उद्गम एक ही समय के लगभग हुआ था। अब उनके क्रमिक विकास की समानान्तर गति-विधि का उल्लेख आगे किया जायगा।

दोनों आलोच्य भाषाओं के साहित्य का आरंभ मुगलों के आगमन के पूर्व ही हुआ था। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं है। पर उस समय की साहित्य-

प्रवृत्ति किसी निश्चित प्रेरणा पर आधारित नहीं थी। धर्म, नीति, शृंगार, वीर आदि कई विषयों का साहित्य में समावेश हुआ। अतः हिन्दी में चंदबरदाई और तेलुगु में नन्नय्या के प्रादुर्भाव होने तक का साहित्य बहुरंगी और विविध विषयात्मक था। आचार्य रामचंद्र शुक्ल के अनुसार यह अनिर्दिष्ट लोकप्रवृत्ति संवत् १०५० से लेकर संवत् १२०० तक रही। इसके पश्चात् ही चंदबरदाई का 'पृथ्वीराज रासो' प्रकाश में आया जो हिंदी का प्रथम प्रबंध काव्य माना जाता है। ठीक इसी समय पर आंध्रभारती के चरणों में आदि कवि नन्नय्या के द्वारा संस्कृत महाभारत का आंध्रानुवाद अर्पित किया गया था। यद्यपि यह अनुवाद कहा जाता है फिर भी नन्नय्या की अनुवाद-पद्धति इतनी परिष्कृत, स्वतंत्र और सरस है कि उसे पढ़ते समय मौलिक रचना का ही आनंद उपलब्ध होता है। मूल से भिन्न मौलिक उद्भावनाओं का भी यत्रतत्र समावेश किया जाता है। एक परवर्ती कविवर के द्वारा 'प्रबंध मंडली' के रूप में इसकी प्रशंसा भी की गयी थी। भाषा, छंद, प्रसंग-योजना, चरित्र-चित्रण, गद्य-पद्य का सम्मिश्रण, रससृष्टि आदि में परवर्ती प्रबंधकारों ने नन्नय्या का ही आदर्श अपना लिया है। अतः हिंदी साहित्य के लिए चंदबरदाई ने जो प्रशंसनीय सेवा की, आंध्र वाङ्मय के लिए नन्नय्या उससे भी महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य कर गये।

ये दोनों अपनी अपनी भाषाओं के आदि कवि थे। दोनों राजाश्रय में पले हुए थे। इधर जब राजराज नरेंद्र भी राजसभा में नन्नय्या की 'नव्य नवनीत' सदृशवाणी अपना विमल-विलास प्रदर्शित करती थी, तो उधर दिल्ली के अंतिम हिंदू सम्राट् महाराज पृथ्वीराज के दरबार में चंदबरदाई की ओजस्विनी गिरा भारतीय वीरता के बुझते हुए दीपक को स्नेहदान करती थी। दोनों की कविता में भारत के उज्ज्वल अतीत के वीर योद्धाओं और महाप्राण चेताओं का गुणगान ही मिलता है। दोनों की काव्य-शैली में प्रबंध रचना की प्रशंसनीय पटुता है। पर एक अंतर भी है। चंद की कविता पृथ्वीराज के गुणगान तक ही सीमित रही। उस अखिल भारतीय आदर्श का इस में समावेश नहीं हो पाया जो नन्नय्या की वाणी की विशेष विभूति है।

चंदबरदाई के द्वारा प्रचलित 'रासो' काव्य की परंपरा के अनुकरण पर जिस प्रकार हिंदी के वीर-गाथा कवियों की कई महत्वपूर्ण रचनाएँ निकलती थीं, उसी प्रकार नन्नय्या के द्वारा भारत का जो अनुवाद कार्य शुरू हुआ उसका शेषांश अन्य दो प्रसिद्ध कवियों के द्वारा पूरा किया गया था। तिकन्ना और एर्राप्रगड ये दोनों चिरस्मरणीय कवि हैं। नन्नय्या, तिकन्ना और एर्राप्रगड को आंध्र के "कवित्रय" के नाम से अभिहित किया गया है। इन तीनों महाकवियों की निर्विराम सेवा के कारण आज आंध्र जनता के लिए संस्कृत महाभारत का स्वाद उसी की वाणी में आस्वाद्य हो रहा है।

संस्कृत में कादंबरी और हिंदी में 'पृथ्वीराज रासो' की भांति तेलुगु में नन्नय्या का 'भारत' भी एक ही हाथ का प्रयास नहीं माना जा सकता। 'कादंबरी' की भांति 'पृथ्वीराज रासो' का भी अंतिम भाग चंद के पुत्र जलहण ने अपने पिता के आदर्श पर पूरा किया था। नन्नय्या भी अपनी रचना के आरंभ में अपने एक आस मित्र नारायण भट्ट के प्रति अपनी कृतज्ञतापूर्ण श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करते हैं। उनका कहना है कि अर्जुन को श्रीकृष्ण ने जैसा सहयोग प्रदान किया, वैसा ही सहयोग नारायण भट्ट के द्वारा उन्हें मिला था। नारायण भट्ट की यह निष्काम सेवा स्तुत्य है।

आचार्य रामचंद्र शुक्ल के अनुसार हिन्दी साहित्य का आदिकाल संवत् १०५० से लेकर संवत् १३७५ तक चलता है। इसे आंध्र साहित्य का भी आदिकाल सुगमता से माना जा सकता है। तीन चार शताब्दियों की इस सुदीर्घ अवधि में दोनों भाषाओं का साहित्य सुसमृद्ध हो चला है। हिन्दी में 'रासो' काव्य की परंपरा और तेलुगु में 'भारत' का अनुवाद इस काल की विशेष देन है। हिन्दी में चंदबरदाई के अतिरिक्त नरपति नारह, भट्टकेदार, जगनिक और रणमल आलोच्य काल के प्रसिद्ध कवि माने जाते हैं। तेलुगु में भारत के अनुवादक कवित्रय के अतिरिक्त गोनबुद्धा रेड्डि, भास्कर, सोमना आदि भी प्रसिद्ध हुए थे। ये तीनों रामायण काव्य के सफल प्रणेता थे। तिकन्ना ने भी रामायण की रचना की थी। यहाँ ध्यान देने की बात यह है कि आंध्र साहित्य के आदिकाल में ही दो तीन प्रसिद्ध

रामायण काव्यों की रचना हुई थी जब कि हिंदी साहित्य में 'रघुनाथगाथा' के 'स्वांतस्सुखामिलाषी' गायक अभी उदित होने को था।

आलोच्य युग के आंध्र साहित्य की सब से विलक्षण विभूति उसका शैव-साहित्य है जिससे हिंदी साहित्य एकदम वैचित रह गया। आंध्र साहित्य की मूल प्रेरणा शैव-धर्म में ही पायी जाती है। इस शाखा के तीन कवि आदि काल में प्रसिद्ध हुए—नन्नेचोड, पंडिताराध्य और सोमनाथुडु। ये तीनों शैव सिद्धांतों के अन्वेषक, आराधक और अनुगायक थे। लोकप्रिय छंदों में सुगोष शैली को अपनाकर उन्होंने कई धार्मिक रचनाएँ की थीं जिनमें से उल्लेखनीय हैं—पंडिताराध्य का 'शिवतत्त्वसारमु' और सोमनाथ का 'बसवपुराणमु'। 'शिवतत्त्वपुराणमु' धार्मिक सिद्धांतों का संग्रहमात्र है; काव्यत्व से शून्य है। पर सोमनाथ की रचना में धार्मिक सिद्धांतों का कलात्मक प्रतिपादन है जो साधारण अर्द्ध-शिक्षित जनता के लिए भी सुगम-सा लगता है। यही कारण है कि आप को "वीरशैव शाखा का मस्तिष्क" (The Brain of the Veerasaiva Cult) कहा जाता है। भावुकता के आतिशय के कारण आप की कविता अधिक चित्तकर्षक लगती है। साधारण जनता में सुप्रसिद्ध और सुश्राव्य 'द्विपद' छंद को अपना कर आपने उसे काव्य-गौरव से प्रतिष्ठित किया है। इस प्रकार के साहित्य का उदाहरण हिन्दी में अप्राप्य है। आंध्र के इस वीर-शैव-साहित्य को आत्मसात् करके 'राष्ट्रवाणी' अपना श्रेयलाम ही कर सकेगी।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से स्पष्ट होता है कि दोनों भाषाओं के आदि काल का साहित्य वीररस प्रधान ही रहा। आंध्र का धार्मिक साहित्य भी वीरशैव से संबंधित था। अतः आदिकाल दोनों भाषाओं में सर्वात्मना वीरगाथा काल ही कहा जा सकता है।

आदिकाल के पश्चात् संवत् १३७५ से लेकर संवत् १७०० तक दोनों भाषाओं में पूर्वमध्यकाल चलता है। जैसे हिन्दी में, वैसे तेलुगु में भी इस युग में भक्ति साहित्य की प्रधानता रही। पर तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से देखने पर हिन्दी में भक्ति साहित्य की रचनाएँ अधिक संख्या में मिलती हैं। सूर, तुलसी, कबीर

और जायसी ने भक्तिमार्ग की भिन्न भिन्न शाखाओं का जो प्रतिनिधित्व किया था, उसका सादृश्य तेलुगु में बहुत कम मिलता है। भक्तकवि पोतन्ना, संत त्यागराज और स्पष्टवाक् वेमन्ना क्रमशः सूर, तुलसी और कबीर की निस्संदेह समता कर सकते हैं। पर जायसी जैसे प्रेमयोगी का आंध्र साहित्य में नितांत अभाव है।

कृष्णधारा के कवियों में सूरदास और पोतन्ना एक दूसरे से साम्य रखते हैं। दोनों पहले भक्त हैं और पीछे कवि। लीलामय श्रीकृष्ण की रहस्यमयी क्रीडाओं में दोनों का भावुक चित्त एक समान रम गया था। दोनों का हृदय भावुकता और तन्मयता से ओतप्रोत है। पर पोतन्ना में प्रबंध रचना की पटुता अवश्य मनोहारिणी है। सूरदास निश्चल भक्ति के एकांत गायक मात्र हैं। इन दोनों में एक और अंतर भी है। सूरदास ने केवल कृष्ण संबंधी रचना की है जब कि पोतन्ना के भागवत में कई प्रकार की कथाएँ वर्णित हैं। बालकृष्ण की मधुर क्रीडाओं के वर्णन में दोनों की कल्पना समानांतर ही चली है।

कुछ लोग पोतन्ना की तुलना तुलसीदास से करते हैं, सूरदास से नहीं। ये दोनों प्रबंध कवि हैं। दोनों की काव्य-रचना स्वांतस्सुखाय ही हुई है। राजाश्रय को दोनों तुच्छ समझते हैं। दोनों श्रीराम के अनन्य भक्त हैं। अंतर केवल इतना ही है कि तुलसी की रामभक्ति ने काव्य का रूप धारण किया था जब कि पोतन्ना की रामभक्ति हृदय के अंतस्तल ही में निहित रही। भागवत के प्रारम्भ में पोतन्ना कहते हैं कि मुझे भागवत लिखना है; पर लिखने की प्रेरणा देनेवाले श्रीरामचंद्र हैं। इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि श्रीरामचन्द्र जी से मूल प्रेरणा प्राप्त करके ही पोतन्ना भागवत की रचना करते हैं। अतः पोतन्ना को रामभक्त मानने में किसी प्रकार का संदेह या संकोच नहीं हो सकता।

प्रेरणा और प्रवृत्ति में तुलसी जहाँ पोतन्ना से अधिक साम्य रखते हैं वहाँ भावना और आराधना में वे त्यागराज के निकट आते हैं। संत त्यागराज और गोस्वामी तुलसीदास की वाणी में भाव-साम्य बहुत है। विशेषतः तुलसी की

विनय पत्रिका में त्यागराज के कई गीतों के भाव दिखायी देते हैं। दोनों की भक्तिभावना में अपने आलंबन के महत्व और अपने दैन्य का पूरा और सच्चा अनुभव मिलता है। कभी ये श्रीराम के महत्व की ओर देखकर आशान्वित हो जाते हैं, और दूसरे ही क्षण में अपनी दीन दशा का अवलोकन करके निराशा के गर्त में गिर जाते हैं। इस आशा-निराशा की मधुमय डोलिका में सोते हुए अपने इष्टदेव के शील, शक्ति तथा सौंदर्य की मंगलमय त्रिवेणी के स्वप्नदर्शन में दोनों महात्मा आत्मविभोर हो जाते हैं। एक सहृदय समालोचक के शब्दों में असीम 'शक्ति' गगन में छायी हुई अमलिन 'शील' कादम्बिनी की हृदयहारिणी श्यामता के उर पर नाचनेवाली 'सौंदर्य'-चपला को देखकर इन महात्माओं का क्या, साधारण से साधारण प्राणी का भी मन-मयूर नाच उठता है। भक्त-चातक उस धन-श्यामता की रसानुभूति के लिए लालायित हो जाते हैं।

सारांश यह कि दोनों की हृदयस्थली में रामभक्ति की विमल मंदाकिनी प्रवाहित हो चली थी। पुण्य भूमि भारतवर्ष की सार्वभौमिक सांस्कृतिक चेतना के मधुर पाश में बद्ध होने के कारण इन दोनों महात्माओं की विचार-धारा में सर्वत्र समानता ही मिलती है। दोनों की भक्ति भावना एक ही केंद्र को लेकर चलती सी दिखायी देती है। दोनों की जन्मभूमि पृथक होते हुए भी भावभूमि एक ही है।

इसी प्रकार महात्मा कबीर की अटपटी वाणी के अनुरूप ही वेमन्ना की 'आट बेलदि' ? (नर्तकी) नाच उठती है। दोनों संसार से विरक्त एकांत जीवन व्यतीत करनेवाले महापुरुष थे। दोनों की वाणी में सत्य का स्पष्ट प्रतिपादन मिलता है। कबीर का दोहा भी वेमन्ना की 'आटबेलदि' (छंद) से बहुत कुछ मिलता है।

आलोच्य युग ने हिंदी साहित्य में आठ प्रसिद्ध कवियों को जन्म दिया है जो 'अष्टछाप' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। इसी प्रकार और ठीक इसी समय पर आंध्र साहित्य में भी आठ प्रसिद्ध कवि निकले जो 'अष्टदिग्गज' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं।

आलोच्य युग की इस सुसंपन्नता को देखकर कहा जा सकता है कि यह दोनों साहित्यों का स्वर्ण युग है ।

इसके पश्चात् हिंदी साहित्य में भक्ति का श्रृंगार में पर्यवसान हुआ और संवत् १७०० से रीतिकाल शुरू होता है । कामिनी की कमनीय काम-कला की क्रीडाओं के वर्णनों से सारा साहित्य भरने लगा था । इधर तेलुगु की भी यही दशा थी । कवि की चिरसंयत कामवासना बंधन-मुक्त होकर राधाकृष्ण की आड़ में व्यक्त होने लगी है । यह प्रवृत्ति संवत् १९०० तक दोनों साहित्यों में परिलक्षित होती है । इसके पश्चात् आधुनिक काल का आरंभ होता है ।

आधुनिक काल एक प्रकार से गद्य-युग कहा जा सकता है । गद्य की आवश्यकता का अनुभव होने लगा और उसके सफल प्रवर्तक भी दोनों भाषाओं में उत्पन्न हुए । हिंदी में भार्तेन्दु ने जिस प्रकार आधुनिक हिंदी साहित्य का नया रूप सुस्थिर बना दिया, उसी प्रकार तेलुगु में कंदुकूर वीरेशलिंगम् तेलुगु साहित्य के युग-प्रवर्तक रहे । कहानी, निबंध, उपन्यास, नाटक, प्रहसन आदि सभी क्षेत्रों में वीरेशलिंगम् ने अपना ही हाथ पहले आजमाया और उनके परवर्ती लेखक उन्हीं के पदचिह्नों पर चलने लगे ।

ऐसे परतंत्र लेखकों के अतिरिक्त जय शंकर प्रसाद जैसे स्वतंत्र युगनिर्माता लेखक जिस प्रकार हिंदी में निकले उसी प्रकार आंध्र में विश्वनाथ सत्यनारायण जैसे यशस्वी लेखकों का आविर्भाव हुआ । आजकल काव्यक्षेत्र में आधुनिक प्रवृत्तियों का प्रचलन दोनों भाषाओं में हो रहा है । हिंदी की छायावादी या रहस्यवादी कविता तेलुगु में 'भावकविता' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हो रही है । इसकी लोकप्रियता भी दिन ब दिन बढ़ रही है । नाटक, उपन्यास, कहानी, निबंध आदि सभी क्षेत्रों में होनेवाली वर्तमान प्रगति को देखकर आशा की जा सकती है कि दोनों भाषाओं के सम्मुख उज्ज्वल भविष्य ही उपस्थित है ।



GERMAN AND HINDI

GLIMPSES OF A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

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A. Pronunciation

Pronunciation plays a very important part in the study of languages. On a comparative study of German and Hindi, one would certainly come across very striking similarities in the pronunciation of vowels in these languages, both of which belong to the Indo-Aryan group of linguistic family, the former falling under the *Kentum* section and the latter under *Shatam*.

In Hindi vowels are pronounced clearly. Examples :

अब (ab)	now	दस (das)	ten
आग (āg)	fire	बाल (bāl)	hair
इस (is)	this	किस (kis)	who
ईख (ikh)	sugarcane	तीन (tīn)	three
उस (us)	that	दुखी (dukhī)	sorrowful, sad
ऊपर (ūpar)	on, upon, above	दुकान (dūkān)	shop

In German also, as in Hindi, pronunciation of vowels must never be corrupted. Examples :

(der) Apfel	apple	(die) Katze	cat
(der) Aal	eel	er kam	he came
(die) Imme	(the) bee	mit	with
(der) Igel	hedgehog	kriechen	to creep

In Hindi people write फ़ (ph) and pronounce it as "f". Examples :

सिर्फ (sirf)	only
हफ्ता (haftā)	week
फ़ीता (fitā)	tape

In German too, "ph" always is pronounced as "f". Examples
die Phiole (a kind of container)

das Naphthol	naphthole
amorph	shapeless.

In English also "ph" is pronounced as "f" just as in German. Both German and English contain many words of Greek origin. (In Greek (phi) always is pronounced as "f".)

If in a Hindi word the letter फ़ ("f") occurs, it indicates that this particular word is of foreign origin, mostly borrowed from the

Arabic or Persian language. If in German or English "ph" occurs in a word, it indicates that the noun concerned is of Greek origin.

Note : Now-a-days people in Germany use o avoid the letter "ph", replacing it by "f". Examples :

Telephon	new spelling :	Telefon	telephone
Photograph	„ „	Fotograf	photographer

B. *The Way of Addressing.*

German usage corresponds somewhat to the way of addressing in Hindi.

1. du [Hi. तू tū), Engl. thou] is used only in addressing God, beloved persons, intimate friends children, inferior persons, and domesticated animals. In a letter "du" always is written with a c-a-p-i-t-a-l "D" (as in English "I").¹

2. ihr [Hi. तुम (tum), Engl. you] is the plural form of " du ". In the Middle Ages "ihr" was used as a respectful way of addressing, mostly between equals. When used in a letter " ihr " is always written with a capital " I ".

3. "Sie" (Hi. आप (āp) Engl. you) is a modern² term of respect. It may be used between equals, superior and inferior persons, inferior and superior persons, and as a polite way of addressing elders. Some hundred years ago children would address their parents as

पिताजी आप,...	" Herr Vater, Sie..."	" Sir..."
(pitāji, āp		
माताजी आप,...	" Frau Mutter, Sie..."	" Madame..."
mātāji, āp)		

Everywhere in Europe the custom was like this. But nowadays children would not address their parents in that manner. Many children, particularly in Germany, would consider their parents to be play-mates of theirs. " Du " becomes the common term. And the lad would even talk in rough language to his parents.

Note 1. In ancient times there was not such a differentiation in German society. Everybody would address anybody with "du". Respect was shown not by words, but by deeds.

2. " Modern " means since two hundred years. The " Sie " (polite form) and "Er" were used simultaneously.

E.g. : The son would say to his father Sir, please come पिताजी, आप आइये (pitāji, āp āiye) " Herr Vater, bitte, kommen Sie ! " However, the father would answer "Geh' Er schon..." "There is no corresponding translation neither in Hindi nor in English.

In the century of *Absolutism*, the third person *Singular* (er, sie ; Hi. वह (vah) m. + f. Engl. he, she) was used in Germany as a way of addressing, mostly between superior and inferior persons. Kings would even address their *Ministers* in this way. There is not such an equivalent in Hindi.

Examples : “Bring’ Er mir Wein !” “He bring me wine !”
 “Komme Sie zu mir !” “She come to me !”

The English sentences, too, do not give the exact meaning of the German version as there is no corresponding form in the English language ; neither in French nor in Italian. But this way of addressing had been abolished by the end of the eighteenth century (due to the transforming of social structure in Germany.)

C. The Imperative Mood.

As in Hindi there are three kinds of the *Imperative Mood* in German. Examples :

Iss खा (kha) eatest
 essst खाओ (khāo) eat
 bitte, essen Sie खाइये (khāiye) eat please

As in Hindi so in German the imperative also is formed from the verb-root itself if “du” (Hi. तू (tū) is the subject. But there are numerous alterations of the verb-root concerned. Examples :

geben gib दे (tū de) give !
 lesen lies पढ़ (tū) (parh) read !

If “ihr” [Hi तुम (tum)] is the subject “—t (—et)” in German is added to a verb-root to form the imperative mood. Hindi analogously ओ—(o) is added. (However, in English generally the verb-root itself is used.) Examples :

nehmen nehm—t लेना, लो (lenā lo) to take, take !
 sehen seh —t देखना, देखो (dekhnā dekho) to see, see !

Different from Hindi is the usage in German if “Sie” आप (āp) is the subject. In this case the infinitive itself along with the pronoun “Sie” (Hi. आप āp) will make the imperative mood.

nehmen nehmen Sie ! (आप लीजिये)-āp lījiye-to take, you take !

In German the pure infinitive is used to form the Impersonal Imperative, which usage might correspond to a certain extent to Hindi usage. In English, however, either a verbal-noun (gerund) will occur or a past participle combined with “to be”. E.g. :

Nicht stehenbleiben bitte. मत ठहरना (mat ṭaharnā) no stopping please.

A teacher at school often will order his pupils :

“Setzen ! (तुम बैठना) tum baithna ! Be seated ! Not as तुमकैडो

“Nicht stehenbleiben bitte” is still a polite request by the police in the crowded main road of a big city. The teacher's order is a shade less polite. If the people will not care for the policeman's request and the boys at school will not sit down, both the teacher and the policeman will shout at the top of their voice. In that case the Infinitive Imperative Mood is just like a crude heavy-rock flung towards the crowd in the jammed road or the boys at school. They will be knocked down by the rock's impact.

D. Negation.

In German there are only two kinds of negative particles

1. nein नहीं (nahīn) no

2. nicht न (nahīn, na) not.

“Nein” usually is the negation of a question. E.g. :

“Kommen Sie mit ?” “Nein”

क्या आप साथ आ रहे हैं ? जी नहीं ।

(kyā āp sāth ā rahe hain ? jī nahīn.)

“Are you coming along ?” “No, I am not.”

“Darf ich gehen ?” “Nein.”

क्या मैं जाऊँ ? नहीं ।

(kyā main jāūn ? nahīn.)

“May I go ?” “No...”

“Nicht” is a plain negation. E.g. :

Ich schreibe heute den Brief nicht.

मैं आज चिट्ठी नहीं लिखता ।

[main aj ciṭṭhi na(hīn) likhta.]

I do not write the letter to-day.

Very often “nicht” is used as an interrogative particle to ascertain a fact, which would correspond to the idiomatic usage of “-na” in “Hindi”. Sometimes “nicht ?” is equivalent to “ja-हाँ (hān) yes ?” E.g.:

1. Du kommst heute abend, nicht (ja) ?

तुम आज शाम को आओगे न ?

(tum āj sām ko āoge na ?)

You will come to night, will you ?

2. Sie kennen meine Tochter, nicht ?

मेरी पुत्री को आप जानते हैं न ?

(meri putri ko āp jānte hain na ?)

You know my daughter, do you ?

In German there is no such negative particle as मत (mat) in Hindi. Along with the imperative "nicht" is used in German. E.g. :

1. Gehen Sie nicht !

आप मत जाइये ।

(āp mat jāiye.)

You do not go.

2. Nicht rufen.

तुम मत बोलो ।

(tum mat bōlō.)

Do not talk.

For emphasis "gar nicht ; überhaupt nicht" is used (Hindi: बिल्कुल नहीं । (bilkul nahīn :) Engl. not at all) E.g. :

Was wollen Sie, Herr. Ich kenne Sie überhaupt nicht.

आप को क्या चाहिये भाई ? मैं आप को बिल्कुल नहीं जानता ।

(āpko kyā cāhiye...bbhai ? main āpkō bilkul nahīn jāntā)

What do you want, mister...I do not know you at all.

E. Negation In Hindi Usage.

"Mat" is used in an order or a request. E.g. :

1. वहां मत जाओ (vahān mat jāo) Do not go there,

2. ऐसा मत करो (aisā mat karo) Do not do (it) this way.

"Na" is used as a plain negation with a little emphasis. E.g. :

मैं वहां न जाऊंगा (main vahān na jāūngā) I shall not go there.

"na" also has got an interrogative sense on behalf of certainty, in which case it cannot be considered a negative particle. Examples :

1. तुम तो वहां आओगे न ? (tum to vahān āoge na ?) (You definitely will come there, won't you ?)

Some times it is also used along with a request. E.g. :

2. जरा देर बैठिये न ? (zara der baithiye na) ? Please sit down for a little while, will you ?

3. तुम भी चलो न ? (tum bhī calo na) ? You also go, don't you ?

In between two adverbs it has got the sense of uncertainty. E.g.

कहीं न कहीं । (kahīn da kahīn) anywhere

कुछ न कुछ (kuch na kuch) something

“nahīn” is used to ascertain a fact. It will occur long with the general present tense, the continuous present tense, the perfect present and such other tenses in past and the future, and along with an answer to any question. Examples :

वह रोटी नहीं खाता । (vah Rotī nahīn khātā.) He does not take bread.

उसने दूध नहीं पिया । (usne doodh nahīn piya.)

He did not take milk.

Note. As mentioned above, the usages of “na” in an interrogative sense may be compared with the German “nicht, which also is an affirmative particle in such a case.

F. Adjectives.

As in Hindi so in German an adjective always precedes the noun. It qualifies, adopting the gender of the noun. E.g. :

ein guter Junge एक अच्छा लड़का (ek acchā larkā) a good boy.

eine gute Tochter एक अच्छी लड़की (ek acchī larkī) a good daughter.

ein gutes Haus एक अच्छा घर (ek acchā ghar) a good house.

However, if an adjective is predicatively used, it follows the noun. It qualifies ; just as in Hindi and English. E.g. :

Der Junge ist gut लड़का अच्छा (larkā accha hai) The boy is good.

Die Tochter ist gut लड़की अच्छी है (larkī acchī hai) The daughter is good.

In Hindi an adjective even if predicatively used will adopt the gender of the noun concerned. However, in German it won't.

In a German sentence an adjective, which is predicatively used may shift to the very beginning of the sentence for the sake of emphasis. In Hindi there is not such a usage. E.g. :

Gross ist Gott. ईश्वर महान है । isvar mahān hai. God is great.

Note. According to the German grammar there is only one kind of eigenschaftswort [Hi- गुणवाचक (guṇavācak ;) Engl. qualitative], i.e. the eigenschaftswort itself, whereas in Hindi even ein zahlwort (Hi. संख्यावाचक sāṅknyavācak) Engl. numeral)

eine Mengenbezeichengnu (Hi. परिमाणवाचक parimānvācak ; Engl. quantitative), and “ein hinweisendes Fürwort” (Hi. निर्देशक (Nirdeshak) Engl. demonstrative) is called an adjective. Hindi follows the Sanskrit grammar from which the different kinds of expressions for the विशेषण (viśeṣaṇ) have been borrowed.

German and English grammars generally follow the Latin usage. But nowadays genuine German words are being coined for the purpose of grammar.

G. Case-Endings.

In German every noun will undergo alterations.

1. if a noun is combined with another noun (apart from mere compounds which are governed by complicated rules akin to those applicable in Sanskrit)

2. if a noun occurs together with prepositions.

The prepositions used in German and English are generally speaking equivalent to the post positions in Hindi and Tamil. It might be worthwhile to check why in German, English, French, Italian, and many other European languages prepositions act in the place of post positions, as they are used in Hindi and Tamil. There may be philological and also psychological reasons for it.

Here a few examples are given to show the alterations a noun in a German sentence will undergo.

1. Das Haus seines Bruders ist grosz.

उसके भाई का घर बड़ा है

(uske bhāi kā ghar barā hai.)

His brother's house is big.

2. Er gibt dem Lehrer das Buch.

वह अध्यापक को पुस्तक देता है

(vah adhyāpak ko pustak detā hai.)

He gives the book to the teacher,

3. Mit dem Kinde

बच्चे के साथ ।

(bacce ke sāth)

with the child.

4. in der Nähe des Hauses.

घर के नजदीक ।

(ghar ke nazdik)

near the house.

This is only a selection of prepositions. In German one must be careful because some of the prepositions rule the 2nd second (Accusative), some the 2nd fourth (Dative) and some the 2nd sixth case (Genitive) whereas in Hindi most of the postpositions are preceded by **के** -ke, a few by **की** -kī, which particles indicate a kind of Genitive case.

E. g. : कमरे के अन्दर (kamre ke andar) inside the room.
आपकी तरह (āpki tarah) like you; in your manner

1. In Hindi too, a noun will undergo alterations of the ending in certain cases. (see '-a, -e, -ī,' rule in a book on Hindi grammar.)
आ, ए, ई
2. The numbers are given according to Hindi (Sanskrit) grammar. In German grammar the ACCUSATIVE is the fourth the DATIVE is the third, and the GENITIVE is the second case.

H. Prepositions And Verbs.

German prepositions are very often combined with verbs, as post positions in Hindi.

E. g. : hinein + gehen = aufgeben अन्दर जाना (Andar jānā) to go in
aus + gehen = ausgehen बाहर जाना to go out
(bāhar jānā)

Verbs occurring in the infinitive mood in German will combine with a preposition in such a manner that the preposition always will precede the verb as a kind of prefix. However, when a verb is inflected the preposition is separated in some cases from the verb. For a foreigner this peculiar usage in German seems to be rather difficult. The author understands that there is not such a usage in Hindi. (In English there are also verbs combined with prepositions; but generally they are not separated from each other.) In modern Germany however there is the tendency to abolish the usage mentioned above. Now a few examples:

1. hinein geben : Dugehst nicht hinein
You do not go inside तुम अन्दर नहीं जाते (tum andar nahin jāte.)

2. aus gehen : Wir gehen jetzt aus

हम लोग बाहर जा रहे हैं।

(ham log bāhar jā rahe hain)

We are going out.

Note. The whole problem is a matter of rhythm. If the preposition is strongest stressed, it generally will be split from the inflected verb. This usage is particular only to German.

I. The Infinitive.

In Hindi the infinitive is formed by adding ना (nā) to a verb-root, and in German, by adding-en to a verb-root.

E. g. : geh + en = gehen जा + ना (jā + nā) = to go.

As already mentioned, the infinitive in German can be used as an impersonal imperative. There is an equivalent in Hindi and French, but not in English. Apart from that the Infinitive occurs in German as a verbal noun, which generally is preceded by the neuter article "das". A verbal-noun in German begins always with a capital letter, no matter where it will occur.

E. g. : das Schreiben लिखना (likhnā) = writing

Very often the article "das" is dropped. E. g. :

Lieben ist keine Sünd'.

प्रेम करना पाप नहीं है ।
(prem karnā pāp nahīn hai.

Loving is not a sin.

Note. In German a verbal-noun is of neuter gender, whereas in Hindi it is masculine.

In English a verbal-noun is called gerund. It ends in "—ing".

K. Gender.

Generally speaking the usage of gender in German is not so complicated as it is in Hindi (and Sanskrit). There are a few general rules. But there are many exceptions as well. Some of the rules are given below. The exceptions may be found in a book of grammar.

In German there are three genders : *Masculine, feminine, neuter* whereas in Hindi there is no *Neuter*. Names of *Males* are always *Masculine* and those of *Females* are *Feminine* ; just as in Hindi. Examples :

(der) Sohn, m. बेटा (betā, m.) Son, m.

(die) Tochter, f. बेटी (betī, f.) daughter, f.

Inanimate things generally are *Neuter* :

(das) Ding, n. चीज़ (cīz, f. (!)) thing, n.

However, there are numerous exceptions. E.g. :

(die) Tinte, f. स्याही (syāhī, f.) ink, n.

(die) Schule, f. पाठशाला (pāṭhsālā, f.) school, n.

(der) Tisch, m. मेज़ (mez, f.) table, n.

(der) Stuhl, m. कुर्सी (kursī, f.) chair, n.

As in Hindi names of days, months, and mountains are *Masculine*. E.g. :

(der) Tag दिन (din, m.) day, n.

(der) Mittwoch बुधवार (budhvār) Wednesday, n.

(der) Monat महीना (mahīna, m.) month, n.

(der) Oktober October, m.

(der) Berg, m, गिरि (giri, m.) mountain, n.

(der) Himalaya हिमालय (himālaya(m.)

As in Hindi names of rivers are generally feminine :

die Elbe the river Elbe (Northern Germany)

die Kaveri the river Kaveri (South India)

Exceptions : der Fluss नदी (nadī, f.) river, n.

der the river Rhine (Germany)

der Ganges गंगा (Ganga, f.) the river Ganges (India)

But : die See, f. समुद्र (Samudr, m.) the sea.

Names of languages in German are *Neuter* (as in English),

whereas in Hindi the names of languages are feminine

(das) Hindi, n. हिन्दी (Hindi, f.) (the) Hindi, n.

(dās) Deutsch, n. (the) German, n.

(das) Tamil, n. (the) Tamil, n.

Exception : die Sprache भाषा (bhāṣā, f.) language, n.

In German there are numerous names of inanimate objects which are not *Neuter*, but either *Feminine* or *Masculine*, E.g. :

die Schreibfeder pen, n.

die Lampe lamp, n.

der Temple temple, n.

der Mond moon, n.

Note. German nouns always begin with a *Capital* letter no matter where they occur, this usage being opposite to English usage.

L. Number.

As in Hindi there are only two numbers in German—*Singular* and *Plural*. There is no *Dual* as in Sanskrit. The rules for the formation of *Plural*, however, are as complicated as in Hindi, which may be found in a book of grammar.

A few examples to show how the plural is formed in German, Hindi, and English are given below.

Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
Knabe	Knaben	लड़का (larkā)	लड़के (larke)	boy	boys
Mann	Männer	आदमी (ādmī)	आदमी (ādmī)	man	men
Frau	Frauen	औरत (aurat)	औरतें (auraten)	woman	women

Madchen Madehen लड़की (Ladki) लड़कियाँ (Ladkiyan) girl girls

Kun Kühe गाय (gay) गायें (gayen) cow cows

Kind Kinder बच्चा (baccā) बच्चे (bacce) child children

Haus Hauser घर (ghar) घर (ghar) house houses

In Hindi, there are a few singular nouns which are to be used in plurals. This type of usage is not found in German grammar.

प्राण (prāṇ)	life
दर्शन (darshan)	sight

M. In this essay the reader will come across quite a lot of striking similarities between Hindi and German. But there are also dissimilarities such as the usage of *-ne* in Hindi when transitive verb occurs in the past tense with certain exceptions. *-ne* is a suffix which cannot be found in German, English, French, Tamil etc. For a foreigner it is rather difficult to use *-ne* correctly.

Example to show the usage of *-ne*

1. मैंने एक फल खाया । (mainne ek phal khāyā.
(I ate a fruit.)
2. मैंने दस फल खाये । (mainne das phal khāye) I ate ten fruits.
3. लड़की ने एक रोटी खायी है । (larkē ne ek roti khāyī hai
The girl has eaten a roll.
4. लड़के ने दस रोटियाँ खायी हैं । (larke ne das rotīyān khāī haiṅ)
The boy has eaten ten rolls.
5. हमने खाया है । (hamne khāyā hai)
We have eaten.
6. राम ने एक फल खाया था । (rām ne ek phal khāyā thā)
Ram had eaten one fruit.
7. राम ने दस फल खाये थे । (rām ne das phal khāye the)
Ram had eaten ten fruits.
8. मैंने एक फल खाया होगा । (mainne ek phal khāyā hogā)
I might have eaten a fruit.

Note: In Hindi there are six kinds of the past tense. In 4 cases *-ne* will occur along with transitive verb, and in the other two it will not. For Example :—

राम काम करता था । (Rām kām kartā thā)
Ram was doing work.

राम काम कर रहा था । (Rām kām kar Rahā thā)
Ram was doing work.

यदि आप खाने तो मैं भी खाता । (Yadi Āp khāte to main bhī khāta)
 If you would have eaten,
 I also would have eaten.

N. The Subjunctive Mood.

As in Hindi the *Subjunctive Mood* in German expresses, wish order or permission, and doubt. Nowadays people in Germany try to avoid the *Subjunctive Mood*. In German it is somewhat difficult to form it whereas in Hindi the *Subjunctive mood* is derived from a verb in *future tense* by dropping the endings.—Examples to show the usage of the *Subjunctive* :

(1) Wenn ich doch einen Brief bekame !

1. यदि एक चिट्ठी मुझे मिले । (yadi ek chitthi mujhe mile)

Wenn it doit. If I only recived a letter

May I be back to Madras.

मैं मद्रास वापस आऊँ । (Main Madras vapas āoon)

(3) Er sagte, er liebe Musik.

(2) Yurukkehite nach Madras.

उसने कहा कि मुझे संगीत से प्रेम है । (Usne kahā ki mujhe sangit se prēm hai)

He said that he loved music.

The last example in German differs very much from Hindi usage. In German the *Subjunctive* always must be used in indirect speech whereas in Hindi there is no difference between direct and indirect speech.

O. The Passive Voice.

As in Hindi the *Passive Voice* is rarely used in German. It sounds rather stiff and impersonal to a German ear. So every good writer will avoid the *Passitive Voice*.

However, in Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, and in some of the modern European languages it is rather common.

In German the *Passive Voice*, whenever used, is formed by combining a past participle with the corresponding form of "sein" (होना hona; to be) whereas in Hindi a passive verb is formed by adding a corresponding form of jānā जाना to the *past tense*.

E.g. : Diese Brief wurde von dem Madchen geschrieben

यह चिट्ठी लड़की से लिखी गयी । (yah chitthi larkī se likhī gayī)

This letter was written by the girl.

P. Idioms. Studying a few Hindi idioms one may find a similarity between German idioms of the same kind. E.g.

(1) *Ich die Nase voll von ihm.*—(*Nase* = nose = नाक)

उसके बारे मेरी नाकें दम है ।

(*uske märe merī nākoñ dam hai*)

I am sick of him.

(2) *Ich spielte mit dem Leben, als ich ihn rettete.*

(*spielte* = played = खेलकर ;

Leben = life = जान)

मैंने अपनी जान पर खेलकर उसे बचाया ।

(*mainne apnī jān par khelkar use bacāya*)

I saved him at the risk of my life.

(3) *Offenherzig sprich er mit mir.*

उसने दिल खोलकर मेरे साथ बात की

(*usne dil kholkar mere sāth bāt kī*)

He talked to me without any reservation.

It might be interesting to compare thoroughly analogous idioms in German and Hindi from philosophical and psychological point of view.

Conclusion. German and Hindi, as mentioned in the beginning belong to the same linguistic family, i.e., the Indo-Aryan group. In this essay it has been tried to show a few striking similarities between these two languages. Bearing the subtitle "Glimpses of A Comparative Grammar, this essay does not claim to be exhaustive. However, quite a number of valuable facts attract our observation, which enables us to foresee a vast field for further research in the subject.

रामायण की नायिका 'सीता' की उत्पत्ति एवं विकास

सु० शंकर राजू नायडू, एम० ए०, साहित्यरत्न, प्रभाकर,

[अध्यक्ष, हिन्दी विभाग, मद्रास विश्वविद्यालय]



“अर्वाची सुभगे भव सीते वन्दामहे त्वा ।

यथा नः सुभगाससि यथा नः सुफलाससि ॥” (ऋग्वेद ४-५७-६)

‘हे सुभगे सीते! तुम समुपस्थित होओ। हम तुम्हें नमस्कार करते हैं। हमारे लिए सौभाग्य एवं सुन्दर फल प्रदान करनेवाली तुम ही हो।’

“इन्द्र सीतां निगृह्णातु तां पूषानुयच्छतु ।

सा न पयस्वती दुहामुत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥” (ऋग्वेद ४-५७-७)

‘हे इन्द्र! सीता को ग्रहण कर ले और पूषन देवता उसका पथ-प्रदर्शक बने। वह जल से पूर्ण होकर प्रतिवर्ष उसे क्षीर के रूप में प्रदान किया करे।’

इस प्रकार ऋग्वेद के चौथे मण्डल के ५७ वें सूक्त में सीता का सर्वप्रथम वर्णन आया है। यहाँ सीता का वर्णन कृषि की अधिष्ठात्री देवी के रूप में किया गया है। ‘सीता’ का वर्णन एवं उससे धन-धान्य व सन्तति आदि मनोवांछित वस्तुओं की पूर्ति के हेतु की हुई प्रार्थनाएँ वेदों में ही इनके अतिरिक्त अनेक स्थानों में प्राप्त होती हैं। वस्तुतः अध्यात्म रामायण में इसी के आधार पर राम एवं सीता परब्रह्म एवं प्रकृति के प्रतीक माने गये हैं। इसी शक्ति सीता को हम आदर्श नारी के रूप में आदि काव्य वाल्मीकि रामायण में देखते हैं।

रामायण की कथा का विकास भारतीय साहित्य की विचित्रताओं में से एक है। वाल्मीकि-कृत आदि रामायण में वस्तुतः ‘बालकाण्ड’ और ‘उत्तरकाण्ड’

नहीं थे। अनेक अन्वेषकों का अभिप्राय है कि ये दोनों सम्भवतः ईस्वी पूर्व तीसरी शताब्दी के निकट की रचनाएँ हैं। इस कथा के नायक हैं राम, और नायिका सीता। राम के सम्बन्ध में तो सभी राम-काव्यों में मतेव्य है कि वे दशरथ के ही पुत्र थे, परन्तु सीता के सम्बन्ध में विभिन्न काव्यों में विभिन्न प्रकार की कथाएँ मिलती हैं। किसी में सीता को जनक की पुत्री कहा गया है तो किसी में रावण की पुत्री। किसी में उसे दशरथ की पुत्री के रूप में भी रख दिया गया है जिससे राम उसके सगे भाई बन जाते हैं। एक किंवदन्ती यह है कि सीता का जन्म सीताफल से ही हुआ, और दूसरा यह कि जनक ने एक धनुष को फोड़कर उसमें से सीता को प्राप्त किया और शिशु न होने के कारण उसे ही अपनी पुत्री के रूप में पालने लगे। इस प्रकार सीता के सम्बन्ध में अनेक कथाएँ प्रचलित हैं। उनमें से कुछ मुख्य कथाओं का वर्णन संक्षेप में नीचे दिया जाता है—

‘आदि रामायण’ में सीता को जनक की औरस पुत्री के रूप में ही कहा गया है। परन्तु प्रचलित वाल्मीकि रामायण में उसके जन्म की कल्पना भूमि से की गयी है। जिस समय स्वर्ण-हल से जनक पृथ्वी जोत रहे थे तो वहाँ से एक देदीप्यमान देवी का शिशु रूप में आविर्भाव हुआ, और इस प्रकार प्राप्त शिशु को जनक ने पुत्री के रूप में ग्रहण किया। ‘सीता’ का शाब्दिक अर्थ है, पृथ्वी पर हल चलाने से उत्पन्न रेखा। इसी ‘सीता’ से उस कन्या का जन्म होने के फलस्वरूप वह ‘सीता’ ही कहलाने लगी। विष्णु-पुराण में भी ऐसा ही विवरण है। इस विवरण में दो बातें दर्शनीय हैं। एक है, नामकरण जो युक्तियुक्त ही है। द्वितीय यह कि वेदों में सीता कृषि की अधिष्ठात्री देवी मानी गयी है। इस विवरण में भी कृषि-कर्म के द्वारा ही सीता का जन्म माना गया है। अतः यह विवरण सर्वथा उचित ही प्रतीत होता है। हिन्दी साहित्य के सर्वश्रेष्ठ भक्त-कवि तुलसीदास एवं दक्षिण भारत के कविशिरोमणि कम्बर आदि ने इसी विवरण को अपनाकर अपने राम-काव्य की धारा को प्रवाहित किया है।

कविवर दिवाकर प्रकाश भट्ट द्वारा रचित काश्मीरी रामायण में सीता को राम-रिपु रावण की पुत्री के रूप में चित्रित किया गया है। कथा इस प्रकार है—

मन्दोदरी देवलोक की एक अप्सरा थी। वह आतताई रावण के असह्य आसुरी-कृत्यों को देख उसके अवसान के अभिप्राय से अबला के रूप में पृथ्वी पर अवतरित हुई। उसके अपूर्व सौन्दर्य से आकृष्ट होकर रावण ने उसे अपनी अर्धांगिनी बना ली। मन्दोदरी गर्भवती हुई, पर रावण की अनुपस्थिति में एक कन्या का जन्म हुआ। शिशु की जन्म-कुण्डली से ज्ञात हुआ कि पिता रावण का अवसान इसी से होगा और यह भी कि यदि इसका विवाह हुआ तो वन में जीवन व्यतीत करके लंका का ही सर्वनाश कर देगी। मन्दोदरी ने जब यह समाचार सुना तो शिशु की ग्रीवा में एक बड़े पत्थर को बांधकर एक नदी में फेंक दिया। शिशु नदी में बवं तदनन्दर समुद्र में न डूबकर उताल तरंगों के साथ-साथ जनक के देश में जा पहुँचा। साधारणतः प्रचलित कथा के अनुसार यह बालिका जनक की पुत्री मानी जाने लगी। मन्दोदरी ने अपने पति रावण के आगमन के पश्चात् उससे इसके सम्बन्ध में कुछ न कहा। अतः रावण को पुत्री सीता के जन्म आदि का लेशमात्र भी ज्ञान न हो सका। परन्तु जब रावण सीता को पंचवटी से लंका ले आया तो मन्दोदरी ने उसे पहचान लिया। उसने अपने पति रावण से बहुत कहा कि सीता को लौटा दो, पर रहस्य को व्यक्त नहीं किया। अन्त में इसी के परिणाम स्वरूप रावण की मृत्यु हुई।

यद्यपि यह कथानक वाल्मीकि, कम्बर आदि रचित मूल रामायणों में नहीं है, तथापि अनेक अन्य ग्रन्थों में स्पष्ट रूप में प्राप्त होता है। अद्भुत रामायण में सीता मन्दोदरी की पुत्री के रूप में ही कही गयी है, परन्तु उसका जन्म रावण के द्वारा नहीं होता, अपितु एक पारमौतिक शक्ति के द्वारा मन्दोदरी गर्भ धारण करती है। लक्ष्मी देवी स्वयं मन्दोदरी की पुत्री बनकर रावण के संहार में भाग लेती है।

मलाया में प्रचलित रामायण में एक दूसरा अनुपम कथानक प्राप्त होता है। दशरथ ने एक समय रावण को एक वरदान देने का वचन दिया था। रावण ने दशरथ की पत्नी मन्दोदरी को ही मांगा। इस पर मन्दोदरी ने मन्त्र-शक्ति से अपने ही समान एक दूसरे प्रतिरूप की सृष्टि की। यह दशरथ को भी ज्ञात नहीं हुआ। इसी प्रतिरूप को ही वास्तविक मन्दोदरी समझकर रावण अपने साथ ले गया और इससे ही सीता का जन्म हुआ। मन्दोदरी ने सीता के भविष्य को समझकर उसे एक सन्दूक में बन्द करके समुद्र में ही छोड़ दिया। यह सन्दूक समुद्र में बहते-बहते मिथिला पहुँचा और जनक को प्राप्त हुआ। सीता को जनक पुत्री के रूप में पालने लगे।

तिब्बत के रामायण में सीता रावण की ही औरस पुत्री मानी गयी है, पर सीता की माता का नाम उल्लिखित नहीं है।

जैन साहित्य में रामायण के दो विवरण प्राप्त होते हैं—एक है विमलसूरि रचित, जो वाल्मीकि-कृत कथा के आधार पर ही है। दूसरी गुणभद्र रचित 'उत्तर पुराण' है, जिसमें सीता को रावण-मन्दोदरी की पुत्री के रूप में ही कहा गया है। कथा में कुछ नवीनताएँ हैं। कथा का संक्षिप्त विवरण इस प्रकार है—दशरथ वाराणसी के राजा हैं और सुबाला नामक पटरानी से उनके एक पुत्र राम का जन्म होता है। इसमें लक्ष्मण की माता कैकेयी हो गयी है। राजा दशरथ तदनन्तर अपनी राजधानी अयोध्या कर लेते हैं। यहाँ उनकी एक तीसरी पत्नी से जिसका नाम ग्रन्थ में अप्राप्त है, दो पुत्र-रत्नों का जन्म होता है। वे हैं भरत एवं शत्रुघ्न। उधर रावण ने एक तापसी मणिमती का तिरस्कार किया, और वही तापसी रावण-मन्दोदरी की पुत्री के रूप में जन्म लेती है। रावण अपनी पुत्री के भविष्य के बारे में ज्योतिषी से पूछता है, और उसे ज्ञात होता है कि इसी से मेरा अन्त होनेवाला है। अतः रावण मारीच को आज्ञा देता है कि तुरन्त इस कन्या को कहीं दूर वन-प्रदेश अथवा समुद्र में छोड़ आओ। मारीच उसे एक पिष्टारी में रखकर मिथिला की पृथ्वी के गर्भ में रख आता है।

यह पिटारी पृथ्वी जोतते समय मिथिला के कृषकों को प्राप्त होती है, और वे इसे अपने सम्राट् जनक को समर्पित करते हैं। अन्दर एक अति सुन्दर कन्या को देख जनक स्वयं उसे पुत्री के समान पालने लगते हैं। एक समय जनक ने एक यज्ञ किया और राम-लक्ष्मण को भी उसकी रक्षा के लिए आमन्त्रित किया। यज्ञ सुसम्पन्न होने पर राम-सीता एवं लक्ष्मण-पृथ्वी देवी के विवाह भी सुसम्पन्न होते हैं। कुछ समय पश्चात् रावण नारद से सीता के सौन्दर्य का विवरण सुनता है। एक दिन जब वह राम के साथ चित्रकूट में प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्य का आनन्द ले रही थी, स्वर्ण-मृग के रूप में मारीच के द्वारा राम को अति दूर ले जाकर स्वयं राम का रूप धरकर सीता को अपने विमान पर चढ़ाकर लंका ले भागता है। लक्ष्मण के द्वारा रावण का संहार होता है। लौटने पर सीता-राम के आठ पुत्र होते हैं। अन्त में दोनों जैन-दीक्षा लेकर निवृत्ति-मार्ग ग्रहण करके मोक्ष प्राप्त करते हैं।

इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि सीता का रावण-मन्दोदरी की कन्या के रूप में अनेक स्थानों में विषद वर्णन प्राप्त होता है। इससे भी बढ़कर सीता के जीवन का एक और अद्भुत विवरण मिलता है। वह है राम-सीता का प्रारम्भ में भाई-बहिन के रूप में और उसके पश्चात् बड़े होने पर पति-पत्नी के रूप में। पाली भाषा में प्राप्त बौद्ध साहित्य की 'जातकट्ठवण्णना' में रामायण पर भी तीन जातक हैं। उनमें सर्वप्रधान है 'दशरथ-जातक'। उसकी कथा संक्षेप में इस प्रकार है—राजा दशरथ की प्रथम रानी से दो पुत्र राम-लक्ष्मण एवं एक पुत्री सीता का जन्म हुआ। इस रानी की मृत्यु के पश्चात् एक दूसरी रानी से एक पुत्र भरत का जन्म हुआ। एक समय प्रसन्न होकर इस रानी से राजा ने एक वरदान माँगने को कहा। चतुर रानी ने इसी समय न माँगकर भरत की आयु ७ वर्ष की होने पर अपने पुत्र को राज-सिंहासन देने को कहा। राजा ने अपनी असहमति प्रकट की। बार-बार त्रिवश किये जाने पर राजा ने अपने दोनों ज्येष्ठ पुत्रों से किसी अन्य देश अथवा दूर के वन में जाकर निवास करने के लिए कह दिया कि कहीं यह रानी उनका कुछ कर न बैठे। राजा ने ज्योतिषी से पूछकर यह भी

कहा कि १२ वर्ष के उपरान्त मेरी मृत्यु हो जाने पर आकर राज्य ग्रहण कर लेना। राम-लक्ष्मण ने वैसा ही किया। बहिन सीता भी उनके ही संग वन चली गयी। नवें वर्ष ही दशरथ स्वर्ग सिधारे। भरत ने माता की इच्छा के विद्वरु राम के पास आकर लौट चलने को उनसे आग्रह किया। पर राम ने पितृ-वचन को पूर्ण करने के हेतु मना कर दिया और भरत के बहुत कहने पर अपनी तृण-पादुकाओं ('तिष्णादुका') को उसे दे दिया, जिन्हें राज-सिंहासन पर रखकर राजकीय सत्कार के साथ भरत राज-काज करते रहे। विषम परिस्थिति उत्पन्न होने पर भरत उन पादुकाओं से परामर्श प्राप्त करते समय, यदि निर्णय युक्तियुक्त न हुआ तो वे आपस में झगड़ने लग जाते, अन्यथा शान्त रहते। इस प्रकार तीन वर्षों के व्यतीत होने के पश्चात् राम, लक्ष्मण, सीता लौटे। राम सिंहासन पर आसीन हुए। राम-सीता का विवाह भी यथोचित रीति से सुसम्पन्न हुआ। सोलह सहस्र वर्ष सुखी-जीवन व्यतीत करने के पश्चात् दोनों सानन्द स्वर्ग सिधारे।

वस्तुतः कथा यहाँ एक अन्योक्ति के रूप में है—राम गौतम बुद्ध के रूप में, सीता यशोधरा के रूप में, और भरत गौतम के प्रधान शिष्य आनन्द के रूप में। अनेक विद्वानों का मत है कि रामायण का मूल रूप यही 'दशरथ-जातक' है। ऐसी कथा हिन्दोनेशिया, मलाया एवं जावा में भी प्रसिद्ध है।

जिस प्रकार वाल्मीकि रामायण में सीता जनक की औरस पुत्री के रूप में न होकर भूमिजा के रूप में वर्णित है, उसी प्रकार क्षेमेन्द्र-कृत 'दशावतार-चरित्र' में सीता रावण की औरस पुत्री होकर 'पद्मजा' के रूप में उसे प्राप्त होती है। रावण एक दिन जब कमलों से पूर्ण सरोवर के निकट जाकर शिव की पूजा कर रहा था तो उसने एक स्वर्ण-कमल पर अति सुन्दर कन्या को देखा जो वस्तुतः लक्ष्मी देवी थी, और उसे लंका ले आया। नारद ने मन्दोदरी से कहा कि तुम्हारा पति एक दिन इसी बालिका को अपनी प्रणयिनी बनावेगा, तो मन्दोदरी ने उसे एक स्वर्ण-पिटारी में रखकर लंका से बहुत दूर पृथ्वी के अन्दर रखवा दिया जो

जनक को प्राप्त हुई। ऐसी कथा और भी कहीं-कहीं प्रचलित है। इनके अतिरिक्त सीता के रक्तजा एवं अग्निजा के रूप में भी कई वर्णन प्राप्त होते हैं।

हमने देखा कि सीता की कल्पना प्रारम्भ में कृषि की अधिष्ठात्री देवी के रूप में की गयी। तदनन्तर रामायण का जन्म हुआ। इसके अनेक कथानक प्रचलित हुए कहीं जनकात्मजा, कहीं रावणात्मजा, कहीं दशरथात्मजा और कहीं अयोनिजा के रूप में सीता का वर्णन हुआ है। कारण यही प्रतीत होता है कि मूल कथा, चाहे वाल्मीकि रामायण हो अथवा दशरथ-जातक, काल्पनिक है। इसमें किसी ऐतिहासिक तथ्य का अन्वेषण उचित नहीं ज्ञात होता।

सीता के जन्म की उपर्युक्त प्रधान कथाओं को ध्यान में रखकर विश्लेषण करने पर यही युक्तियुक्त प्रतीत होता है कि सर्वप्रथम सीता की कल्पना दशरथ की पुत्री के रूप में हुई होगी। यहाँ राम-सीता का भाई-बहिन होने पर भी विवाह होता है। यह कोई अनौचित्यपूर्ण अथवा आश्चर्यजनक घटना नहीं है। शाक्यों में वैसी ही प्रथा थी, और आजकल भी उनमें पायी जाती है। जब यह कथा दूसरे समाज में पहुँची तो कवि ने अपनी सामाजिक व्यवस्था के अनुकूल इस कथा में परिवर्तन ला दिया। सीता जनक की पुत्री बनी, परन्तु यहाँ भी सीता प्रारम्भ में जनक की औरस पुत्री न बन सकी, क्योंकि कथा के विकासोन्मुख परिवर्तन में बाधा पड़ती। वाल्मीकि रामायण में यही विकास है। तदनन्तर कुछ कवियों ने सीता को जनक की ही औरस पुत्री के रूप में चित्रित कर दिया। परन्तु कुछ और कवियों ने काव्य की वस्तु में कल्पना का सुन्दर पुट देकर, सीता को जनक की औरस पुत्री न होने के कारण, अन्य एक देश से लाकर मिथिला पहुँचाने का प्रयत्न किया। रावण के सम्बन्ध में प्रचलित वर्णन को साधन बनाकर सीता को उसी की पुत्री के रूप में चित्रित करके उसके ही द्वारा रावण का संहार भी कराया। इस से दो बातें सिद्ध हुई—एक तो यह कि कथा-वस्तु में रोचकता आ गयी। दूसरी बात यह कि आततायी असुरों का संहार हो गया, जो पुरातन काल

के आर्य-अनार्य संग्राम का द्योतक है। काश्मीरी रामायण आदि में इसी की चरमसीमा है।

जनक की भूमिजा पुत्री के रूप में सीता का प्रचार अधिक होने का कारण है भक्त-हृदय। भक्त को हृदय में अपनी आराध्य देवी को असुर कन्या के रूप में कल्पित करते हुए एक चिकर्षण की भावना का उत्पन्न होना स्वाभाविक है। भक्त का हृदय साधारणतः अपनी आराध्य देवी आदि के जन्म एवं अन्य कार्यों में अलौकिक व असाधारण विवरण को देखकर उनमें रमना चाहता है। अतः सीता का यह चित्रण ही भक्त-हृदय के अधिक सन्निकट होने के कारण तुलसी, कम्बर आदि अनेक कवियों ने इसका ही पृष्ठानुपृष्ठ रूप से वर्णन किया और जनता ने उसी में आत्म-तृप्ति प्राप्त की।

भारत मूलतः एक कृषि-प्रधान देश है। सीता कृषि की अधिष्ठात्री देवी मानी जा चुकी थीं। मानव सुलभ, विशेषतः भारतीय पद्धति की यह एक विशेष प्रथा है कि वह अपने प्रिय व्यक्ति का नामकरण देवी-देवताओं पर रखता है। इसके अतिरिक्त पृथ्वी को हल से जोतने पर उत्पन्न रेखा को 'सीता' कहते हैं। अतः भारत के सर्व प्रथम महाकाव्य की नायिका के नाम का 'सीता' होना अत्यन्त स्वाभाविक एवं युक्तिसंगत ही है।

सीता के चारित्रिक विकास का सब से प्रधान एवं आकर्षक अंग उसका 'पूर्वराग', है। रामायण में राम-सीता पूर्वराग का अंश यद्यपि वाल्मीकि रामायण में अप्राप्य है, तथापि उसका समावेश उसमें कतिपय शताब्दियों के पश्चात् कर लिया गया है। वैसे तो तिरुमंगैयायार के तमिष प्रबन्धों में जो छठी शताब्दी के वैष्णवाचार्य माने जाते हैं, उस चित्र के चिह्न प्राप्त होते हैं। परन्तु उसका विकसित साहित्यिक स्वरूप महाकाव्यों में सर्वप्रथम तमिष के कम्बर रामायण में ही प्राप्त होता है। सीता 'वीर्यशुल्का' होने के कारण वस्तुतः उसका पूर्वराग अनुचित और असंस्कृत ही प्रतीत

होगा, परन्तु कम्बर ने उसका समावेश इसलिए आवश्यक ही नहीं, अपितु अनिवार्य समझा कि प्राचीन तमिष संस्कृति तथा साहित्यिक पद्धति में पूर्वराग के पश्चात् ही विवाह को युक्तियुक्त एवं श्रेष्ठ माना गया है । इसके लिए आधार ईसा पूर्व चौथी शताब्दी में या उससे पूर्व रचित तमिष के लक्षण-ग्रन्थ तोल्काप्पियम् में तथा तिरुवळ्ळुवर द्वारा ईसा की दूसरी शताब्दी में रचित 'तमिष वेद' माने जानेवाले नीति-ग्रन्थ 'तिरुकुरळ' में एवं अन्यान्य अनेक विशिष्ट ग्रन्थों में कई स्थलों में प्राप्त होते हैं । इनका यथानुकूल अनुसरण करके कम्बर ने राम-सीता पूर्वराग का वर्णन इस प्रकार किया—

“எண்ணரு நலத்தினு ளிணைய ணின்றிழிக்
கண்ணொடு கண்ணினை கவ்வி மொன்றையொன்
றுண்ணவு திலை பெரு துணர்வு மொன்றிட
வண்ணலு நோக்கினு னவளு நோக்கினுள்.”

“(कम्ब रामायण १-१०-३५)

अर्थात्—

सुकवि - कल्पनातीत सुन्दरी,
भव्य महल पर थी हुई खड़ी ।
आंखों से आंखों को ग्रसकर,
एक दूसरे का रस पीकर ।
सुध-बुध अपनी खो परवश हो,
उभय चित्त मिल एकतान हो,
नायक ने निनिमेष निहारा ।
उसने भी निमि बिना निहारा ॥

संस्कृत के कालिदास-कृत रघुवंश, कुमारदास-कृत जानकी-हरण आदि महाकाव्यों में राम-सीता पूर्वराग का वर्णन सीता के वीर्यशुल्का होने तथा उनकी संस्कृति के विरोध में होने के फलस्वरूप कहीं नहीं प्राप्त होता ।

‘जानकी-हरण’ में तो वह चित्र केवल धनुष-भंग के पश्चात् है, अर्थात् जनक की प्रतिज्ञा के पूर्ण होने के अनन्तर, जिसके कारण तुलसी के शब्दों में “टूटत ही धनु भएउ बिबाह” के आधार पर कहा जा सकता है कि यह वास्तविक अर्थ में पूर्वरंग नहीं है। नाटकों में से भवभूति-कृत ‘महावीर-चरित’ तथा जयदेव-कृत ‘प्रसन्न राघव’ में यह चित्र प्राप्त होता है—एक में विश्वामित्र के आश्रम में और दूसरे में जनक की ‘परम रम्य-वाटिका’ में। कम्बर के अनन्तर तुलसी ने ही अपने महाकाव्य में राम-सीता पूर्वरंग का अति विशद वर्णन इस प्रकार किया है—

“कंकण किंकिणि नूपुर धुनि सुनि ।
कहत लषन सन राम हृदय गुनि ॥
मानहु मदन दुन्दुभी दीन्हीं ।
मनसा विश्व विजय कहँ कीन्हीं ॥

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लोचन मग रामहिं उर आनी ।
दीन्हैं पलक कपाट सयानी ॥
भये विलोचन चारु अचंचल ।
मनहुँ सकुचि निमि तजे दगंचल ॥”

आदि-आदि ।

कवि चक्रवर्ती कम्बर ने अपने चित्रण का आधार—

“பிரிந்தவர் கூடினால் பேசலும் வேண்டுமோ”

अर्थात्—

‘बिछुड़ों का हो पुनः मेल तो
आवश्यक क्यों मुख के बोल ।’

कहकर राम-सीता के अवतार होने की सूचना दे दी है और एक प्रकार से वीर्य शुल्का के पूर्वरंग का निराकरण भी इससे सिद्ध हो जाता है ।

भक्तकवि तुलसी ने भी स्वान्तःसुखाय रचित अपने 'रामचरितमानस' में राम-सीता पूर्वराग के वर्णन से आत्म-तृप्ति प्राप्त करते हुए, कम्बर के ही समान कहा है—

“प्रीति पुरातन लखै न कोई”

इस प्रकार सीता के चारित्रिक विकास की चरम-सीमा हम एक ओर तमिष के अमर महाकाव्य कम्ब रामायण में पाते हैं तो दूसरी ओर हिन्दी के अमर महाकाव्य तुलसी-कृत रामचरितमानस में, जिससे सिद्ध होता है कि कुमारी अन्तरीप से हिमालय तक के सभी भाषा-साहित्यों एवं भाषा-भाषियों के हृदय में सीता स्थान प्राप्त कर चुकी हैं।



SA'DĪ'S PANDNĀMA

A NEW ENGLISH VERSION WITH NOTES

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The *Pandnāma* (or *Karīmā*) usually attributed to Sa'dī (an attribution that may as well stand, since it can hardly be disproved !) has always been popular in the East and has long been known in the West. A fairly full list of editions and of translations into European languages may be found in H. Massé's *Essai sur le Poète Saadi* (Paris, 1919), Bibliography pp. xxi-xxiii; but for practical purposes only two English translations need be taken into account, that of F. Gladwin (Calcutta-London, 1788, 1801 and subsequently) and that of Sir A. N. Wollaston (London, 1908); both these versions were accompanied by a facing text. As with all the others, they are now out of print, as well as being in themselves open to a number of serious objections. Gladwin's Persian text is seriously defective, showing throughout considerable deviations from the norm and lacking two whole sections (those I have below numbered XVI and XVII); his translation is correspondingly affected. Wollaston's text is admirable, but his translation is not only often careless, but vague and imprecise, being apparently designed as much to display the richness of the English language as to render the work of Sa'dī. The various versions, complete or partial, in other languages are open to the same or similar objections.

Quite apart from the intrinsic merit of the work (it is more polished than Nāṣir-i Khusrau's *Sa'ādāt-nāma*, more compact than 'Attār's *Pandnāma*), a new and carefully annotated English version might, therefore, reasonably seem justified.

In the following translation I have aimed at readability combined with 'hard', literal accuracy, each word or phrase being rendered as far as possible uniformly throughout; everyday Persian forms are equated with their everyday English counterparts, the few artificial forms with similarly artificial parallels, and so on. This is particularly important, since Sa'dī is in this poem often deliberately and emphatically repetitive, cf., for example, the sections I have numbered VII,

XX, XXIII and XXIV. While such an experiment must often be arbitrary in its effect, it is surely worth making.

I have taken Wollaston's text (I refer to him in the Notes as W) as my base, collating it throughout with Gladwin's (G), and with Abbas Eghbal's text (E) as published in Sa'dī's *Kullīyāt*. Tehran, 1317 solar A.H. The latter in fact agrees closely with Wollaston. I have also kept an eye on Garcin de Tassy's French version (Paris, 1822), which, however, agrees too closely with Gladwin to be of much use.

Each of the 24 sections has been given a Roman numeral, and the lines have been numbered consecutively throughout. The numbers in the Notes refer to the section-headings or to the lines themselves.

I. In The Name of God, the Merciful, The Compassionate !

1. O Magnanimous ! be indulgent to our condition,
For we are prisoner in passion's noose.
- i 2. We have, save You, no champion :
You alone to the rebellious are the forgiver of wrong.
3. Keep us from the road of wrong,
Let pass the wrong and show me the right.

II. In Praise of The Prophet, God Bless Him and Give Him Peace !

4. So long as the tongue holds its place in the mouth,
Praise of Muhammad will be agreeable to the heart :
5. Beloved of God, noblest of Prophets,
Whose resting-place is the Throne of Glory ;
6. World-conquering knight, mounted on Burāq the thoroughbred,
Who passed beyond the keep of the indigo-blue vault.

III. Soliloquy

7. Forty years of your dear life have passed,
Yet your composition has not altered from what it was in
childhood.
8. You have utterly thrown in your lot with passion and desire,
Not for a moment have you concerned yourself with lawful
occasions.
9. Lean not upon a life having no sure footing,
Think not yourself secure from the play of fate

IV. In praise of Magnanimity

10. O heart ! whoever set an open table
Has become renowned in the world of magnanimity.
11. Magnanimity makes you renowned in the world,
Magnanimity grants your desire for security.
12. Beyond magnanimity there is no working in the world,
Nor is there any brisker market :
13. Magnanimity is the capital investment of gladness,
Magnanimity is life's net gain.
14. Keep fresh by magnanimity a universe's heart,
By giving keep the world full of report.
15. Constantly proceed aright in magnanimity,
For magnanimous is the soul's own Creator.

V. On Liberality

16. One of good-fortune makes free choice of liberality,
For a man by liberality grows fortune-favoured.
17. Be a world-conqueror by grace and liberality,
In the land of grace and liberal ways be a prince.
18. Liberality is the work of men-of-heart,
Liberality is the practice of the prosperous.
19. Liberality is an alchemy to fault's copper,
Liberality is a remedy for all pains.
20. Be not, as far as may be, free of liberality,
For by liberality you will carry off the ball of excellence.

VI. In Condemnation of the Miser

21. If the wheel [of heaven] turn as the miser desires,
If prosperity be the miser's lackey ;
22. If Korah's treasure be in his palm,
And the [globe's] inhabited quarter his dependent :
23. The miser [still] does not deserve that you mention his name.
If fate perform his service,
24. [Still] have no regard for the miser's property,
Mention not the name of the property and wealth of the miser.
25. A miser, [even] if he be ascetic on sea and land,
Will not be a dweller in Heaven — so runs the Tradition.

26. The miser, though he be rich in property,
[In death] is basely chastised like one without a penny.
27. The liberal enjoy the fruit of their possessions,
Misers have the grief of silver and gold.

VII : On Humility

28. O heart ! if you make free choice of humility,
Mankind on earth will grow affectionate for you ;
29. Humility augments your station
Above the rays the moon has from the sun.
30. Humility is the source of affection,
And the rank of affection is exalted ;
31. Humility makes a man eminent,
Humility is a rich raiment for captains.
32. Humility makes whomsoever is, a human-being,
Nothing befits humankind but humanity.
33. The prudent man chooses humility :
The full-fruited branch lays its head upon the ground.
34. Humility will be an enlarger of your dignity,
Will make your place in the Highest Heaven :
35. Humility is the key of Paradise Gate,
It is an ornament to eminence and station.
36. When a man is bent on arrogance,
It is indeed pleasant to encounter humility in him.
37. Whoever has the habit of humility
Will derive [real] enjoyment from station and splendour.
38. Humility will make you dear to the world,
By [all] hearts you will be esteemed as their soul :
39. Do not grudge humility to mankind,
For by it you may lift your head even as a sword.
40. Humility in the eminent is a virtue ;
If a beggar practises humility, it is his nature.

VIII : In Condemnation of Pride

41. Do not give way to pride ; beware, my son,
Lest by it one day you meet your end.
42. Pride in a wise man is not well regarded,
Such a thing comes strangely from the prudent ;

43. Pride is the habit of the ignorant,
Pride does not proceed from men-of-heart.
44. Pride brought 'Azāzīl' low,
It made him captive in the gaol of malediction.
45. Whoever has the attribute of pride
Has a head filled with delusion by conceit.
46. Pride is the source of misfortune,
Pride is the origin of ill-condition.
47. Knowing this, why do you indulge in pride ?
You do wrong, and [again] you do wrong.

IX : On the Virtue of Learning

48. The sons of men attain perfection by learning,
Not through pomp and station, property and wealth.
49. Like a candle one must melt for learning's sake,
Since without learning one cannot know God.
50. The intelligent man is a seeker of learning,
For learning's market is always brisk.
51. Whoever throughout the ages has had fortune for a friend
Has freely chosen to seek learning.
52. To seek learning is an obligation upon you,
Likewise it is incumbent to traverse the earth in search of it
53. Go, take firm hold of learning's skirt,
For learning will bring you to the Mansion of Steadfastness.
54. Study naught but learning if you are judicious,
For to be without learning is negligence.
55. [Let] your learning, in matters spiritual and secular, be complete,
For [only] by learning will your affairs assume order.

X: On Refraining from Association with the Ignorant

56. O heart! if you are intelligent, prudent,
Do not choose to associate with the ignorant :
57. From an ignorant man flee like an arrow,
Be not mingled [with such] like sugar and milk.
58. If [even] a serpent be your [sole] companion in the cave,
It is better than that an ignorant man should partake of
[your] grief ;

59. If your heart's opponent be [but] judicious,
It is better than [to have] an affectionate who is ignorant.
60. No one in the world is as base as the ignorant man,
For none is more unknowing than one acting in ignorance.
61. From the ignorant man proceed only evil actions,
And from him one hears only evil words.
62. The end of the ignorant one will be Hell,
For the ignorant man is seldom granted a good conclusion.
63. The heads of the ignorant are best atop the gallows,
An ignorant man is best basely [made] captive.
64. To be on one's guard against an ignorant man is most fitting.
For from him derives shame in this world and the next.

XI : On Justice

65. Since God has thus given you all your desire,
Why, then, do you not bring forth equity ?
66. Since justice is the ornament of kingliness,
Why do you not hold your heart stout for justice ?
67. Your kingdom will achieve a sure footing
If just conduct lends a hand :
68. Because Nūshīrwān made choice of justice,
A good name is still his memorial.
69. The tranquillity of a realm derives from the effect of justice,
For by justice are procured the desires of a realm.
70. Keep the world prosperous by fair-dealing,
Keep the hearts of the fair-dealers happy :
71. The world has no better architect than justice,
For no working is higher than just conduct.
72. In the long run, what better return could you have than this :
That your name should be Just King ?
73. If you wish for a token of good-fortune,
You will shut the door of oppression towards the world's
inhabitants.
74. Do not grudge the flock your pastoral care,
Realise the heart's desire of those who wish for justice.

XII: In Condemnation of Oppression

75. The world through injustice suffers desolation,
As a smiling garden from the autumn wind.
76. Do not in any circumstance let pass oppression,
That your realm's sun may not encounter decline.
77. Whosoever ignites the fire of oppression in the world
Draws forth lamentation from the universe's inhabitants :
78. If a tyrant draws forth one single alas ! from the heart,
Its burning ignites a flame on land and water.
79. Do not show force to helpless weaklings,
Think, after all, of the narrowness of the grave :
80. Be not inclined to cruelty against the oppressed,
Be not negligent of the smoke from mankind's heart.
81. Do not practise cruelty towards humankind, o man of sharp
judgment !
For suddenly God's conquering might will be upon you :
82. Do not oppress wretched weaklings,
For the oppressor goes to Hell without question.

XIII: On Contentment

83. O heart ! if you acquire contentment,
In the land of well-being you will achieve captaincy.
84. If you are straitened in resources, do not complain of hard-
ship,
For to the intelligent man property is nothing.
85. The intelligent man has no disgrace from poverty,
For the Prophet from poverty derives honour.
86. The rich man has adornment of silver and gold,
But the poor man is at ease :
87. If you are not rich be not disturbed,
For from the desolate the ruler demands no tax.
88. Contentment is the best course in every circumstance,
Whoever is well-starred practises contentment.
89. By the light of contentment illumine the heart
If you wish for a token of good-fortune.

XIV: In Condemnation of Cupidity

90. O you who are made miserable in cupidity's trap,
Drunk and injudicious from cupidity's cup !

91. Do not waste your life in the acquisition of property,
For earthenware is not rated equally with pearls.
92. Whoever falls into the bonds of cupidity
Gives his life's harvest to the winds.
93. Granted that you have the possessions of Korah,
That all the favours of the [globe's] inhabited quarter be
yours :
94. In the long run you will become captive of the dust,
Like the helpless ones of painful heart.
95. Why melt in melancholic longing for gold ?
Why bear the burden of suffering like an ass ?
96. Why bear suffering for the sake of property,
Which suddenly will be trampled underfoot ?
97. So much have given your heart to money's design
That for its taste you are the crony of remorse ;
98. Such a lover of gold's face have you become
That you are altogether crazed and bewildered ;
99. You are become such a prey to the hunt
That you have no memory of the day of reckoning.
100. Let not that low-accounted one's heart be glad,
Who for this world's sake gives faith to the winds.

XV: On Obedience and Service

101. When a man has prosperity as a lackey
His mind's inclination is constantly to obedience :
102. The head should not be turned from servitude,
For by obedience wealth may be gained.
103. Felicity by obedience is easily procured,
The heart is lighted by the light of obedience.
104. If you bind your loins for obedience's sake,
The door of everlasting wealth will be opened.
105. The intelligent man does not twist his head away from obe-
dience,
For no accomplishment is above obedience.
106. Keep fresh your ablution with the waters of service,
So that to-morrow you may escape from the Fire :
107. Maintain your prayers by sincerity,
That you may win a sure-footed wealth.

108. The brightening of the heart derives from obedience,
As the world is brightened by the sun.
109. Be worshipful of the Creator,
Be seated in the gallery of obedience.
110. If you freely choose worship of the Truth,
You will become a prince in the land of wealth.
111. Raise your head from the collar of abstinence,
For the place of the abstinent is Paradise.
112. Illumine the 'spirit's lamp with god-fearing,
That, like those of good-fortune, good-day may be yours.
113. Whoever holds the password of religion's law
Has no fear of molestation on the day of reckoning.

XVI. In Condemnation of Satan

114. O heart ! whoever is ruled by Satan
Is night and day in the bonds of rebellion.
115. When a man has Satan for his leader,
How shall he return to God's road ?
116. O heart ! beware of purposing rebellion,
That the All-Nourisher may have mercy on you.
117. The prudent man guards against rebellion,
For sugar is melted by [mere] water :
118. The man of good-fortune shuns sin,
For the sun's [own] light is hidden by clouds.
119. Do not follow the urgent soul,
Lest suddenly you become captive to Hell :
120. If your heart does not turn aside from rebellion,
The lowest of the low will be your home.
121. Do not desolate the house of life
With a flood of bad and improper action.
122. If you stay far from vice and iniquity,
You will not be far from Heaven's rose-arbour.

XVII : An Account of the Wine of Affection and Love

123. O cupbearer ! give the water dressed in fire,
For the people-of-heart crave drunkenness.
124. Ruby wine in a gold-painted goblet
Is spirit-nourishing like the rubies of a picture.
125. Welcome to love's lords' fire of longing,
Welcome to the pleasure of love's masters' pain !

126. Bring that wine like the waters of vitality,
At scent of which the heart finds release from grief.
127. Happy the heart that solicits the Friend !
Happy the one who is in the bonds of melancholic longing
for Him !
128. Happy the heart that is love-sick for the Friend's face !
Happy the heart whose home is in the Friend's quarter
129. Wine like the Friend's spirit-granting ruby,
Refined wine like a picture's face !
130. Welcome to wine-worship from men-of-heart !
Welcome the taste of drunkenness from those of lost heart.

XVIII. On Fidelity

131. O heart ! in fidelity be constant of step,
For [even] money is not current without the die-stamp.
132. If you twist not your rein from fidelity's road,
You will become a friend [even] in the hearts of your
enemies!
133. Do not avert your heart's face from fidelity's quarter,
Lest you be embarrassed in face of [dear] hearts :
134. Set not foot outside fidelity's quarter,
For ill-treatment is not proper to friends :
135. To separate from loved ones is wrong,
To cut oneself off from one's companions is contrary to
fidelity.
136. Infidelity is the temperament of women,
Do not learn women's vile practice.

XIX. On The Merit of Gratitude

137. Whoever has a due-acknowledging heart
Should not bind the tongue of thanksgiving.
138. Draw not breath save in gratitude to God,
For gratitude to the All-Nourisher is obligatory.
139. Through gratitude your property and favours will increase,
Through gratitude victory will enter by your door.
140. If till the day of reckoning you discharge gratitude to the
Truth,
It would not be [equivalent to] one thousandth part ;
141. Nevertheless, to speak gratitude is the best course,
For gratitude to Him is an ornament to Islam.

142. If you bind not your tongue from gratitude to God,
You will bring to hand everlasting wealth.

XX. An Account of Fortitude

143. If forbearance lend you a hand,
You will bring to hand a sure-footed wealth.
144. Forbearance is the working of prophets,
Nourishers of faith twist not their faces therefrom.
145. Forbearance opens the door to all the heart desires,
There is no key to that [door], save long-suffering.
146. Forbearance brings on your heart's desire,
[As simply] as a problem is solved by learned men.
147. Forbearance is the key to ambition's door,
It is the victor in the country of ambition.
148. Forbearance is the best course in every circumstance,
For implicit in it are many senses.
149. Forbearance gives you your desires,
It gives you escape from toil and calamity.
150. Practise forbearance if you have faith,
For haste is the working of satans,

XXI. On Truth

151. O heart ! if you make free choice of truth,
Wealth will become your familiar and fortune your
companion.
152. The prudent man does not twist his head from truth.
For by truth a name rises high.
153. If you breathe truth, morning-wise,
You will avoid the darkness of ignorance.
154. Beware of breathing anything but truth,
For right has merit over left.
155. There is no better working in the world than truth,
For there is no thorn in truth's rose-bush.

XXII : In Condemnation of Lying

156. When untruth has become a person's working,
How shall he escape on the Day of Assembly ?
157. When a person acquires the tongue of falsehood,
His heart's lamp has no brilliance.

158. Falsehood puts a human-being to shame,
Falsehood makes a human-being undignified.
159. The intelligent man feels disgraced at the inveterate liar,
And no one holds him in reckoning :
160. Beware, my brother, of speaking falsehood,
For the liar is base and unregarded.
161. Than untruth no working is worse,
For by it, my son, good name is lost.

XXIII : On The Truth's Handiwork, Exalted Be He !

162. Look on this gold-painted dome,
Whose roof is steady without pillars ;
163. See the curtain of the revolving globe,
See the illumining candles therein :
164. One a watchman and one a king,
One wishing for justice, one wishing a crown ;
165. One happy and one in pain,
One successful, one in distress ;
166. One a revenue-holder, one a holder of the crown,
One eminent and one abased ;
167. One on a straw-mat, one on a couch,
One in sackcloth and one in silk ;
168. One unprovided-for and one possessing property,
One frustrated, one succeeding ;
169. One in riches, one in care,
One having lasting life and one transient existence ;
170. One sound in body and one incapacitated,
One advanced in years, one in first youth ;
171. One in the right, one in the wrong,
One in prayer and one in imposture ;
172. One of good practice and good belief,
One sunk in a sea of vice and corruption ;
173. One of good disposition, one sharp-natured,
One meek and one quarrel-seeking ;
174. One in comfort and one in torment,
One in adversity and one enjoying success ;
175. One in the world of majesty a prince,
One a prisoner in the noose of vicissitudes ;
176. One residing in the rose-garden of well-being,
One a crony of grief and toil and suffering ;



177. The wealth of one has gone beyond measure,
One is in grief for bread and a family's expense ;
178. One like a rose, for smiling in laughter,
One having a weary heart and sad mind ;
179. One binding his loins for obedience's sake,
One spending a life in sin ;
180. One with the Scripture night and day in hand,
One sleeping, drunk, in a corner of the wine-shop ;
181. One like a nail in the door of religion's law,
One, girdle-wearing on the road of unbelief ;
182. One prosperous, learned and prudent,
One unfortunate, ignorant and put to shame ;
183. One a warrior, active, a hero,
One goat-hearted, slack and fearful in spirit ;
184. One a clerk of religious conscience,
One a secret thief, called secretary.

XXIV : Dissauing from hope in Created Things

185. Henceforth lean not upon fate,
For suddenly it will destroy your heart's life.
186. Lean not upon armies without number,
For it may be that you will not be supported by [God's
granting-of-victory.
187. Lean not upon realm and station and pomp,
For these were before you and [will be] after you likewise.
188. Do no evil lest you suffer evil from a good companion,
Good fruit does not grow from a bad seed.
189. Lean not upon realm and power-of-command,
For suddenly, when the command arrives, you will give up
your heart's life.
190. Many have been the kings, establishing power,
Many the heroes, seizing countries ;
191. Many have been the sharp and valiant ones, army-breaking,
Many the lion-men, sword-wielding ;
192. Many have been the moon-faced ones, with box-tree figures,
Many the elegant ones, sun-cheeked ;
193. Many the heart-stealers, newly-risen.
Many the new brides adorned ;
194. Many have been the famous and many the successful,
Many the cypress-statured and many the rose-faced ;

195. Who have [all] split the shirt of life,
 Withdrawing their heads into the dust's collar ;
196. So far has their life's harvest gone upon the wind
 That no one has ever given sign of it [again].
197. Set not your heart on this soul-seizing home,
 In which you will never see a happy heart :
198. Set not your heart on this smiling-aired palace,
 For calamity rains from its sky.
199. The world has no constancy, my son,
 Spend not your life therein negligently.
200. Set not your heart on this dwelling without sure footing :
 Remember at least this one word of Sa'dī's !


NOTES

1. In the second hemistich G and W both have the unmetrical form  for , but their translations are not affected.


3. G and W unwarrantably introduce Christian overtones and partially spoil the figure involved. Neither reflects the common transition from 1st pers. plur. to 1st pers. sing., probably dictated by metre.

II. W's translation considerably at variance with his text. E substitutes 'Muhammad' for 'the Prophet'. G has no title and assimilates these lines to the exordium.

5. In the second hemistich W's vague 'pillow' and 'glorious firmament' miss the point, viz. that the Prophet enjoys supreme proximity to God, a mystical view not altogether in harmony with the strictly orthodox conceptions of his night-journey to Heaven or of his place among humanity, whether in life or after death. G's 'dignity reclineth on the empyrean throne' is utterly wrong.

6. Rather different from W's version, and even more so from G's. Burāq, the steed on which the night-journey was made, is never described as 'chestnut', but normally as 'white', 'bright' (cf. Lane's Lexicon), so that the other meaning of  ('of noble race') is the obvious one here. It was, of course, no horse, nor any creature of the natural order, so that 'chestnut' would in any case introduce a grotesquely homely note. I can see little or no meaning in W's 'beyond the palace of the cerulean portico' or G's 'beyond the courts of the cerulean palace': the idea is surely that the night-journey represents an escape from the prison of sublunary existence.

III. G's and W's rendering 'Address to the Soul' is unnecessarily stiff and formal. Massé (*op. cit.*, p. 165) compares this soliloquy, some-what disproportionately, with the opening lines of Goethe's *Faust*.

7. W renders  by 'life'. In fact, it is a technical term, both chemical and medical in use, and may accordingly be rendered, apart from my 'composition', as 'make-up, constitution, mixture, compound'.

8. Many points of variance with both G and W, who render incorrectly *پردختی، ساختی* and *صالح*, and have obviously not understood the idioms involved.

IV. Here and hereafter E confines himself to the abstract quality, omitting the words *در صفت، در مدح*, etc.

13. Here, as so often, W's (and to some extent G's) vague, 'cotton-wool' renderings ('source of delight', 'harvest of life') lose the sense of the Persian original and destroy the connection with the preceding line, itself open to question in their versions.

16. E alone has *بود* for *شود* in the second hemistich.

18. For *صاحب دلال* in the first hemistich see Note 43 below. G's and W's 'duty' for *پیشہ* in the second is misleading, as is G's 'elect' for *مقبلاں*.

19. W with his 'touchstone of the alloy of sin' misses the point, i.e. that liberality, like alchemy, can transform the base metal of imperfection ('sin' is, in any case, too definite and emphatic a translation). G transposes this line and the next.

20. The world-play on *بری*, in the two senses of 'free' and 'carry off', cannot unfortunately be translated; but W with his 'void', and G with his 'without', should not have missed the paradoxical use of 'free', which suggests that many people regard liberality as a sort of sin!

VI. E has *نکوہش* for *مذمت*, without change of sense. W's rendering 'parsimony' is inexact, abstract rather than personal.

21. W's rendering of the first hemistich as 'Were the spheres to fall to the share of the miser' is completely wrong. His and G's use of the past conditional throughout this section is unjustified and misleading: Sa'di is suggesting the forms under which misers are actually met, and the fate that actually befalls them.

22. Korah (Arabic *Qārān*), a proverbial figure for wealth combined with avarice. As a relative, and an enemy, of Moses he is mentioned in the Old Testament and the Qur'ān, principally in Numbers XVI and Sūra XXVIII respectively. W's 'quarter of the universe' is misleading: the 'inhabited quarter' is for practical purposes the whole world, as G realises. Cf. also Line 93.

25. W's rendering of the second hemistich is meaningless in English and only obtainable from the Persian by disregarding all rules of grammatical construction. I have not been able to locate a Tradition exactly appropriate, but there are several expressing the general idea that avarice on earth will act as a barrier to Heaven, see e.g. A.J. Wensinck's *Concordance*, arts. *مغل*, *مخیل*, etc. G, once again, is far better than W in his rendering.

VII. E runs this section and the next together under one head.

29. W misunderstands the *زیاد*.....*که* construction, cf. D. C. Phillott, *Higher Persian Grammar*, Calcutta, 1919, p.172 (d) (3). Besides 'sun', the word *که* also means, of course, 'affection', and so provides a link with the preceding line and the following one.

30. W renders the *که* beginning the second hemistich by 'for', which seems to destroy any sense his version otherwise has.

32. Rather different from W, particularly in the first hemistich.

34. In the second hemistich W's rendering of *بریں* as 'the glorious' seems at least inadequate.

36. In the first hemistich W overlooks the fact that *گر دیکشی* is very rarely anything but pejorative: 'to command' will therefore scarcely suffice. Moreover, incredible though it seems, he would appear to understand *در سر* (i.e. 'in contemplation') as 'in the beginning of a man's life', hence his rendering 'born to command'. Sa'dī would in fact seem to be referring to the pleasing inconsistencies in the most unpromising human character thanks to the operation of divine grace, rather than to the humility that might be thought inconsistent with a man's outward position. E transposes this line and the next.

39. W's understanding of the second hemistich, which he makes clear with two doubtful parenthetical 'supplies', is very different. Apart from the idiomatic sense of *گرون برشیدن*, the idea is clearly that violence is not the only, or even the most effective, way to gain men's support.

40. This line is to be found, usually with a slightly different word-order, in the *Būstān*, encomium of Abū Bakr b. Sa'd b. Zangī 1·14.

41. W's rendering of the second hemistich is palpably wrong involving a misunderstanding of idioms and considerable violence to

the construction. G, on the other hand, manages to convey something of the word-play involved : ' For one day by its hand you may fall down headlong. ' E transposes this line and the next.

42. W's rendering is in order, save for the untoward translation of غریب in the second hemistich by ' sad '. G does not see the hemistichs as parallels, but takes the ' pride ' in the first as viewed by, not emanating from, the wise man. This might perhaps be justified on grounds of strict logic and even of construction, but the same would then hold true of the second hemistich as well. What G no doubt overlooks is the elliptical nature of the Persian : the ' wise man ' is here (and often elsewhere) one reputed, or aspiring, to be wise

43. I see no easy translation of the quasi-mystical صاحب‌الانوار. Neither G's ' righteous man ' nor W's ' men of intelligence ' is adequate.

44. We have in the first hemistich one of the rarer names of the Fallen Angel. W's ' the accursed ' for لعنت is mildly misleading.

45. In the second hemistich W's ' beyond imagination ' for از تصور is wrong; G is nearer the truth.

46. W's second hemistich is again off course. In the first hemistich G's ' capital stock ' for مالیه is not applicable in this context. He transposes this line and the next.

47. Both W and G regard سبکتر می‌گفت in the first hemistich as the object of دانی rather than of می‌گفتی. In the second hemistich G alone has a conditional construction, replacing اگر می‌گفتی تو by خطا می‌گفتی و .

IX. G's ' Praise of Knowledge ' is rather inexact.

50. G, who transposes this line and the next, is here more faithful, than W, who partly misses the point by translating طلبکار as ' student ' instead of ' seeker, customer '. Both G and W, in trying to vary their translations of the oft-repeated علم , often confuse the issue.

51. G is again closer than W, who has misunderstood the construction and most of the sense of the first hemistich; but neither makes clear that Sa'di is pointing explicitly to the past experience of mankind, not to a general theoretical truth.

52. G's text in the second hemistich shows minor divergences from the others. W's rendering is mildly inexact throughout. The

line, of course, refers to the celebrated *ḥadīth* urging the seeking of knowledge even if it be in China.

53. G transposes this line and Line 55.

55. My rendering of the first hemistich differs from that of both G and W, who — rather against the grammatical construction of the original — make learning the *completer of the person* as regards this world and the next. The verb understood can hardly be other than *باشد* or *شود*.

57. In the second hemistich E's *نه آمیخته* is preferable to the others' *نیامیخته*, for the negative really belongs to the verb *باش*. The sense is 'do not mingle as sugar and milk do', not 'be unmingled as sugar and milk are'.

58. Neither G nor W explain the force of the line, namely its being based on Muḥammad's refuge in the cave of Thaur, with Abū Bakr as his only supporter, and the latter's disarming of the serpents on the walls.

60. Neither G nor W have realised that *جایی کار*, in the second hemistich, is a compound personal noun. Both have taken the *جایی* component as an independent abstract noun and then been obliged to twist *نادان* into meaning 'unseemly' and 'worthless' respectively. See Note 64 below.

61. W's 'hath heard' in the second hemistich suggests that he is incapable of scanning *شنود*.

62. W's rendering is acceptable, though over-elaborate in the first hemistich. G's second hemistich is so free as to be wrong.

63. W seems to have missed the exact sense of the first hemistich.

64. G inserts this line between lines 60 and 61 above.

XI. E runs this section and the next together, under one head.

66. G translates *عدرا* as 'thereby' (i.e. by justice), instead of my 'for justice' and W's 'upon justice'. Some case can be made out for this rendering.

68. Nūshīrwān the Just (531-79 A.D.), a late Sasanian ruler whose name is virtually a cliché in Persian literature whenever justice is mentioned.

69. G transposes this line and the next.

70. W badly mistranslates the second hemistich. E transposes this line and the next.

71. Taking *معدلت کار* as a personal compound, the second hemistich might be rendered: 'None is higher than one practising just conduct'.

72. W's rendering of the first hemistich is vitiated by his misunderstanding of *پس* as a preposition instead of a comparative. *آخر*, like *سراجام*, etc., 'often stands alone, strengthening a question or a command, rather like the English 'after all'. W misses, too, the point of the second hemistich, which refers back to Line 68.

74. Both G and W seem to miss the imagery of the first hemistich. While the extended sense of *رعییت*, 'subjects', is now the common one, and although the same often applies to *رعایت*, their juxtaposition here is surely significant, G's 'peasant' has an Indian-Persian flavour not altogether appropriate to Sa'di.

78. Like W, I take *سهم کش* as active, an apocopated form of *سهم کش*. G, who precedes this line by Line 82, renders 'the oppressed'.

79. Neither G nor W appreciate the idiomatic sense of *آخر* cf. Note 72 above.

80. W's first hemistich, hopelessly mistranslated: he has apparently read *بازار* as *بازار* and *ظلم* as *ظلم*.

81. The phrase *آمی تندرای* is difficult. W's 'man of haste, emphasises the impulsiveness and alacrity inherent in 'sharp', but severity may be equally involved. G's 'and moroseness' is acceptable in spirit, but impossible grammatically. *لی سخن*.

82. See note 78 above. *لی سخن*, which G renders 'beyond a doubt' and W as 'without doubt', surely refers in fact to the summary treatment shown to this class of sinner at the Last Judgment, when neither he nor anyone on his behalf will be allowed to argue a case.

XIII. E runs together this section and the next under one head.

84. W's rendering of the first hemistich is so wrong as to make it impossible to understand how he arrived at it. G's version of the same is on the right lines, though slightly free. I have been unable to render the pun at the end of the first hemistich: *شان* means both 'wealth' and 'do not complain'.

85. This refers, of course, to the Prophet's emblem **الفقر فخرى**. W, by an obvious oversight, has 'poor' for 'intelligent'.

86. The first hemistich of the text is unmetrical in G. and W : I follow E, substantially the same in content. G has an unmetrical second hemistich also, and his translation is affected accordingly. W's 'inward repose', for **آسائش**, is an unnecessary and clumsy gloss. G transposes this line and the next.

89. The second hemistich here is identical with the first of Line 73. E has **داری** for **خواهی**, and G alone has a text which corresponds exactly with the second hemistich of Line 108, albeit quite appropriate here.

90. Neither G nor W see the whole of this line as a vocative, introducing Line 91. Their 'beware.....lest' construction, however, cannot be justified on the basis of the text.

93. Cf. Line 22 and Note 22.

94. G lacks this line entirely.

95. G transposes this line and the next. Both he and W, by not translating **میکدازی** literally, tend to miss the point of this alchemical figure. I have not been able to convey a possible pun on **سود** 'anguished longing' and 'commerce'.

96. See Note 95 on transposition by G, who in the first hemistich has the unlikely **میکشی** for **میکنی**.

97. G lacks this line entirely. W's rendering is rather inaccurate and lacking in 'bite'. The many subtle nuances of this line are particularly difficult to convey.

98. G transposes this line and the next.

99. See Note 98 on transposition by G, whose first hemistich has a meaningless **صید** for **سید**, and whose rendering is accordingly somewhat fanciful.

XV. G separates this composite section into two, though, as the second consists of three lines only, the soundness of his scheme may be doubted.

106. Before this line G inserts his version of Lines 109 and 111 respectively. His **باب** for **برای** is obviously wrong and his translation is consequently affected. W is doubtless correct in regarding **طاعت** and **عبادت** as virtually synonymous here.

108. G lacks this line entirely, but see Note 89 above.

109. See Note 106, above.

110. G lacks this line entirely.

111. See Note 106 above. W's rendering of the first hemistich is not applicable, being based partly on a misunderstanding of **جیب** used in the classical sense of 'collar, breast, bosom, the place onto which the head is sunk in thought'. See Line 195 and Note 195 for a similar problem.

112. This line concludes the two sections in G (see Note XV above), being directly preceded by Lines 106 and 107. G entirely misunderstands **روان** in the first hemistich ('flecting lamp'), and neither he nor W fully appreciates the point of **نیک روز**.

113. G lacks this line entirely. I believe that W misunderstands **لباس** ('garment') and **سبب** ('trials') in this line. The pun on **شرح** and **شمار** cannot easily be conveyed.

XVI. This section is lacking in G. E runs it together with the next as 'Satan and Wine'.

115. W's 'ruler' for **پیشوا** misses the point of the image.

116. E has a different second hemistich: 'That to-morrow you may not be put to shame before the Truth'.

117. W's 'as' at the beginning of the second hemistich seems to make no sense.

118. The particle **که** at the beginning of the second hemistich again mistranslated by W, though differently here from in Line 117.

120. W's rendering in the second hemistich, 'among' the lowest of the low', would suggest that he does not really understand the phrase **اسفل السافلین**.

XVII. This section is lacking in G.

124. W misses the point of the figure in the second hemistich: the 'rubies of a picture' are, of course, the lips of a beauty. Cf. Line 129.

128. E has **کس** for **دل** in both hemistichs.

129. W's rendering of the first hemistich is utter gibberish. Cf. Note 124 above.

130. W's rendering of both hemistichs is inaccurate. In the second, E has *دلدادگان* for *ایل دلان*.

133. In the first hemistich E has *مگردان* for *بگردان* which seems difficult to justify.

XIX. G has a section of this name, four lines long, of which only two (equivalent to Lines 140 and 141) coincide with our text.

137. The pun on *حق شناس*, in the dual sense of 'grateful' (lit. 'due-acknowledging') and 'God-knowing' (lit. 'Truth-recognising'), is not easy to render.

138. W completely misunderstands the first hemistich. It appears that, despite full vocalisation in his text, he has misread *نفس* as *نفس*, and then taken *بر میار* to mean 'bring up, train'!

XX. G has *فضیلت* for *بیان*. Once again, his text for this section only partly corresponds with E and W, having four lines instead of eight: 143, 144 (in part), 148 and 147, in this order.

144. E's text has in the second hemistich *زین* for *زوروی*, and this might suggest that W is wrong to regard *روی* as a neuter verb, with *زین روی* as an adverbial phrase ('from this direction'). G's text (his translation covers only the first hemistich, and that inadequately) would give: 'Forbearance is the working of men-of-heart, forbearance is the practice of the prosperous'.

146. W's rendering of the second hemistich seems to make no sense, being based on a false understanding of the initial *عالم* and of *عالمان* ('mankind'). The idea is surely that just as scholars solve problems by patience, so also are ambitions achieved in this way — a reassuring suggestion of almost automatic cause and effect.

147. Cf. Note XX above. W's 'enlarger' for *کشاشنده* will scarcely do.

148. Cf. Note XX above. Cf. also Line 88, first hemistich. W's rendering of the second hemistich would suggest that he has not properly understood it. G's is acceptable.

151. In the second hemistich W has not fully understood the construction, viz. he has reduced two subjects and two predicates to

one subject with a qualified predicate. G's second hemistich reproduces that of Line 28.

153. Before this line G inserts one which appears in neither E nor W: 'If truth be in your character, a thousand blessings be on your character.'

156. Both E and G include this line in the foregoing section, which G alone, however, concludes with a version of Line 161.

158. G reverses these hemistichs.

159. G transposes this line and the next.

161. See Note 156 above. G's second hemistich runs: 'For by it a good name becomes fruitless.'

XXIII. More or less in accordance with his own text, G heads this section: 'Reflections on Fate and Destiny'. E's text has the somewhat enigmatic title *القلاب*.

162. E concludes the preceding section with this line.

164. W's 'shepherd' for *يا ساجد* and 'throne' for *عاج* need correcting.

165. G inverts these hemistichs.

166. G reverses the order within the first hemistich. I do not see how either G or W obtain 'tax-payer' for *باجدار*, appropriate though the contrast might be. This is one of the very few points on which Garcin de Tassy disagrees with G.

167. G lacks this line entirely.

168. G inverts these hemistichs

169. W translates the first hemistich in reverse order from his text, and thus agrees with G and E. In the first hemistich G twice has *ل* for *ل*.

171. G's 'war' for *دفع* seems impossible to justify.

172. G displaces this line until after Line 180

176. G's text, probably by miscopying from the next line, has *ل* for *ل*.

177. E displaces this line to follow Line 183.

178. G lacks this line entirely.

179. G lacks this line entirely.

181. G lacks this line entirely. The ' girdle ' refers, of course, to the badge of certain non-Muslim communities.

182. G lacks this line entirely.

183. For *مُزَوَّل* in the second hemistich G substitutes *عاجز*. He renders *ترسده جان* by ' afraid of losing his life ', but this is hardly justifiable. See Note 177 above.

184. G lacks this line entirely, and E replaces it by : ' One has the illumining candle of gaiety, for one the bright day is like night.' Both G and E conclude this section with the next line.

XXIV. E follows the same heading, though abbreviated as usual. G breaks this section into three, to which he gives the following headings, more or less in agreement with his text : ' Warning not to have any Reliance but upon God ', ' Warning against evil Intentions and Actions ', ' Reflections on the Instability of Wordly Goods.' They comprise respectively : Lines 187, 189, X; Lines 188, X; Lines 190, 191, 192, 194, 195, 196, 198, 199.

185. See Note 184 above. Both G and W mistranslate the initial *از این پس*.

186. G lacks this line entirely. W's rendering of the second hemistich leaves his understanding of it in some doubt.

188. In the first hemistich W renders *که* by ' because ' instead of ' lest '. G's *ای* for *از* seems to improve the line somewhat by removing an apparent illogicality, namely that a really ' good companion ' could conceivably do evil. However, as so often, the construction is probably elliptical : ' from [one you have always taken for] a good companion.'

189. G has *شخت* for *ملک* in the first hemistich and translates accordingly. See Note XXIV above for location of this line in G.

190. W's ' of exalted rank ' for the compound *سلطان نشان* seems difficult to justify, equally G's ' of memorable reigns ' for his *شوکت نشان*.

192. W's ' of graceful figure ' in the first hemistich is typical of his devitalising method of translation. His ' stature ' for *قد* in the second hemistich is a clear error.

193. G lacks this line entirely, see Note XXIV above. E has *درباریان* for *خواریان*.

195. W's rendering of *گره بان* by ' wall ' is unseceptable. G's bosom ' is better. Cf. Note 111.

196. G has نام for عمر in the first hemistich.

197. G lacks this line entirely, see Note XXIV above. E transposes this line and the next and has جامشان, ineffectual '?) for جائشان. See also Note 199.

199. E alone precedes this line with the following : ' Set not your heart on this desolate old dwelling, which is never empty of toil and torment '. In the present line E has روزی for دروی, which seems less good. G, by an obvious oversight, provides no translation of this line, which terminates his version.

G. M. WICKENS

PERSIAN IN INDIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CONTRIBUTION OF HINDU WRITERS AND POETS.

BY

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Persia or Iran, called after one of its ancient kings Iraq, is situated in North Western Asia on the very high way of the world. It was the meeting ground, throughout the corridors of time, of different peoples, the Aryans, the Parthians, the Greeks, the Scythians, the Chaldaens, the Jews and the Arabs. This impact of cultures enriched the Persian Language, ultimately rendering it a great service. Persian became a valuable vehicle of all shades of thought and expression, a *Lingua Franca* of Asia, a veritable French of the East.

I believe that, for the purposes of the present discourse, it would be helpful to make an all too brief a survey of the literature of the language, if only to supply the necessary background to this important Period of the Language with which we are concerned at the moment. Therefore, before I pass on to the subject of the present discourse I shall attempt to offer a bird's eye view of the literature of the language, for it is these vicissitudes of its history that have made it the richest, the sweetest and the most lyrical of the world.

Here is its history at a glance. It falls under three well-defined Periods :—

(i) The Achaemenian Period from probably 550 B.C., and this is called the Period of Old Persian.

(2) The Sassanian Period from 231 to 651 A.D. This is known as the Period of Middle Persian and the language is generally known as Pahlawi.

(3) The Muslim Period from the conquest of Persia by the Arabs in 637 A.D., down to the Present times. This is the Period of Classical Persian or the Period of Persian Renaissance.

Old Persian is also called the language of the Gathas, which after a couple of centuries came to be known as the Zend Avesta. In this are enshrined the teachings and utterances of that Persian Sage, Zoroaster (Zarthusht). This is very much akin to Sanskrit as developed by the Aryans in India. Mark, for instance, the similarity

between Gatha and Geeta and several basic words between the languages. Both of them are Cognates belonging to the same family of languages, the Indo-European. The cuneiform inscriptions on rocks, pillars, and buildings that are still extant at Behishtun, Persepolis and Hamdan, inscribed at the instance of the great Persian Emperor Darius I are written in the Old Persian - the Avesta. They are very much reminiscent of the Rock Edicts of Asoka the Great.

But Alexander shattered Persian Power in 331 B.C. within two centuries the Macedonian tide had its ebb and the Parthians, who were Persians, took over. It is they who gave the name Pahlavi to the language. They in their turn were succeeded by the Great House of Sassan under their Ugendary Hero Ardshir Babakan, the Sassanians established a mighty Empire and Persian obtained a new lease of life under its new name Pahlavi. This is the Second Great Period of Persian Literature.

The Pahlavi Period is one of transition. The Persian Language was undergoing a tremendous transformation. Semitic influences had already become pronounced. Besides the Assyrian and Aramaic influences that were at work, Persia had conquered Southern Arabia and Hira, another predominantly Arab State, was under the sphere of influence of Persia. This impact of cultures led to a strange admixture of speech. Words of Arabic origin were being increasingly imported into the Persian Language. The stage was already prepared for the unprecedented changes that were to follow.

The scene changed when, from being the erstwhile vassals of Persia, the Arabs emerged as its conquerors. But as Waiz Lall in his book "An Introductory History of Persian Literature" has rightly observed : "Intellectually, it (Persian) did not lose, but gained. For the unrivalled literature of the Arabs gave dignity and compactness to the Persian language and made it the *Lingua Franca* of Asia." (Page 19). This Period of the Persian language is called the Period of Modern Persian. The Arabic Language opened fresh vistas of thoughts and expression and made its own classical models and masterpieces available to Persian. The Era of Persian Renaissance had set in. The hybridization of two mighty cultures resulted in the most brilliant succession of literary productions which astonished the world. This age produced a type of men very rarely found in the history of nations. Thus in this age we come across a Khayyam who was a philosopher, a poet, a mathematician and astronomer, all in one ; an Avicenna (Abu Ali Sina) a philosopher and a writer on medicine whose monumental work 'Al - Shifa' was a medical text in

Europe for centuries, to name a few out of a legion of such luminaries, whose greatness has been universally acknowledged. And all these were the products of the Renaissance period of Persian literature. To quote that fair writer, Waiz Lall again : " The outburst of literary activity which is the glory of this Period was both directly and indirectly, the result of their many sided and perfect scholarship..... But for the labours of these men of comprehensive attainments, the Persian language would have been a poor Jargon today. We shall do well to bear all this in mind, for it is only too easy for us to under-rate the achievements of this Period " (Ibid page 44).

The Province of Khurasan in Persia was the first home of Modern Persian Literature. It was this Province that was the first to shake off the Abbasid Yoke and declare itself independent under the leadership of Tahir who founded the Tahirid Dynasty. The Safarids and the Samanids who followed in quick succession were all Persian and therefore they encouraged the Persian Language. Arabic still retained its pride of place as a language of culture and diplomacy but Persian became the court language under these Persian Dynasts. Under the Samanid rulers, Persian poetry flourished as never before. It was at their court at Bukhara, that Rudaki, the father of Modern Persian Poetry, shed his lustre. Even the Saljuqs the Ghaznavids and the Ghorids who were Turks had adopted Persian as their Court Language. Thus within two centuries of the Muslim occupation of Persia, Persian Language had become a rival of Arabic in beauty and degree. It had become a noble vehicle of learned thought, a close second to its model, which was Arabic.

It would be preposterous on my part for purposes of this discourse to attempt at a sort of stock taking of the myriad writers in the Persian language that sprang up during these several centuries of the Muslim occupation of Persia. It looked as though Persia had become a nursery of great intellectuals and mighty poetic geniuses. There has been such a flowering of the Persian Language in this period of its growth that the Arab occupation of that country can be safely asserted to be the greatest blessing in disguise. Only to mention a few out-of this huge galaxy of immortals, I refer to Rudaki of the Samanids, Firdousi of the Ghaznavids, whose Shah Namah has fixed the standard for Persian once and for all, Umar Khayyam and Anwari of the Suljuqs, Khaqani of the Khwarizm Shahis, the Poets Nizami, Sadi; Hafiz, Attar and Maulana Rumi of the Pre-Moghul Period are some of the greatest luminaries of the Poetic Firmament of Modern Persian Literature.

And this was not all. Modern Persian was destined to play equally important roles in places other than its own native haunts. It crossed into India with Mahmud Ghaznavi who was a patron of the Persian Language and at whose instance the great Persian Epic Shah Namah was composed by the great Firdausi. Besides, there was constant immigration from Persia into the Punjab. The linguistic affinity between Persian and Sanskrit was already there. Thus India was to be irresistibly drawn towards Persia. The vicissitudes of history further stimulated that reunion.

It has been pointed out earlier that the Ghaznavids had adopted Persian as the court language at Ghazna and at the Punjab which was under their hegemony. It was therefore natural that the study of Persian would have been pursued both by Muslims and their compatriots, the Hindus. It has been fairly established by historical research that the Hindu nobility of the Punjab had held positions of trust and honour under Sultan Mahmud and his successors. The Historian Ferishta says that Ghazna looked almost as a part of India, as quite a number of Hindus were inhabited there. The Historian Baihaqi makes mention of Hindu officers and men employed in Mahmud's armies, for whose convenience that Prince had appointed interpreters. The Author of *Tabaqat-e Akbari* makes mention of a Hindu dignitary, Malik Bin Jay Sen (Probably Tilak son of Jay Sen) who starting life as an interpreter at the court of Ghazna, had risen to great name and fame. He was appointed the Commander in Chief of the Hindu forces of Sultan Mahmud. It is therefore perfectly safe to conclude that the Hindus also should have cultivated the Persian language, and with their inborn genius and aptitude for bilingualism, should have even acquired a literary and poetic taste in the language of their adoption, as the Arabic Proverb has it: "People follow the lead of their rulers".

"الناس على دين ملوكهم"

But it was reserved for Sikandar Lodi to have popularised Persian systematically in India. It was in his reign that the Hindus also began to take to the study of Persian as a cultural discipline, both because of its literary value and also because of the benefits that its knowledge offered in the administration of the realm. For the first time, one comes across a Hindu Poet and it was in this reign. He was one, Brahman by name. He was so learned in Arabic and Persian that he used to teach these languages to Muslims. I quote below a couplet from his verses, only to show how gradually and steadily

Persian was capturing the minds of Muslims and Hindus alike in India :

دل خون نشدے چشم تو خیر نشدے گر
 رہ گم نشدے زلف تو ابتر نشدے گر

How would the heart have bled but for
 the darts of thine eyes ;
 How would the way be lost, but for the
 dishevelled of thine curly locks !

Mark the lyrical beauty of the verse, which was so characteristic of the Poetry of the age. Such an advance made by a Hindu citizen of the times towards acquiring a mastery of classical Persian is a marvellous achievement of Sikandar Lodi's patronage of letters. This was a turning point in the history of Persian Literature as developed in India. It marks the beginning of a New Era of literary activity that was further to blossom forth into still greater fragrance in the years to follow.

A word about Kashmir, before we enter the realm of the contribution of the Great Mughals to the advancement of Persian in India. That country being so contiguous to Ghazna and the Punjab, where Persian had already established a firm foothold under the Ghaznavids, could not escape the cultural influences of its neighbour. Sultan Zainulabidin of Kashmir, happened to be a great patron of learning art and music. He had decreed that in his kingdom there should be no discrimination on the basis of one's belief or religion. His liberal attitude stimulated interest in all his subjects, Muslim or non-Muslim. It was the Sapru Pandits that were the first to take advantage of the opportunities that were made available and thrown open to all. They mastered the Persian language. Their lead was followed by others and in course of time, Kashmir, from the point of the Persian Language, had become persianised to the core. It is said that one Bodi Bhatt knew the whole Shah Namah of Firdausi by heart and he rendered it into Hindi.

But it was reserved for the great Mughals, the descendants of Timur, who, by the way, was a great patron of letters, despite his military exploits. Of these Urfi, Talib Amuli, also Talib Kalim deserve special mention. Soon after the establishment of the Mughal hegemony in India, hosts of poets and writers, painters and calligraphists from Persia flocked to the court at Delhi. Babur himself wrote poetry not only in his native tongue Turki, but in Persian as well and he honoured men of letters. His descendants followed his examples, particularly

Akbar, the Great, and within a short period of time, India not only became another Persia from the point of view of language but what was more, the Indian Court far surpassed Persia in the literary brilliance. That Prince among financiers, Raja Todar Mull, who was the brightest jewels of Akbar's Nau Ratan (The nine gems of the Court) issued in 990 A.H. his famous reforms in which, inter alia, he decreed that Persian would be the language of administration, throughout the Empire. Akbar had succeeded in winning the hearts of his subject to such an amazing extent that, when Todar Mull issued this Decree, not even two goats struck their horns, to use an Arabic phrase. He was the Caliph al Mamun of his times and his was the age of reconciliations, between the rulers and the ruled.

Todar Mull gave a great impetus to the spread of Persian among all classes in India, whether Muslim or Non-Muslim. Thus if this age produced a Faizi and Abul Fazl, it also produced a Todar Mull who, besides being a financier of great repute, was also an exquisite calligraphist. It also produced several Hindu writers and poets. Here I make mention of one among the several. He was Manohar, son of Raja Lown Karan of Sanbhar. Badauni, the celebrated historian of Akbar writes about the Poet Manohar thus

منوہر نام دادو۔ ولد لون کرن راجہ ساہیبرست کہ در ملک اڑکھنور است
و این ہمہ شک در سخن او تا خیر این سرزمین است۔

"His name was Manhar, son of Lown Karan, Raja of Sanbhar. This is a salt producing area and it would appear as though the salt of his poetry (its elegance and charm) was derived from the place of his origin." Jehangir himself makes mention of this poet in his Memoirs in the following words:

منوہر کہ از قوم کجایان سیکھاوٹ است و پدر من در خورد سالی باو عنایت
بسیاری کردند۔ فارسی دان بودہ۔ شعر فارسی گوید۔

Manohar hails from the family of Katwayia of Sikhawat (another name for Sanbhar) and my father (i.e. Emperor Akbar) showed great affection towards him in his youth. He speaks Persian. He composes Persian verses". He is the first Hindu Poet whose Poems were sent to Persia and were praised for their charm and elegance. I give below a few of his verses.

یگانہ بودن و یکناشدن ز چشم آموزد : کہ ہر دو چشم جدا و جدا نمی نگرند

Learn unity of Purpose from the eyes, for though they are separate, still they do not see differently.

How well does this verse apply to the Hindus and the Muslims of that age,

He is the author of a Mathnawi, reference to which has been made in the book *Anisul 'Asbaqin*. I quote below a few verses from his Mathnawi :

ایسی سینہ کن با عشق و ساز : دلے دہ معدن گنجینہ راز
امید من ز تو انعام عام است : کہ لونمیدی ز در گاہت حرام است
نمی دایم خدایا کفر و دین چیت : گر قنار کنند این و آن کینست

(i) O Lord, bestow on me a heart that is wedded to Love Eternal'. Give me a mind that is a treasure of hidden secrets.

(2) My hope is rivetted to thine Beauty which is Universal To lose hope in Thee is the forbidden act.

(3) O Lord, I do not know what is meant by infidelity and Religion. I do not know who is entangled in those meshes.

Translation does not convey the pathos of the original nor can it obviously convey the beauty and excellence of the language. It is only a picture whilst the original is the very bride. It was a tremendous achievement of the period that within such a short span of time, it created men from amongst Hindus themselves who could even rival the Persian Poet Urfi at the Court of Akbar and produced such charming verses in the language of their adoption.

Shahjehan's period is admittedly the flowering period of the Mughal Rule. By this time a multitude of new words and impressions, specially from Arabic, had streamed into the language and considerably enriched even the national vocabulary and speech. Of the Poets of the Court I make special mention of one, by name Chander Bhan, 'Brahman.' He hailed from Lahore, and according to some, from Akbarabad. He was a great friend of Prince Dara Shikoh who introduced him to his illustrious father. The first verse which 'Brahman' for that was his non de guerre, recited before His Majesty was the famous verse.

مرا دلے ست بکفر آشنا کہ چندیں بار : بکعبہ بردم و بارش بر بمن آوردم

"I have a heart which is so much attached to my own faith that I have taken it several times to the Ka'bah, but I have brought it back safely as a Brahman." The King noted the reference but could not help admiring the courage of his convictions and the felicity and elegance of his expression. He conferred on him the title of Raja and bestowed upon him a suitable Mansab. The poet rose to great eminence during the reign of Aurangzeb. The author of *Natāijul Afkār*, Qudratullah of Gopamau, writes :—

و بعد از رنگ آرائی شاه عالم گیر معبر نوازشات فراوان بتقریر خدمات خدمات نمایان گشت
آخر کار از نوکری استغفا نموده که در شهر بنارس که معبد هندو است محل اقامت انداخت و بریاضات
بر وفق راه و رسم فرقہ خود پرداخت و در سنہ ثلث و سبعین و الف برق اجل زمین ریاضت را سوخت.

"And when Alamgir ascended the throne he became the recipient of incredible favours and was appointed to high posts in the State..."
 ...Towards the end of his days Brahman reclined to Benaras and dedicated the remainder of his days to religious practices as a true Hindu devotee and died, in the year 1037 A.H. The Poet's life speaks volumes of the catholicity and the tolerance of the times, even of the much maligned Aurangzeb. He left a Diwan, in the Persian language. **منشکات برہمن** The following are some of his verses :—

کھنم و سادہ دلی سے دیکھ بیڑ گاں را بر مشت غصہ نتراں بہت راہ طفاں را
 چاک در سینہ عاشق بودا سائش دل کا فرم گر ہوس تار فزائے دارم

"Out of the simplicity of my heart, I am trying to stop the flow of my tears with my eyebrows, but can the flood be stopped by means of a few particles of straw?"

The tearing asunder of the heart is the solace of the soul: I should be an infidel if I were to attempt at hiding it.

What great lyrical heights, what chaste and sweet, yet vigorous and powerful style in Persian Poetry, had this Poet attained.

Now we pass on to the Deccan. The Courts of the Adil Shahis of Bijapur; the Qutub Shahis of Hyderabad and the last, though not certainly the least, the WalaJahis of the extreme South, of Arcot Madras and Trichinopoly, were centres of learning, and they vied with one another in the promotion of Persian and the Dakhni Language and Literature in which both Muslim and their Hindu compatriots took a very active part. Ibrahim Adil Shah II, was himself a Poet of no mean merit and a great lover of Art and Literature. He invited Mullah Zuhuri Tarshizi to his Capital at Bijapur. He had even invited the King of Lyric Poets, Hafiz who however could not set sail for India, due to the storm at sea. Zuhuri was a prolific writer both in verse and in prose. His *Gulzar Ibrahim*, *Nauras* and *Seh Nathr* have achieved great fame.

Of the Hindu Poets and Prose writers, who flourished under the Qutub Shahis, in the Deccan, mention must be made of Girdhari Lal, the Author of *Gian-Ratna* **منشی سمان رائے مصنف گلزار اللہ** and Birhamor, Hunar, Dabir, Mauzoor, Zahir, Shafiq, Shadan and Shad, out of a large number who composed verses in Persian. Indeed versification in Persian had become a passion of the times and nobody was considered sufficiently cultured if he was not at least conversant with Persian literature. From the Poets mentioned above, I have selected Lakshmi Narayan Shafiq for somewhat detailed notice for the fact

that he was both a poet and a prose writer. The Author of *Nataijal-Afkar* (Quadratullah Gopamavi) refers to him thus

آشفته سخن ایجاد ی پنهان نام اثن شفیق اورنگ آبادی کہ از قوم کمتری است و صلتش از لاہور
حد او بمحوانی دس براہ عسکر عالمگیری وارد دکن گشتہ در اورنگ آباد سکونت گزید
بالجملہ شفیق در سلسلہ در اورنگ آباد قیامی ہستی در رکشیدہ

That romantic creator of verse, Lachman Narayan Shafiq of Aurangabad, Kshatria by birth, hails from Lahore. His grand father Bhawanidas had accompanied Aurangzeb's Army to the Deccan and settled down at Aurangabad where Shafiq's father Mansa Ram was born. Shafiq himself saw the light of the day in the year 1158 A.H. He was a gifted poet. Two of his prose writings acquired fame, one is *Gul Rana* which treats with lives of Indian Poets of Persia and the other is entitled *Sham Ghariban* which deals with Poets of Persian Origin who had come down to India. The following are a few precious gems from his treasury :—

گر چہ اے دوست ندیدم چمن رونمے ترا دریم از باد صبا میشنوم بویے ترا

O friend, though I have not seen the beautitude of thy glorious face, but the morning breeze always makes me smell thy fragrance.

The Mystic sentiment expressed in the verse is obvious.

خواہ از گوشہ چشت نگہ لطف شفیق آرزوے بہ از میں نیست دعا گوے ترا

I only look forward to the Grace of thy Vision; beyond this thy mendicant has no other desire.

گر یہ می آید مرا بر حال خود در فصل شگل
آمد آب رفته در جو نگارم بر نگشت

I weep over my misfortune in the Spring Season; For though the water has returned to the rivers; but my beloved has not returned.

خدا گواہ کہ مے را بلب نیا لودم
برائے مستی من چشم بار شد باعث

"God to my witness, I have never polluted my lips with wine, my ecstasy is due to the enchanting eyes of my beloved".

Mark the ethical note in the verse, and the poet's romantic yet chaste sentiments! Shafiq was noted for his fine balance and smoothness of his Muse.

He writes about Ghulam Ali Azad whose illustrious pupil he was :—

اے خداوند جہاں باد مدام ساغ عیش بکام آزاد
صاحب ہر دو جہاں است شفیق ہر کہ گردید غلام آزاد

O Lord of the world, let the cup of life be in accord with Azad's desires.—”

“He who became the slave of Azad turned out to be the master of the world, Ghulam, which means slave, but it is also a part of the master's name. Thus the verse is capable of being interpreted in two ways. Shafiq's excellent taste in Persian poetry is acknowledged on all hands. Indeed he was the morning star of the Persian Poets in the Deccan.

It is with certain amount of regret that one has per force to leave the other poets whose names have been mentioned before, especially Shadan and Shad, Raja Chandu Lal and Maharaja Kishen Prashad, respectively of Hyderabad. Both were Prime Ministers of that State, besides being good poets in Persian and great patrons of learning. We would now pass on to the Poets and writers who flourished at Arcot and Madras where Nawab Walajah held his court. It would have been noticed that there was hardly any prince or dynasty, throughout these several centuries, but was also a patron of learning. Nawab Walajah was no exception. He held a magnificent Court at Madras and at Arcot and his munificence attracted the celebrities of the times to him. He himself invited Allamah Abdul Ali from Lucknow and conferred upon him the title of Bahrul Uloom — the Ocean of learning. That indeed the celebrated theologian was and his memory is revered even to this day. One of his Hindu pupils, Lala Makkhan Lal, rose to great name and fame. He could himself teach Sharhe Mulla Jami, a difficult Arabic treatise, to advanced students of Arabic Literature. Under the Poetic name, Khirad, he has created for himself a nitche in the temple of fame. The author of تذکرہ گلزار اعظم refers to him in the following

خرد متخلص را جہ کھن لعل بہادر پسر رائی دولت رام عیشی است
درس سنی اللہ در و نکٹ گیری تو لکد یافت

Raja Makkhan Lal 'Khirad' son of Rai Dowlat Ram Munshi was born in 1177 in the Principality of Venkatagiri (Madras State) when he came of age he proceeded to Hyderabad for his marriage and there learnt Persian language, Astronomy, and mathematics. He

also devoted himself to poetry and calligraphy.....But Khirad's title to fame was also due to his mastery in composing chronograms. When Walajah I built his great Mosque at Madras, which still bears his name, he invited the Poets to compose chronograms to be inscribed on that sacred edifice, of all these, Walajah selected the two composed by Makkhan Lal Khirad. They are :

بنای مسجد فرخنده منظر امیرالہند والاجاہ فرمود
ندا آمد کہ "ذکر ایشاکبر" ز دل از بہر تایخ بنالیش

The Amir of Hind, Walajah, laid the foundations of this mosque which is so attractive to look at ;

For purposes of the date of its foundation, the voice came forth from my heart :

Remembrance of Allah is the greatest Act. The last verse gives the date of the building of the Mosque which is 1209 A. H.

And another

آنکہ فرمانبراو ہست ز مہ تاجاہی ساخت طاعت کہ اسلام شد دین پرورد
نام فرخندہ وی "مسجد والاجاہی" سال تایخ بنائش بخرد ہا نف گفت

This house of Muslim worship was built by the King who is a patron of religion, he whose authority extends from the moon to the fish (of the ocean) :

The poetic Muse whispered to Khirad the date of its foundation, "Its auspicious name is Mosque of Walajah".

Of All the chronograms composed by other poets, these two composed by Khirad were decidedly the most natural and even today stand unrivalled in the simplicity of style, accuracy of detail and the beauty of expression. There have been several other writers in the Persian Language of chronogram ; indeed their composition on the occasion of important events had almost become a fashion, but there is hardly any to beat Khirad in the whole realm of Persian Literature. His only parallel is the Poet Kabir of Humayun's Court, who had composed the chronogram on the death of his patron : "The King Humayun fell from the stairs", and this gave the date of that emperor's death. For Humayun, as all students of History are aware, had trembled all through his life and ultimately tumbled out of it'.

Of the Hindu poets of the Walajahi Dynasty in the Madras Presidency mention must also be made of the talented poet Jagannath Prashad who had adopted Izzat as his poetic name. He

belonged to the Nellore District. There was yet another whose name along with Jagannath Prashad, has merited mention in the biography of Poets Gulzari-i-Azam. He was Rai Kasi Prashad, Fidwi. This brief brochure does not lend itself to my giving examples from their literary productions. A verse from Fidwi may suffice to indicate the lyrical taste of these masters :

داع شد دل در بهاراں بس گل دیگر شگفت اشک خوین شد گل فشائیں گل دیگر شگفت

The deep pathos underlying this and several others of the verses does not easily lend itself to translation and is better appreciated in the original.

The Hindu Rajas themselves in their turn, patronised men of letters. A shining example of this patronage of Hindu royalty is afforded by H. H. Maharaja Sri Ananda Gajapati Raj Mania Sultan Bahadur of Vijyanagaram in the Madras Presidency. This Prince was a great patron of learning. It was solely through his munificence that Munshi Muhammad Badshah was elevated to the dignity of a Lexicographer. His work "Farhang-e-Anandraj" in Persian which the compiler has rightly named after his illustrious patron is the greatest Lexicon of the Persian Language so far compiled, and that unique distinction goes to Munshi Muhammad Badshah and equally to his patron, without whose munificence and liberality the compiler would not have found the wherewithal for his gigantic literary enterprise. Farhang Anandraj is a veritable encyclopaedia of Persian, Turkish and Arabic Languages and has been universally acclaimed as a work of surpassing literary excellence and merit.

The Persian literature produced in India abounds in Masnavis, Diwans, Kulliyat, biographies, local and general histories, commentaries of the Quran, philosophy, meta-physics, theosophy, Lexicography medicine, Logic and Electronic. There was hardly any branch of Learning, any form of Persian Poetry didactic, lyric, romantic narrative or mystical or any conceivable metre, which was left untouched by the Indians, both Muslims and Hindus as may fairly be contended and as has been briefly proved in this all too brief a discourse. It would be difficult to give another example from the literary history of the world of a country which had mastered a foreign language to the extent that India had done vis a vis Modern Persian literature.

MUNSHI DEBI PRASAD SEHR

An Outstanding Urdu Poet.

By

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Among the Hindus in Northern India, the Kayasths were the first to learn Persian language and to obtain the posts of accountants and revenue clerks under Muslim Kings. They had no distinction for caste or creed. They freely mingled with the Muslim sayants, scholars and poets and displayed their natural appetite and aptitude for Persian art and literature. Persian had almost become the mother tongue of these people. Several scholars from this community like Lachhmi Narayan Shafeeq and Tekchand and others have left invaluable and immortal works on different branches of Persian Literature.

When Urdu became more popular during the later period of Mughals, the Kayasths also took great interest in studying this language and propagating it amongst his fellowmen. It soon became the lingua franca of this country. Muslims and Hindus alike made a joint effort and paved a smooth way for the progress and development of this language. Hence we find Muslim and Hindu poets sitting side by side in the poetical assemblies and appreciating each other's poetry.

We would like to introduce here one such great scholar and poet, Munshi Debi Prasad Sehr, who belonged to the Srivastab branch of the Kayasth family and who rendered meritorious service to the cause of Urdu language and Literature.

Debi's forefathers originally belonged to Bangarmau, a small town in the Lucknow District. His grandfather, Munshi Hukumat Rai, was great scholar and a fine calligraphist in Persian and Urdu. He wrote both the *shikasta* (broken) and *nāstaliq* (round) scripts. He settled down at Badaun as a clerk in the revenue department. He was very bold and met his enemies unarmed.

Debi's father, Munshi Chunnilal, poetically surnamed *Akhgar* (sparks), was also a great scholar and a poet of no mean repute. He had a natural taste for Persian and Urdu poetry. He was very liberal minded and free from national, religious or class prejudices. He was very simple, frugal and thrifty and treated his colleagues and juniors in a manner befitting them.

Munshi Debi Prasad was born at Badaun on 24th December 1840 A. D. He studied Persian under Moulvi Tahiruddin Saheb and completed, at an early age, the courses of studies in logic, Greek Philosophy, mathematics, history and geography, generally prescribed for the Arabic Madrasas of those days. He was also a fine calligraphist and a good painter. Debi Prasad composed, under the *nom de plume* of *Sehr* (enchantment), poems mostly in Urdu, and recited them in the presence of great poets of his days. His guide in poetry was his own father, Munshi Chunnilal *Akhgar*. He soon came in contact with the great poets of Delhi and Lucknow and served them faithfully in order to acquire proficiency in this language. He himself says

پسندیدہ نہ ہوا ہے سحر کیوں سب کو کلام اپنا
 رچے ہم دتوں دہلی میں چھانا لکھو برسوں
 بسے خدمت نمود شاعری تا کردہم حاصل
 ہزارے سحر کی بے خدمت استاد فی آید

Debi was first appointed as a school assistant in one of the high schools at Badaun and he was then promoted to be the Sub Deputy Inspector of Schools for the entire district. He performed his duties diligently and efficiently and retired from service after having served the cause of education for a number of years. He evinced great interest in the uplift of his own community and took part in the All-India Conferences of the Kayastha Sabha, which were annually held at different places like Bareilly, Gorakhpur etc. He wrote several poems welcoming the delegates and issued invitation cards to them in verse instead of prose.

Debi had the privilege of being in company of such persons like Munshi Gajinder Lal Gowher (gem), Munshi Ramdayal Saheb Raza (quick of apprehension), Pundit Ramji Mul Saheb Tamkin (grandeurness), Diwan Girdhari Lal Saheb Ajiz, (humble), Munshi Anwar Hussain Saheb Tasleem (obeisance) and Moulvi Bahadur Ali Saheb, who were scholars and poets like him. They held him in high esteem and appreciated his poetry very much. His poems were very popular and in response to the public demand for a second edition of his

poetical works (Diwan) he brought it out in 1894 A.D. after which he lingered for some time and breathed his last.

Debi's publications include works on logic, philology, rhetoric, prosody and physiognomy. Some of them are as follow.

- (1) Nazm-i-Parween, dealing with the art of writing, which was written and published in 1282 AH = 1865 A.D.
- (2) Meyār-al-Balaghat, a book on rhetoric, written and published in 1283 A.H = 1866 A.D.
- (3) Khulasat-al-Mantiq, on logic, written and published in 1284 A.H = 1867 A.D.
- (4) Meyār-al-Imla, on the art of writing written and published in 1284 AH = 1867 A.D.
- (5) Risāla-i-Qayāfa, a short treatise on physiognomy, written and published in 1284 AH = 1867 A.D.
- (6) Muhit-al-Masahat, a short treatise on geometry written and published in 1305 A.H = 1888 A.D.
- (7) Arzhang-i-Chin (the picture gallery of China)
- (8) Rikāz-al-Fuyuz.
- (9) Mirat-al-Uloom.

(10) Five *wasokhts* (a kind of poem in which the lover complains of the tortures caused by the separation of the beloved and the poet threatens to go away if the sweetheart continues to be obstreperous and unheedful) known as (1) Tahrir-i-Ishq (2) Taqrir-i-Ishq (3) Tadbir-i-Ishq (4) Tasir-i-Ishq and (5) Taswir-i-Ishq.

(11) Two Diwans (poetical collections) known as (1) Sehr-i-Samiri (the enchantment of Samiri) and (2) Tamāt-i-Sehr (vainglory of enchantment). His poems were collected and edited in the form of a book by his two pupils and disciples Chhote Lāl Saheb, *Gham* (sorrow) and Munshi Kirpa Shankar Saheb *Khush* (Joyful). They were printed twice during the life time of their author once in 1298 A.H = 1881 A.D. and the other in 1311 AH = 1894 A.D. They contain lyrical poems mostly in Urdu and a few in Persian, a few quatrains, and laudatory poems and a few chronograms in Urdu.

Debi belonged to the second half of the nineteenth century when the classical influence was still dominant. He, therefore, dilates on the good old themes of beauty and love which generally engaged the attention of the poets of his days. His verses are however chaste

and sweet and free from the blemishes of inelegant words and involved construction. Though he was a master of Urdu poetry his weak point was self laudation as the following lines show.

سحر سنا ناچیز فیض صحبت اُستاد سے — اوستاد نظم اردو سے معلما ہو گیا
کس قدر ہے سحر اپنی فیض صحبت کا اثر — چار دن جو یاس بیٹھا وہ سخنور ہو گیا
صدیف سحر شاعر کیسا مگر گیا — علامہ تھا، فصیح تھا، فخر زمانہ تھا

Debi's verses were much appreciated by his contemporaries and only those who were either ignorant or jealous of him did not applaud him. This has been expressed by him in various verses such as the following.

اے سحر تیری شاخ کی کیوں نہ دھوم ہو — مشہور ہو گئے تیرے اشعار ہر طرف
دکھاؤ شاعروں کو اپنی ہی جادو کلامی تم — بھلا اے سحر کیوں بیٹھے ہو چپ سحر الیاں ہو کر
وہ کہتے ہیں سناؤ کچھ کلام اے سحر اپنا تم — ہوئے مشہور ورنہ حوٹلی ہندوستان کیوں ہو
پہنچا ہے اپنا سحر کلام اپنا دُور دُور — شہرت سے لگ بھگتے ہیں ہمارے سخن کے پاؤں
سحر کس لطف کا ہے تیرا سخن عجم پسند — شہرہ خلق ہوئے ہیں غرض اشعار بہت
انہیں لطف سخن اے سحر ہرگز یادہ گوئی میں — مرآت ہے فصاحت نہ ہو اک شعر گر خالی
مضموں ہیں افسوں ہر اک شعر ہے جادو — واللہ سخن ہے یہ کسی سحر زباں کا
تیرا کلام و سحر کے اشار اے مسیح — اعجاز عیسوی سے کسی طرح کم انہیں
لکھی عمدہ غزل یہ سحر تم نے واہ کیا کہنا — بدایوں میں نہیں کچھ نامور ہو تم زمانے میں
جہلا کچھ کہیں اے سحر انہیں کچھ پروا — جو سخن فہم ہیں کہتے ہیں سخن دان جھکو
شکوہ نا فہم سے کچھ قدر شناسی کا نہیں — داد اے سحر وہ دیگا جو سخنور ہو گا
غزل اچھی ہو گر تری اے سحر — کیوں کہیں گے معاندیں اچھی
سحر بے مثل لکھی تو نے غزل حق تو یہ ہے — کرے انصاف مگر کوئی سخن دان دل میں
چہ عجب گر بد ہد داد سخن دان او — غزل سحر اگر پیشش سخن دان گر در
ہر کسی را نبود مادہ فہم سخن — غزل اے سحر سخاوت پیش سخن دان چند

Debi has, however, sometimes complained of want of appreciation on the part of the people. He says.

بیکار فن شعر میں ہے خواہش کمال — یاں سحر کچھ بھی پرشش اہل ہنر نہیں
انہیں اے سحر اب زمانے میں — قدر داں کوئی اہل جو ہر کا
کیا انقلاب سحر زمانے میں ہو گیا — وہ قدر داں رہے نہ وہ اہل ہنر رہے

In one place he has said that Mirza Ghalib, Khawja Atash, Nasikh and Abad, had they been alive, would have appreciated his poetry. He says.

جو ہوتے زندہ کہیں غالب آجکل اے سحر — تو ان سے ملنے کو ہم لیکے یہ غزل جاتے
کون ہے داد سخن کی تمہے اے سحر کہ اب — خواجہ آتش نہیں، ناسخ نہیں، آباد نہیں

Debi has claimed himself to be an extempore compositor of poems. He composed poems in difficult forms within a short time. He says.

تو نے یہ غزل سحر لکھی ایک گھڑی میں — اس طرح میں کہتے ہیں سخنور کئی دن سے
کیا زمین سخت میں لکھی ہے تو نے واہ واہ — یہ غزل اے سحر تیری مشہور ہو جائے گی
کام تھا تیرا ہی، کیا مضمون لکھے ہیں سحر کے — اس میں میں سحر کوئی لکھ غزل سکتا نہیں
اس طرح میں غزل کا لکھنا ہے غیر ممکن — کسے سحر کوئی باندھے گویا ہزار پائوں پر
لکھا مطلع ہی مطلع شعر کی جا سحر کیا کہنا — غزل لکھ دوسری بھی بن میں اپنے دیوان پر
گرچہ سحر ہی مطلع کے مصرع کی زمین سخت اے سحر — نہ ہوا تو بھی مگر طرز سخن سے باہر

Debi was a genius writer and did not imitate others in the composition of poetry.

تازہ مضمون سحر اپنی طبع موزوں سے نکال — ہونہ تو طرز سخن میں آشنا تقلید کا

Debi's poems were often returned to him by his teacher without any remarks, as they were technically perfect. The poet expresses his satisfaction as the following line shows.

صفت چشم میں استاد کو بھیجی جو غزل — ہو کہ ہر شعر اے سحر ترے صدا آیا

Debi was a follower of Sanatan Dharma and yet he was free from religious bigotry. He has written a poem in praise of Jesus Christ from a christian point of view as if he himself was a christian. A few stanzas from this poem are given below.

یا جیسا تو ہے تسکین بخش حبانِ عایاں — رحمت حق ہے تری ذات مبارک سے عیاں
تو نہ آتا تو سجات عایاں ہوتی کہاں — تو ہے فرزند خدا سے خالق کون و مکان
ذات تیری عین ذات حق ہے نور عین ہے — عاصیوں کے واسطے تو مامن دارین ہے
تو نے فرمائی گنہگاروں پر شفقت کی نظر — آیا دنیا میں تمامی عیش و عشرت چھوڑ کر
خلق میں ظاہر کیا اپنے نہیں شکلِ بشر — جاں ہمارے واسطے دی اپنی بے خوف و خطر
رحم خانی خوب ہم پر آشکارا ہو گیا — ہم گنہگاروں کے عصیاں کا کفارا ہو گیا

ذات تری عاصیوں کی ہے شفاعت کی کفیل
مرتبه تیرا ہے اعلیٰ تیرا رتبہ ہے جلیل
غیر ذات حق نہیں تیرا زمانے میں عدیل
عین نوز حق ہے تو بلے شبہ و بلے قال و قیل
دو نوز عالم کا ہے حاکم دین کا قوشا ہے
عاصیوں کی بلجاء و ماوی تری درگاہ ہے
یہ دعا ہے سحر کی اب تجھ سے لے رب قدر
ہوں نہ پابند ضلالت ہوں نہ دروغ میں سیر
چھوڑ دینا کی امارت ہوں شرے در کا فقیر
ہوں نہ وہ محبوب میرا جو کہ تیرا غیر ہو
پاک جاؤں میں یہاں سے خاتمہ بالآخر ہو

Debi was a staunch supporter of Ariya Samaj movement and when the news of the death of its leader, Swami Dayanand Maharaj on 30th October 1883 at Ajmer came to him, he was very much shocked to hear it and expressed his unbound grief in the form of an elegy, a few verses of which are quoted below.

اس فکر میں آشفۃ سر بیٹھا ہوا تھا اپنے گھر
تھے علم میں جو بے بدل تھا وید پر جن کا عمل
تھا رست جن کا ہر سخن جو کہ کر کے تھے سچ کن
رد غلط اثبات حق تھا رات دن جن کا سبق
دنیا میں شہرت جنگی تھی لوگوں میں عزت جن کی تھی
یکتا خرد مند اہل دل مرشد خداوند اہل دل
صدیف وہ مرشد ترے دنیا سے دوں کا چل بسے
دنیا سے اچھا ان کا جی پر لوگ کی سدھ آگئی
دلت سے طالب حق کے تھے اب حق سے وصل ہو
میں نے سنی جب یہ خبر سن کر گرا میں خاک پر
جب غش سے آیا ہوش میں پہونچی ندایہ گوش میں
میں نے وہیں لیس کر قلم یہ کر دیا نوہ رقم
ناگاہ پہونچی یہ خبر اک شخص نے مجھ سے کہا
بے مثل تھے جو اچکل کوئی نہ ثانی جن کا تھا
تھے واقف ہر علم و فن مذہب کے جو تھے پیشوا
ویدوں کا مضمون ادق تھا جن کے دل پر سب کھلا
مہر عرف ہمت جنگی تھی بہو دغ عالم پر سب
سوامی دیانند اہل دل مرد عظیم و پارسا
اس غم کو کوئی کیا کہے نازل ہوئی کیسی بلا
چھوڑا لباس زندگی پہونچے سوئے لکٹ بقا
چرچے جہاں میں آپ کے باقی رہے و احسرتا
پاکار رہا نہ ہوش سر یہ حال ابتر ہو گیا
اس وقت غم کے جوش میں لکھ سحر نوہ غم خزا
ورنہ نہ تھا ایسا یہ غم تھریر میں جو ہوا دا

The distinctive features of Debi's poetry could have been illustrated at greater length with examples, but the brevity of space does not permit us to make any further comments. Hence we quote here only two poems from his Persian and Urdu poetry.

Persian.

شب وصلت بروز ہجر چوں در یاد می آید بشوق وصل جانم بر سر فریاد می آید
 بگو شمع از بے چوں نامہ و فریاد می آید ز فریاد فراش کرده باز می آید
 بہ اجد در نظر چوں لام و میم و صاد می آید مرا زلف و دہاں و چشمِ خوبت یاد می آید
 بدوش از زلف دم انداختہ میاد می آید خبر دار لے جوانان چمن جسلاد می آید
 غلط گویند کویت را گلستاں لے گل جوئی رود لشاد چوں آنجا کسی ناشاد می آید
 وفاے وعدہ خود چوں کند آں بیوفا با من حیا مانع شود گر بعد عمر سے یاد می آید
 دلیل لطف باشد گر بیاید نزد من تنہا چو با اغیار آید از پے بیداد می آید
 بے خدمت نمودم شاعری تا کردہ ام حاصل

ہنر لے سحر کی بے خدمت اُستاد می آید

میروی از پے گلگشت بیارائے چند من بروں رفتہ ام از خویش بیابائے چند
 من چہاں بر در تو بار بیابم کہ دم حاضر اند از پے تنبیہ نگہبائے چند
 من چرا از پے گلگشت بگلزار روم جگر از داغ شدہ رشک گلستاںے چند
 ہر کہے را نبود مادہ فہم سخن
 غزل لے سحر بخواں پیش سخندانے چند

URDU

نامہ آتش فشاں جب شعلہ زن ہو جائیگا جل کے خاکستر تو لے چرخ کہن ہو جائیگا

زلف مشکیں صول کی شب کھول دیگا جت گل گھر ہمارا غیرت ملک فتن ہو جائیگا
 لیگا دل کو چہ کا کل میں مجھ کو جعل سے کیا بھٹاتا تھا کہ رہبر راہنرا ہو جائیگا
 خاکساروں نے رکھ غافل ذرا دل میں غبار خاک بعد مرگ تیرا سب بدن ہو جائیگا
 بت کو یہ پوچھ گیا وہ کلمہ پڑھ گیا حسن کا نذر الفت دین شیخ و برہمن ہو جائیگا
 سن کے وصف آئندہ رو سحر تجھ سے دیکھنا

صاف حیراں مجمع اہل سخن ہو جائیگا

زور کچھ تقدیر پر انساناں کا چل سکتا نہیں لکھ گیا قسمت میں جو کچھ وہ بدل سکتا نہیں
 دو قدم بھی ضعف کے باعث چل سکتا نہیں بلکہ بستر پر بھی میں کروٹ بدل سکتا نہیں
 مجھ سے چلنے میں کوئی آگے نکل سکتا نہیں دشت و حشت میں بگولا ساتھ چل سکتا نہیں
 آگئی جب موت پھر ہے حکم لایستا خرون وقت آ پہنچا تو اک ساعت کوئل سکتا نہیں
 زندگی کے یار ہیں سب چشم و گوش و دست و پا جب چلے یاں سے تو کوئی ساتھ چل سکتا نہیں
 کہتے پھر کس طور سے ہوو محبت کا نباہ ان کی عادت اور میرا دل بدل سکتا نہیں

کام تھا تیرا ہی کیا مضمون لکھے ہیں سحر کے

اس زمیں میں سحر کوئی لکھ غزل سکتا نہیں

ARABIA AND ITS EARLY CONTACTS WITH INDIA

BY

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Almost all the existing regions of the earth have undergone great changes in form, character and circumstances even after man came to live upon this planet. Geologists tell us that the present deserts of Arabia must have been pre-eminently fertile and habitable regions during the Glacial Epoch, i.e., the times when the northern hemisphere was mostly covered with an ice-sheet (about one million years ago).

It is almost an established fact that Asia was the original cradle of the human race. But, nothing is known so far as to which of the Asian regions happened to be the first abode of mankind. Pre-historians have classified mankind into different races and assigned to each one of them a region as their original homeland—Arabia to Semites, Central Asia to Aryans and Africa to Hamites. In spite of the fact that scholars have speculated a great deal on this subject and worked out different hypotheses based on Old Testament traditions and ethnological factors, theories of racial origins still remain speculative.

Arabia has been the cradle of most of the Divine Messengers and Prophets as well as of a number of civilised peoples of remote antiquity. However, during modern times, attention to Arabia has not been paid commensurate with its importance. Consequently, many sources of information on the subject still remain untapped. In the absence of authentic information concerning the first abode of the human race, I hope, it would not be out of place, if I venture to relate here some of the earliest Arab traditions and Qurānic Revelations that throw light upon this question.

Arab Traditions :

(a) According to the belief of the Arabs and the knowledge orally transmitted to them from generation to generation, Adam and Eve first met and knew each other at the Jabal-al-Rahmah (Mount of Mercy¹) after their expulsion from Paradise to earth. It was

1. The Mount—a low hill rising from the plain of 'Arafāt, 25 miles east of Mecca—is the focal point of the hajj (pilgrimage) where the Muslims belonging to every race and to every continent perennially meet to perform the Hajj and have an opportunity of knowing one another.

here that God first relented towards Adam and Eve and had mercy upon them.²

(b) The Arabs traditionally maintain that Adam and Eve lived and died in Arabia. Of all the peoples of the world they alone claim to have the graves of Adam and Eve situated in their land. They have preserved these graves even to this day. The grave believed to be that of Adam is in Mecca (properly Makkah and pronounced "Bakkah" during remote pre-historic times) and that of Eve in Jeddah properly Jaddah, meaning grandmother).

(c) Another tradition maintained by the Arabs is that Ka'bah, the first sanctuary on earth, was originally built by Adam and after the Deluge rebuilt by Ibrāhīm (Abraham of the Bible) and his son Ismā'il (Ishmael).³

Quranic Revelations :

(a) "And one of His signs is that He created you of dust, then lo! you are human beings ranging widely"—(Chapter XXX, Āyat 20).

(b) "O mankind! Verily, We have created you of a male and a female, and have made nations and communities that you may know one another. Verily, the noblest of you, in the sight of Allah, is the best in conduct."—(Chapter XLIX, Āyat 13).

(c) "And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the difference of your languages and colours. Verily, in these are indications for the men of knowledge"—(Chapter XXX, Āyat 22).

(d) "Verily, the First Sanctuary appointed for mankind was that at Bakkah (Makkah), a blessed place, a guidance to all the human generations, where are clear indications (of Allah's) guidance; the place where Ibrāhīm (Abraham of the Bible) stood up to pray; and whosoever enters it, is safe. And pilgrimage to this House is a duty to Allah for mankind, for him who can afford to find a way thither."—(Chapter III, Āyat 96, 97).

(e) "And when Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il were raising the walls of the House, (they prayed): Our Lord! Accept (this) from us: Verily Thou, only Thou, art the Hearer, the Knower."—(Chapter II, Āyat 127).

2. "Then Adam received from his Lord words (of revelation), and He relented toward him. Verily, He is the Relenting, the Merciful."—Holy Quran, Chapter II, Āyat 37.

3. Vide items (d) & (e) under the caption, Quranic Revelations.

In the light of the above, it seems possible that Arabia might have been the original homeland of the human race. The presence of abundant petroleum in Arabia supports the theory. For, according to the view held by the modern scientists, petroleum is a complex compound of hydrogen and carbon and is produced by the decomposition of animal and vegetable matter.

The time-honoured traditions and Quranic Revelations together with the view held by the scientists and the Geologists referred to above, can provide an incentive to scientific investigations. But, as no such investigation has so far been carried out, nor it is likely that it would be made in the near future, the above factors can serve as a basis for an interesting hypothesis. So, one can speculate and imagine that during the days of Adam and Eve Arabia might have been pre-eminently fertile and that of all the regions of the earth, perhaps, most resembling Paradise. Consequently they chose it for their abode and lived and died there. Their descendants also might have flourished there for a long time and when they grew populous they might have spread out into other regions towards east, west and north of Arabia. The presence of abundant petroleum in Arabia also suggests that this region might have been pre-eminently fertile and thickly populated during the early ages of human life. Thus it may be surmised that Arabia was the original homeland of the human race.

As far back as the age of the Sumerian civilization (about 5,000 B.C.) there existed a country known to the Sumerians as Magan—"the land of the ships"—on the Persian Gulf along the Arabian Coast. It seems that this land of Magan was a very important centre of trade during very early ancient times and its inhabitants, admittedly the Arabs, were a seafaring people, well known for their skill as ship-builders. They used to supply from many lands needed commodities not only to the city states of Sumerians and Elamites in and around the Tigro-Euphrates valley, but also to various other countries of the then inhabited world. These people seem to have played a considerable part in the diffusion of Sumerian culture in and around Egypt and Abyssinia in the west and India and East Indies in the east. Subsequently these Arabs migrated at different periods to other parts of Arabia and became the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians and Hebrews of history. Historians tell us that the Greeks and other ancient nations learnt the art of shipbuilding as well as seamanship and nautical astronomy from the Phoenicians.

According to the ethnologists the Dravidians of India were not jungle-dwelling savages but a civilized people having a higher culture of the Sumerian type. They entered India, thousands of years ago, from north-western Asia. The Sumerian and Elamite languages have much resemblance to the Dravidian Brahui language, and these three languages seem to be early representatives of the Caucasian linguistic group. The Dravidian languages of southern India too still have some affinity with this group.

As has been indicated above, the Arabs are admittedly the earliest seafarers known to history. Arabia occupies a central position amidst three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe. Her inter-continental location naturally devolved upon her the role of a commercial intermediary. From time immemorial, perhaps even in the tenth century B.C. and onwards, inland as well as maritime trade with African, European and Asian countries was in the hands of the Arabs. Owing to their characteristic intrepidity combined with the intermediate situation of Arabia this trade continued to be in their hands for ages. They used to ship from the Arabian ports of Bahrein Umān, Yaman, Hijaz and Syria products of Europe and Africa to India, South East Asia and Far East, and thence Asian products for these ports. Generally the merchandise from the East, after it reached the ports of Uman was carried through land route via Shabwat (in Hadramaut) to Ma'rib (in the Yaman) and from there on the one hand northward via Petra to Ghāza on the Mediterranean where it was shipped for the ports of North Africa and Europe, and on the other to ports of the Yaman to be carried by sea to the eastern coast of Africa and Madagascar.

After the rise of Islam, this trade acquired a momentum. Within 23 years of its birth the whole of Arabia came into its fold and in less than another 70 years, the Arabs became the masters of an enormous state extending in the west to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and in the east to the confines of China. This Arab state was far greater than the Roman Empire at its zenith and remained for a number of centuries the ruling power of the world.

As the principal object of these Arab merchants now in the fold of Islam, was purely trade, they carried it on with great zeal.

After the birth of Islam a number of new ports and shipbuilding yards, besides old ones, came into being on the coasts of Red Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. The following were the ports with ship-building yards during the early days of Islam :—

Ghāza and Akka (in Syria) on the Mediterranean.

Ayla, 'Aqaba (in Sinai Peninsula), **Jār** (near Madina) and **Qulzum** (in Egypt) on the Red Sea.

'Adan (Aden) on the Arabian Sea.

Obulla and Baṣrah (on the Tigres) close to the Persian Gulf.

Long afterwards the following sea-ports and shipbuilding yards came into existence :—

Sirāf, Subār, Shihr, Qīs, Bahrayn and Hurmuz, on the Persian Gulf and **Jaddah and Yanbu'** (near Jār on the Red Sea).

In olden times Arab ships laden with merchandise used to sail from these ports to Asia, Africa and Europe. After the birth of Islam we come upon firmer ground and step into the light of history. From the accounts given by Muslim voyagers and travellers of Arabia and their itineraries we gather that trade with Asia, besides other continents, gained an impetus, it was very extensive and exclusively in the hands of the Arabs. As the sole object of these Arab merchants was trade, and not territorial expansion, and as they were God-fearing, honest and trustworthy people who used to supply much needed commodities from various ports of the world, almost every raja of India had given them all facilities and allowed them to establish trade settlements in his kingdom. They were treated as a most favoured people particularly by the rajas and nobles of southern Indian territories, such as Pandiyas, Cholas, Hoysalas, Chalukyas, Kakatiyas and Balharas (Vlabhrays) of Mahrashtra (the last-named raja's domain extended from Gujarat to the borders of Malabar).

These Arabs had established their colonies in almost every port along the western and eastern coasts and even in inland towns and capital cities of India. At these trade centres their population ranged between five and ten thousands and at such places store-houses, residences and big mosques were a common feature of the Arab settlements. The following are some of the important centres of their trade along the Indian coasts and interior towns where they had established their colonies :—

On the Western coast of India :—

1. **Dēbal** : close to modern Tatta on the river Indus.
2. **Mandavī** : on the Gulf of Cutch.
3. **Mandrah** : on the Gulf of Cutch.
4. **Nahrwārah** : Anhalwāra or Patan in Rajputana.
5. **Kambāyat** : Cambay in Gujarat.
6. **Qayrah** : Cairah north of Cambay in the interior.
7. **Burūṣ** : Broach or Bharōch on the mouth of the Narbada.

8. Subārah : Sopāra south of Brōach on the coast.
9. Surat : on the mouth of the Tāpti.
10. Tāna : Thāna 25 miles north of Bombay.
11. Mahā'im : Bombay.
12. Šimūr : Chīmūr, between Bombay and Goa.
13. Mānkīr : Capital of Balharas (Vlabhrāys) in Konkon in the interior.
14. Honawar : north of Bhaṭkal.
15. Ṣandābūr : Chandāpūr.
16. Manjrūr : Mangalore.
17. Bālī Fattan : Baliapatam or Walarapattanam close to Cananore.
18. Calicut.
19. Šhāliyāt : Chaliyam in the vicinity of Calicut and Baypūr.
20. Kūlam : Quilon.
21. Kāyal : Kāyalpattinam, between Cape Comorin and Trivandaram.
22. Qumār : Kalyān Kumāri (Comorin):—

On the Eastern coast of India (Northward from Cape Comorin) :—

23. Tūtukarī or Tuticorin.
24. Rāmanī : Rāmēsvaram.
25. Dah Fattan : Devipattinam.
26. Mandūr Fattan : Madurai pattinam.
27. Tandah : Tondi.
28. Fattan : Adirampattinam.
29. Kabri : Kaveripattinam.
30. Dāwal or Birdhawl or Ma'bar : Chola pattinam on the mouth of the Coleroon.
31. Samandar : Dwarasamudra.
32. Kullam : Covelong.
33. Kanja : Conjeevaram.
34. Nilāwar : Nellore.
35. Motupalli : near the mouth of the Krishna.
36. Yānam.
37. Rājamahendari : Rajahmundry ;
38. Sīkākul : Chicacole or Srikakulam.
39. Šādjam : Chātgaum or Chittagong.
40. Šilahaṭ : Sylhet.

Arab voyagers and travellers who visited India during 8th., 9th and 10th centuries A. D. mention a large number of seaports, islands close to the coast and inland towns, other than those described above, where Arab merchants had established colonies, but due to sea

erosion and various other causes they have disappeared and are not at present traceable.

At the time when the early Muslim traders from Arabia used to visit the Western and the eastern coasts of the Indian peninsula, the regions along these coasts were under the rule of various dynasties such as the Chalukya, Chola, Pandya and Hoysala. Under the rajas of these dynasties Arab merchants enjoyed special privileges. Even when the Eastern Chalukya dynasty was replaced by the Kakatiya dynasty of Orangal (modern Warangal), they enjoyed the same privileges and carried on their trade as usual. The very name, Ma'bar (denoting a free coast for getting into the country), which the Muslim traders of Arabia gave to the Coromandal Coast, suggests that they fully enjoyed all sorts of facilities and privileges under the rajas of these regions.

As late as the beginning of the reign of Ganapaty, Kakatiya raja of Orangal, when Arab glory had become a mere shadow, we still see Arab merchants carrying on flourishing trade along the Malabar and Coromandal coasts. Raja Sundara Pandya of Ma'bar, Hoysala raja Ballāla, Kakatiya raja Ganapaty, the Reddy chief Vema of Rajamahendary (Rajahmundry), and various other rulers of the interior regions had given these Arab merchants all sorts of facilities. They had established their trade settlements at every port on both the coasts of the peninsula and in the interior as well.

Muslim historians relate that during the reign of Sundra Pandya Malik-al-Islām Jamāl-al-Dīn, ruler of Qīs, had established a trade agency in Ma'bar and appointed his brother, Malik Taqī-al-Dīn Abd-al-Rahmān Marzbān, as his agent there. The latter had his Headquarters at Fattan (Adirampattinam), Bālī Fattan (Baliapatam close to Cananore), Kāyal (Kāyalpattinam on Malabar Coast west of Cape Comorin) and had other ports along the coast of Ma'bar under his control. The coast of Ma'bar then extended in length from Kūlam (Quilon) to Nilāwar (Nellore).

Malik Taqī-al-Dīn Abd-al-Rahmān who is described as Wazīr (chief minister) and Marzbān (literally, governor or ruler of a region) in Ma'bar died in 1303 A.D., and was succeeded by his son, Malik Sirāj-al-Dīn Marzbān and by his grandson Malik Nizām-al-Dīn Marzbān—"The principal farmers-general of the customs of the Pāndyan coast". Morcopolo fully supports this account and interprets Marzbān as Margrave—the title of certain princes of the Holy

Roman Empire. Though the position of Wazīr attributed to these Marzbāns is not confirmed by any Indian evidence so far, it is evident from other sources, such as the account of Morcopolo, that this family held a very important position and exercised considerable influence at the court of the Pāndya rulers at that time.

This was not the only Arab family that was settled in official position of great importance at the court of a certain line of rajas in southern India. There were quite a number of other families also who enjoyed similar positions in earlier times at the courts of various rajas in this sub-continent.

At Motupalli and other ports and inland towns of Telugu country also there were as big and important Arab settlements as Kāyal. Through these trade centres horses which were in great demand were supplied in thousands along with other commodities to Ma'bar, Orangal and other neighbouring states.

These large number of Arab settlements along the Malabar and Coromandal coasts as well as in the interior towns of South India gave rise to various Muslim communities of mixed descent. These communities in course of time, grew identical with the regional peoples in regard to language, culture, etc. but retained throughout their religion.

Abū Zayd of Sīrāf, an Arab traveller relates in his book of travels written in 264 A.H. (877—878 A.D. approximately) that Indian merchants from Multān, Sindh, and Gujarat had established trade colonies in Iraq, Bahrein, 'Umān, Sūdān, Port Sa'id and Cairo. They spoke Arabic as fluently as the Arabs. When he happens to speak in his book, of one of these Indian merchants he refers to him as "Bāniyyah" and of more than one as "Bānāniyyah",—the Arabised form of "Banya" of Indian languages in singular and plural number.

Another Arab traveller, who visited India in 270 A.H. (883-84 A.D.) has related that the then king of Alūr, named Mahrūk, ruled over a territory lying between Upper Kashmir (present Kashmir) and Lower Kashmir (the present Punjab) and was considered to be one of the greatest kings of India. This king had the Holy Qurān translated into the regional language and loved to hear it read out to him daily. The translation had been done by an intelligent Indian-born Muslim of 'Irāqī origin, a resident of Mansūrah (Bhakkar, in Sindh), who knew several Indian languages. Amīr Abdullāh ibn 'Umar governor

of Sindh, at the request of the king had deputed him to translate the holy book. He busied himself with the work at the court of the raja and completed it in three years.

We learn from notices in the itineraries of Arab travellers that some of the Indian Rajas had established ship-building yards where ships were constructed under the supervision of Arab ship-wrights and that their naval fleets were under the command of Arabs as admirals.

In the light of these facts it is evident that close relations from remote antiquity existed between the Arabs and the peoples of this sub-continent and particularly with the peoples of South India. These relations strengthened after the dawn of Islam and left deep impressions on the peoples of India. On account of these Arab settlements in various parts of India, and long contact of its peoples with Arab merchants and navigators a considerable number of nautical, medical, mathematical and musical terms crept into most of the Indian languages and it appears that they are still used by the Sindhis, Gujaratis, Maharashtrians, Malayalese, Kannadigas, Tamilians, Telugus, Bengalese and others. In short Indo-Arab contacts influenced the people of both the countries in a number of ways and left a deep impression on them.

The Arabs—who carried on trade for thousands of years with an energy and intrepidity unprecedented in the long annals of human history, and who spread themselves out to far off countries like India, Malaya, Siam, Annam, China, Indonesia and Philippines in the east and various regions of Africa and Europe in the west—at last began to show signs of exhaustion at the close of the 16th century A.D. When the European traders took the field, their trade, which was already diminishing in extent and value, received a serious set-back and finally dwindled away.

PART II

(i) DEPARTMENT OF TAMIL

The Tamil Department of the Oriental Research Institute originally consisted of one Reader, two Fellows and three students. It was reorganized in 1930 and provision was made for one Reader, one Senior Lecturer and one Junior Lecturer. The Readership was converted into a Professorship in 1948.

I. Personnel

(a) Mr. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai was Reader and Messrs. E. V. Anantarama Iyer and V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar were Fellows in Tamil, under the original scheme.

(b) After the reorganization, Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai was Reader and Messrs. K. N. Sivaraja Pillai and V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar were Senior and Junior Lecturers respectively.

(c) On the retirement of Messrs. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai and K. N. Sivaraja Pillai in 1936, Messrs. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and R. P. Sethu Pillai were appointed Reader and Senior Lecturer respectively. They joined duty on 1-8-1936. Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar continued to be Junior Lecturer.

(d) Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai retired on 11-10-1946. Mr. V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar retired on 26-6-1948. In the vacancies that occurred, Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai was appointed Reader (12-10-1946), Mr. M. Varadarajan was appointed Senior Lecturer (2-1-1948) and Mr. B. R. Purushothama Naidu was appointed Junior Lecturer (12-9-1948). Mr. M. A. Dorairangaswamy was appointed Senior Lecturer on 3-1-1950 in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. M. Varadarajan for reasons of health.

(e) *Present Staff*:—Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai is Professor, Dr. M. A. Dorairangaswamy is Reader (from 1-1-1957) and Mr. B. R. Purushothama Naidu is Lecturer.

II. Publications :

(i) Books published by the Teachers of the Tamil Department.
Sri K. N. Sivaraja Pillai

1. Agastiya in the Tamil land.
2. Purananurrin Palamai.
3. The Chronology of the Early Tamils.

Sri S. A. Anavarathavinayakam Pillai

1. Nanartha Dipikai.
2. Sivaneri Prakasam.

Sri V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar

1. Paranaar.
2. Kapilar.
3. Dravidic Pronouns.
4. Grammatical Essays.
5. Tolkappiyam-Eluttatikara Araycci.
6. Sri Puranam.

*Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai.**A. Published by the University :*

1. Purattirattu.
2. Kayataram.
3. Tirikatukam and Cirupanchamulam.
4. Ramappaiyan Ammanai.

B. Published with permission of the University.

1. Canka Ilakkiyam (2 vols.)
2. Navaneetappattiyal.
3. Nanmanikkatikai.
4. Cankappulavar Akarati.
5. Tolkappiyam - Porulatikaram with Ilampuranar's commentary.
6. Kalaviyal Karikai.
7. Maduraik Kanci.
8. Inna narpatu.

*Sri R.P. Sethu Pillai**A. Published by the University*

1. Words and their significance - A study in Linguistics.
2. Ellis Commentary on Tirukkural .

B. Books published with permission of the University.

1. The Life and work of Dr. Caldwell.
2. Tirukkavalur Kovil.
3. Kristava - Tamil Tondar.
4. Tamilakam - Urum Perum (Awarded a prize of Rs. 500- by the Government of Madras).
5. Tamilar Veeram
6. Tamil Virundu.
7. Tamil Inbam (Awarded a prize of Rs. 5000 by the Government of India as the best book in Tamil after the advent of Independence).
8. Velum Villum, - A Comparative study of Kambaramayanam and Kandapuramam.
9. Velin Verri.
10. Veeramanagar.
11. Kadarkaraiyile.
12. Arrangaraiyinile.

Dr. M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy

A. Published by the University.

1. The Religion and Philosophy of Tevaram in four volumes:
One Volume completed; the other volumes in the press,
for the 4th volume Ph.D. Degree was awarded.
2. Inscriptions (A collection of 30 Inscriptions for Hons.
Classes)

B. Published with Permission of the University.

1. Pandait tamil Neri.
2. Ilakkiyak Katturaikal.
3. Kataipputaiyal.
4. Kolacalat tala puranam-Edited and published (Government
Oriental Mss. Library Publication).
5. Surnames in Tamil (A Tamil rendering of the M. O. L.
Thesis - ready for the press).
6. A critical commentary of Tiruvempavai.
7. Veru muracu.
8. Evvalavu Nilam Tevai ?

Sri B. R. Purushothama Naidu

A. Published by the University.

Tamil commentary on Tiruvoymoli. (6 volumes completed.)

**(ii) Articles published in the Annals of Oriental Research,
University of Madras.**

Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1. Purattirattu | Vol. I | 1943-44 |
| 2. do | Vol. II part I | 1944-45 |
| 3. do | Vol. II part II | 1944-45 |
| 4. do | Vol. III part I | 1945-46 |
| 5. Ramappayyan Ammanai | Vol. VI part II | 1948-49 |
| 6. Sidelights on Tamil | Vol. VII part I | 1949-50 |

Sri V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar

- | | | |
|--|------------------|---------|
| 1. The vowels ai and au | Vol. I | 1943-44 |
| 2. Ellai - An element of
Cirukappiyam | Vol. II part I | 1944-45 |
| 3. Causative forms | Vol. II part II | 1944-45 |
| 4. Tolkappiyar on the Instrumental
case | Vol. III part II | 1945-46 |
| 5. Some Grammatical Notes | Vol. III part II | 1945-46 |
| 6. Primary significance of certain
Tamil Words. | Vol. IV part I | 1946-47 |
| 7. Viyankol | Vol. IV part II | 1946-47 |

8. Lengthening of the quantity of Letters	Vol. V part I	1947-48
9. A note on the word 'Tevu'	Vol. V part II	1947-48
10. Change of consonants	Vol. VI part I	1948-49
11. do	Vol. VI part II	1948-49
12. Word-building	Vol. VII part I	1949-50

Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai

1. Words and their significance	Vol. I	1943-44
2. Tamil-Literary & Colloquial	Vol. II part II	1944-45
3. do do.	Vol. III part I	1945-46
4. do do.	Vol. III part II	1945-46
5. Place name suffixes in Tamil	Vol. IV part I	1946-47
6. do do.	Vol. IV part II	1946-47
7. do do.	Vol. V part I	1947-48
8. do do.	Vol. V part II	1947-48
9. Kambar and Kacciappar	Vol. VI part II	1948-49
10. Tembavani - Nattuvalam	Vol. IX part II	1951-52
11. Right verses Might	Vol. XI parts 1 & 2	1953-54
12. All India Oriental Conference Presidential Address (Dravidian Section)	Vol. XII parts 1 & 2	1954-55

Sri M. A. Dorairangaswamy

1. Pandai-t-Tamilar Kadavul Neri	Vol VIII parts I & 2	1950-51
2. Kavirippumpattinam	Vol. IX parts ,	1951-52
3. The Philosophy of Kalasamhara with reference to Saint Sundarar	Vol. X part I	1952-53
4. Dakshinamurti with reference to Saint Sundarar	Vol. X part II	1952-53
5. Education in the Sangam Age	Vol. XI parts I & 2	1953-54
6. Rise of Temple Cult in Saivism with special reference to Tevaram.	Vol. XII parts ,	1954-55

Sri B. R. Purusothama Naidu

1. The History of Itu Commen- tary	Vol. VIII parts I & 2	1950-51
2. Alwar Perra Peru	Vol. IX parts ,	1951-52

(iii) Articles contributed to the Tamil Encyclopaedia*Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai*

1. Arasial Karuttukal	Vol. I
2. Ilankovadikal	Vol. II
3. Urum Perum	Vol. II
4. Kambar	Vol. III
5. Kambaramayanam	Vol. III

Dr. M. A. Dorairangaswamy

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|---------------------|--------|
| 1. Ara Nul Varalaru | Vol. I |
|---------------------|--------|

Sri B. R. Purushothama Naidu

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| 1. Alagia Manavala Seeyar | Vol. I |
| 2. Alagia Manavala Perumal Nayanar | Vol. I |
| 3. Andal | Vol. I |
| 4. Aai | Vol. I |
| 5. Uyyak Kondar | Vol. II |
| 6. Embar | Vol. II |
| 7. Guruparambarai | Vol. IV |
| 8. Kulasekhara Alwar | Vol. IV |
| 9. Kurukulottama Dasar | Vol. IV |

(iv) Papers contributed to the All India Oriental Conferences

Sri S. Viyapuri Pillai

<i>Session</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Paper</i>
1. Trivandrum	1937	'Tolkappiyar's progressive view of language'
2. Benaras	1944	'Word Study and Chronology'
3. Nagpur	1946	'Research in Dravidian Languages'

Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai

1. Trivandrum	1937	The 'Standard Language of South India'
2. Tirupathi	1940	'Dialectal variations of the distinctive consonants of Tamil'
3. Benaras	1944	'Semantics with special reference to Tamil'
4. Nagpur	1946	'The sacred place-names of Tamil Nad'
5. Bombay	1949	'The Pandiya Dialect of Tamil.'
6. Ahmadabad	1953	'The Linguistic value of Anantharanga Pillai's Diary'
7. Annamali Nagar	1955	Presidential address at the Dravidian Section of the conference.

Dr. M. A. Dorairangaswamy

Lucknow	1951	'The Religion and Philosophy of Silappatikaram'
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(v) Articles contributed to Literary Journals and commemoration Volumes

Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai

Articles on Tolkappiyam, History of Tamil Literature. Etymological studies and Literary criticism were contributed to various Literary Journals.

Sri V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar

1. Correct forms of some words (a series of eight articles in the Tamil Pozhil).
2. Meanings of some words (a series of more than five articles in the Tamil Pozhil).
3. Kappiyam — Ulaganadha Mudaliar's Commemoration Volume.
4. Kural Virundhu — Desikar Ninaivu Malar — Jaffna.
5. Nanrul Uraiyum Tolkappiyamum — Gopalakrishnamachariyar's commemoration Volume.
6. Dravidian Languages—Kalanidhi, Jaffna.

Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai

1. An article on 'Veeramamunivar nadu' (the land of Father Beschi) published in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Karanthai Tamil Sangam, Tanjore.
2. „ 'Missionary services to Tamil Literature, published in the C.R. Reddi Commemoration Volume, Andhra University. (in English).
3. „ 'The Dravidian Philologist' published in the Radha Kumuda Mukherjee Presentation Volume 1943. (in English).
4. „ 'Tamil India and Ceylon' published in the Rev. Kingsbury Commemoration Volume, Colombo.
5. „ 'The Rival states in the Ramayana' published in the Golden Jubilee Commemoration Volume of the Indusadanam, Jaffna. (in English).
6. „ 'Some historical place names of South India published in the K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume, Madras (in English).
7. „ 'Kamban and Tamilagam' published in the Silver Jubilee Number of the Ramakrishna Vijayam, Madras.
8. „ 'Iruvar Satchi' (Kambaramayanam) published in the Kamban Malar brought out by the Kambar Sangam, Madras.
9. 'Purananuru' Presidential Address in the Purananuru Conference, Madras.
10. An article on 'The Madras State and Tamil Literature' to the Republic Day Souvenir published by the Govt. of Madras in January 1951.

11. „ ‘Ornaments and Apparel’ published in the Golden Jubilee Number of the Madura Tamil Sangam.
12. „ ‘Cognate Terms and Cultural Unity’ published in the Madras Corporation Chronicle.
13. „ ‘Ellis Commentary on Tirukkural’ published in the Silver Jubilee Volume of Tiruvalluvar Kalagam.

Dr. M. A. Dorairangaswamy

1. Tirumurugarruppadai - Published in the Madurai Theagarajar College Magazine.
2. Valluvar Kanda Vidu - Silver Jubilee Volume of Tenkasi Tiruvalluvar Kalagam.
3. The Religion and philosophy of Silappadikaram - Published in the Journal of the the University.
4. The Philosophy of Tripurantaka - „ „
5. Commentary on Tiruvempavai - Published by Sri Sankarachariya Mutt..
6. Tamilar Panpadu - Published in M. V. Venugopala Pillai's Diamond Jubilee Volume.

Sri B. R. Purusothama Naidu

1. Commentary on Tiruppavai (Tiruppavai Urai) published by Sri Sankarachariya Mutt.
2. An essay on ‘Tiruvalluvar’ published in the Silver Jubilee Number of Tiruvalluvar Kalagam, Tenkasi.
3. An article on ‘Vaishnavam’ contributed to the Golden Jubilee of the Madurai Tamil Sangam.
4. An article on ‘Tamilum Vainavamum’ contributed to M. V. Venugopal Pillai Mani Vila Malar,

III General

The Lexicon Addendum Volume

The Tamil Lexicon was finished in 1936. But there were about 20,000 words collected too late for inclusion in their respective place in the Lexicon. It was therefore decided to publish an Addendum volume and the Lexicon Staff was continued. The Tamil Research Department consisting of Messrs. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, R. P. Sethu Pillai and V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar was instructed to co-operate in

the work of editing and publishing the Supplement Volume. Accordingly the Lexicon work was done along with research work from January 1937 to December 1939.

The Concise Tamil Lexicon

The University considered it desirable to bring out a Concise Tamil Lexicon and accepted the offer of the Madras Law Journal Press to publish the work under the supervision of the Tamil Department. The scheme of the Concise Tamil Lexicon was settled on 11-12-1942 and some of the items which required clarification were discussed by the Head of the Tamil Department and the Senior Lecturer in Tamil with the Editor of the Concise Tamil Lexicon and finally settled on 14-4-1948. The Concise Tamil Lexicon was published in 1954.

IV Sri R. P. Sethu Pillai, Professor of Tamil has served on the following committees with the permission of the University :

1. 'Poet Subramania Bharati Works' Publication Committee, constituted by the Government of Madras.
2. 'Language Experts' Committee set up by the Government of India for finalising a glossary of constitutional terms to be used in the Translation of the constitution of India into main Indian Languages.
3. The Tamil Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.
4. The Tamil Advisory Committee of the Southern Languages Book Trust.
5. 'Expert Committee' constituted by the Government of Madras for finalising the Administrative Terms in Tamil prepared by the Madras Provincial Tamil Sangam.
6. The Kambaramayanam Publication Committee constituted by the Annamalai University.

V. Research Students (1927-1956)

The following students were doing research in the Department :

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>
1. (a) N. Sivaprakasa Desikar (b) N. Seshachala Sarma (c) M. Kunchithapatha Desikar	Indexing of Sangam Works
2. Sri T. N. Thanu Ammal	
3. Sri A. S. Narayanaswami Naidu	
	Tamil literature during the Chola period.
	Treatment of Nature in Sangam Poetry.

4. Mrs. J. Chellapa The manners and customs of Ancient Tamils.
5. Miss. K. Gnanambal Domestic life in the Ancient Tamilagam.
6. Sri G. Subramania Pillai A study of the allusions in Sangam literature.
7. Sri M. Arunachalam Development of popular poetry in Tamil.
8. Sri A. V. Mayilvaganan (Ceylon) Development of prose in Tamil.
9. Sri K. P. Ratnam (Ceylon) Development of Tamil prosody.
10. Sri A. Krishnamurti A study of the Sangam Vocabulary.
11. Sri M. Shanmugam Pillai Tolkappiyar's influence on the Tamil language and literature.
12. Sri K. S. Ananther (Ceylon) Life of the ancient Tamils.
13. Sri S. Sethukavalar (Ceylon) Principles and history of literary criticism.
14. Sri S. Ramalinga Desikar The history of the Saiva mutts in India.
15. Sri V. Ponnuthurai (Ceylon) The treatment of nature in the Hymns of Turugnana Sambandar.
16. Rev. Ceyrac (Paris) Thevara Hymns.
17. Mrs. Jeeva Viswanatham Contribution of European scholars to Tamil.
18. Sri R. K. Satchidananda Sivam The Sacred places of South India.
19. Sri M. K. Thangavelu A critical study of Pathupattu.
20. Sri A. Alagia Chockalingam The Historic Places of the Ancient Tamilakam.
21. Sri C. Subramaniam The Contribution of Dr. G. U. Pope to Tamil Literature.
22. Sri P. Govindan Purapporul in Tamil Literature.
23. Sri S. Sarangapani Iyengar Sangam Vocabulary.
24. Sri S. Shankar Raju Naidu A comparative Study of Kambaramayanam and Tulsiramayanam

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|--|---|
| 25. Sri M. Kanagasundari | Vocabulary of Silappatika.
ram-A study. |
| 26. Sri J. R. Marr (British Treasury
Studentship) | Pathirrupattu |
| 27. Sri P. S. Indira | A Semantic Study of San-
gam Vocabulary. |

Research Fellows

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Sri S. Arumuga Mudaliar | Secular Literary works in
Tamil of the Pallava
Period. |
| 2. Sri N. Sanjeevi | A critical study of Purana-
nuru. |

Government of India Research Student

Sri K. Mahadeva Sastri

The Historical Grammar of
the Telugu Language.

University Buildings,
Madras,
25th January, 1957.

R. P. Sethu Pillai,
PROFESSOR OF TAMIL.

DEPARTMENT OF TELUGU

I. Personnel :—

The department of Telugu was started in August 1927, with Sri. K. Ramakrishnaiah as the Reader and Sri. N. Bangarayya (who left in June 1928) and Sri. P. Lakshmikantam (who left in June 1930), as fellows. Consequent on the re-organisation of the department in 1930 with a Senior and a Junior lecturer, Mr. K. Ramakrishnaiah became the Senior Lecturer. Mr. V. Ch. Sitaramaswamy Sastri (who left in June 1933) is the first Junior lecturer and Sri. S. Lakshmipati Sastri followed him. After the retirement of Sri. K. Ramakrishnaiah in August 1949, Sri. N. Venkata Rao, who had been appointed Junior Lecturer in 1944 in succession to Sri. S. Lakshmipati Sastri, was appointed as Senior Lecturer. Sri. S. Ramakrishna Sastri succeeded Mr. Venkata Rao as Junior Lecturer in March 1950.

Present Staff (from 1-1-1957) : Mr. N. Venkata Rao, M.A., *Reader*.
Mr. S. Ramakrishna Sastry, M.A.,
B.O.L., *Lecturer*.

II. Subjects of Research :—

1. History of Language and Literature.
2. Publication of Classical works.

Language :—

Sri K. Ramakrishnaiah (1930-1949) mainly conducted research in Language and published undermentioned works :—

1. Sandhi (Bulletin).
2. Studies in Dravidian Philology (Bulletin).
3. Dravidian Cognates (Common work of the four Dravidian Languages) separately printed.

Classics: - 1930-49 :—

The following are departmental publications edited by the Head of the Department with the collaboration of the Junior Lecturers.

1. Kumara Sambhavam of Nannichoda Deva (12th Century),
2. Navanadha Charitra of Gaurana—Dwipada (15th Century.)
3. Vishnumaya natakamu of yellanarya—Champu Prabandha (16th Cent.)
4. Vishnupuranamu of K. Bhavanarayana - Champu Prabandha (16th Cent.)

5. Paratattwa rasayanamu by Phani bhatta—Champu Prabandha (17th Cent.)
6. Vallabhabhyudayamu by Kodanda Rama Kavi—Champu Prabandha—(18th Cent.)

Literature :—

Literary Criticism

1. Prabhavati Pradyumnamu and its sources by Sri P. Lakshmi Kantam.
2. A Critique of Nannaichoda Deva's Kumara Sambhavamu by Sri S. Lakshmipati Sastri.

A. History of Literature :—Mr. N. Venkata Rao

From 1949 onwards the present Head of the Department Mr. N. Venkata Rao has been carrying on Research work by himself in the History of Literature.

The following have been published :—

1. **A History of Udaharana Literature**, A forgotten but an important branch of Telugu Literature, worked for the first time. To the nucleus of this work—"Tripurantakodaharanamu", the Government of the Composite state of Madras has awarded for first time, the prize for the best works in Telugu, instituted in 1949.

2. **Lives of Telugu Poets (From earliest times to 1250 A. D.)**

The first attempt of a systematic and scientific study of the lives of Telugu poets, containing new features like—A hundred Inscriptions in poetry ; Tamil and Kannada influences ; South Indian cultural traditions ; complete criticisms on works and bibliography (1st Edn.—1953 ; 2nd Edn.—In print).

3. **The Southern school in Telugu Literature** " This is a complete and comprehensive record of Telugu Literature " that flourished in the South—Tanjore, Madura, Pudukkottai, Ettiyapuram, Turayur and Talamadai in Tamilnad and also in Mysore State. Lives of the Musical Composers also find a place in this work, with an upto date bibliography and criticism on works.

The above (2) and (3) works are considered as Encyclopedic in Nature by the press (1st Edn—1954, 2nd Edn—In print),

Classical works :—

The Senior Lecturer has been serving on the Expert committee for the selection of Telugu Manuscripts by the Government of Madras since 1949 ; and edited the following works with critical introduction and bibliographical notes.

Published in the Madras Government Oriental Series.

Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras :—

1. *Khadga Lakshana Siromani* by Navanappa (Science of swords, a rare scientific works not available in other languages) No. XIV.

2. *Vidyavati Dandakamu* by Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi (a rare Dandaka edited for the first time) Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library. Vol. I. No. I.

3. *Ramayanam* by Katta Varadaraju (The biggest Dwipada work in Telugu literature in four volumes with an introduction covering more than a hundred pages dealing with Telugu Ramayanas) Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series Nos. 12, 62, 63, and 64.

4. *Rajagopala Vilasamu* by Chengaiva Kala Kavi. Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Series No. L XVIII. (A rare prabandha of Southern school dealing with the history of Vijayarahava Nayaka and his court. Also deals with the episode relating to Chempakaranya Kshetra).

B. Language.

In the field of Language Sri. N. Venkata Rao has been engaged in the investigation of the traditional patterns of grammar and prosody from the philological point of view, as compared with the modern methods of Dravidian Linguistics. In this connection the following two works.

1. Bhashaparisodhana and prayogaviseshamulu,
2. Minchupalli and Telugu Polupu (Poetry), have been published, the first being mainly explanatory, the second being particularly illustrative.

III. D. Other Publications :—

Besides these Sri. N. Venkata Rao has edited the following for the Department.

1. Thirty Telugu Inscriptions edited with English translations ; published in " Selected South Indian Inscriptions " by the University.

2. Selections from Telugu Classical poetry. (Inter & B.A.)

IV. Mackenzie Manuscripts :—

From 1947 the department worked in co-operation with the department of South Indian History and Archaeology in Preparing English Summaries for the Mackenzie Manuscripts, majority of which are in Telugu. The work was entrusted to Sri N. Venkata Rao, the then Junior Lecturer. He has prepared English Summaries for fifty six volumes covering almost half of the entire collection.

V. (a) *Papers Contributed to the Oriental Conference.*

K. RAMAKRISHNAI. H.

Tirupati 1940. Presidential Address of Telugu Section.

Darbhanga 1944. do. Dravidian Section.

SRI N. VENKATA RAO.

Bombay 1949. Andhra Bhoja A. Tyagaraja Mudaliar and
Telugu Mahabharata.

Lucknow 1951. Tamilian Contribution to Telugu Literature.

Ahmedabad 1953. Telugu influence in the South.

Annamalai Nagar 1955. Ellis Contribution to Telugu Philology.

(b) *Articles published in the Annals of the Oriental Research Institute.*

K. RAMAKRISHNAI. H.

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|---|--------|------------|---------|
| 1. Root Theory and Dravidian Root | Vol. I | Part 1 & 2 | 1936-37 |
| 2. The Dravidian Passive | II | Part 2 | 1937-38 |
| 3. Dravidian Cognates | III | Part I | 1938-39 |
| The uncultivated Languages of the Dravidian Family. | | | |
| 4. The Dravidian Languages and the Prakrit | IV | Part I | 1939-40 |
| 5. The Development of the Telugu Language | | | |
| 6. Telugu Literature outside the Telugu Country | V | Part I | 1940-41 |
| 7. Dravidian Phonetics | V | Part II | 1940-41 |
| 8. do. | VI | Part I | 1941-42 |

S. LAKSHMIPATI SASTRI.

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|--|----------|------------|----------|
| 1. Nannai Choda's references to Udbhata | } Vol. I | Part 1 & 2 | 1936-37 |
| 2. Andhra Bharata Patha nirnaya Paddhati | | | |
| 3. Jain tradition in Telugu | IV | Part 2 | 1939-40 |
| 4. Editing of the Ancient works | V | Part 2 | 1940-41 |
| 5. The prosodical value of the vocalic 'r' in Telugu | } VI | Part 1 | 1941-42. |
| | | | |

N. VENKATA RAO.

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|---|--------------|-------------|---------|
| 1. Pre Nannaya Period in Telugu Literature | } Vol. VIII. | Part I & II | 1950-51 |
| 2. Bibliography of Dwipada Kavya literature | | | |
| 3. do. | Vol. X | Part I | 1952-53 |

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|--|---|----------|-------------|---------|
| 4. Telugu Literature under Mysore rulers | } | Vol. X | Part II | 1952-53 |
| 5. Dissertation of Telugu Language by Ellis (1816) | | Vol. XI | Part I & II | 1953-54 |
| 6. do. | | Vol. XII | ,, | 1954-55 |
- Journal of the Madras University.*
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|--|--|------|
| 7. Kulasekhara in Telugu Literature | Vol. XV | | | 1953 |
|-------------------------------------|---------|--|--|------|

S. RAMAKRISHNA SASTRY.

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|--|---|----------|-------------|---------|
| 1. The Andhras & Telugus. Their original home and language | } | Vol. IX | Part I & II | 1951-52 |
| 2. The date of Palkuriki Somanatha | | Vol. X | Part I | 1952-53 |
| 3. Andhra Prabandhamulu. Dharmopadesamu | } | Vol. X | Part 2 | 1952-53 |
| 4. Janasamanyamu Bhasha Vang mayamulu | | Vol. XI | Part I & II | 1953-54 |
| 5. Poets of the same names & titles | | Vol. XII | Part I & II | 1954-55 |

(c) *Articles Contributed to Special numbers Commemoration volumes etc.*

Articles on Tolkappiyam, and other linguistic aspects of Telugu were contributed to various literary journals by Sri K. Ramakrishnaiah.

N. VENKATA RAO

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|--|---|--|------|
| 1. Tyagarajamudali & Telugu Mahabharata | } | Andhra Patrica Annual | 1945 |
| 2. Age of Nannaya in Telugu Literature | | do | 1950 |
| 3. Development of Telugu Prose | | do | 1951 |
| 4. Mallikarjunstavadāharanam | | do | 1952 |
| 5. Lakshana Grandhamulu, Vangmaya Parisodhana | } | do | 1953 |
| 6. Birudukavula Udantamulu | | do | 1954 |
| 7. Astadiggajamulu (The Eight Telugu poets of Krishnadevaraya's Court) | } | do | 1955 |
| 8. Panditatrayamu (The Three Saivite Acharyas of Telugu Country) | | Andhra State Inauguration Number Andra Patrica | 1953 |
| 9. The basic divisions of Andhra Desa and their history as can be gathered from Literature | } | do
Published by Venkatrama & Co | 1953 |
| 10. Krishnama charya the vaishnavaita Saint | | do | 1956 |
| 11. Janapadageyavangmayamu | } | Annual number of "Kinnera" | 1954 |

12.	Mayurakavi and Andhra vangmayamu	}	Sanskrita Sammelana Sanchika Tirupati 1955
13.	Kshetrayapadamulu—Bhasha		Kshetraya Sanchika 1956
14.	Andhra Vangmaya Prabhakasudu Contribution of Prubhakasa Sastry to language	}	"Parisodhana" Prabhakara Sastry Commemoration volume (Number 3)
15.	Veyyendla Telugu uatakamu (One thousand years of Telugu Drama		do Andhra Nataka Pitamaha Com- memoration volume (Num- ber 5)
16.	Somana Sristinchina Chandassu Palkuriki Somanathas invention of new types of Telugu Prosody	}	do Somanatha Commemora- tion volume (Numbers 9&10)
17.	The language of Kanya sulkam The first original Drama in Telugu Literature by G. V. Apparao		do Guruzada Appa rao Commemo- ration (Number 12)
18.	Andhra vangmayamulo Boudha Sahityamu—Buddism in Telugu Literature	}	do Buddajayanti Commemora- tion (Number 13)
19.	Mallayuddhamuk The Art of wrestling		Specimen number of The Telugu Encyclopedia 1949
20.	Telugu Literature under national Government (English)	}	Madras Government Souvenir 1951
21.	Telugu Literature under Madura Naiks (English)		Journal of the Andra Historical Research Society Rajamundry Vijanagar Special Number
22.	Survey of Language in Telugu journalism	}	Andhra Prabha spl. Number

(d) Articles Contributed to approved Journals.

1.	Pasupati Naganatha—first author of Vishnupurana.	Bharati
2.	Sivadevayya—the first Andhra kavi pitamaha	... do.
3.	Donayamatya and Sasyanandam	... do.
4.	Navyayuga nirmata—Veeresalingakavi	... do.
5.	Veera Saiva Literature (Essay Covering 25 pages)	... do.
6.	Kavikalanirnayamu Sasanadharamulu	... do.
7.	Purvakavula kritulu—Punarmudranavasyakata	... do.
8.	Vachana vangmaya Pradhamacharya Krishnamacharya	... do.

9. Amarukamu	... Bharati
10. Harivilasamu Virasaiva tradition	... do.
11. Peddana, Manucharitra—an exposition	... do.
12. Some yākshagana poets and their lives	... do.
13. Purvasihitya Veedhulu	... do.
14. Language of Nannaya	... Parisodhana
15. do.	... do.
16. do.	... do.
17. Dandakavangmayamu	... do.
18. Yerrana and Harivamsa rachanakalamu	... do.
19. Kavitrayamu—Yerrana tradition	... do.
20. Sangita ratnakaramu	... Vani
21. Nudi Nanudi	... do.
22. Akkamahadevi vilasamu	... Andhra Mahila
23. Tattwa Bodhini—1869 Journal	... Trilinga
24. Telugu Drams—History of Translations	} Abhisheka nataka introduction

(e) *Critical Introductions to classical works*

1. Basava puranamū of Palkūriki Somanatha	}	Andhra Grāndha Mala
2. Bhagavatamu of Bommara Pothana		Mādras Vavilla do.
3. Vasucharitramu of Bhatmumurthi		do.
4. Dhanabhiramatu of Surana		do.
5. Krishnarjunā Samvadam of Nadindla gopa	}	do.
6. Sukasaptati of Kadiripati		do.
7. Charucharya of Appana		do.
8. Anyavada kolahalam of Ekamrānatha	}	do.

Prosody

9. Kavijanasrayamu the first work in Telugu Prosody	}	do.
10. Ananthuni Chandassu		do.
11. Appakaviyamu		do.

Sataka

12. Venkateswara Sataka of Tallapaka Annamayya	}	do.
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Scientific

13. Andhra Parāsariyahora by Vijayaramagājapathy	}	D. J. Sarma
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Modern Poetry

14.	Works of Guruzada Apparao Vol I	Vavilla
15.	Vol II	do.
16.	Vivekanandudu by U. M. Reddy	Author
17.	Madhubala by B. Bhimanna	do.
18.	Deepasabha by do.	do.
19.	Amarajivi by Kota Sodara Kavulu	do.
20.	Panchamrutham by Andilakumi	do.

(f) Biographies—Poets, Scholars & Patrons.

1.	Anandacharyalu P.	Trilinga
2.	Appaya Dikshita	do.
3.	Borrai, Kavali Venkata	do.
4.	Brown C. P.	do.
5.	Buchikavi Mallampalli	do.
6.	Chinnaya Suri Paravastu	do.
7.	Gangadhara Sastry Manavalli	do.
8.	Gurumurthy Sastry Ravipati	do.
9.	Kamesam Jayanti	do.
10.	Kasinatha Sastry Peri	do.
11.	Kodandaramakavi Kotikelapudi	do.
12.	Narasimhacharyaswamy Mudumbi	do.
13.	Pattabirama Sastry Vedamu	do.
14.	Parvatiswara Sastry Mandapaka	do.
15.	Ramaswami Sastrulu Vavilla	do.
16.	Sankhayana Sarma A. V.	do.
17.	Sri Ramamurthy Guruzada	do.
18.	Subbaraya Sastry Tata	do.
19.	Surakavi Adidamu	do.
20.	Surya Prasadha Rao Tripurana	do.
21.	Suryanarayana Tirthula Puranam	do.
22.	Sarvamangaleswara Sastry Nadiminti	do.
23.	Venkatrama Sastry Kuruganti	do.
24.	Venkata Sāstry Chellapilla	do.
25.	Venkatakavi Gopinatha	do.
26.	Veturi Prabhakara Sastry	Bharati
27.	Venkataratnam Pantulu Kokkonda	do.
28.	do,	do.

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|-------------------------------------|-----|-----------|
| 29. Venkataratnam Pantulu Kokkonda | ... | Bharati |
| 30. Venkata Krishna Rao Tadakamalla | ... | do. |
| 31. Karalapati Rangaih | ... | Sanskriti |

(g) *Literary Broad Casts with the permission of the University*

Tamil Culture

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|-----------------------|-----|------|
| 1. Anandaranga Pillai | ... | Vani |
| 2. do. | ... | do. |
| 3. do. | ... | do. |
4. Velunduru Somasundaram Pillai (The first patron of Telugu Mahabharata printing)
5. Tirukkalatti Mudaliar of Seyyur, patron of Chevgalvaraykavi
6. T. S. Murugesan Pillai author of Life of Kamban & other works
7. Mathuru Appavu Mudali Author of Matrusataka
8. Arcot Tyagaraja Mudaliar author of Telugu Mahabharata

Aryan Culture

9. Arya Sanghika Vyavasta—state of Aryan Society
10. Featured talks on Ramayana
11. do
12. Warfare in Ancient India—weapons
13. do Military traditions & Modes
14. Seasons—Summer as depicted in literature
15. Hariharanatha cult.

History

16. Charitrakathamulu Source of History-Inscriptions
17. do Granthavatarikalu (Avatarikas of Classical works)
18. Protection of lithic records & books (Desiyaitihasa Parisodhana-likitapustakarakshana)
19. Andhra Desa in the 19th century according to Christian Missionaries
20. Kaifiats
21. Foreign Savants—Col. Mackenzie

Linguistic Science

22. The Romance of words. Change in meaning and Connotation of words
23. Origin of names-Surnames
24. do of Speech and Connotation of words
25. Study of words and their meaning place names

26. Study of words Sports & pastimes
27. do Dress ornaments
28. Nighantu Charitra Kosamulu (Lexicography)

Literature Sahitya

29. Talapatragrandhamulu Kulasekhararuahipala Charitram
30. Rachana Naipuni—Nannayya
31. do Kethana
32. Heroines of Modern Literature—Urvashi
33. Sahitya Rupavali—Literary forms (8 talks)
34. Vyasarachana—Essay wishing (5 do)
35. Keyurabahu Charitra (6 do)

Articles relating to Telugu Literature were also contributed by the junior Lecturer Sri S. Ramakrishna Sastry.

VI. Research Students 1930—1956.

The following Students were doing Research in the Department.

University Research Students.

Name.	Subject.
1. C. Satyanarayana M.A. 1937—38	} Telugu Literature under Naik- kings of Madura & Tanjore.
2. E. Jagannadhachari B.A. 1939	} The development of Telugu Drama.
3. K. Rajamannar M.A. 1940	} Srinatha as the Poet and Epoch Maker.
4. S. Ramakrishna Sastry M.A. 1940—42	} Nannaya, Tikkana Pothana, as men, poet and philosopher.
5. N. V. R. Krishnamacharyulu M.A. 1943—1945	} The Age of Tikkana in Telugu Literature.

None of the above thesis were submitted and degrees Conferred.

6. G. V. Krishna Rao 1949—52 ... Studies in Kalapurnodayamu.
The Candidate submitted the Thesis and obtained the Degree of
Ph D. under the supervision of Sri N. Venkata Rao.
7. Srimati B. Audilakshmi M.A. Dip. P. & P. & A. Government of
India Research Scholar working on "Saivism in Telugu Litera-
ture and its Contribution to South Indian Culture" in the
Department.

DEPARTMENT OF KANNADA

Early Background

The University of Madras can look back with a certain amount of satisfaction upon the useful work turned out by its alumni and teachers in the several fields of study and research during the course of a hundred years. Since its inception in 1857 for over 50 years, the University of Madras served the whole of South India comprising mostly of the four main Dravidian Language regions of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam and parts of Orissa and Maharashtra in the northern limit and Ceylon in the South of South India. It was in July 1916 that the University of Mysore was incorporated and in subsequent years other South Indian Universities were established.

Despite the vicissitudes in the technical jurisdiction of the University there has been great impetus given to the development and researches in all the South Indian Languages along with other subjects of Humanities and Sciences. That this has been the aim of the University all along could be appreciated from the import of a resolution of the Senate held on October 10, 1913 which runs as follows :—

“ That a Professorship of Dravidian Philology be instituted. The holder should also be Director of Dravidian Studies and ex-officio chairman of the Board of Studies in Dravidian Languages. (At that time, there was only one Board of Studies for all the four Dravidian Languages). Professors may be required to deliver courses of lectures, but it should be laid down that the duty will not be merely or even mainly be to teach. Any work calculated to further the advanced study of languages with which they are concerned will fall within the sphere of their legitimate duties. ”

In furtherance of this resolution the following Readers in Dravidian Languages were appointed in 1914, as no suitable person was available for appointment as Professor of Dravidian Philology.

1. K.V. Subbaiya M.A.L.T., - Presidency College.
2. S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai M.A., L.T. - Christian College.
3. K. Amrita Rao, M.A., L.T. - Latin Master - Presidency College.
4. C. S. Venkatarama Ayyar - Government Training College, Saidapet.

They carried research work on History of their respective Languages and Dravidian Philology. "Vyakaranopanyasa manjari" of Raghunatha Rao is a work belonging to that period.

It may not be out of place to mention in this context some of the great works in Kannada produced by the illustrious alumni of the University in the field of advanced study and researches (from about the beginning of this century)

- (1) Several valuable Kannada works by Maha Mahopadhyaya Siddhanti Siva Sankara Sastri who was Kannada Pandit in the Presidency College from 1893 to 1920.
- (2) Kannada Kavi Charite - Lives and chronology of Kannada Poets in three volumes (1907) - A monumental research work by the late Praktana vimarsa Vichakshana, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Director of Archaeology, Mysore, and his History of Kannada Language.
- (3) The innumerable research contributions by the Veteran Indologist, Sri M. Govinda Pai.
- (4) Nadoja Pampa (1938), Parti Subba, Kaviraja marga Viveka etc. - valuable researches of Sri Vidwan M. Thimmappaya.
- (5) Professor B. M. Srikantiah's several valuable contributions in the field of Literature, Literary Criticism and History of language.
- (6) Professor T.S. Venkannayya's varied writings.

Oriental Research Institute : Department of Kannada

The institution of a separate Faculty of Oriental Learning and Examinations for Oriental Titles and the establishment of independent Boards of Studies for the important Dravidian Languages in 1915 brightened further the prospects of advanced study in Kannada along with the other Languages.

Years rolled on and better facilities for Kannada research were ushered in when the Department of Kannada forming part of the Oriental Research Institute was started in 1927 according to the scheme sanctioned by the Senate in 1925. It was housed at "Thambu Villa", Egmore until 1930 and then at the "Limbi Gardens", Royapettah. In 1936 all the Departments were shifted to the New University Buildings.

Personnel :

The Department has had all along two members in the permanent staff and some times one or two Research Students (Stipendiary or non-stipendiary), Sri A. Venkata Rao, B.A., L.T. and Sri H. Chenna Kesava Ayyangar M.O.L. were Heads of the Department respectively during the periods 1927-1935 and 1936-1939. The present Head of the Department, Sri M. Mariappa Bhat M.A., L.T., Vidwan was appointed in 1940. Pandit Sri H. Sesha Ayyangar was Junior Lecturer from 1927 to 1945 and in 1946 the present incumbent, Sri M. Govinda Rao M.A., B.O.L., was appointed. Research workers have been either Post-Graduates (M.A's.) or Oriental Title holders of distinction.

Work has been carried on in the field of Kannada research under the heads (1) Study of Language - Historical and Linguistic, (2) Study of Literature and (3) Publication of rare and ancient classical works (after careful collation) with critical notes and introduction which in fact supplies the most important basic material for items (1) and (2). It would be noticed from the list of the Departmental publications that greater attention was paid to works under category (3), as it was felt to be more urgent, being the starting point for the rest of the work.

Special : " Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary " is a joint work by the Heads of the Departments of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam which is about to be released. It is bound to be of great interest to all workers on Linguistics and Anthropology.

The present Head of the Department is now engaged in a work on Tulu, a Dravidian Dialect.

Lectures : With the inauguration of the Honours and Post Graduate courses in Kannada in the Presidency College from 1951, the Department has been actively participating in the Scheme of Lectures, for Hons. & Post-Graduate Students.

Journals : The members of the Kannada Department have contributed several research papers, specially on Dialects (Tulu), Comparative grammar, History of Kannada Language, Problems of Kannada Literature and Literary Criticism to the Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, Prabuddha Karnataka (University of Mysore), Jayanti, Subodha, and Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conferences.

General : Sri M. Mariappa Bhat was chairman of the Advisory committee in Kannada constituted by the Government of Madras from 1944 till 1952 and was also chairman of the Technical Terms committee (Kannada) constituted by the Government, which prepared Kannada Equivalents for the technical terms in the several subjects.

As a delegate of the University, he served on the Kannada Script Reformation Committee of the Mysore State Adult Education Society, attended the All India Oriental Conference and Kannada Sahitya Sammelana Sessions. He has been the Chairman Boards of Studies in Kannada of the Madras and Sri Venkateswara Universities and member of the Boards of Studies in Kannada of the Mysore and Andhra Universities. The Department was engaged in scrutinizing and translating the important manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collections.

The present Head of the Department has been the chief Editor of the Annals of Oriental Research since 1950 and has been serving as a member of the Editorial Committee of the Kannada Dictionary under preparation now at the Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore. From September 1955 to May 1956 he worked for two terms in the Department of Linguistics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and made several useful academic contacts.

This is a brief survey of the Progress of research in Kannada in the University of Madras from the beginning to the present day.

A list of the important publications by the members of the Department :

	<i>Author</i>	<i>Name of the book</i>	<i>year</i>
1.	Sri A. Venkata Rao & Sri H. Sesha Ayyangar.	Kavirajamarga	1931
2.	"	Rasaratnakara by Salva	1932
3.	"	Abhidhanavastu Kosa by Naga-varma	1933
4.	"	Pushpadantapurana	1933
5.	"	Sabdamanidarpana of Kesiraja with the commentary of Lingaradhya.	1939
6.	"	Oshadhi Kosam	1940
7.	Sri A. Venkata Rao & Sri H. Sesha Ayyangar.	Abhidhanaratnamala	1940
8.	"	Neminathapurana by Karnaparya	
9.	" , & M. M. Bhat	Kagendramanidarpana	1942
10.	Sri M. M. Bhat	Chandassara of Gunachandra	1942
11.	"	Kannada Samskriti	1950
12.	"	Sangita Ratnakara	1950
13.	"	Two anthologies from classical works.	1951
14.	"	Abhinavamangaraja Nighantu	1952

<i>Author</i>	<i>Name of the book</i>	<i>year.</i>
15. Sri M. M. Bhat & Sri M. Govinda Rao.	Vardhamana Puranam	1953
16. Sri M. M. Bhat.	Kannada Inscriptions	1953
17. Sri M. M. Bhat & Govinda Rao	Parswanathan Puranam	1954
18. „	Jataka Tilakam	1955
19. Sri M. M. Bhat	Vyavahara ganita of Rajaditya	1956

Besides these more than 200 research papers have been contributed by the members of the Department to the Annals of Oriental Research and other learned journals, some of which have been listed herebelow :—

(B) RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS OTHER THAN BOOKS.

(a) Sri H. Chennakesava Ayyangar.

1. History of Kannada Literature I Annals, Vol. I, Pts. 1 & 2, 1936-37, pp. 1-16.
2. History of Kannada Literature, II Annals, Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 17-21.
3. Jainism in Kannada Literature-Proceedings of the 9th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(b) Sri M. Mariappa Bhat.

1. Turning Points in Kannada Literature, Annals, Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1940-41 pp. 1-10.
2. Andaya, Annals, Vol. VI, Pt. 1, 1941-42, pp. 1-16.
3. Chandassara, (an unpublished work on Prosody)—Annals, Vol. VI, Part 2, 1941-42, pp. 1-36.
4. Introduction to Chandassara-Annals, Vol. VII, Pt. 1, 1942-43 pp. 1-8.
5. Desi Element in Kannada Literature - Proceedings of the 11th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.
6. Gender in Ancient Kannada - Prabuddha Karnataka, Vol. 24.
7. Desi Words in Prakrit - Prabuddha Karnataka Vol. 26.
8. History of Plural suffixes in Dravidian Language - Proceedings of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.
9. Purandaradasa and His Teachings - Journal of the Music Academy, Vol. XIV.

10. A brief survey of Kannada Literature-Madras Samachar.
11. Aspirated letters in Kannada Language - Prabuddha Karnataka.
12. Mathematics in Ancient Karnataka (Popular Review, 1940).
13. Family Names in Tuluva - (Special Number, Mitramandali Publication, 1945).
14. Loan Words from Portuguese (Jayanti).
15. Study of cases in Dravidian Languages (Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Nagpur).
16. The Locative case in Kannada (Prabuddha Karnataka).
17. The Mahabharata Song (Jeevana).
18. Plural Suffixes in Dravidian Languages (Journal of the Oriental Research).
19. Development of Language (Karmaveer).
20. Place - names in Tuluva (Krishna Sukti—2 articles).
21. Structure of Havyaka Language — A Dialect of Kannada (Special Number — Seva).
22. Kannada Inscription Poets (Annals O. R. I. Vol. VIII).
23. A bird's eye view of Kannada Literature (Jayanti).
24. Karnataka Dialects. (Hora Nada Kannadiga, Delhi).
25. Some Tadbhavas in Tulu. (Kannada Nudi).
26. Social Life of Karnataka as depicted in Ranna's works (Dharmasthala Manjayya Hedge's Commemoration Volume).
27. Some aspects of Kannada culture. (C. S. Srinivasachari's Commemoration Volume).
28. Tuluva Culture as revealed from Tulu vocabulary (Proceedings of the 14th Session of the All India Oriental Conference).
29. "Words that tell us something about Tuluvas." (Annals O. R. I. Vol. IX Parts I & II).
30. Tulu Calendar (Annals O. R. I. Vol. X Part I).
31. Kannada Manigalu. (Subodha).
32. Pampa's influence in Telugu Literature. (All India Oriental Conference Proceedings, 1951).

33. An old Kannada Dialect. (Paper submitted to the General Linguistics Seminar of the School of Oriental & African Studies, London.) (1955).

34. "Rama Katha in Kannada". (Paper submitted to the Ramayana Seminar, in the School of Oriental & African Studies) (1956).

35. Inflexions of Nouns in Tulu. (Annals O. R. I. Vol. X—Pt. II.

36. Obsolete Words in Kannada (Annals Vol. XII Pts. 1 & 2).

(c) Sri H. Sesha Ayyangar.

1. Kavijihvabhandhana of Iswara Kavi, Annals, Vol. III, Pt. 2, 1938-39, pp. 1-39.

2. Kavijihvabhandhana, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, pp. 41-58, & i-xvi, 1939-40, Annals.

3. Jinakshara Male, Annals, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, 1939-40, pp. 1-10.

4. Kavijihvabhandhana Vimarse, Annals, Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1940-41, pp. 33-48.

5. Rare words in Pampa's Works - Annals, Vol. V, Pt. 2, 1940-41, pp. 33-48.

6. " Vol. VI, Pt. 1, 1941-42, pp. 49-72.

7. " Vol. VI, Pt. 2, 1941-42, pp. 73-76.

8. " Vol. VII, Pt. 1, 1942-43, pp. 77-90.

(d) M. Govinda Rao.

1. Kannada Literature - Its nature and purpose - *Mitramandalaya Kanike*. (1945)

2. *Yakshagana - Seva*.

3. *Parvathi Koravanji - An Appreciation* - Subodha.

4. *The Sources of Ranna's Gadayuddha* - "

5. *The History of Kannada Prose* - "

6. *Krishnakarnamrta and Jaggannatha*

Vijaya - A Comparative Study. - "

7. *The Teachings of the Poet Ranna* - "

8. *The Dharmic Culture of the Kannadigas - Dharmabodha*.

9. *The Sentiment of Karuna as depicted in the folk songs of Karnataka - Subodha*.

10. The Social Life in the time of Purandara Dasa - Subodha.
11. Haridasas of Karnataka - Jayanti.
12. The Dynasty of Bilagi Kings - Jayanti.
13. The Poet Mallarasa - A Critical Study - Dhureena.
14. The Ancient Glory of Udayavara - Dhureena.
15. Vadiraja - The Master Poet - Yugapurusha.
16. Muka-Sandesha - Yugapurusha.
17. Krishnavatara Katha Sangraha (Annal O. R. I. Vol. VIII).
18. The Beauty of Kumara Vyasa's Poetry - Yugapurusha.
19. Influence of English on Kannada Literature - Sambhavana Sanchike.
20. Kannada Literature of the Present Day - Yugapurusha.
21. Dasavatara Charitre - A Critical Study.
22. Poet Sarvajna's Knowledge of Astrology - Krishikara Bandhu.
23. Krishnavatara Katha Sangraha (Contd.) - Annals Vol. IX.
24. Yakshagana in Karnataka (Annals Vol. X Pt. II).
25. Kannada Literature and the Ratta Kings (Annals O.R.I. Vol. XI Pts. 1 & 2).
26. Kannada Yakshagana Poets (Annals Vol. XII Pts. 1 & 2).

(e) Research Students.

Following Post-Graduates Students carried on research in the Kannada Department.

1. Sri C. K. Tirumalesh M.A., B.O.L. - Golden Age of Kannada Literature.
2. Sri H. V. Seshachar M.A., B.O.L.,—Problems of Kannada Prosody.
3. Sri A. Shankara Kedilaya, M.A., B.T.,—Naga Varma - A Critical Study.

(iv) DEPARTMENT OF MALAYALAM.

The department of Malayalam was started in the University of Madras in 1921 as a section of the Oriental Research Institute. Two members constituted the staff. In 1930 the department was made permanent. Dr. C. Achyuta Menon assisted by Shri P. Krishnan Nair had a long period of meritorious service. Dr. Menon expired in 1952 and Shri P. Krishnan Nair retired in 1947. Dr. S. K. Nayar is the present Head of the Department, the other member being Shri K. N. Ezhuthachan.

Since the very inception of the department some fundamental aims have been kept in view. The first was to make an exhaustive study of the cultural peculiarities of Kerala as reflected in language and literature. It is common knowledge that historically speaking Kerala, whose famous name was Cera in ancient days, was an integral part of the Tamil Nad. Tamil classics like Silappadikaram, Padirruppattu were born in that part of the country. Malayalam is recognised as an offshoot of Tamil and there is no doubt that originally the cultural affinity of the two peoples was very great. But in course of time due to the geographical and historical causes there was a conspicuous change. With the arrival of Nambudiri Brahmans who gradually penetrated both the spiritual and material life of the country there was a complete fusion of the Dravidian and Aryan cultural elements. A new language was born and various art-forms developed. A study of this particular culture with all its ramifications has been the main theme of research from the very beginning.

With this end in view this department turned its attention first to the collection of religious songs in which the cultural life of a people lies embedded. Rare Torram songs on Kali the favourite Mother Goddess of the people of Kerala were collected and edited with a critical introduction. The Kali Worship in Kerala volume I by the late Dr. C. A. Menon then Head of the Department was the pioneer attempt in the field. The work was composed of two parts the first containing the introduction and the second, the texts.

Kerala was a land of warriors and it has an extensive ballad literature. The Ballads of North Malabar Vol. I was edited and published by Dr. C. A. Menon in 1934 with a scholarly introduction. This volume deals with Otenan the famous North Malabar hero.

Two more volumes of these ballads have been published and these have considerably enhanced our knowledge of the medieval Kerala society, its customs, manners etc. 'The Death of Otenan' belonging to the above series was published in the Departmental Journal in 1951.

In editing the above ballads another aim has also been kept in view. These have been written in an unsophisticated colloquial style and will provide ample data for the study of North Malabar dialect which may throw some welcome light on the development of Malayalam.

In Kerala no other literary figure commands greater respect than Tuncat Eluthaccan, the father of Modern Malayalam. The erudite work 'Eluttaccan and His Age', originally a thesis of Dr. C. A. Menon was published from the Department in 1939. It has utilised all the available material for the study of that great saint-poet and his works have been subjected to a penetrating and exhaustive criticism.

Kerala has now become famous for its Kathakali. Developing from the ritual plays like Kutiyattam conducted in temples, Kathakali is a late arrival, but none the less the most artistic. In a short life of about 300 years it has reached unparalleled perfection and embodies traits of native genius and Aryan techniques as represented by Bharata in his Natya Sastra. Music, dance and poetry are harmoniously combined in this art form. To bring out in bold relief all its peculiarities, to explain all its subtle techniques and to assess the merits of the Attakkatha literature in Malayalam, a work entitled 'Attakkatha' was published by this department in 1939. A number of articles were also published on this topic in the Annals of the Oriental Research Institute.

Yet another work undertaken by this department was the collection and publication of rare manuscripts which lie hidden in the old archives of Kerala. 'Kucelavrtam and Krisna Vilāsam' was the first publication of this kind in 1929. Mavaratam Pattu which has a specific bearing on the snake-cult of Kerala was published in 1944 as a bulletin. This work deals with the old Mahabharata story but with many interesting changes. Keralolpatti which gives the traditional account of the origin of Kerala was edited with a critical introduction and published in 1953. The Parasurama legend, the story of the Perumal rule etc. find their place in the work which, though not highly valuable in themselves, shed some side-lights in the proper understanding of the history of Kerala. In 1942 two lectures were also delivered by Dr. C. A. Menon on the topic. Kedaramahatmyam another interesting work was published by the Dept. in 1953.

Kerala of old had a peculiar kind of military exercise and training called Kalarippayarru which has been to some extent revived by certain enthusiasts recently. The various granthas giving full techniques of the training had been kept as secrets by the traditional teachers. The Malayalam department took the initiative in procuring a rare manuscript of such a work and published it in the name of 'Ayudhabhyasa' in 1953. It contains minute description of about 600 feats reproducing the very words of the old fencing masters in teaching.

The close attention paid to the arts has remained unabated and in 1955 the Department has published a work on the Folk-dramas of Kerala ('Keralithile Natoti Natakangal') by Dr. S. K. Nayar. This work enumerates most of the important types of folk-dramas in Kerala in which the country abounds, and treats them on a historical and descriptive basis with their critical evaluation. A study of literature connected with the Sasta-cult of Kerala is in progress. A work on the snake-cult and allied literature is also under preparation.

Another line of work followed by the department was the study of Aesthetics. The learned treatises of the Kavyajivita Vrtti 'two parts (1937) and the 'Kavyalokam' (1942) by Shri P. Krishnan Nair have so far not been surpassed by any other work in Malayalam on Indian aesthetics. Though these works deal primarily with the Indian literary criticism, western theories have also been touched upon by the author.

The department is also engaged in linguistic study, and research is progressing on the ancient and medieval Malayalam, collecting the relevant inscriptional and literary data. With this end in view two very important works, viz. the Bhasa Kautaliyam (a 12th century prose commentary on Kautalya's famous Artha Sastra) and the Ramacaritam (the famous Pattu work of the medieval period) are being critically edited.

The department is also collaborating with the other Dravidian departments in the preparation of the work on Dravidian Cognate words—an attempt that has been embarked upon to assess the mutual relationship of the South Indian languages. Dr. C. A. Menon, the Head of Mal. Dept. was for long the convener of the Committee formed for the purpose.

Appendix 'A' following contains the list of books published by this department and Appendix 'B', list of important articles published in research journals by the department staff. Appendix 'C' shows details of the research students, their subjects etc.

APPENDIX 'A'

*(Works published by the Malayalam department)***Dr. C. A. Menon.**

1. Kucēlavṛttam and Krishna Vilāsam (Ed.) 1930
2. The Ballads of North Malabar Vol. I (Ed.) 1935 (2nd Edn. 1956)
3. Eluthaccan and His Age 1940
4. Kālī Worship in Kerala 1943

Posthumous publications.

5. Āyudhābhyāsam (Ed.) 1953
6. Kēraḷōlpatti (Ed.) 1953
7. The Ballads of North Malabar Vol. II (Ed.) 1955

Shri P. Krishnan Nair.

1. Kāvyaḷivita Vṛtti I & II Pts. 1937 (2nd Edn. 1953)
2. Āṭṭakkāṭha 1940
3. Kāvyaḷokam 1942
4. Kēdāra Māhātmyam, (Ed.) 1953

Dr. S. K. Nayar

1. Malayalam Inscriptions (Ed.) 1952
2. Selections from Classical Works
(8 parts) (Ed.) 1952-53
3. Bhūmiyaraññu Pāṭṭu (Ed.) 1954 (Bulletin)
4. Kēraḷathilē Nāṭōṭi Nāṭakannaḷ 1955
5. The Ballads of North Malabar Vol. III (Ed.) 1957
6. Nalacaritam (Ed.) 1955 (Bulletin)

APPENDIX 'B'

*(List of important articles contributed to research journals etc.)***Dr. C. A. Menon**

1. Histrionic Art of Kerala—
The cultural background Annals of the Oriental Research
Institute 1939
2. Karūr Tōṭṭam " 1940
3. Pāṇḍavar Tōṭṭam " 1940
4. Antiquity of the Culture of Kerala " 1940
5. Dravidic studies in Madras Madras Tercentenary
Commemoration Vol. 1939
6. A Peep into the Ancient Kerala K. V. Rangaswami Iyenger
Comm. Vol. 1940
7. Ancient Malabar Polity C. R. Reddy Comm. Vol. 1941
8. The Two Harvest Festivals of Malabar Gopalakrishnamacharya Comm.
Vol. 1942

9. On Onam Radhakumud Mukherji Comm. Vol. 1943
 10. Some Aboriginal Tribes of Malabar B. C. Law Comm. Vol. 1943

Shri P. Krishnan Nair.

1. Kāvyaūmaṇa-vada-vicāra „ 1939
 2. An Answer to the criticism of Bhatta theory of Dhvani „ 1940
 3. Līlātilakam and its Text „ 1940
 4. Maṇipravāḷa-swarupam „ 1940
 5. Alamkāra-samiksa „ 1940
 6. The author of Dhvanyāloka—a discussion „ 1941
 7. Prabhākara's criticism on Dhvani (a reply) „ 1941
 8. Rasaswarūpa Nirūpaṇam Parishat Traimasikam 1941
 9. The opponents of Dhvani Theory Raja Sir Annamalai chettiar 60th Birth day Comm. Vol. 1941

Dr. S. K. Nayar

1. Kūṭiyāṭṭam Annals, O. R. I. 1957

Shri K. N. Ezhuthachan

1. Tarūsvarūpam (Ed.) „ 1956
 2. The Rāmcāritam and its Metres „ 1957

APPENDIX 'C'

(List showing the details of research students and their subjects)

1. Manavikrama panickar Subhadraranam Pana 1927-30
 (Published as departmental work in 1940)
 2. V. M. Kuttikrishna Menon Dramatic Art of Kerala 1933-35
 3. C. Sankunni Nair Campu Kavyas 1934-36
 4. Mrs. O. T. Sarada-krishnan Dravidian prosody and Mal. metres 1935-37
 5. Kum. M. N. Sreedevi Kuncan Nambiar's Tullal Works 1938-40
 6. P. V. Krishnan Nair Eluthccan Pattu „
 7. Kum. M. P. Bhadramma Iravikutti Pillai Pattu 1939-42
 (M. Litt. Degree awarded)

8.	"Kamakshi Kutty	Krsnagatha	1941-42
9.	C. Appukutty Guptan	Punam and His Works	1942-43
10.	Kum. Amminikutty	Kilippattu literature of Eluthaccan	1943-45
11.	N. V. Krishna Variyar	Malayalam Prosody	1944-46 (M. Litt. Degree awarded)
12.	S. Krishna Nayar	Folk Drama of Kerala	1944-45 (Ph. D. Degree awarded)
13.	K. V. Easwara Variyar	Unnayi Variyar and His works	1947-48
14.	C. Govinda Variyar	The Astrological data in Malayalam literature	1950-51
15.	V. Anandakuttan Nair	Campu Literature in South Indian lanugages	1951-53
16.	K. Vasudevan Namboodirippad	An Etymological study of the Loan Words in Malayalam	1952-54
17.	O. K. Vasudeva Panicker	The Dark Age in Mal. literature—A study of 19th century works	1954-55
18.	V. Appukutta Menon	A study of Nalacaritam Kathakali	1953-55
19.	A. R. Ravi ² Varma	The Origin and Development of Kathakali	1955-56
20.	K. Ramakrishnan	A study of Place—names in Malabar	1955-56
21.	K. M. Prabhakara Variyar	The History and Evolution of Malayalam script	1955—
22.	P. Krishnan Namboo dirippad	Kuttiyattam	1956-

(V) DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT

Beginnings

When the Presidency College, Madras, was organised, there were difficulties of the rules of the University Board in including Sanskrit in the curriculum of studies. However as early as 1856 Rev. P. Percival had been appointed in that College as Professor of Sanskrit and Vernacular Literature. Actual teaching in Sanskrit was not begun immediately because of the vacillation of the British authorities over the question whether the provision for Sanskrit to be made should take the traditional Pandit line or the modern European method. Eventually the latter method was preferred and in 1868 the Secretary of State for India appointed J. Pickford as the Professor of Sanskrit in that College. The popularity of the Sanskrit Department grew when Gustav Oppert became Professor in 1872 and a Pandit was added for his assistance in 1875.

While the University of Madras had provided for examinations for the Sanskrit Degree course and had even received offers of medals and prizes for successful students of Sanskrit from almost the beginning, it was only a little later that the University started thinking about ways and means to promote Sanskrit studies at Degree level and above on modern lines as well as on traditional lines. As early as 1898-99 a Senate Committee had been appointed to go into the question of instituting an Oriental Faculty and conduct examinations and confer degrees thereunder. But the University considered that they might wait for some more time to take up these proposals. In 1907 V. Krishnaswami Iyer submitted draft regulations for Oriental Learning etc. and it was in 1909-10 that the University finally framed and adopted the regulations in this respect. The Sanskrit College, Madras, was granted affiliation in the Siromani course organised by S. Kuppaswami Sastri in 1911-12. In the same year of 1911, Sanskrit Honours regulations, for which students were brought up by Prof. M. Rangacharya at the Presidency College, were adopted by the University. The first batch of students in Sanskrit Honours was examined by this University in 1914 and among these first products of Sanskrit studies in this University is Sri S. T. G. Varadachariar, the Founder-Principal of the Narasimha Sanskrit College, Chittagudur, and Principal, National College, Masulipatam.

First Professor

About this period, in 1913-14, the University appointed a Senate Committee to make proposals for the utilisation of the Imperial recurring grant of Rs. 36,000 for lectures and advanced studies and the study of languages in particular. It was resolved as the result of the proposals made that a Professorship of Comparative Philology with special reference to Sanskrit be instituted in the University. As part of the same proposals Professorships were created also in Indian History and Archaeology and Indian Economics. It may be noted that the first Professor to be appointed and to start functioning in the University was the Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Mr. Mark Collins, B. A., Ph. D., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology of the University of Dublin. His appointment was sanctioned in the Senate Meeting of the 24th April 1914 and he joined duty on the 27th July, of the same year. No. 1, Moore's Gardens, Nungambakkam, was the venue of the first University Department of Advanced Studies. Mr. Collins was also appointed Director of Sanskrit Studies and Ex-Officio Chairman of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit. The range of the work of the Professor of Sanskrit was wide as he was to lecture on Comparative Philology to the students of both the Sanskrit Honours and English Honours courses and also supervise the work of the University Readers in the Dravidian languages; he was also for a time the Joint Editor of the Tamil Lexicon. The term of Collins terminated on the 28th July 1919 and we have today in the Sanskrit Department a photograph of its first Professor and the records of the meetings of the Boards of Studies which he wrote in his excellent hand from 1914 to 1919; and in the University Library, we have also some of the Dravidic Studies issued by him.

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri

At the Presidency College M. Rangacharya was succeeded in 1914 by S. Kuppuswami Sastri who, till his demise in 1941, played the most significant role in the history of advanced studies in Sanskrit in this University. As one who had combined in himself both the traditional erudition and the modern critical and comparative scholarship, Kuppuswami Sastri was not only responsible for the framing of adequate and balanced courses of studies for the Title and Degree courses alike, but was personally responsible also for the training of Sanskritists in both types of study. During this long period of nearly quarter of a century, he held the Chairmanship of the Board of Studies in Sanskrit and may be truly said to have presided

over the destinies of Sanskrit studies in the University. It is no small credit to this University that its Sanskrit alumni have played a notable part even outside Madras and Madras University, in the field of higher Sanskrit teaching and research, in Departments of Government, in Oriental Libraries and the Archaeological Survey of India. In 1914, as Convener, Prof. Sastri organised the O. T. course under the Siroman regulations which were adopted by the University in 1915. This course included a study of Comparative and Historical methods of Criticism and Comparative Philology. To enable further students of traditional courses to come abreast of the students of the Degree courses, the University adopted at his instance more than one category of regulations; in 1918 the P. O. L. was introduced by the University as a measure to encourage Siromani students of Sanskrit to gain proficiency in the modern methods of study as applied to Oriental learning. Much later, in 1933, the University introduced the Degree of Bachelor in Oriental Learning (B. O. L.) with the same aim of giving an opportunity to the Siromani title holder to qualify for a Degree.

Correspondingly, in the Honours course which Kuppuswami Sastri taught in the Presidency College, sufficient representative texts in the eight Sastras – Mimamsa and Vedanta, Sankhya and Yoga, Nyaya and Vaisesika, Alankara and Vyakarana – had been incorporated; with a good grounding in Comparative Indo-European Philology with special reference to Sanskrit which was part of the course, the Sanskrit Honours of the Madras University was indeed one of the best courses in higher studies in Sanskrit in all India and the efforts taken by this University on the two fronts of the O. T. and the Degree courses could very well be acclaimed as one of the best efforts put forth by any Indian University to conserve a language and learning which enshrined much of the cultural heritage of the country.

Research Studentship

It remained for the University to take on hand the question of promoting advanced studies and Post-Graduate research in the field of Sanskrit. Even before the time of the appointment of the first University Professor of Sanskrit, the question of awarding scholarships for the encouragement of further studies had engaged the attention of the University. The earliest research studentships given by this University date in the period 1914-15 and the first Sanskritist to hold a research studentship was P. P. Subrahmanyam, later P. P. S. Sastri, who went to Oxford and served as Superintendent of Sanskrit Schools, Madras, Additional and Chief Professor successively in Presidency College, and Curator of the Madras Government Oriental

Manuscripts Library. In continuation of the lectures which Mr Collins gave Kuppaswami Sastri went on from year to year delivering substantial courses of lectures on the different subjects in Sanskrit literature and philosophy which, together with the teaching he did to the Honours class, built up the necessary background for the undertaking of research by students. In his capacity as the Curator, Government Oriental Mss. Library, he had made a valuable collection of Sanskrit manuscripts which provided the material for fresh and original investigations in Sanskrit. The regular grant of research studentships by the University was now found to be necessary to promote research in Sanskrit, and in continuation of the first studentship held by P. P. S. Sastri, we find that in 1916 and 1917 two studentships were awarded to the Sanskrit graduates of 1915; one of these was Sri K. Rama Pisharoti who became an authoritative writer on Kerala art and architecture and the Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Annamalai University. In 1917 a scholarship was given to Korukanti Sitaramayya who later served in the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library and the Manuscripts Library of the Osmania University. C. Kunhan Raja, who later took his Doctorate abroad, was appointed successively Professor, Reader and Professor in this University and had filled the place of the Head of the Department for the longest period, was a research student of this University in 1920. Mention may also be made of other Sanskritists who first worked as research students in the University and who subsequently served the same University or its affiliated colleges or made their mark in fields of academic activity outside the Madras University: A. Sankaran who took his Doctorate on his research thesis, 'Theories of Rasa and Dhvani', and later became the Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Professor of Sanskrit in the Presidency College, Professor of Sanskrit, Vivekananda College, and who continues to be the Chairman of the University Board of Studies in Sanskrit; T. R. Chintamani who worked on Semantics, took his Doctorate on a thesis on the history of Mimamsa and was, up to the time of his premature demise, Senior Lecturer in the University Sanskrit Department; A. S. Krishna Rao who too unfortunately passed away at a premature age and who worked on Nyaya-Vaisesika and was on the Sanskrit staff of the Loyola College, Madras; R. Ramamurti who worked on "Forgotten Sanskrit works and authors" and who is on the Sanskrit staff of the D. T. M. H. College, Tirunelveli; V. Raghavan who took his Doctorate on his research thesis "Bhoja's Sringara Prakasa" and after service in the Sanskrit Department from 1935 onwards, is now Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department in the University; C. Sivaramamurti who worked on "Painting in

Sanskrit Literature" and is now a member of the Central Archaeological Department ; C. R. Sankaran who was the first to start working directly under the Head of the University Sanskrit Department and who chose a subject under Philology for his research and is now Head of the Dravidian Linguistics Department in the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona ; K. Madhava Krishna Sarma who worked on Sanskrit Grammar and has been successively Curator of the Manuscripts Library in Bikaner, Principal of the Sanskrit College, Jaipur, and Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies in Rajasthan ; V. Varadachari who worked on Udayana and is on the Sanskrit staff of the Loyola College ; T. K. Ramachandran whose research work "Concordance of Kalidasa's Poems" has been issued as a Departmental publication and is on the Sanskrit staff of the Government Victoria College, Palghat ; P. S. Sastri now of the Saugar University ; M. Ramakrishna Bhat formerly of St. Joseph's College Bangalore, and now of the Hindu College, Delhi ; H. G. Narahari formerly of the Adyar Library and now of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona ; R. K. Parthasarathy of the Government College, Kumbhakonam ; K. Ammini Amma of the Stella Maris College, Madras ; S. Subrahmanya Sastri who is now Senior Lecturer in the Sanskrit Department ; K. Kunjunni Raja who took his Doctorate on his research thesis "Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature", and served in the Travancore University and later joined the Department as Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit and took a further Doctorate at the London University ; C. R. Swaminathan who took his M. Litt. on the unpublished cantos of Kumaradasa's Janakiharana, and is on the staff of the Government Arts College, Madras ; S. S. Janaki who took her M. Litt. on a thesis on the unpublished commentary of Vidyachakravartin on the Alankara Sarvasva and is on the Sanskrit staff of the Queen Mary's College, Madras, and V. Swaminathan, who took his M. Litt. on the unpublished Mahabhashyatika of Bhartrihari and is now an Assistant in the University Sanskrit Department. A complete classified statement of the Research Students of the Sanskrit Department of this University has been given elsewhere and a perusal of the table would show also the variety and range of the subjects of Sanskrit literature into which investigations have been carried on under the scheme of the Sanskrit Research Studentship of this University. The table would show that the bulk of these stipend-holders for research had been only under the category of Research Students and so far the Sanskrit Department had only two Research Fellows. Those who had succeeded in taking a Post-Graduate Degree in research, M. Litt., Ph. D. or D. Litt., according to the regulations prevailing at the time of their

work are shown separately. There are also other Sanskrit graduates of this University who privately took their Doctorate through the Department and it may also be noted that the provision afforded by the University for a Research Degree for a Title-holder, namely the Master of Oriental Learning (M.O.L.), had been availed of by some of the distinguished Pandit products of this University. At present the Madras State Research students of the Siromani category are also working in the University Sanskrit Department.

Research Department

The University research studentships were originally held under Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. The next stage in the growth of Oriental Research activities under the direct auspices of the University was the starting of a Department of Oriental Studies in the University itself. After the time of Collins (1919) no appointment was made to the chair of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University. After the lapse of five years, in 1924, the Academic Council of the University appointed a Committee to go into the question of starting an Oriental Institute under the University. The holding of the third All-India Oriental Conference in 1924 under the auspices of the University was also instrumental in fostering interest in the starting of the Oriental Institute. In 1925 on the report of this Committee a further Committee was appointed to work out the details and present a revised scheme. There was correspondence with the Government as to the nature and number of the Departments contemplated under this scheme and finally in 1926, in concurrence with the Government, the University adopted the scheme for an Oriental Institute with provision for Sanskrit, Dravidian languages and Islamic languages. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja was first appointed Professor of Sanskrit in this new Institute with two Fellows to work under him; Dr. Raja started work towards the end of August 1927 and the two Fellows to be appointed at that time were two Pandits, one senior and one junior, S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and V. Venkatarama Sarma. In 1930 the Oriental Institute was reorganised and in the new set-up Sanskrit was to have a Reader, a Senior Lecturer and a Junior Lecturer. Dr. Raja was re-appointed Reader and Head of the Department, and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, formerly Fellow, was re-appointed Junior Lecturer, and Dr. T. R. Chintamani was appointed afresh as Senior Lecturer. On the retirement of S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, in 1935, Dr. V. Raghavan was appointed Junior Lecturer. On the demise of Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Dr. V. Raghavan was appointed Senior Lecturer in 1948 and Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri was appointed afresh as Junior Lecturer. In 1948-49 the University introduced a scheme of

rotating Professorships by which Dr. C. Kunhan Raja was elevated to the status of a Professor. In 1950 Professor Raja who was on the eve of retirement accepted from the Government of India the newly started Sanskrit Professorship at the University of Tcheran, Iran, Dr. Raghavan was appointed Reader and Head of the Department in 1950 and Dr. K. Kunjinni Raja was appointed afresh to the Senior Lecturership in the Department. On the eve of its Centenary, the University gave the Sanskrit Department a permanent Professorship, and elevated the Senior Lecturer as Reader and the Junior Lecturer as Senior Lecturer.

Elsewhere a statement has been given of the published works of the members of the Sanskrit Department of this University brought out through the University/Sanskrit Series or through outside agencies. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja was also, all through his service at the University, the Curator of the Adyar Library where he was responsible for varied research activities and publications. The members of the Sanskrit Department have taken part in several All-India Sanskrit and Indological activities such as the All-India Oriental Conference and the Indian Philosophical Congress. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja was the Secretary of the 1940 Madras Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress, a Member of the Executive of the All-India Oriental Conference for sometime and President of its Classical Sanskrit Section in 1940 and its Vedic section in 1944. He also delivered the Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Rao lectures of the University in 1949. Dr. Chintamani was President of the Indian Philosophy section at the Nagpur session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Dr. V. Raghavan presided over the Classical Sanskrit section of the Bombay Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, is the President-elect of the Technical Sciences and Fine Arts Section of its forthcoming Delhi Session and also since 1948 one of the General Secretaries of the Conference. He is a Corresponding Member of the Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, Member of the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi, and Convener of its Sanskrit Board. He is also member of several Government appointed Committees in the fields of his study. In 1953-4, he toured the major part of Europe, visited most of the centres of Oriental studies abroad and produced a detailed survey of Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe (Pub. Madras University, 1956). Recently the Asiatic Society of Bombay awarded him the 1953 Kane Gold Medal for distinguished research work and the Government of India have appointed him a Member of the Sanskrit Commision set up by them. The Junior Lecturer Panditaraja S. Subrahmanya Sastri has received recognition

as one of the prominent Pandits in the South in the Sastras. In 1952-54 Dr. Kunjunni Raja was selected for a British Council scholarship and after two years of work in the School of Oriental Studies of the London University on the subject 'Indian Theories of Meaning' he returned with a Doctorate of the London University.

Contribution of the Department

The statement of the published works of the members of the Department given elsewhere would give an idea of the extent and value of the contribution made by this University to Sanskrit studies. To the neglected branch of Prabhakara Mimamsa the Sanskrit Department of this University made an outstanding contribution by bringing out editions, from very difficult manuscript materials, of the very basic works of the school. For the Bhatta school of Mimamsa, the subsequent editions by this Department of the hitherto unpublished commentaries, like those of Umveka and Jayamisra, form two of the chief contributions to Mimamsa studies in the recent past. Dr. Kunhan Raja had been endeavouring to bring to the notice of scholars Pre-Sayana commentaries on the Veda available in fragmentary form in South Indian manuscripts. Dr. Chintamani conceived of a very important subject when he undertook the publication of the Unadi Sutras in various recensions. He concentrated on the publication of texts of importance and antiquity, hitherto lying buried in manuscripts, the most noteworthy of these being the commentary called Prakatarthavivarana on Sankara's Brahmasutra Bhashya whose author has been identified as Anubhuti-svarupacharya by Dr. Raghavan. Dr. Raghavan has published expository works in Alankara Sastra which are among the most detailed and authoritative works in the field; in one of them, his thesis on 'Bhoja's Sringara Prakasa', he gives a comprehensive exposition of the magnum opus in the subject of Indian criticism extending to about 1000 pages and lying for a long time in manuscript. Apart from editions, critical studies and monographs he has published also about 250 research papers in which he has expounded for the first time many concepts, set forth new identities and chronologies established by him and brought to the notice of the scholarly world rare works and authors hitherto unknown. In addition to continuing his work on Mimamsa and Vedanta, Sri Subramanya Sastri has brought out for the first time in print two very important though short works in the field of Nyaya-Vaisesika, the Laksanamala and the Nyayamala of Sivaditya. Dr. Kunjunni Raja has made a comprehensive survey of the prolific contributions of the Kerala authors to Sanskrit literature.

Lectures

In addition to those given by Collins and Kuppaswami Sastri, *already touched upon*, special lectures were given by Messrs S. Subba Rao (on Dvaita) and P. P. S. Sastri. The University started the scheme of Honorary Readership lectures which gave an opportunity to some of the senior Sanskritists to undertake courses of lectures on select subjects of Sanskrit studies. Under these provisions lectures were delivered by K. Rama Pisharoti on 'Kerala Contribution to Sanskrit', by Dr. Kunhan Raja on a variety of subjects and by Dr. Sankaran. Under the University there is at present no Endowment Lecture in the field of Sanskrit; the V. Krishnaswami Iyer endowment, it appears from the records, was in existence only for a short period, and only two courses of lectures appear to have been *delivered under it*; in 1925 a course of 5 lectures under this endowment was delivered by C. Sankararama Sastri on the subject of 'Fictions in the Development of Hindu Law Texts' (Published Madras, 1926).

Journal

In 1936-37 the University sanctioned the publication of a journal in which the members of the language departments could bring out their research work. This journal called *Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras*, was being edited first by the Head of the Sanskrit department and later by rotation by the Heads of the other language departments. Studies as well as editions of shorter works have been the main features of this journal. Members of the Department have also been contributing to the old journal of the *Madras University*. A separate statement has been given of the contributions of the Department in these Journals of the Madras University.

Foreign Scholars

Recently there had been a great movement of scholars from one country to another to strengthen the contacts in the field of learning. The Sanskrit Department of this University has taken part in this work of International collaboration and apart from casual scholars, this Department has had some permanent scholars also attached to it; it has taught continuously two German students, Mr. Klaus Comman of Hamburg and Heinz Titelbach of Marburg. One the seniormost American Indologists, Prof. Norman Brown of the Pennsylvania University, was also associated with this Department recently as a Fulbright Scholar.

Special Work of the Department-The New Catalogus Catalogorum

In addition to the various short-term programmes of Research, the Madras University had always been thinking of some major projects of long term work which would form a basic and fundamental contribution in the field. Almost from the very beginning of its interest in higher studies the University was seized with the idea of preparing and publishing the Tamil Lexicon and in the History Department they have been likewise interesting themselves in the cataloguing of the Mackenzie manuscripts of local and historical records lying in the Manuscripts Library. It was in the year 1935 that the University thought of undertaking a major piece of work in the field of Sanskrit. It is well-known that a considerable portion of Sanskrit literature is yet unpublished and is preserved in manuscripts which are scattered in public and private libraries all over the world. Between 1891 and 1903 the German Orientalist Theodor Aufrecht published a consolidated catalogue of all the Sanskrit manuscripts in the different catalogues of the Sanskrit manuscript collections known in his time. It was after the dawn of the present century and the growth of greater awareness of the value of manuscript treasures and the setting up of Manuscripts Libraries, Oriental Institutes and Departments by Indian Universities and Provincial Governments, that newer and newer collections of Sanskrit manuscripts come to be known at the various centres. This manuscript material had accumulated to a great extent and it was high time the three volumes of Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum were revised and brought up to date. The idea originated with Pandit R. A. Sastri, an active collector of manuscripts who had helped in the formation of Manuscripts Libraries in Baroda, Santiniketan and Lahore. At the last-mentioned place, Dr. A. C. Woolner was the Head of Sanskrit Studies and he made the first official proposal about the preparation of a New Catalogus Catalogorum. Not only in quantity, but also in quality the manuscript material that had been unearthed from South India was of such magnitude that Prof. Woolner thought that the revised Catalogus Catalogorum should be undertaken in Madras, where the help and guidance of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri could be utilised. He accordingly wrote to the Madras University to undertake the preparation of the New Catalogus Catalogorum. The University appointed a Special Committee of Messrs Kuppuswami Sastri, Kunhan Raja and P. P. S. Sastri together with the present Vice-Chancellor Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar. The University resolved upon undertaking this major project of Sanskrit research and constituted an Editorial Board with Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri as Editor-in-Chief and Messrs Kunhan

Raja and P. P. S. Sastri as members. Dr. V. Raghavan and Mr. E. P. Radhakrishnan were appointed Senior and Junior Assistants in the end of 1935 to start the work on the compilation of the work of New Catalogus Catalogorum. Kuppuswami Sastri was at that time Professor of Sanskrit in the Annamalai University and the work was being carried on by Dr. Raghavan with the help of the Junior Assistant and periodically checked by Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. In the initial stages much spade work had to be done for the planning of the New Catalogus Catalogorum and for collecting the lists and catalogues of manuscripts published after the time of Aufrecht, from different centres in India and abroad. Besides doing all the preliminary work, Dr. Raghavan also gathered through continuous correspondence information about large and small, public and private, collections of manuscripts for which lists and catalogues were not made or procurable. Later the University took special efforts to employ at the University's cost assistants at various centres to make and send lists of such collections. It was decided to enlarge the scope of the work in two main respects. Aufrecht did not include the fields of Pali and Prakrit and Buddhism and Jainism. Also in the period after Aufrecht the number of Sanskrit texts that had appeared in print and the amount of critical, textual and chronological studies had grown so much that it was no longer possible to bring out merely a list of references to manuscripts in different libraries. It was therefore decided to include in the New Catalogus Catalogorum, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit works and authors, and to indicate the date, edition and other critical and historical points about works and authors. The New Catalogus Catalogorum was also to include in a more complete manner references to works and authors which were known from citations in available works, epigraphs etc. The total number of catalogues and lists to be dealt with in the New Catalogus Catalogorum number 400, not to mention the numerous Research journals and critical studies and histories and bibliographies of literature published. In respect of lists and catalogues of manuscripts alone, the present work was to deal with eight times the matter which Aufrecht had before him. After some amount of work the editorial committee decided to give the scholarly world an idea of the form of the proposed catalogus and resolved accordingly to issue a provisional fasciculus, to invite opinions and suggestions from scholars all over the world. In 1937 on the occasion of the Trivandrum Session of the All-India Oriental Conference a sample fasciculus comprising titles under 'A-Añ', was brought out and distributed. On the whole this sample publication was favourably received, and appreciating the endeavour of the Madras University many institutions and libraries

sent further lists and catalogues to be included in the proposed *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The office which was first located in the Museum Buildings along with the Government Oriental Mss. Library was transferred to the new buildings of the Madras University on the beach when they were ready and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja was entrusted with the care of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* Department. On the appointment of Dr. Raghavan to the permanent lectureship in the main Department of Sanskrit, the *Catalogus Catalogorum* was made part of the Departmental work. The work was being continued by Dr. Raghavan and the Junior Assistant under the General Editorship of Dr. Kunhan Raja. At the outbreak of war and the evacuation of Madras, the work received a complete setback. The temporary Junior Assistant was dispensed with and Dr. Raghavan alone was carrying on the indexing of the catalogues. After the war the work was more actively resumed by the University and Volume I of the New *Catalogus Catalogorum* comprising all works and authors under the letter 'A' was given to the press. But owing to the post-war difficulties and shortage of labour in the presses the printing of the first volume was delayed for a considerable time. Eventually the first volume was brought out in 1949.

The good reception which the first volume had, proved a great encouragement to this work in the University. In 1950 when Dr. Raghavan was appointed Reader and Head of the Department, the University undertook proposals for expediting the *Catalogus* work and sanctioned the appointment of two Research Assistants to help in the indexing of the remaining catalogues and lists. In 1951 Messrs K.V. Sarma, M.A., and C.S. Sundaram, B.A. (Hons.) were appointed Research Assistants for *Catalogus Catalogorum* work and thanks to this assistance in the last five years, the bulk of the indexing work has been got through. During these years some amount of interest was evinced in this work by outside Universities as also the Central Government which sanctioned a grant for expediting it. In 1953 the University arranged through the British Council for a travel grant to be made available to Dr. Raghavan to tour the United Kingdom in connection with the *Catalogus Catalogorum* work and gave an additional grant from the University funds to enable him to tour the Continent also. In 1953-54 Dr. Raghavan toured 13 countries of Europe and brought back with him an inventory of about 20,000 manuscripts for which there had been no printed catalogues available and the existence of most of which was unknown even to scholars in Europe. This Catalogue of the 20,000 manuscripts of the unsurveyed collections in Europe is being revised and made ready for publication. The European tour served also to bring into deserved prominence in

the foreign centres of Indological studies the New Catalogues Catalogorum work of the Madras University. This work undertaken by the Madras University is one of the two or three major projects of Sanskrit research in the whole of India and its importance is now realised all over the world. Recently the Rockefellers have made a grant to this work and the University has enlarged the staff of the Catalogus Catalogorum work under the expansion proposals of the Centenary Celebrations.

The amount of material digested and information given in the New Catalogus Catalogorum is such that not only will it prove, when it is published, to be a primary tool for research, textual criticism and edition and publication of works in Sanskrit and allied fields, but even during the preparation of the volumes the accumulation of information of manuscripts in the office has made it an inevitable centre of reference to all Sanskritists in India or abroad, particularly in respect of information on manuscripts necessary for critical editions. There have been few texts or articles on texts published in recent years which have not utilised or acknowledged the help given from the resources of the New Catalogus Catalogorum of this University.

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND THEIR PUBLICATIONS

NAME	PUBLICATIONS
Mark Collins, B.A., Ph.D. Professor of Comparative Philology and Sanskrit— 1914-1919.	On the Octaval System of Reckoning in India (Dravidic Studies No. IV, University of Madras 1926).
Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon).	<p>A. Madras University Publications.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>R̥gveda Anukramaṇi</i> of Madhava Bhaṭṭa, Vol. I. 2. The <i>R̥gveda Bhāṣya</i> of Skandasvāmin (First Aṣṭaka). 3. <i>Prakriyāsarvasva</i>. 4. <i>Śloka-vārtikāṭikā</i> (Śākarikā) of Bhaṭṭaputra Jaya Miśra. 5. <i>Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya</i> (Supplement to the Annals of Oriental Research Vol. II).
	B. Outside Publications.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. <i>Brahmasūtrabhāṣya</i> of Śaṅkara with Bhāmati Catuṣsūtri (Theosophical Publishing House) with English Translation & Notes, jointly with S. S. S. Sastri.
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. <i>Mānameyodaya</i> — English translation (Theoso- phical Publishing House) jointly with S. S. S. Sastri.

- 8,9. Rgveda Vyākhyā of Mādhava Vols. I, II. (Adyar Library).
10. Sāmaveda with two commentaries (Adyar Library).
11. Uṣāniruddha (Adyar Library).
12. Prākṛtaprakāśa of Vararuci with commentary of Rāmānīvāda (Adyar Library) (jointly).
13. Anūpasimhaguṇāvatāra (Ganga Oriental Series).
14. Jagadvijayacchandas (Ganga Oriental Series).
15. Saṅgitarāja Vol. I (Ganga Oriental Series).
16. Mayūrasāndēga with his own commentary (Poona Oriental Series).

C. Research Papers :

Has published about 70 research papers in the leading research journals.

Pandit V. Venkatarama
Sarma (Mahopadhyaya) Fellow of the Madras
University—1927.

A. Madras University Publications.

1. Taittirīya Prātisākhya—1930.
2. Līṅgānuśāsana—1931.
3. Kātyāyana Prātisākhya—1934.
4. Critical Studies on Kātyāyana's Śukla Yajurveda Pt. I—1935.

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND THEIR PUBLICATIONS—(Contd.)

NAME	PUBLICATIONS
Pandit S. K. Ramanatha Sastri Fellow of the Madras University—1927. Junior Lecturer, 1930-35.	A. Madras University Publications. 1. <i>Bhāti of Prabhākara Mīśra</i> Parts I and II 1934 and 1936. 2. <i>Sphoṭasiddhi</i> by Maṇḍana Mīśra—1911. 3. <i>Nayaviveka</i> by Bhavanātha Mīśra—1937. 4. <i>Ślokaṭīkā Vyākhyā of Umveka</i> —1940.
Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D. Senior Lecturer, 1930-47	A. Madras University Publications. 1. <i>The Uṇādisūtras in various recensions</i> Parts I, II, IV and VI,—1933, 1933, 1938, 1934. 2. <i>Prakāśārthavivaraṇa</i> Vol. I and II. 3. <i>Nānārthasangraha of Ajayapāla</i> —1937. 4. <i>Sarasvatikanthābharana of Bhojadeva</i> —1937. 5. <i>Bhagavadgītā with Sarvatobhadra</i> —1941. 6. <i>Kauṣītakiyāgnya Sūtras with commentary of Bhavatrāta</i> —1944. 7. <i>Sāhityaratnākara.</i> 8. <i>Raghunāthābhyudaya of Rāmabhadraṁbā.</i> 9. <i>Pañcaprakriyā of Sarvañātman.</i> Some more shorter texts and papers in the <i>Journal of Oriental Research, Madras</i> , etc.
Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. Senior Assistant (Catalogus Catalogorum)—1935.	A. Madras University Publications. 1. <i>New Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I</i> —1949. 2. <i>Snusāvijaya of Sundararāja Kavi</i> (<i>Annals of Oriental Research</i>).

Assistant Editor (Catalogus Catalogorum)—1938.

Junior Lecturer—1939.
Senior Lecturer—1948.
Reader—1950.
Professor—1955.

3. Paryantapañcāśikā of Abhinavagupta (Annals of Oriental Research)—1950.
4. Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe—1956.

B. Text-Editions.

5. Ānandarāṅgavijaya campū by Śrīnivāsa Kavi with his own commentary (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras).
6. Amara Maṇḍana (Deccan College Research Institute, Poona).
7. Mudrārāksasanātākakathā of Mahādeva (T. M. S. S. M. Library, Tanjore).
8. Śāhendraṇḍilāsa of Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeṣa (T. M. S. S. M. Library, Tanjore.)
9. Cola campū of Virūpākṣa (T. M. S. S. M. Library, Tanjore).
10. Śrīgāra Mañjarī of Akbar Shāh (Hyderabad Archaeological Department Publication).
11. Nṛtaratnāvalī of Jāyaseṇāpati (Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras).
12. Āryā atakavyākhyā, an original Sanskrit Commentary written by him, (Bombay).

C. Treatises on Alankāra.

13. Bhoja's Śrīgāra Prakāśa Vol. I, Pts. 1 & 2. (New Indian Antiquary, Extra Series, Poona).

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND THEIR PUBLICATIONS—(Contd.)

NAME

Dr. V. Raghavan (Contd.)

PUBLICATIONS

14. The Number of Rasas (Adyar Library, Madras).
15. Some Concepts of Alankāra Sāstra (Adyar Library, Madras).

D. Other Studies.

16. Yantras or Mechanical Contrivances in Ancient India (Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore).
17. The Social Play in Sanskrit (Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore).
18. Love in the Poems and Plays of Kālidāsa (Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore).

E. Translations.

19. Mahābhārata, condensed Sanskrit Text, translated into English (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).
20. Bhāgavata condensed Sanskrit Text, translated into English (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).
21. Prayers, Praises and Psalms—a collection of Sanskrit hymns from Vedas to modern times, Sanskrit with English Translation (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras).
22. The Indian Heritage (sponsored by UNESCO, published by the Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore).

Dr. V. Raghavan (Contd.)

F. Papers.

About 250 Research papers in different periodicals. Also sections and chapters contributed to different books.

Sri S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Junior Lecturer—1948.
M.A.

A. Madras University Publications.

1. Bhāttadīpikā of Khandadeva with Prabhāvali, Two Volumes in 4 pts., 1952 and 1956.
2. Vedāntakaumudī of Rāmādvyačārya—1956.

B. Outside Publications.

3. Nyāyasiddhāntatattvāmrita of Śrinivāsa (Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras).
4. Abhōga (Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras).
5. Pādarthatattvanirṇaya (Advaita Sabha, Kumbhakonam).
6. Nyāyaratnadīpāvalī (Advaita Sabha, Kumbhakonam).
7. Brahmasūtrabhāṣya with Advaitabhāṣana and Subodhinī (4 sūtras) (Advaita Sabha, Kumbhakonam).
8. Nyāyendusekhara Pt. 2 (Advaita Sabha, Kumbhakonam) and 7 other shorter Vedānta texts in the Brahma Vidyā, Kumbhakonam.
9. Apastambaghyasūtra with Kapardisvāmin's Bhāṣya (Kumbhakonam).
10. Lakṣaṇamālā (J. O. R. Madras).

MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND THEIR PUBLICATIONS—(Contd.)

NAME

PUBLICATIONS

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja,
M.A., Ph.D. (Madras),
Ph.D. (London).

Senior Lecturer—1951.

A. University Publications:

1. Unādikoṣa of Mahādeva.
 2. Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature (under print).
- Has published about 25 research papers in the various research journals.

CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM ASSISTANTS

Sri E. P. Radhakrishnan, M.A. Junior Assistant—1935. Madras University Publication.

1. Tattvasuddhi Ed. with S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri
Also published some research papers in J.O.R.,
Madras.

Sri K. V. Sarma, M.A.,
B.Sc., Diploma in
German and French,

Research Assistant, 1951. Outside Publications.

- Index of All-India Oriental Conference for 1919-1944.
- Index of All-India Oriental Conference for 1945-1954 (under print).

Has edited some Kerala Astronomical texts and published research papers on bibliographical subjects.

Sri C. S. Sundaram, B.A.
(Hons.), Diploma in
German.

[Did research work on 'Cultural study of the age of Bāṇa' in the Presidency college, Madras.]

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SANSKRIT
DEPARTMENT TO THE UNIVERSITY JOURNALS.(A) *Annals of Oriental Research***Dr. C. Kunhan Raja :**Annals of Oriental
Research

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|---------------------------------|-----|-----------------------|
| 1. Anukramanis of Madhava | ... | Vol. I, II |
| 2. Sakuntalacarca | ... | Vol. I, II, III Pt. 1 |
| 3. Sarvanukramani (Padyavivrti) | ... | Vol. V. Pt. 2 |
| 4. Niruktavarttika | ... | Vol. V. Pt. 2 |
| 5. Studies on Kalidasa | ... | Vol. V. Pt. 2 |
| 6. Notes on Kalidasa | ... | Vol. VI. Pt. 1 |
| 7. Poetic Beauty | ... | Vol. VI. Pt. 2 |

S. K. Ramanatha Sastri :

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|-----------------------|-----|----------------|
| 1. Patravimarsadarsah | ... | Vol. II. Pt. 1 |
|-----------------------|-----|----------------|

Dr. T. R. Chintamani :

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| 1. Sarirakanyayasangraha | ... | Vol. I, II, III
IV. Pt. 1 |
| 2. Fragments of Paithinasi Dharmasutra | ... | Vol. IV. Pt. 1 |
| 3. Vyavaharasiromani | ... | Vol. IV. Pt. 2
V. Pt. 1 |
| 4. Kausitaka and Sankhayana Upanisads | ... | Vol. VII. Pt. 1 |

E. P. Radhakrishnan with S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri :

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|-----------------|-----|------------------------|
| 1. Tattvasuddhi | ... | Vol. I, II, III, IV, V |
|-----------------|-----|------------------------|

Dr. V. Raghavan :

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| 1. The Works of Harita Venkatacharya | ... | Vol. I, II. |
| 2. Anekasandhana Kavyas | ... | Vol. III Pt. 1 |
| 3. Abhinavagupta and the Bhasya on
the Yoga Sutras | ... | Vol. III Pt. 2 |
| 4. The Date and Works of Anandapurna
Vidyasagara | ... | Vol. IV. Pt. 1 |
| 5. Women Characters in Kalidasa's
Dramas | ... | Vol. IV. Pt. 2. |
| 6. Some Appayya Diksitas | ... | Vol. VI. Pt. 1 |

Annals of Oriental
Research

7. Minor Works wrongly ascribed to Adi Sankara ... Vol. VI. Pt. 1
8. Udali's commentary on the Ramayana ... Vol. VI. Pt. 2
9. Snusavijaya of Sundaraja Kavi ... Vol. VII, Pt. 1
10. Paryanta Pancasika of Abhinavagupta ... Vol. VIII.
11. Tattvasangraha Ramayana of Ramabrahmananda ... Vol. X Pt. 1
12. Yuktidipika on Samkhyakarika ... Vol. XII.
13. Raghuvamsa, XII-21 ... Centenary Number 1957

S. Subrahmanya Sastri

1. Nyayamala of Sivaditya ... Vol. VIII
2. Kenopanisadvyakhya of Sri Krisnalilasuka ... Vol. IX
3. Atmajnanopadesavidhi ... Vol. X Pt. 2
4. Nyapadipavali ... Vol. XI and XII
5. Sankarsa Kandasya Visaya paricaya ... Centenary Number 1957

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja :

1. Naisadhananda of Ksemisvara ... Vol. IX
2. Popular stray verses of Kerala ... Vol. X Pt. 1
3. Narayana Bhatta of Melputtur ... Vol. XII
4. Siva Sutras of Panini ... Centenary Number 1957

(B) Journal of the Madras University

Dr. V. Raghavan :

1. History of Aucitya in Sanskrit Poetics ... Vol. VII. 1935
2. Sanskrit and Prakrit Metrics pp. 38-44 ... Vol. XXIII. 1952.
3. Sanskrit Literature, 1700—1900 ... Centenary Number 1957.

**LIST OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES
WHO TOOK THEIR DOCTORATE OR M. LITT. DEGREE
THROUGH THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT.**

No.	Name	Degree	Supervisor	Years	Subject	Publication
1	Dr. A. Sankaran	Ph. D.	Prof. S. Kuppaswami Sastri	1921-24	Some Aspects of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit or Theories of Rasa and Dhvani	Madras University 1929
2	Dr. T. R. Chintamani	Do.	Do.	1924-27	A Short History of Purva Mimamsa Sastra	
3	Dr. V. Raghavan	Do.	Do.	1931-34	Bhoja's Srngara Prakasa	Vol I, Pts. i-ii, Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay
4	Dr. P. Subrahmanya Sastri	M. Litt.	Dr. C. Kunhan Raja	1941-43	A Study of the Literary aspects of the Rgveda.	
5	H. G. Narahari	Do.	Do.	1939-42	Atman (Soul) in Pre-Upanishadic Literature	Adyar Library, Madras 1944.
6	Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja	Ph. D.	Do.	1943-46	Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit literature.	To be published by the University.

No.	Name	Degree	Supervisor	Years	Subject	Publication
7	C. R. Swaminathan	M. Litt.	Dr. V. Raghavan.	1950-52	A Critical Study and Edition of the unprinted cantos of the Janaki-harana of Kumara-dasa.	
8	S. S. Janaki	M. Litt.	Do.	1951-53	A Critical Study and Edition of the Alankara-sarvasa Vimarsini of Vidya-cakravartin	
9	V. Swaminathan	M. Litt.	Do.	1952-54	A Critical Study of the Mahabhasya-tika of Bhartrhari and Edition of the first 3 Ahnikas.	

RESEARCH DEGREES OF THE FACULTY OF SANSKRIT TAKEN PRIVATELY.

	D. Litt.	
P. S. Sastri	Studies in the Psychological and metaphysical pre-suppositions of Sanskrit literary criticism.	1951
	Ph. D.	
B. N. Krishnamoorthi Sarma	A History of Dvaita Literature	1937
	M. O. L.	
D. T. Tatacharya	Definition of Kavya (Pub. J.O.R. Madras, IV (1930).	
P. Panchapagesa Sastri	The Philosophy of Aesthetic pleasure (Pub. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 5, 1940).	1934
K. Ramunni Nair	History of the Evolution of the Rasa Doctrine in Alankara Literature.	1949

OTHER RESEARCH STUDENTS WHO WORKED IN THE
DEPARTMENT AND THE SUBJECTS OF THEIR WORK.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Year</i>
1. P. P. S. Sastri		1914
2. P. M. Sankaran Nambiar		1916
3. K. Rama Pisharoti		1916
4. Korukanti Sitaramayya		1917
5. C. Kunhan Raja		1920
6. T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri		1922
7. O. K. Anantalakshmi	The Upanisads as sources of the cultural history of India (Pub. serially in the J.O.R. Madras, IV (1930).	1923-26
8. K. G. Subrahmanyam	Gleanings of Cultural History from the Work of Panini.	1923-26
9. T. R. Chintamani	Studies on Sanskrit Semantics	1924
10. A. S. Krishna Rao	Elements of cultural history in the early Sanskrit texts of the Nyaya-Vaisesika system.	1925-28
11. K. R. Lakshmana Sastri	Sarvanukramani with two unpublished commentaries.	1929-30
12. A. Gopala Menon	Do.	1929-30
13. R. Ramamurti	Forgotten Sanskrit Works and Authors.	1926-29
14. P. Meenakshi Kutty	Kusumanjali-Translation.	1930-31
15. C. Sivaramamoorti	Painting in Sanskrit Literature.	1932
16. C. R. Sankaran	A Study of the Theory of Accentuation in Sanskrit linguistics with special reference to the Paninian system.	1935-35
17. K. M. K. Sarma	Panini, Katyayana, Patanjali, a comparative study.	1933-35
18. M. Ramakrishna Bhat	Latter-day Schools of Paninian Interpretation.	1934-36
19. Saramma P. Joshua	The Epic Dialect in Sanskrit Literature.	1934-36

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Year</i>
20.	P. Ratnamayi Devi	Technique of Sanskrit drama— Theory and Practice.	1935-38
21.	V. Varadachari	Studies on Udayana's works (Submitted for Doctorate in 1956).	1936-38
22.	T. K. Ramachandran	Concordance of Kalidasa (Pub. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 20).	1936-38
23.	P. L. Ramachandran	Pre-Sayana Vedic comment- ators.	1937
24.	R. K. Parthasarathy	South India's Contribution to Sanskrit literature.	1937-40
25.	K. Ammini Amma	A Study of legends in Vedic literature.	1939-41
26.	G. M. Bhat	Ramayana in Sanskrit literature.	1939-41
27.	S. Subrahmanya Sastri	The Bhatta and Prabhakara schools of Mimamsa.	1940-42
28.	P. L. Ramachandran	Cities in Ancient India as studied from Sanskrit texts.	1940-43
29.	Maharajkumar Sardul Vikram Singh	Basis of legal obligation in Hindu Law.	1940-41
30.	V. Srinivasan	Sanskrit literature after 1200 A. D.	1941
31.	T. V. Paramesvara Iyer	Vacaspati Misra—A Study	1946-47
32.	G. Rajalakshmi	History and Development of Hindu Chemistry.	1949-50
33.	R. Thangaswami	A Bibliographical Account of Advaita literature.	1955

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS RESEARCH STUDENT

1.	Sri Yajnavarahan	A Bibliographical Account of Visishtadvaita.	1954-56
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RESEARCH FELLOWS OF THE SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT.

1.	O. P. Rangaswami	A Comparative Study of the Systems of Sanskrit Gram- mar.	1933
2.	H. G. Narahari	Doctrine of Karma and Re- incarnation.	1944-46

FOREIGN SCHOLARS IN THE DEPARTMENT.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Year</i>
1. Prof. Norman Brown, Pennsylvania University, Chicago, U. S. A. (Fulbright scholar).	A Critical edition of Saundaryalahari with commentaries.	1955
2. Mr. Klaus Comman, Hamburg, Germany.	Studies on Sankhya	1954-55
3. Mr. Heinz Titelbach, Marburg, Germany.	Study of Sanskrit literature and Grammar and collection of materials for a dissertation on the Bhagavadajjukiyam.	1955-56
4. Mr. Artola, U.S.A.	Rajaniti in Mahabharata	1956-57
5. Miss M. Biardeau, Paris.	Vakyapadiya and Brahma- siddhi.	1957

DEPARTMENT OF HINDI

BY

S. SHANKAR RAJU NAIDU, M.A., .

Sahitya Ratna, Honours in Hindi,

Head of the Department of Hindi, University of Madras

In view of the increasing importance of the study of Hindi, specially in the field of the comparative study of classics in Hindi and other Indian Languages, Madras University has taken the lead in South India, by starting a separate department of Research in Hindi as a part of the Oriental Research Institute.

The Syndicate of the Madras University with Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar as the Vice-Chancellor, resolved after the recommendation of the Senate in the year 1951, that a Research Department of Hindi should be instituted under the Oriental Research Faculty. Thus the department was started on the 4th of April 1952 with Mr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu, M.A., (Agra), Sahitya Ratna (Allahabad), Honours in Hindi (Punjab) as the Senior Lecturer and Head of the Department, who had already published a book of original poems in Hindi by name 'Geetopahar' consisting of lyrics manifesting the great ideals of, Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi who wrought freedom for the country. He had also brought out certain literary essays including a translation of a few stanzas from 'Kaivalya Navaneetam'. He was awarded a special trophy in the All India Extempore Hindi Debate at Jaipur, in the year 1945.

The city of Madras where the University is functioning, is the metropolis of the Tamil Speaking Area which geographically comprises the Southern most part of India stretching right up to Cape Comorin. Tamil being the Regional Language, it was found fit that a comparative study should first of all be taken up with the Ancient classics of Tamil, the antiquity of which yet admits of its being explored.

Tirukkural believed to be of the 2nd century A.D., and Kambaramayanam of the 12th century A.D. are supposed to be the two master-pieces of Tamil, and Chilappadiharam of the 1st century A.D. is the first magnificent epic of its Ancient Period. Hence the

Department of Hindi has concentrated its attention to the study of these classics comparing them with those of the relevant portions in Hindi. Works of Kabirdas, Bihari Lal and other Suktikaras of Hindi are compared with Tirukkural which is a treasure-house of 1330 common Ethical codes for all people of all times. Tulsidas's Rama-Charita-Manas is compared with Kambaramayanam, both of which contain the same story of Rama as depicted by Valmiki. Kambaramayanam and Rama-Charita-Manas have very many deviations from their original in their plot constructions, but it is surprising to note certain identical deviations, thereby creating a unique scope for research to discover the cases thereof. The most remarkable spot being that of the Pre-matrimonial Love of Rama and Sita, the first publication of the department is a critical study of these two forms of the same picture, which leads us to infer that Kambaramayanam is one of the sources for Rama-Charita-Manas.

The department, in turn, has already brought out *Chilapadhiharam* in a nutshell.

Among the Poetesses of Tamil and Hindi, 'Andal and Meerabai' respectively provide scope for comparative study, as both belong to the same school of Krishna Bhakti cult, and take Lord Krishna himself as their husband, living their lives singing the eternal glory of the Lord. Hence 'Andal and Meera' has been the recent subject of research and the study has already appeared in the *Annals of Oriental Research*.

The above being the major line of research, there have been, however, other topics of work taken up by the department, chief among them being 'A Short History of Tamil Literature and its Modern Trends,' Development of the Bhakti cult with special reference to South India, and Shaiva Siddhanta Philosophy and their Saints, etc. in Hindi. A short study of two dialects of Hindi viz. Bundelkhandi and Chattisgadhi, has also been taken up from the region of linguistics. Among the master Poets of Hindi, special study of Chanda Bardai, Bhushan and Surdas has been carried out. Now it may be mentioned that, though something tangible has been achieved in the new field of the comparative study of Hindi and Tamil, much remains to be done, and it is hoped that in time to come the department will not only widen and deepen its courses of research in Hindi not only with Tamil, but also all the Dravidian Four viz. Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada.

So far as teaching and guiding of Research are concerned, a German national Research Scholar coming as a Government of India

Fellow was given instruction in the Hindi Language. He has been conducting research on the 'Comparative Study of Hindi and German Grammar'. Another student has been conducting research on a 'Comparative Study of Andal and Meera'. It is looked forward to, that more and more students will take to research in these directions, and also that regular classes will be conducted in the near future as in other languages.

Among other general information, it may be mentioned that Mr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu attended the 'Conference of Professors of Hindi of Indian Universities' convened by the Government of India and held at new Delhi on the 20th and 21st of January 1953, as a representative of the University. He attended the All India Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad and Annamalai Nagar in 1953 and 1955 respectively and read his papers there. He also attended the P.E.N. Conference held at Annamalai Nagar in 1954, and took part in the Seminar of the study of the Scriptures of Great Religions held at Bangalore in 1954. Recently he attended the 14th Annual Session of 'Bharateeya Hindi Parishad' held at Banaras, and took part in the various deliberations there. He has been unanimously elected as the Chairman of the Board of Studies in Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Singalese etc. by the members of the Board. Recently he has been appointed as Chairman of the Text Book Committee in Hindi Secondary Education, Madras. He has been nominated by the University as a member of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Government of India, as one of the representatives of South East Asian section.

A list of works produced by the member during his short term is given in the Annexure

ANNEXURE

I. University Publications :

1. Kambar and Tulsi or 'Ramayana me Rama-Sita Poorvarag'.
2. Tiruvalluvar aur Hindi ke sooktikar - In Press.
3. Tirukkural - A comparative study with Kabirdas (with Payiram translated in equivalent Hindi verses) - Annals of Oriental Research 1954.
4. Tiruvalluvar aur Biharilal ka Prem Varnan - (Annals of Oriental Research, 1955).
5. Andal and Meera - Annals of Oriental Research, 1956.

II. Outside Publications with the permission of the University :

1. Tamil Literature and its Modern Trends - Diamond Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Kashi.
2. Swarajya me Tamil - Ajkal, New Delhi.
3. Shaiva Sañt Tirunavukkarasar 'Appar' - Ajkal, New Delhi.
4. Chilappadiharam - Pratibha, Nagpür.
5. Bhakti Dravida Oopaji - Hindi Prachar samachar, Madras.
6. Kavichchakravarti Kambar - A general Survey - commemoration volume of Rashtrakavi Mithilisanan Gupta.
7. Tirukkural - The Great Scripture (In English) - Seminar of the Great Scriptures of the World, Bangalore.
8. Bundeli and Chattisgadhi - Dakshina Bharat, Madras.
9. Kambar aur Tulsi - A short sketch - Dakshina Bharat, Madras, and Prasāritā, Publications Division, A.I.R., Government of India, New Delhi.
10. Chand Bardai, Mahakavi Bhushan, Life and work of Maluk Das, and various other talks broadcast on A.I.R., Madras.
11. Saiva Siddhanta and Tirugyana Sambandha - Magazine of the Institute of Hindi, Agra University, Agra.
12. Hindi and Punjabi - 'Saptā Sindhu', Patialā.
13. Treatment of Love by Tiruvalluvar and Bihari Lal - (In English) - A.I. Oriental Conference, Ahmadabad.
14. Kambaramayānam - A Source for Rama Charita Manas (In English) - A.I. Oriental Conference, Annamalai Nagar.

(VII) HISTORY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC, PERSIAN AND URDU, AND THE WORK DONE SO FAR.

The Department, which is now known as the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, first came into being under the name of Islamic Section, in September 1927. It then consisted of a Senior and Junior Reader :—

Senior Reader : Mr. S. Muhammad Hussayn Nainar.

Junior Reader : Mr. Muhammad Munawwar Gawhar Sahib
(retired on 30-4-30)

When the Oriental Research Institute was re-organised in 1930 the Islamic Section was designated as the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu with a Senior Lecturer in Arabic as the Head of the Department and two Junior Lecturers one for Persian and the other for Urdu. The staff then consisted of :—

Senior Lecturer in Arabic : Mr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainār.
(retired in 1954)

Junior Lecturer in Persian : Mr. Abū Hāshim Syed U'sha'.

Junior Lecturer in Urdu : Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi.
(retired on 30-6-1949)

Present Staff :—

Senior Lecturer and Head
of the Department of } Mr. Abū Hāshim Syed U'sha'.
Arabic, Persian and }
Urdu }

Junior Lecturēr in Urdu ... Mr. Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, M.A.

Junior Lecturer in Arabic... Vacant.

The aim and object of this Department is to extract from obscurity works of outstanding merits on useful topics and resuscitate those works. In India and abroad there exists in manuscript form a vast amount of literature in Arabic and Persian prose and poetry—and to some extent in Urdu also—comprising Belles Lettres, History, Travels, Philosophy, Logic, Metaphysics, commentaries on Quran, on New Testament and Old Testament, and various other works of importance. Besides, there are still extant in considerable quantity works in manuscript on various other topics such as Grammar, Prosody, Rhetoric, Poetics and allied subjects ; Dictionaries, Biographies of saints, and learned men, and anthologies of poets, etc., Arts and Crafts, Calligraphy, Painting, Music, Musical Therapy, Physics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Agriculture, Horticulture, etc.

PUBLICATIONS

So far the following works have been published by this Department under the auspices of the University :—

<i>Biographical Sketches of the Muslim Poets of Southern India :</i>	by Mr. Muhammad Munawwar Gawhar	1936.
<i>Sources of the History of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic, Part I :</i>	by Mr. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar.	1934.
do Part II :	do	1939.
do Part III :	do	1940.
do Part IV :	do	1944.
do Part V :	do	1950.
<i>Arab Geographers' Knowledge of South India :</i>	do	1942.
<i>Tuhfatul Mujahidin :</i>	do	1942.
<i>Seydakkadi Nondi Natakam (Bulletin)</i>	do	1939.
<i>Hindi, High Hindi, Urdu, Dakhni and Hindustani :</i>	do	1940.
<i>Diwan-i-Azfari :</i> by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi		1936.
<i>Diwan-i-Bedar :</i>	do	1936.
<i>Waqiat-i-Azfari :</i>	do	1937.
<i>Kulliyyat-i-Abjadi, Part I (Anwarnama) :</i>	do	1944.
<i>Kulliyyat-i-Abjadi, Part II (Mawaddat Nama) :</i>		1948.
<i>Kulliyyat-i-Abjadi, Part III :</i>	do	1951.
<i>Kalimat-al-Shuara :</i>	do	1951.
<i>Kulliyyat-i-Abjadi, Part IV :</i>	do	1954.

(This Part IV was edited jointly by Mr. M. H. Mahvi and Mr. Muhammad Yousuf Kokan and published in 1954 after the retirement of Mr. Md. Husayn Mahvi.)

The following works were completed by Mr. Muhammad Husayn Mahvi, Junior Lecturer in Urdu (Retired).

Kulliyyat-i-Agah. Vol. II containing the following works:

(a) *Aqa'id-i-Agah*; (b) *Fara'id-dar-Fawa'id*; and (c) *Qasa'id-i-Hilaliya*.

Kulliyyat-i-Agah, Vol. I (containing eight Risalas).

Mathnawi-i-Yusuf Zulaikha

Jami-al-Istiarat

Baharistan-i-Sukhan

Dewan-i-Ibn Yamin

Majalis-al-Nafais

Tuhfat-al-Shuara

- Kulliyat-i-Azfarī* (containing) (a) *Mizan-i-Turki*
 (b) *Arūz Zada* (Prose)
 (c) *Arūz Zada* (Poetry)
 (d) *Wafī*

Mathnawī-Abjadī

Zafar Nama and *Waq'at-i-Haydari*

Ma'dan-āl-Jawahir

Guldasta-i-Karnatic

Panchhi-Baja

Dalil-al-Shukra.

WORKS, BY MR. ABU HASHIM SYED U'SHA PUBLISHED
 BY THE UNIVERSITY

1. *Isami Nama* : An appreciation of *Futuh-Salatin* in Persian verse, by A.S.U'sha'.
 (published in the Annals) 1937
2. *Yad-i-Iqbal* : A memorial poem in Persian, by A.S. U'sha' (published in the Annals). 1939
3. *Malik-ul-'Ulama Qazi Shihab-ud-Din Dawlatabadi*
 A short sketch of the life and works of the Malik-ul-'Ulama by A.S. U'sha' (Published in the Annals). 1940
4. *Futuh-Salatin* : An authentic History of India in Persian verse from Mahmud of Ghazni down to the last year of Muhammad Bin Tughluq, by 'Isami. 1948
5. *Diwan-i-Awhadi* : A collection of classical poems in Persian, by Awhadi of Marāgha. 1951
6. *Diwan-i-'Ubayd Zakani* : A collection of classical poems in Persian, by 'Ubayd Zākāni. 1952
7. *Fat-h-namā-i Mahmūd Shahi* : A historical treatise in Persian verse giving details of an expedition led by Mahmud Shah Bahmani II, by 'Ayāni of Bidr. 1955
8. *Kanz-al-Fawa'id* : A very valuable work on Poetics, Rhetoric and Prosody in Persian, by Husayn Muhammad shāh Shihāb Ansāri who lived during 'Alauddin Khalji's time. (about to be published). 1956

WORKS EDITED BY MR. A.S. U'SHA' AND
AWAITING PUBLICATION

Timur Nama : A History of Timur in Persian verse, by
Hâtifi.

Tarikh-i-Shahjahan : A History of Emperor Shahjahan
in Persian, by Shaykh Farid Bhakkari.

Selections from Jami'ul Hikayât, Parts I, II and III :
Historical anecdotes in Persian of olden times,
by 'Awfi.

Sawanih-i- Iradat Khan (Padshah Nama) : A history of
the closing years of Emperor ' Alamgir and the
subsequent struggle of his sons for the throne, by
Iradat Khan.

Waq'a'-i-Muhammad Shah Padshah : Important events
relating to the invasion of India by Nadir Shah
during the reign of Muhammad Shah, Emperor
of Delhi.

Shigarf Nama : An interesting account of the author's
voyage to and sojourn in Britain by I'tisâm-ud-Din
an envoy of the Emperor Shah 'Alam II to the
court of George III.

Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahani : A history of the Afghan people
and their rule in India in Persian, by 'Abbās
Sarwāni and others.

WORKS BY MR. MUHAMMAD YOUSUF KOKAN,
JUNIOR LECTURER IN URDU PUBLISHED
BY THE UNIVERSITY

Kulliyat-i-Abjadi : Part IV by Abjadi ;

comprising a commentary on Khāqāni's *Tuhfat-
al-Iraqain* in Persian and *Haqiqat Nama* in
Dakhni verse.

(This work was edited jointly by Mr. Md. Husayn
Mahvi and Mr. Muhammed Yousuf Kokan and
published in 1954 after the retirement of Mr.
Md. Husayn Mahvi.)

(2) *Baqir Āgāh* : His life and works in Urdu (Two-thirds
of it has so far been published in the *Annals*).

(B) WORKS AWAITING PUBLICATION

- (1) *Mathnawi Naw Bahār-i-Ishq* by Nāmi of Madras in Urdu—depicting the wellknown romance of Shirin Farhād. The book is printed. It is yet to be published.
- (2) *Mathnawi Baharistan-i-Ishq* by Nāmi of Madras in Urdu—depicting the wellknown romance of Laila Majnu.
- (3) *Asl-al-Usūl* by Fakhri of Madras in Persian—a work on Sufism.
- (4) *Sabhat* by Fakhri of Madras in Persian—a work on Sufism.

RESEARCH STUDENTS

The following students carried on research in the Department

1. Mr. Abdus Sattar (Afzal-ul-Ulama) 1930-31.
2. Mr. Ghulam Muhiyyuddin, M.A. 1941-42.
3. Mr. Syed Ahmad, M.A. 1942.
4. Mr. Muhammad, M.A. 1942.
5. Mr. Muhammad Anwārul Haq, M.A. 1950-52.

Mr. M. Anwārul Haq was awarded the M. Litt. Degree for his thesis on "Muslim Political thought between eighth and fifteenth centuries A.C."