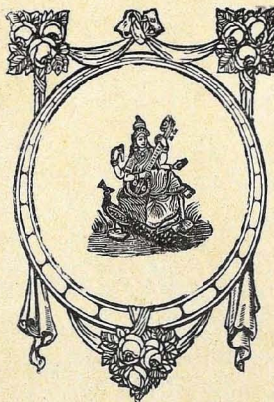


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PRAMĀNALAKṢAṆAM

BY

SARVAJÑĀTMAYATI

EDITED BY

T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Professor of Vedanta
Madras Sanskrit College

AND

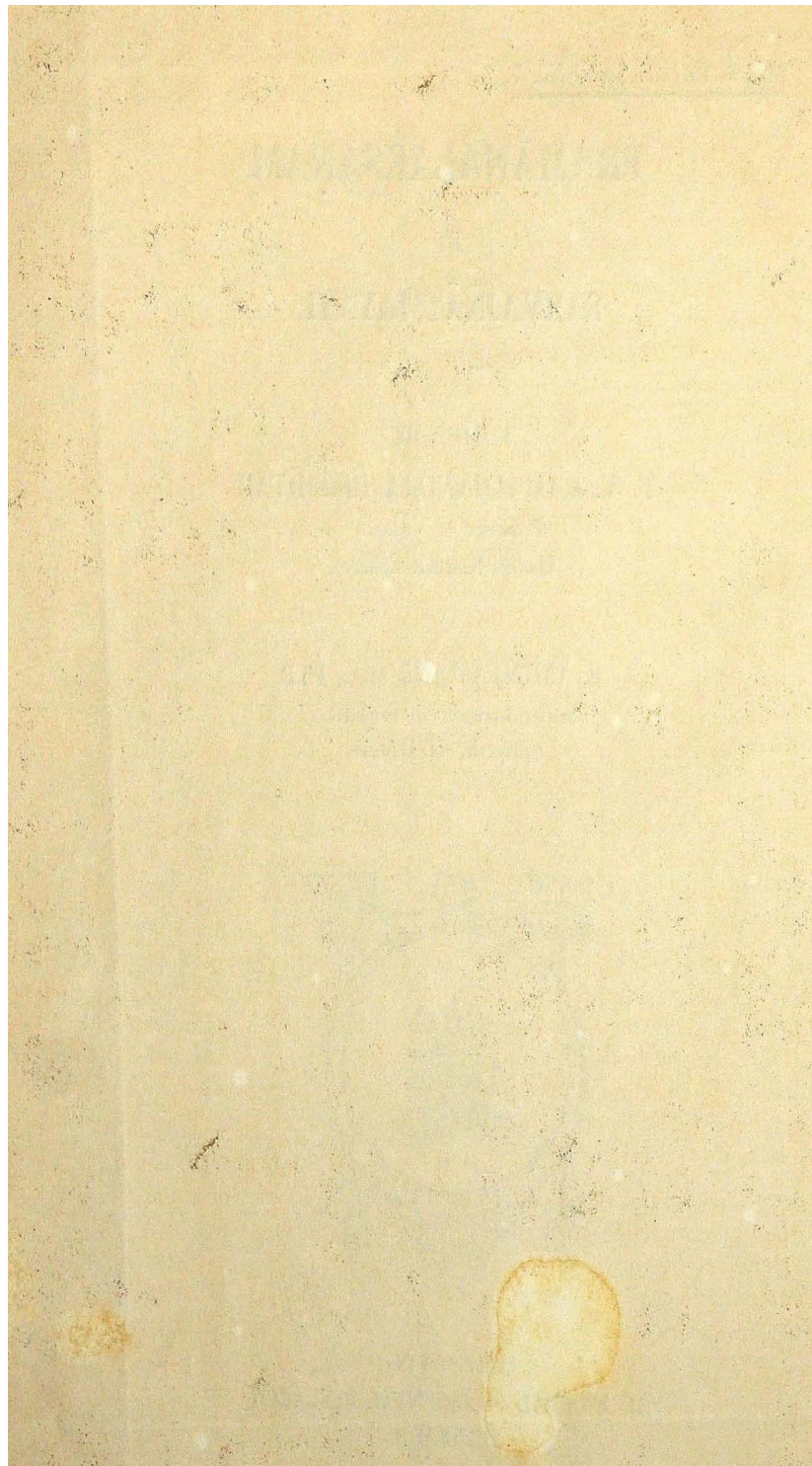
T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Ph.D.

Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit
University of Madras



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PREFACE

The *Pramāṇalakṣaṇa* of Sarvajñātman is a short treatise on the epistemology of the Mīmāṃsā system of philosophic thought. The work deals in a very short compass with the various *pramāṇas* of the Mīmāṃsakas and closes with an estimate of their epistemological doctrines.

In elucidating the nature and scope of the *Pramāṇas* Sarvajñātman interprets the *Sūtras* of Jaimini and the *Bhāṣya* thereon in a remarkable manner. The *prāmāṇya* of the *Upaniṣadic* portion of the *Vedas*, which forms the basis for the entire superstructure of the *Vedāntic* schools of thought is also, in the opinion of Sarvajñātman, indicated in the *sūtras* and the *Bhāṣya*. Mīmāṃsakas as such do not attach the same value to the *Upaniṣads* as they do to the *Vidhi* portions. The special contribution of Sarvajñātman consists in a spirited and powerful harmonising of the views of the Mīmāṃsaka and the *Vedāntin*.

The work was brought to the notice of scholars quite a long time back by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in the columns of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. But till now nobody tried to publish an edition of this important work; and hence this attempt. Only one copy of this work was available to us though it is understood that several copies could be procured from Malabar. This edition therefore is based on a single ms. of the work preserved in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras (D. 15716). Obviously plain scribal errors have been corrected, but such corrections have not been indicated. In other cases we have offered our suggestions in square brackets. In a few places there seems to be some omission also.

The work was first noticed by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in connection with the identification of Manukulāditya referred to by Sarvajñātman in his *San̥kṣepaśārīraka* as his patron. He came to the conclusion that Manukulāditya should have ruled in Travancore in the 10th century A. D. and that Sarvajñātman should have been his protégé. This obviously militates against the accepted notion that Sarvajñātman was the pupil of

Sureśvara and Gopinatha Rao stated in so many words that Sureśvara was not the master of Sarvajñātman. The Guruparamparā given at the end of this work mentions the following people as teachers and students:—

Śreṣṭhānandapāda (teacher)

Devānandapāda (pupil)

Deveśvarapāda (pupil)

Sarvajñātmapāda (author of the present work)

It cannot be argued that the author of the Pramāṇalakṣaṇa is different from the author of the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka for the verses that commemorate the name of Sarvajñātman's teacher, Deveśvara in the Saṅkṣepaśārīraka occur in almost the same form in the work now issued. These and other details relating to Sarvajñātman have been discussed in the edition of the author's Pañcaprakriyā, which will be issued shortly by us. The article of Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, reference to which was made already, also contains the relevant details. It is hoped that this publication will be found useful for a proper understanding of Indian epistemology in general and that of the Mīmāṃsakas in particular.

T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

T. R. CHINTAMANI

THE NUMBER OF RASAS.

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

University of Madras.

I

For long, the Rasas were only eight in number. The text of the Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata originally spoke only of eight Rasas. For a long time, the poets also were speaking only of eight Rasas. Kālidāsa says in his Vikramorvaśīya :

मुनिना भरतेन यः प्रयोगो भवतीष्वष्टरसाश्रयो नियुक्तः ।

ललिताभिनयं तमद्य भर्ता मरुतां द्रष्टुमनाः सलोकपालः ॥ II, 18.

Vararuci's Ubhayābhisārikā has occasion to mention Rasas and their number. The context is a dramatic contest. The Viṭa praises one of the courtezans who is going to enact 'Purandara-vijaya' in the temple of Indra at Kusumapura. Rasas are here mentioned as eight in number.

यस्यास्तावत् प्रथमं रूपश्रीनवयौवनद्युतिकान्त्यादीनां गुणानां सम्पत्,
चतुर्विधाभिनयसिद्धिः, द्वात्रिंशद्विधो हस्तप्रचारः, अष्टादशविधं निरीक्षणम्,
षट् स्थानानि, गतिद्वयम् (-त्रयम्), अष्टौ रसाः, त्रयो गीतवादित्रादिलयाः,
इत्येवमादीनि नृत्ताङ्गानि त्वदाश्रयेण अलंकृतानि ।

p. 13, Caturbhāṇī, Madras.

On the side of the theorists, the writers on Poetics, Rasas were only eight upto the time of Daṇḍin who briefly describes and illustrates only the eight Rasas. Naturally, we suppose that Bhāmaha also knew only eight Rasas. These eight Rasas are thus given by Bharata:

शृङ्गार-हास्य-करुण-रौद्र-वीर-भयानकाः ।

बीमत्साद्भुत-संज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥

एते ह्यष्टौ रसाः प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ॥

N. S. K. M. Edn. VI. 15-16.

And their Sthāyins are thus given :

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।

जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ *Ibid.* VI. 17.

We are unable to fix the exact significance of the record here made by Bharata that these are the eight Rasas expounded by the great Brahman. The mention of Brahman may after all refer only to the legendary back-ground which the Nāṭya śāstra has created for itself. The very first verse says to the effect that *almost* the first exponent of the Nāṭya śāstra is Brahman;

नाट्यशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मणा यदुदाहृतम् । I. 1.

And this, Brahman himself learnt from Śiva. This legend is settled in later times and is mentioned by all writers. How far is this based on evidences within the Nāṭya śāstra itself?

To begin with, sage Bharata says that Brahman himself contemplated and created out of the four Vedas, the fifth Veda called the Nāṭya Veda. I. 16-19. Śiva is mentioned in the first chapter, for the first time, with reference to the Kaiśikī Vṛtti. Brahman says that the beautiful, graceful and delicate Kaiśikī cannot be properly presented by male actors, that it can be properly done only by actresses and that he has seen it depicted by only one among males, *viz.*, God Śiva. I. 45. We hear of Śiva again only in Ch. IV. The first drama 'Asuravijaya' or 'Amṛta-mathana' was enacted before an audience of Devas and Asuras in Devaloka during the Indradhvaja festival. I. 54-57.

तदन्तेऽनुकृतिर्बद्धा यथा दैत्याः सुरैर्जिताः ।

After this Samavakāra, the first drama to be staged, was finished, Brahman one day took Bharata and his troupe to Kailasa to give a performance before God Śiva. This Samavakāra, and a Dima called Tripuradāha, on one of Śiva's own exploits, were staged there. IV. 5-10. After the drama was finished, Śiva praised Brahman and the actors and told them that the beautiful and varied Karaṇas and Aṅgahāras of the Tāṇḍava dance which He himself did every evening might be introduced into the Pūrvaraṅga of their drama, so that their plain (Śuddha) Pūrvaraṅga might become a Citrapūrvaraṅga. IV. 11-15. He called upon one of his Gaṇas, Taṇḍu, to teach Bharata the Aṅgahāras and Karaṇas of Tāṇḍava. IV. 17-18. Thus Śiva is the God of dance proper, while Brahman himself created Drama and won Śiva's credential for his creation of this art. Bharata is the first artiste whom Brahman chose for the exposition of the art that he created. Brahman's creation of the art of Drama referred to all parts of it,

the text of the drama, the acting of it, the music that supported the performance and finally the Rasa which the above three evoked in the hearts of the audience. This is the meaning of the verse:

जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात् सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।

यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥

The story given above points to the historical fact that Dance existed first and that Drama was then created. Taṇḍu signifies the link between the two. The gods of the two, Dance and Drama, are Śiva and Brahman. So it is that Bharata, who represents the operatic dance-drama, says at the beginning—

प्रणम्य शिरसा देवौ पितामहमहेश्वरौ ।

and Abhinava adds here, in his commentary—

“एको (ब्रह्मा) विजिगीषुर्नाट्यप्रवर्तयितेति देवः । भगवांस्तु आनन्द-निर्भरतया क्रीडाशीलः सन्ध्यादौ नृत्यतीति नाट्ये तदुपस्कारिणि च नृत्ते तदुपज्ञं प्रवृत्तिरिति तावेवात्र अधिदैवतं गुरु चेति नमस्कार्यौ ।”

p. 2, Gaek. Edn. Vol. I.

Thus Śiva's contribution is Dance which served to beautify Drama—तदुपस्कारिणि च नृत्ते. Brahman's contribution itself was self-sufficient for Drama. He spoke of Text, Action, Music and Rasa. It is to this part of the Drama of Brahman that Bharata refers in Ch. VI, when he says that these are the eight Rasas *spoken of by Brahman*.

एते ह्यष्टौ रसाः प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।

It is on this text that Śārādātānaya relies when he says that, according to Brahman, Rasas are only eight, and the ninth, the Śānta, is impossible.

..... तस्माच्छान्तस्य नोद्भवः ।

तस्मान्नाट्यरसा अष्टाविति पद्मभुवो मतम् ॥ Bhā. Pra. II, pp. 46-7.

These bits of legend have to be connected with some facts available to us, *viz.*, that there are really big works on Nāṭya which are current as works of Śiva or Śadāśiva and Brahman. Says Mr. M. R. Kavi in his Introduction to his edition of the N. S. with the Abhi. Bhā. in the Gaek. Series:—“We have fragments of both Brahmabharata and Sadāśivabharata.” Abhinava himself refers to the triple authority of Sadāśiva, Brahman and Bharata.

“एतेन सदाशिवब्रह्मभरतमतत्रयविवेचनेन ब्रह्ममतसारताप्रतिपादनाय etc.”

p. 8.

The upshot of the discussion here gives the noteworthy fact that, of the three works Sadāśiva Bharata, Brahma Bharata and Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra, the Brahma Bharata is the best and most important according to some. The Daśarūpakārikās, IV. 38 and 39, proving Rasa to be Sāmājikāśraya, are quoted and attributed to Sadāśiva by Śāradātanaya. Bhā. Pra. VI. p. 152. This ascription does not seem to be reliable. The argumentative style of the Kārikās argue for a later writer. Whether this particular ascription be true or not, it can be accepted that old works in the name of Sadāśiva and Brahman exist. Though from the internal evidence of the Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata we know of Śiva as having contributed Dance only, there may be a Sadāśiva Bharata dealing with all departments of Nāṭya. It is also likely that this Sadāśiva Bharata is of special importance for its chapters on Dance, on Tāṇḍava, its Karaṇas and Aṅga-hāras.

Similarly Tāṇḍu, who, in the Nāṭya śāstra, simply passes the Tāṇḍava from Śiva to Bharata, may have some old Nāṭya work to his credit. There is some difficulty in understanding the name Tāṇḍu. In Ch. I, we hear of a Tāṇḍu who is one of the hundred sons of Bharata. (I. 26.) From Ch. IV, we know him as belonging to Śiva's camp. In Ch. I, 26, the text has a variant. (p. 18, Gaek. edn. fn.) Tāṇḍya and in Ch. IV. 17 and 18, we have the variant Tāṇḍin. (p. 90, Gaek. edn. fn.) Abhinava says that the reading 'Tāṇḍu' is appropriate, in view of that word's suitability to the derivation of the word Tāṇḍava.

“सर्वत्र पाठे तण्डुशब्द एव युक्तः, ताण्डवशब्दव्युत्पत्तिवशात् ।”

p. 90, Gaek. Edn. Vol. I.

It looks as if 'Tāṇḍu' was created out of the word Tāṇḍava. Surely, this Tāṇḍava was being done by Śiva before Tāṇḍu, on Śiva's bidding, taught it to Bharata. Therefore, the name Tāṇḍava could not have been the name given to the dance subsequent to Tāṇḍu imparting it to Bharata. In this connection, the text of Abhinava's commentary seems to say that this Tāṇḍu is none else than Nandin, the chief attendant of Śiva. We find in Mr. M. R. Kavi's Edn. Vol. I, p. 90: 'तण्डुमुनिशब्दौ (नन्दिभर) तयोरपरनामनी ।' But in the MS of the Abhinavabhārati in the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS Library, we find the passage running thus:

‘तण्डुमुनिशब्दौ तस्योरेव (?) नामनि (नी)’ । Vol. I, 68.

and it is rather difficult to reconstruct or understand this text. There does not seem to be unanimity among writers regarding the identity of Taṇḍu and Nandin. The Śabdakalpadruma says that, according to Halāyudha, Taṇḍu is a door-keeper of Śiva,—Śivadvārapālaviśeṣa. The Vācaspatya says the same thing and adds that it is a name of Nandikeśvara ‘शिवद्वारपालविशेषे, नन्दिकेश्वरे । ‘नन्दी भृङ्गिरितिस्तण्डुः’¹ In the Śabdakalpadruma, we find that according to the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, the other names of Nandikeśvara are Nandī, Śālaṅkāyana and Tāṇḍavatālika, and that according to Hemacandra, the other names are Nandī and Taṇḍu. Keśava’s Kalpadrukośa (Gaek. edn. p. 392, Śl. 117-8) gives Nandin, Śālaṅkāyana, Tāṇḍavatālika, Taṇḍu, Kelikila and Kūṣmāṇḍaka as the other names of Nandikeśvara. If Taṇḍu were a name of Nandikeśvara, he would be both the time-keeper for Śiva’s Tāṇḍava (ताण्डवतालिक) and the promulgator of the Tāṇḍava (तण्डुना प्रोक्तं ताण्डवम्). But, according to Sarvānanda and Bharatamallika, the person who is responsible for the Śāstra through which Tāṇḍava got its name, is a sage (Muni) named Tāṇḍa or Tāṇḍya. And Taṇḍu whom Śiva asked to teach the Tāṇḍava to Bharata may not be Nandikeśvara but may be some other Gaṇa of Śiva. Ratnākara’s Haravijaya, which is a store-house of information for the Nāṭya-researcher, mentions Nandīśa and Taṇḍu

1. The explanation of Tāṇḍava by Taṇḍu is not the only explanation. Bhānuji and Kṣīrasvāmin, in their commentaries on the Amarakośa (Nāṭya varga, Śl. 10) give Tāṇḍava as being so called after its exponent, Taṇḍu. Bharata (com. on Amara) says that the sage Tāṇḍa (not Nandikeśvara, a Śivagaṇa) promulgated the Śāstra which came to be called after him ‘Tāṇḍi’ (Neuter); and from this Tāṇḍi is Tāṇḍava derived. ‘ताण्डेन कृतं ताण्डि, नृत्यशास्त्रम्, तदस्यास्तीति भरतः (अमरटीकायाम्) ।’ See the Śabdakalpadruma and Vācaspatya on Tāṇḍava. Sarvānanda’s Tīkāsarvasva, p. 41, T. S. S. edn. pt. 1. ताण्ड्येन मुनिना प्रोक्तं * * * ताण्डि नृत्यशास्त्रम् । तदस्यास्तीति ताण्डवम् । To these derivations, Subhūticandra adds ‘ताण्डते (तण्ड्यते) भूरनेनेति ताण्डवम् ।’ Tāṇḍava is so called because, being a forceful dance (Uddhata), earth is stamped heavily in it. Vidyāvinoda Nārāyaṇa gives all these explanations. Rāyamukūṭa gives Sarvānanda’s and Svāmin’s explanation and adds: ‘तडिघातोः ताण्डवमिति तु कौमुदी ।

as two different persons and the commentator, Rājānaka Alaka, adds that Taṇḍu is one of the Pramathagaṇas of Śiva.

नन्दीशनिर्दयकराहतपुष्करेषु मन्द्रं ध्वनत्सु मुरजेषु विभज्य तण्डुः ।

आसारितेषु परिकल्पितसप्तभेदपर्याप्तशोभमथ ताण्डवमभ्यगायत् ॥

N. S. Edn. II. 20.

Com. तण्डुनामा प्रमथः । ताण्डवं नाम गीतकम् आत्मप्रोक्तम् अभ्यगायत्¹॥

p. 21.

From this it would appear that Nandin is the drummer and Taṇḍu the singer of the libretto for Śiva's dance. Abhinava gives an extract from Kohala also on p. 182 (Gaek. edn. Vol. I) having some bearing on Taṇḍu and Tāṇḍava.

The name Nandin is found twice in the Nāṭya śāstra, IV. 260 and 261, in connection with the Piṇḍibandhas. More than one work on Nāṭya have come down to us as the work of Nandikeśvara. Rājaśekhara ascribes the first treatment of Rasa to Nandikeśvara and the first treatment of Drama to Bharata.

“—रूपकनिरूपणीयं भरतः, रसाधिकारिकं नन्दिकेश्वरः— ।”

p. 1, K. M. Gaek. Edn.

The chief ground on which Rājaśekhara foists the first treatment of Rasa on Nandikeśvara is the record made by Vātsyāyana in his Kāma sūtra, I. 1-8, that Nandikeśvara is the first author on Kāma. Love may be taken to be indicative of the other Rasas and further, it is the most important of the emotions which form the material for literature. Śāradātanaya relates a Rasa-legend in Ch. 3. of his Bhāvaprakāśa in which Nandin figures and which legend he ascribes to Vyāsa. ‘व्यासप्रोक्तेन मार्गेण कथयामि यथार्थतः ।’ We do not yet know of a work of Vyāsa on Nāṭya. The legend given in the Bhāvaprakāśa is this: Brahman created the worlds at Śiva's bidding and then contemplated upon the past and saw with his mind's eye the doings of Śiva. Nandikeśvara appeared before Brahman at that time and taught him Nāṭya and asked

1. Tāṇḍava thus originally meant the song, to the accompaniment of which Śiva danced; the dance then came to be called Tāṇḍava after its song. Such instances of dances getting their names from the songs, the Tāla of the song etc., are common. Cf. Carcarī is a Tāla, a musical composition, a dance and also a spring festival in which the Carcarī is danced. (The Ratnāvalī, I.) Cf. Jatisvara, Varṇa, Pada, etc. in the modern South Indian Nautch, which names of musical compositions serve as names of the dance items also.

him to teach the art to the Bharatas, *i.e.*, actors. Brahman created the art of representation, drama, with a past story of Śiva called Tripuradāha, a Dima. The Bharatas staged this Tripuradāha and while Brahman was witnessing it, there came forth from his four faces four Vṛttis with the four Rasas, Śṛṅgāra, Vīra, Raudra and Bībhatsa. Concluding this story of Rasotpatti, Śārādātanaya says:

व्यक्ता मुखेभ्यश्चोत्पन्ना इत्युचुः शंकरादयः ।

The Śaṅkara mentioned here is another puzzle.¹ Śārādātanaya brings Nārada also into the story and says that Nārada expounded this Rasotpatti to Bharata, the sage. (p. 58, Ch. III.) The two Guruparamparās found here are 'Śiva-Nandin-Brahman-the Bharatas' and 'Nārada-Bharata, the sage'. In Ch. 10, Śārādātanaya gives another story of how Nāṭya came to earth from heaven, where also the former Guru-paramparā is given. The actors, the Bharatas, are sent to this world and they write treatises on the art.

नाट्यवेदाच्च भरताः सारमुद्धृत्य सर्वतः ।
संग्रहं सुप्रयोगार्हं मनुना प्रार्थिता व्यधुः ॥
एकं द्वादशसाहस्रैः श्लोकैरेकं तदर्धतः ।
षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैर्यो नाट्यवेदस्य संग्रहः ॥

Bhā. Pra. Gaek. Edn. p. 287.

The Bharatas wrote two works, one in 12000 Ślokas and another in 6000 Ślokas. The basis of these two is the Nāṭyaveda which is perhaps double the extent of the first of these two. The second work in 6000 verses is the present Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata and the Daśarūpakāvaloka quotes it by the name, Ṣaṭsahasrī. "षट्सहस्रीकृताप्युक्तम्—'एभ्यश्च सामान्यगुणयोगेन रसा निष्पद्यन्ते' इति ।" IV. (*Vide* Bharata's N. S. VII, p. 80, Kāśī Edn.) Bahurūpamiśra has quoted the former work in 12000 verses, the Dvādaśasāhasrī, in his gloss on the Daśarūpaka.² Mr. M. R. Kavi quotes the

1. Śaṅkara may mean Śiva himself and this would mean then that the Sadāśiva Bharata is the source of this story. A Śaṅkara is cited in Pārśvadeva's Saṅgītasamayāsāra, T. S. S. Edn. p. 42.

सकलं निष्कलं चेति वाद्यमेतत् द्विधा भवेत् ।

कथितं शंकरेणैवम् एकतन्त्रीसमाश्रयम् ॥

2. *Vide* J. O. R., Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 329-330, my article on Bahurūpamiśra's commentary on the Daśarūpaka,

Yāmalāṣṭakatantra in the preface to his edition of the Nāṭya-śāstra (Vol. I, p. 6, fn. 1.), according to which the Nāṭya veda, which Śāradātanaya mentions as the basis of the two Saṅgrahas, is a work in 36000 Ślokas. Which of these two, the Nāṭya veda and the Dvādaśasāhasrī, is the work of Śiva and which, of Brahman cannot be said easily. The latter may be the Brahma-bharata referred to by Abhinava. What these works say on Rasa, we are not in a position to know.

The only work we have is the Ṣaṭsahasrī of Bharata, the Nāṭyaśāstra, which says that according to Brahman, Rasas are eight. Śāradātanaya fashions this text into the form of a later controversial text, and makes Padmabhū (Brahman) refute the Śānta and accept only eight Rasas. We can conjecture safely that both the Sadāśivabharata and the Brahmabharata knew only eight Rasas.

Was there any old work which expounded nine Rasas? When did the Śānta first make its appearance? Just after giving the above-noticed view of Padmabhū that Rasas are only eight, Śāradātanaya gives another account which he attributes to Vāsuki. There seems to be, from the following verse, an old work in which Vāsuki imparts the Nāṭyaśāstra to Nārada.

उत्पत्तिस्तु रसानां या पुरा वासुकिनोदिता ।

नारदस्योच्यते सैषा प्रकारान्तरकल्पिता ॥ Bhā. Pra., p. 46.

The Śānta Rasa is accepted in this account.

रजस्तमोविहीनात्तु सत्त्वावस्थात् सचित्ततः ।

मनागस्पृष्टबाह्यार्थात् शान्तो रस इतीरितः ॥ II, p. 48.

Who is this Vāsuki? We already know of two serpents among Saṅgītācāryas, Kambala and Aśvatara and we must add to them this Nāṭyācārya Vāsuki. Śāradātanaya quotes Vāsuki earlier also (pp. 36-37) regarding the rise of Rasa from Bhāvas.

नानाद्रव्यौषधैः पाकैः व्यञ्जनं भाव्यते यथा ।

एवं भावा भावयन्ति रसानभिनयैः सह ।

इति वासुकिनाप्युक्तो भावेभ्यो रससंभवः ॥

This verse is, as pointed out by the editor of the Bhāvaprakāśa, found in the Nāṭya śāstra of Bharata, quoted along with four other verses, with the words— 'भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः ।'¹ If we are

1. Thus, there are Anuṣṭubh and Āryā verses quoted by Bharata. These are called Ānuvaṁśya verses, handed down as

to rely on Śāradātanaya, we have to suppose that the Rasa chapters in Bharata are based on the texts of Vāsuki and others and that this Vāsuki accepted a ninth Rasa, namely, the Śānta. Why then does Bharata's text not mention the Śānta? If Bharata did not approve of Śānta being a Rasa, he must refute it, citing Vāsuki's position. When no such controversy is seen in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, we have to conclude that Śāradātanaya has only increased the confusion here, as on other topics also.

If we are to attach any weight to the statement of another late writer Dharmasūri, author of the Sāhityaratnākara, we have to suppose that Kohala is, like Vāsuki, another old writer who accepted the Śānta Rasa. He says regarding the Sthāyin of Śānta—

“कोहलस्तु उत्साहो वा निर्वेदो वा शमो वा अस्य स्थायीत्युवाच ।”

Vide D. T. Tātācārya, J. O. R., Vol. V, p. 29.

If Kohala had accepted Śānta, Abhinava and other champions of Śānta would have quoted him. Dharmasūri's reference to Kohala is unreliable. But it is also likely that a late work falsely ascribed to Kohala speaks of the Śānta and Dharmasūri bases his statement on such a pseudo-Kohala work.

The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata itself recognised only eight Rasas. Subsequently, when the Śānta was accepted by writers, the text of the N. S. was changed and read thus as indicated by Abhinava:

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणाः रौद्रवीरभयानकाः ।

बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ॥ N. S. VI. 16.

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।

जुगुप्साविस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ N. S. VI. 18.

“शान्तापलापिनस्त्वत्र अष्टाविति पठन्ति ।”

“तत्र शान्तस्य स्थायी ‘विस्मयशमाः’ इति कैश्चित् पठितः ।” *Ibid.*

Udbhaṭa recognises the Śānta as can be seen from his Kāvya-lāṅkārasārasaṅgraha. He is thus the first commentator on the

basic and authoritative texts on Nāṭya written by other writers. The definite authorship of these Anuṣṭubhs and Āryās is not known. Abhinava says while commenting on one set of such Ānuvaṁśya Āryas, on p. 328: “ता एता ह्यार्याः एकप्रघट्टकतया पूर्वाचार्यैः लक्षणत्वेन पठिताः । मुनिना तु सुखसंग्रहाय यथास्थानं निवेशिताः ।”

N. S. and the first Ālaṅkārika now known to have definitely begun to speak of Rasas as nine in number. So, he must have made the necessary alteration in the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra as above shown and as pointed out by Abhinava.

Regarding this subject of Śānta Rasa, the following questions arise:—

i. Did Bharata recognise it? What are the arguments of those who hold that Bharata recognises it? What is the real position of Bharata in respect of Śānta?

ii. Who is the first writer who introduced the Śānta Rasa? What was that condition in the world of letters that led to the postulation of Śānta?

iii. Independent of Bharata accepting it or not, what is Śānta? Can it be a Rasa? What are the arguments of the opponents of Śānta?

iv. What is the criticism of those who not only accept but praise the Śānta as the greatest Rasa? Who are these writers? What are the literary compositions that have proved the possibility of the Śānta Rasa?

v. Who are those who, unable to find fault with Śānta, make a compromise, deny it in Nāṭya and accept it in Kāvya only? What are their arguments and how are they met?

vi. Who are the writers who do not accept the Śānta anywhere?

vii. What is the Sthāyin of Śānta?

These questions will be dealt with in the following section.

(To be continued.)

ON THE GRAMMATICAL WORK SI-T'AN-CHANG

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH,

Mysore.

In Chap. 34 of his *Record of Buddhist Practices*, I-tsing says first (p. 170 of Takakusu's English translation published at Oxford in 1896) that there are five works on Sanskrit Grammar, similar to the Five Classics of the Divine Land (*i. e.*, China), and then gives their titles and description as follows:

1. Si-t'an-chang (Siddha-composition) for beginners. Children learn this book when they are six years old and finish it in six months.

2. The Sūtra of Pāṇini, inspired by Maheśvara and containing 1000 ślokas. Children begin to learn this when they are eight years old and can repeat it in eight months' time.

3. The Book on Dhātu containing 1000 ślokas.

4. The Book on the Three Khilas, comprising (a) Aṣṭadhātu which contains 1000 ślokas and treats of the seven cases, ten *las* (ल) and eighteen *tiṅs* (तिङ्) (b) Wen-ch'a (Maṇḍa or Muṇḍa) which treats of the formation of words (like *vrkṣa*) by combining roots with a suffix or suffixes, and which contains more than 1000 ślokas, and (c) the Uṇādi, of similar nature to the above, and containing 1000 ślokas. Boys begin to learn the Book on the Three Khilas when they are ten years old and understand it thoroughly after three years' diligent study.

5. The Vṛtti-sūtra containing 18000 ślokas and written by Jayāditya. It is a commentary on the foregoing Sūtra (*i. e.*, Pāṇini's Sūtra). Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary and understand it after five years.

Of these, the Vṛtti-sūtra, it has long been recognised, is the Kāśikā-vṛtti of Jayāditya and Vāmana (*see* now in this connection the very apposite remarks of Liebich in Appendix III to his edition of the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, p. 283), and the Sūtra, the Vyākaraṇa-sūtra of Pāṇini. The Book on Dhātu is, as pointed out by Liebich (p. 282, *op. cit.*), without doubt Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha with a short commentary similar in character to that of Kṣīra-

svāmin or Maitreyaraksita, while the Book on the Three Khilas was a treatise that dealt respectively with (1) noun- and verb-inflection, (2) primary (and secondary ?) noun-building, and (3) uṇādi suffixes.

Regarding the first-named work, Si-t'an-chang, the full description of it given by I-tsing reads as follows (pp. 170-172):

"I. The Si-t'an-chang (Siddha-composition) for beginners. This is also called Siddhirastu, signifying 'Be there success' (Ch. lit. 'complete be good luck') for so named is the first section of this small (book of) learning.

"There are forty-nine letters (of the alphabet) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections; the total number of syllables is more than 10,000, or more than 300 ślokas. Generally speaking, each śloka contains four feet (pādas), each foot consisting of eight syllables; each śloka has therefore thirty-two syllables. Again there are long and short ślokas; of these it is impossible here to give a minute account.

"Children learn this book when they are six years old, and finish it in six months. This is said to have been originally taught by Maheśvara-deva (Śiva)".

This Si-t'an-chang was identified with the Śiva-sūtras by the late Prof. F. Max Muller in a paper that appeared originally in *The Academy* of September 25 and October 2, 1880 and was published in a revised form in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX, pp. 305 ff. In this paper, Max Muller gives a résumé of the contents of Chap. 34 of I-tsing's *Record* based on the translation of Kasawara, and writes thus on p. 307 of the latter journal:

"He [I-tsing] gives the name *Vyākaraṇa*, grammar, and then proceeds to speak of five works, generally called grammar in India,

"I. The first is called elementary *siddhānta*, and begins with *siddhirastu*. It was originally taught by Mahēśvara; and is learnt by heart by children when they are six years old. They learn it in six months.

"Most likely this refers to the Śiva Sūtras, granted by the favour of Mahēśvara. But from the description given, the *siddhānta* must have contained much more than the fourteen Śiva Sūtras."

This opinion, however, did not commend itself to the late Prof. Kielhorn who, with reference to the above-cited observation

of Max Muller, wrote thus in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XII, p. 226, n. 2): "In the first work mentioned by I-tsing, the elementary *Siddhānta*, I would recognise a kind of *Lipi-* or *Mātrkā-viveka*, similar to the one of Kṣemendraśarman, which teaches the letters, their combinations, the organs with which they are pronounced, etc. I think I am right in stating that both in Brāhmanical and Jaina indigenous schools the first thing children learn is the phrase ओ नमः सिद्धम्".

This view of Kielhorn was adopted by Max Muller himself in his subsequently-published book, *India, what can it teach us*, where he wrote (*see* Vol. XIII of Collected Works of Max Muller, edition of 1916, p. 211): "I-tsing then gives a short account of the system of education. Children, he says, learn the forty-nine letters and the 10,000 compound letters when they are six years old, and generally finish them in half a year. This corresponds to about 300 verses, each śloka of thirty-two syllables". It was likewise adopted by the late Prof. Buhler also; *see* Takakusu's note 2 in his translation of I-tsing, p. 170. *See also* Buhler's *On the Origin of the Indian Brāhmi Alphabet* (Strassburg, 1898), pp. 30 and 122.

A similar opinion seems to have been held by Kaśyapa¹ who has written a commentary on I-tsing's work, and the authors of the Japanese works *The Eighteen Sections of the Siddha* (written in A.D. 1566) and *Siddhapitaka* or *Siddhakośa* (A.D. 880), who are mentioned by Takakusu on p. 170 (n. 3), *op. cit.* Takakusu, however, is not satisfied that this opinion is correct, and therefore observes there: "Still it is not safe to conclude anything from these points. I-tsing may be referring to the Śiva-sūtra".

This conjecture is quite untenable. For, though it is true that the Śiva-sūtra was originally given out by Maheśvara, it does not begin with *siddhir-astu* or *siddha*; it consists of fourteen sections only and not eighteen, and contains, not 300 ślokas but 43 akṣaras or less than two ślokas. Moreover, it does not require a period of six months for a boy of six years to master it.

Prof. Liebich, in my opinion, has done right, therefore, in rejecting (*op. cit.*, p. 281) this opinion of Takakusu. Liebich's opinion is the same as that of Kielhorn, Buhler, etc., and he writes there about the *Si-t'an-chang*: "Evidently an ABC. book for teaching, reading and writing; it is mentioned by Huen Tsang also (I. 166)".

About the identification of the book mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, I shall speak later. It is enough to observe here that the only details given by him concerning that work are (1) that it contains twelve chapters, and (2) that, to educate and encourage the young, they are first taught to study that book (*see* Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. I, p. 78). Of the *Si-t'an-chang* mentioned in I-tsing's *Record*, however, it has been said that (1) it is a book on grammar; (2) it is read by beginners; (3) it was originally taught by Maheśvara; (4) it is 300 ślokas in extent; (5) it contains 18 sections; and (6) it is usually learnt in six months.

These details, clearly, do not fit a *māṭṛkā-viveka* or Sanskrit ABC. book. (1) In the first place, a *māṭṛkā-viveka* or syllabary does not at all form part of Sanskrit Grammar. In Europe, it is true, orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody form the four divisions of grammar in many countries. In Sanskrit, however, prosody is dealt with by a different science, *Chandaś-śāstra*, while orthography or proper writing is regarded as an accomplishment quite distinct from the knowledge of grammar, and as not lying in the province of that science. Compare, for instance, the following passages from the *Lalita-vistara* (Mitra's edition, p. 178), *Kādambarī* (Peterson's edition, p. 75) and *Daśa-kumāracarita* (Buhler's edition, p. 11) which state that the princes *Siddhārtha*, *Candrāpīḍa* and *Rājavāhana* became proficient in 'writing' and also in 'Grammar':

lipi-mudrā-gaṇanā-saṅkhyā-sālabha-dhanurvedeṣu .
 . . vyākaraṇe nirukte śikṣāyām . . . ity-evam-ādyāsu
 sarva-karma-kalāsu Bodhisattva eva viśiṣyate sma;

Candrāpīḍaḥ . . . pade [=vyākaraṇe] vākye pramāṇe
 . . . sarva-lipiṣu . . . anyeṣvapi kalā-viśeṣeṣu param kau-
 ślam avāpa;

Rājavāhanaḥ . . . sakala-lipijñānaṁ nikhila-deśīya-
 bhāṣā-pāṇḍityaṁ . . . ṣaḍ-aṅga-sahita-veda-samudāya-
 kovidatvaṁ . . . dharma-śabda [=vyākaraṇa]-jyotis-tarka-
 mīmāṃsādi-samasta-śāstra-cāturyaṁ . . . tattad-ācārye-
 bhyaḥ saṁnyag labdhvā.

(2) Nowhere do we hear of a tradition that the Sanskrit alphabet in its usual sequence (a ā i ī, etc.,) was originally given out by Maheśvara.¹ (3) The number of akṣaras contained in a *māṭṛkā*-

1. On the other hand, Indian tradition attributes the invention of the alphabet to Brahmā; compare p. 25 of Buhler's above-

viveka (i.e., the number of the original letters of the alphabet, added to that of the combinations of the simple and conjunct consonants with a, ā, i, ī, . . . am, aḥ) does not at any time approach the total of 300 ślokas or 9600 syllables¹. (4) There are not 18 sections in a *māṭṛkā-viveka*; and (5) it does not require six months, even for children of six years' age, to master a *māṭṛkā-viveka*.

It thus becomes plain that the details mentioned by I-tsing do not fit a *māṭṛkā-viveka*, and that, hence, the identification by Buhler, Kielhorn, etc. of the *Si-t'an-chang* mentioned in I-tsing's *Record* with one, is incorrect.

cited book and the passages from the Nārada-smṛti (written before A. D. 600) and Bṛhaspati-smṛti referred to there which state that "the Creator (Brahmā) created writing in order to keep the affairs of the world in their proper course".

Hiuen Tsang similarly writes (Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, I, 77) that the letters of the Indian alphabet 'were arranged by Brahma-deva'. Compare also the observation, "Being thus declared by Brahma-rāja, therefore men call it *Fan*, or Brahmā, writing" in *The Life of Hiuen Tsang* (Beal's translation, p. 121). See also the observations of Dr. von Rosthorn in WZKM, 10, 281 and of Thomas Watters on p. 153 of his *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I.

There can be no doubt that I-tsing was acquainted with this tradition, though he does not mention it in his *Record*.

In the last-mentioned book, Watters has pointed out that some Chinese Buddhist works ascribe the invention of letters to Śiva. These works are all posterior to I-tsing, and their statement is based, without doubt, on the above-cited one of I-tsing in the *Record* about the *Si-t'an-chang*, which these writers regarded erroneously as an ABC. book.

According to Liebich (his edition of Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī, p. 281), I-tsing's observation, "this is said to have been originally taught by Maheśvara-deva", is the result of his confounding the Śiva-sūtra with the *brahma-rāṣi* on account of the similarity of their contents. This opinion is quite unfounded, and I cannot subscribe to it.

1. The *Siddhakośa* or *Siddha-piṭaka* mentioned above (A. D. 880) is an ABC. book and professes to contain 16,550 characters. In reality, the number of characters it contains is 6613 only according to the counting of Prof. Takakusu. See his translation of I-tsing's *Record*, p. 170, n. 3.

It is also equally plain that the work referred to by I-tsing is Śarvavarman's *Kātantra-vyākaraṇa* and that the above-cited description of it given in the *Record* is very appropriate:

(1) The *Kātantra* is, without doubt, a work on Sanskrit Grammar.

(2) It is a book intended for beginners.

(3) It was usually mastered in six months. Read in this connection the story related in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (taraṅga 6, 7) about the origin of the *Kātantra*. Śarvavarman, it is said in this story, made a bet that he would teach Sanskrit Grammar to King Sātavāhana and make him proficient in it, within the period of six months, and he won it.¹

Though the *Kathāsaritsāgara* was written in the eleventh century A. D., its source, the Kashmirian version of the *Bṛhat-kathā*, was written, according to Felix Lacote (*Essai sur Guṇā-*

1. Compare verses 141—146 and 163.

evaṃ niveditas-svapne Śarvavarmaṇi tat-kṣaṇam |
mām asta-maunaḥ sākūtam avadat Sātavāhanaḥ || 141 ||
śikṣamāṇaḥ prayatnena kālena kiyatā pumān |
adhigacchati pāṇḍityam etan me kathyatām tvayā || 142 ||
mama tena vinā hy eṣā lakṣmī na pratibhāsate |
vibhavaḥ kiṃ nu mūrkhasya kṣāṭhasyābharāṇair iva || 143 ||
tato 'ham avadam rājan varṣair dvādaśabhiḥ sadā |
jñāyate sarva-vidyānām mukhaṃ vyākaraṇam naraiḥ || 144 ||
ahaṃ tu śikṣayāmi tvām varṣa-ṣaṭkena tad vibho |
śrutvaitat sahasā serṣyaṃ Śarvavarmā kilāvadat || 145 ||
sukhocito janaḥ kleśam katham kuryād iyac ciram |
tad ahaṃ māsa-ṣaṭkena deva tvām śikṣayāmi tat || 146 ||

āgatya Śarvavarmātha Kumāra-vara-siddhimān |
cintitopasthitā rājñe sarvā vidyāḥ pradattavān || 163 ||

It will be seen that, while v. 146 relates that Śarvarman promises to make the king proficient in Sanskrit Grammar within six months, v. 163 relates that he made the king proficient in all sciences (*sarvā vidyāḥ*) in that period. This, however, is plainly the result of a later recasting of the original story.

This story is related in Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* also (canto 3) which speaks in both places (in the beginning and end) of learning in general. The period of six months is mentioned in this work also in 3, 45:

tato 'bravīc Charvavarmā māsaiḥ ṣaḍbhir bahu-śrutam |
ahaṃ nṛpaṃ kariṣyāmi viśrāmyantu bhavad-vidhāḥ. ||

dhya et la Brhathkathā, p. 144) in A. D. 600-800 (see Liebig's edition of the *Kātantra*, p. 4); and the above related story itself must have been current before 600 A. D.

(4) In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story referred to above, it is related that Śarvavarman, in order to win his bet, propitiated God Kumāra with his austerities and obtained the *Kātantra* from him. According to another account, however, recorded by Vanamāli-dvija in his *Kalāpa-vyākaraṇotpatti-prastāva*, it was Śiva whom Śarvavarman pleased with his austerities, and who ordered Kumāra to teach the *Kātantra* to him. Compare the following passage from the above-named work, which is cited on p. 29 of Haraprasāda Śāstri's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series*, Vol. 3 :

āsīt purā Sātavāhano nāma rājā | sa kadācit mahādevyā
saha sarasi vihartuṃ gatavān | tatrāsau mahiṣiṃ prati prīti-
parāyatto jalotsekaṃ kurvann aliśaya-jala-plāvitayā mahā-
devyā “modakaṃ dehi rājan” iti punaḥ-punar vyāhṛto
bahuśo mahiṣiṃ prītim icchan modakaṃ dattavān | tena ca
tayā 'ti-nirbhayam ati-niṣṭhuraṃ nirbhartsito rājā 'mā uda-
kaṃ dehi' - iti prakṛtaṃ artham ananusaran nitarāṃ lajjā-
paravaśo jīvitam utsraṣṭum upacakrame | taṃ ca tathā-
vidham avalokya rājānaṃ rājñī samānīya Śarvavarmābhi-
dheyam kam api paṇḍita-varam preṣitavān rājñāḥ pari-
sāntvanāya | sa ca Śarvavarmā acireṇaiva kālena rājānaṃ
vyākaraṇa-saṃskṛtaṃ kartuṃ pratijñāya Mahādevasyārādha-
naṃ kṛtavān | devasya ca Śambhor anujñayā Kārttikeyam
ārādhya śikhi-vāhanasya śikhināṃ kalāpāt vyākaraṇaṃ saṃ-
grhya rājānaṃ alpa-kālenaiva vyākaraṇābhijñāṃ kṛtavān ||¹

See also p. 83 of Prof. Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* (1915 edn., Poona). The *Kātantra* was, therefore, according to this tradition, revealed through the grace of Śiva; and since Kumāra taught it to Śarvavarman at the behest of Śiva, it can, not inaptly, be described as 'originally taught by Maheśvara-deva'.

Again, *Śarva* is the abbreviated form of *Śarvavarman*, the name of the propagator of the *Kātantra*, and one meets both forms in the commentaries on that work. Thus, Durgasimha, in the opening verse of his scholium,

1. The punctuation marks are mine.

deva-devaṃ praṇamyādau sarvajñaṃ sarva-darśinam |
Kātantrasya pravakṣyāmi vyākhyānaṃ Śārvavarṇikam ||

uses the full name *Śārvavarman*, while Gaṅgeśaśarman, author of the *Kātantra-kaumudī*, uses the form *Śarva*; compare the sentence *Śarva-kṛta-sūtrānusaṁdehe viparītasya siddhi jñātavyā* [so !] that is cited from this work by Haraprasāda Śāstri on p. 44 of the above-cited Volume III of *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Second Series*. Now, Maheśvara is a synonym of *Śarva*, and I-tsing,¹ hearing of *Śarva's Kātantra-vyākaraṇa*, may perhaps have thought that, like the *Śiva-sūtras* taught to Pāṇini, the whole work *Kātantra* was 'originally taught by Maheśvara-deva'.

(5) On p. 9 of his edition of the *Kātantra* (*Zur Einfuehrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft, No. 1*), Prof. Liebich has observed "At the time when Durgasimha reduced to writing the *Kātantra-sūtra-vṛtti* which until then had been handed down orally, the original work was already enlarged by additions". Similarly, Prof. Belvalkar too has set forth on p. 83 f. of his above-named work how a whole *prakaraṇa* (namely, the fourth) or book and many sections (*pādas*) have been interpolated in the *Kātantra*, and how the original book was much smaller in size. The book described by him on p. 83 (l. c.) contains 6 + 8 + 8 + 6 or 28 sections while the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Kātantra* with Durgasimha's scholium contains 25 sections only, and Liebich's edition, 5 + 4 + 4 + 4 or 17 sections. Now it is the opinion of Liebich (*Kātantra*, p. 13) that these sections were all originally taught by *Śārvavarman*, that is, that the *Kātantra* consisted originally of 17 *pādas*. But, as he himself has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 9), the use of the word *pāda* to denote the parts of a literary composition indicates that such composition consisted of four *pādas* only. And since we know that, of the four *prakaraṇas* now found in the *Kātantra*, the fourth is a later addition, it would follow that the original *Kātantra* consisted of three *prakaraṇas* only, each of which contained 4 *pādas*.²

1. I-tsing must by that time have become quite familiar with the fact that, in India, the authorship of several works was ascribed to Śiva, Brahmā, Sūrya, Indra and similar other gods.

2. According to Liebich (*Kātantra*, Introd.), the *Kātantra*, which is in fact an abridgment of Pāṇini's work and is (therefore) said to have been originally taught by Kumāra, son of Śiva (who taught Pāṇini), contained originally 4 books (i.e., half the number

There must, therefore, in all probability, have been a stage in the enlargement of the Kātantra when it consisted of 18 pādas. It was at this stage when I-tsing became acquainted with the book, and, therefore, described it as 'arranged in eighteen sections'.

(6) As regards the extent (*i.e.*, number of syllables) of the Kātantra, Liebich's edition of the book contains 775 sūtras. The number of pādas, however, is only seventeen; but as these contain the kernel of Sanskrit Grammar, it is very probable that they formed part of the book of 18 sections known to I-tsing. By adding therefore to 775 the number $775 \div 17$ or 44 (average number of sūtras in a pāda), we get a number,¹ 819, that must be very near to the number of sūtras contained in the 18 pādas. Now the total number of sūtras contained in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is about 4000 according to Prof. Belvalkar (*op. cit.*, p. 87); and their bulk is given as 1000 ślokas by I-tsing (*Record*, p. 172).² The bulk of 819 sūtras is, therefore, about 204 ślokas. But, whereas Pāṇini has constantly made it his aim to make his work as brief as possible and has, therefore, made free use of many technical terms (*e.g.*, ghu), abbreviations (*e.g.*, ac, hal, jaś) and other expedients, Śarvavarman, on the other hand, made it his aim to make his sūtras as clear as possible, and was therefore obliged to employ freely terms like *svara*, *vyañjana*, *varṇa*, and to use invariably more syllables than Pāṇini in all matters; see in this connection Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 86. In consequence, the number of verses contained by 819 sūtras of

of those contained in Pāṇini); and the fourth book of the original was incorporated into the third when the new Book, dealing with the kṛt suffixes, was added at the end as the fourth book.

All this appears to me to be fanciful, and I prefer to believe, until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, that the Kātantra, like the grammar of Kāśakṛtsna, consisted originally of three books. At the same time, I think it not improbable that there have been changes made in the pādas, and that the pādas of the original were longer than they are now.

1. The 28 pādas of which the Kātantra described by Belvalkar is composed, contain, according to him (*op. cit.*, p. 87), 1400 sūtras. This gives 50 as the average number of sūtras in a pāda. The number contained in 18 pādas would, therefore, be 900.

2. So does Hiuen Tsang too in his *Si-yu-ki*, see Beal's translation, I, 115.

the Kātantra is greater than that contained in the same number of Pāṇini's sūtras; and it is very probable that it was about 300 as stated by I-tsing.

(7) There is one more detail given in I-tsing's above-cited description of the Si-t'an-chang, namely, that it is also called *Siddhir-astu*, because its first section is so named, that is, because its first section begins with these words. I have abstained from noticing this detail above, because it is obviously incorrect. In the first place, *Si-t'an-chang* signifies 'work or composition that begins with the word *siddha*'; and it is very improbable that I-tsing, in the very next sentence, would have said that the first section of the book, that is, the book itself, began with the words *siddhir-astu*. Secondly, there are found innumerable books in India that begin with the expressions *śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ*, *nirvighnam astu*, or *avighnam astu*. None of these expressions has ever become the designation of a book; and there can be no doubt that the case is similar with the expression *siddhir-astu* and that this expression too never became the designation of a book.

In his translation of I-tsing's *Record*, Prof. Takakusu has observed on page lx of his *General Introduction*: "The text of our *Record* is very corrupt"; and he has, on pages lx-lxiii, cited some observations made by Chinese and Japanese commentators, which go to show that there are omissions in the text translated by him. There are, doubtless, corruptions also; and as an instance, I cite here the passage, "It contains 1000 ślokas, and is the work of Pāṇini, a very learned scholar of old, who is said to have been inspired and assisted by Maheśvara-deva, and endowed with three eyes", which is found on p. 172 of the English translation of the *Record*. It is obvious that, in I-tsing's original text, the expression 'endowed with three eyes' was an attribute of Maheśvara-deva, and that the existing text, which makes it an attribute of Pāṇini, is corrupt.

I believe, therefore, that there are, similarly, corruptions in the portion of I-tsing's *Record* that refers to the Si-t'an-chang also. In fact, the opinion was expressed long ago by Beal (Si-yu-ki, I, 78, n. 23) that the reading *Sih-ti-lo-su-to* (or *siddhir-astu*) found in the text of I-tsing was corrupt; and he put forward the conjecture that the original reading was *Sih-ti-po-su-to* (*Siddha-vastu*). But according to Thomas Watters (*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, 155) the word *Siddhavastu* is un-

known to Chinese and Sanskrit literature, and was, in all probability first used by Stanislas Julien in his note on the translation of Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki (*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales* liv. ii, p. 73); it could not, therefore, have stood originally in I-tsing's *Record*. That the original word was a compound beginning with the word *siddha*, there can be no doubt; but I can hazard no conjecture about the second word of this compound as I am neither a Sinologist nor well-acquainted with the history of the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa. I think it, however, very probable that the compound was a synonym of *Siddha-tantra* (the *siddha* work), *Siddha-vastu* (matter or composition beginning with the word *siddha*) *Siddha-sūtra* (the *Sūtra* work known as *Siddha*) or other similar title, and that, like the title *Si-t'an-chang*, it was an apt description of the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa whose first sūtra reads *siddho varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ* and which work thus begins with the word *siddha*.

Further, in I-tsings's description of the Si-t'an-chang, instead of 'so named is the first section of this small book of learning', we should read 'so begins the first section of this small book of learning'.

I believe then that I-tsing's description of the Si-t'an-chang was originally something like what follows:

"I. The Si-t'an-chang (*Siddha*-composition) for beginners. This is arranged in eighteen sections; it is also called *Siddha*..., for so begins the first section of this small book of learning. This section deals with the forty-nine letters of the alphabet which are combined with one another in many ways. The total number of syllables (of the work) is more than 10,000 or more than 300 ślokas", etc.

The first section (pāda) of the Kātantra reads as follows:

siddho varṇa-samāmnāyaḥ | tattra caturdaśāḍau svarāḥ | daśa samānāḥ | teṣāṃ dvau dvāv anyonyasya savarṇau | pūrvo hrasvaḥ | paro dīrghaḥ | svaro varṇa-varjo nāmī | ekārādīni sandhy-akṣarāṇi | kādīni vyañjanāni | te vargāḥ pañca pañca pañca | vargāṇāṃ prathama-dvītiyāḥ śa-śa-sāś cāghoṣāḥ | ghoṣavanto 'nye | anunāsikā ṇa-ṇa-ṇa-na-māḥ | antassthā ya-ra-la-vāḥ | ūṣmāṇaḥ śa-śa-sa-hāḥ | aḥ iti visarjanīyaḥ | ḥka iti jīhvāmūlīyaḥ | ḥpa ity upādhmānīyaḥ | aṃ ity anusvāraḥ | pūrva-paraḥ arthopalabdḥau padam | vyañjanam asvaram param varṇam nayet | anatikramayan viśleṣayet | lokopacārād grahaṇa-siddhiḥ ||

It can be readily seen that it begins with the word *siddha* and that it deals with the forty-nine letters¹ of the alphabet and their different combinations or groupings.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the Si-t'an-chang mentioned by I-tsing is the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa and no other work.

Let us turn now to the book mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. His description of it, which is very short, reads in Beal's translation (Si-yu-ki, I, p. 78) as follows: "To educate and encourage the young, they are first taught (led) to study the book of twelve chapters (*Siddha-vastu*)". Hiuen Tsang then observes in continuation, "After arriving at the age of seven years and upwards, the young are instructed in the five Vidyās, Śāstras of great importance", and then explains that these five *Śāstras* are *Sabda-vidyā*, *Śilpa-sihāna-vidyā*, *Cikitsā-vidyā*, *Hetu-vidyā* and *Adhyātma-vidyā*.

As indicated by the brackets, there is nothing in the Chinese text of Hiuen Tsang that corresponds to the expression *Siddha-vastu*. This word was first used in this connection by Stanislas Julien whom Beal has followed. Another word used by Julien in his note in this connection is *Si-t'an-chang* (spelt also as *sih-ti-chang*), and Beal follows him in using this word also in connection with this 'book of twelve chapters';² compare his observation (Si-yu-ki, I, 78, n. 23): "This work in twelve chapters is that called *Siddhavastu* (*Sih-ti-chang*) in the *Fan-i-ming-i-tsi* (book xiv, 17-a)".

Watters has pointed out on pp. 155-156 of his above-cited book that there are many works in Chinese bearing the name Si-t'an-chang (or, as he writes it, Siddham-chang), with chapters or sections varying in number from nine to eighteen. "From a passage in I-ching's 'Nan-hai-ch'i-kuei' [i.e., I-tsing's *Record*] and from other works", he observes, "we learn that the Siddham-chang was the name of a child's primer ABC., the first chapter of which was headed by the word *siddham*. This word forms an

1. The forty-nine letters of the alphabet referred to by I-tsing here are: a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ, e, ai, o, au, am, aḥ; and the consonants ka, kha, . . . sa, ha. See page lxi of Takakusu's *General Introduction* to his translation of I-tsing's *Record*.

2. The word used by Hiuen Tsang is Shi-ēr-h-chang. Julien translates this as 'un livre en douze sections' and Watters as "the 'Twelve Chapters'".

“auspicious invocation”, and the Buddhists used it alone or with “Namo Sarvajñāya, “Praise to the omniscient [Buddha]” prefixed, at the beginning of their primers. . . . Instead of *siddham* the non-Buddhist teachers in India placed “*siddhir-astu*” meaning “May there be success (or accomplishment)” at the head of their ABCs. Thus these books came to be called *Siddham* or *Siddhir-astu*, the former being the name by which they became known to the Chinese. There are many varieties of them and the number of chapters or sections ranges from nine to eighteen, the latter being the number in the work which may be regarded as the standard one in China. This is the *Si-t'an-tzu-chi* by the monk Chih-kuang of the T'ang period taken from the *Siddham* of Prajñābodhi of South India. A *Siddham* gives the Sanskrit alphabet beginning with the vowels and proceeding in the order in which the letters are given in our Sanskrit grammars, then the combinations made by single consonants and vowels, and then those made by two or more consonants with a vowel. In some of the *Siddhams* made for Chinese use we are told that this word denotes “the alphabet”, while in others we are told that it is a designation for the twelve so-called vowels, but the statements are not borne out by any authority, and are evidently not correct.”

Watters' belief that the *Si-t'an-chang* mentioned in I-tsing's *Record* is an ABC. book is, as has been shown above, erroneous¹;

1. His belief that ‘instead of *siddham*, the non-Buddhist teachers in India placed *siddhir-astu* at the head of their ABCs’ is likewise erroneous as is shown by the following passage on p. 486 of the *Divyāvadāna*:

पन्थको दारक उन्नीतो वर्धितो महान् संवृत्तः । स यदा महान् संवृत्त-
स्तदा लिप्यामुपन्यस्तः । तस्य सीत्युक्ते धमिति विस्मरति । अथ तस्याचार्यः
कथयति । ब्राह्मण मया प्रभूतदारकाः पाठयितव्याः । न शक्याम्यहं पन्थकं पाठयि-
तुम् । महापन्थकस्याल्पमुच्यते प्रभूतं गृह्णाति । अस्य नु पन्थकस्य सीत्युक्ते
धमिति विस्मरति ॥

It is explicitly said in this passage that Panthaka was a Brāhmaṇa boy, and that when he was sent to a school to learn writing, the teacher first taught him the letters *si* and *dhama*, that is, *siddham*. The *Divyāvadāna* was compiled, according to Winternitz (*Gesch. d. ind. Litteratur*, 2, 223), in the third century A. D. Compare also Kielhorn's observation quoted above that ‘both in Brāhmanical and Jaina indigenous schools the first thing children

but there is no reason to doubt his statement that the books known by that name in China are ABC. books of the Sanskrit alphabet. They are called Siddham-chang, because the Sanskrit alphabet begins with the word *siddha*; and I-tsing, in the *Record* refers to the Kātantra as Siddham-chang because it too begins with the word *siddha*. The Chinese writers seem to be unaware that there was in India, beside the *siddha-mātṛkā* or ABC. book, another elementary book, namely, the Kātantra, which also began with the word *siddha* and was taught to young children; and they hence seem to have regarded the Siddham-chang mentioned by I-tsing too as an ABC. book.

As regards the Shi-ērḥ-chang, however, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, its equation with *Siddha-vastu* and *Siddham-chang*, and consequent identification with an ABC. book, are, as pointed above, due to Julien, and quite unfounded.

Buhler's identification of that work with the *Bārākhadī* or *Dvādaśākṣarī* table was based not only on the statements referred to above of Julien and Beal, but also on the fact that the *Dvādaśākṣarī* table was in use in India from at least the third century B. C. The education of every child began, naturally, with the teaching of the *varṇa-mālā*, and since the *varṇas* were taught by means of the *Dvādaśākṣarī* table, this table was identified by him with the Shi-ērḥ-chang, which, according to Hiuen Tsang, was first taught to children and consisted of twelve chapters or sections; see pp. 29-31 of his above-cited book.¹

learn is the phrase *om namaḥ siddham*'. I may add that I too have been present on many occasions when children of Brāhmanical families were given their first lesson; it was in writing, and the words to be written were *om namaḥ śivāya siddham*.

It is interesting in this connection to note that many such children, being of tender years, are unable to pronounce *ddha* in *siddham* properly. Likewise many find it impossible to write too that akṣara properly, being unable to write subscript letters. It happens, therefore, that instead of *siddham*, they write *sidham*, the very form which, in the above-mentioned Divyāvadāna story, we find the experienced teacher using.

1. Later, when the description of the *Śi-t'an-chang* given by I-tsing in the *Record* became known, Buhler extended this identification to that work also (*op. cit.* p. 32), the more readily since the name *Si-t'an-chang* had already been associated with such a table by Julien and Beal in the notes which they had written about the Shi-ērḥ-chang.

It is possible that this identification may be correct; on the other hand, it is also possible that the Shi-êrh-chang too may refer to the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa which, as pointed out above, consisted originally (in all probability) of 12 pādas or sections. The following considerations, however, seem to militate against Buhler's identification and to favour the identification with the Kātantra:

(1) The description given by Hiuen Tsang of the Shi-êrh-chang seems to show that it was a book. A *Dvādaśākṣarī* table, it is certain, could never have been regarded as a book by any pandit or teacher in India.

(2) Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing have both, in their works, noticed briefly the system of education which was in vogue in India in the first and second half, respectively, of the seventh century A. D. This system could not have undergone much change in the interval between the visits of the two writers; and one can therefore justifiably identify the Shi-êrh-chang described in the *Si-yu-ki* as being 'first taught to the young in order to educate and encourage them', with the Si-t'an-chang described in the *Record* as being first taught to children when they were six years old. The latter, as shown above, is identical with the Kātantra-vyākaraṇa, and it is hence probable that the former too is identical with it.

(3) It is shown by the description given in the *Si-yu-ki* that children, after they learnt the Shi-êrh-chang and were seven years old, proceeded to study the five sciences, namely, Śabda-vidyā, Śilpa-sthāna-vidyā, Cikitsā-vidyā, Hetu-vidyā and Adhyātma-vidyā. Now it is obvious that not all people can succeed in mastering all the five vidyās. This achievement was for the few only, and the majority must have contented themselves with the mastery of three, two or even one of the five vidyās. The study of every one of them however requires, as a preliminary, the knowledge of the principles of Sanskrit grammar. This knowledge could no doubt be gained by the students from the study of Śabda-vidyā when this vidyā happened to be included in the two or three studied by them. There must have been instances however when this was not the case; and in connection with such, the identification with the Kātantra of the Shi-êrh-chang studied by all boys will readily explain whence they acquired the requisite preliminary knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. The Kātantra, as is explicitly mentioned by the

author of the *Vyākhyāna-prakriyā* (see Belvalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 82) was primarily designed for the use of the classes of people mentioned in the following verses:

chāndasās svalpa-matayaḥ śāstrāntara-ratās ca ye |
 īśvarā vyādhi-niratās tathā 'lasya-yutās ca ye ||
 vaṇik-sasyādi-saṁsaktā lokayātrādiṣu sthitāḥ |
 teṣaṁ kṣipraṁ prabodhārtham..... ||;

and it is not, therefore, improbable that it was taught first to all boys when they were six years old.

This explains why the Kātantra (or Si-t'an-chang) too is mentioned along with Pāṇini's Sūtra, Book on Dhātu, Book on Three Khilas, and Kāśikā-vṛtti among the five books on Sanskrit grammar in I-tsing's *Record*. The last-mentioned four books are enough by themselves to give one a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, and the Kātantra is nowhere when compared with them. The fact that it is nevertheless mentioned here seems to indicate that it was taught first to all boys and thus formed part of the course in all the five vidyās.

It may, however, be objected here that it is hardly possible that the Shi-ērḥ-chang containing 12 sections and the Si-t'an-chang containing 18, could both be identical with the Kātantra, and that it is difficult to believe that the Kātantra, which was a book of 12 sections in about 635 A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited India, had developed into a book of 18 sections by about 685 A. D. when I-tsing became acquainted with it. This objection is plausible. But we know definitely that the Kātantra commented upon by Durgasiṁha consisted of 25 sections; and if Belvalkar's surmise (*op. cit.*, p. 88) that he lived between 700 and 800 A. D. is correct, we shall have to admit that the Kātantra had grown, in the period between I-tsing and Durgasiṁha, that is, between about 685 and 750 A. D., from a book of 18 sections into one of 25 sections. There is hence nothing improbable in its having grown, similarly, in the period between 635 and 685 A. D., from a book of 12 sections into one of 18 sections.

Thus the identification of the Shi-ērḥ-chang with the Kātantra is not inherently improbable; but because the details mentioned by Hiuen Tsang about that work are very meagre, it is not possible for us to say with certainty that this identification is correct. Regarding the Si-t'an-chang, however, the many details mentioned in I-tsing's *Record* about it make it certain that it is identical with the Kātantra.

THE MĀYALŪR PLATES OF VINAYĀDITYA.

BY

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA,

Madras.

These plates, well concealed in husk in an earthen pot, were recently discovered by a farmer while ploughing a field on a mound, west of Māyalūr (in Koilkuntla taluq, Kurnool district), which is said to have been the site of a deserted village. According to the *Local Records*, Māyalūr is known as Vātāpipura or the city of Vātāpi—the town of deceit and fraud. Rūpanagudi, another village two miles away from Māyalūr, is known as the place where Ilvala and Vātāpi, who were destroyed by Agastya, used to change their form (*Rūpa*).

Fortunately, these plates came later on into the hands of Mr. Malikireddy Venkata Reddy, who takes much interest in history. He was good enough to send these plates to me for publication.

Perhaps in the attempts made by the discoverers to get rid of the verdigris, these plates got damaged to some extent. The damage is seen more on the second side of the first plate, where the inscription commences. However, it is possible to restore the text with the aid of other inscriptions of the same donor. The inscription is boldly engraved and the writing is fairly well preserved, except in some places where it has been damaged.

The grant consists of three plates, each measuring 8.1" by 3.6", fastened to a circular ring, 3.6" in diameter. The ends of the ring were soldered under the bottom of a small circular seal, 1.1" in diameter with a small figure in relief of a boar facing to the left. The ring was cut by the time the grant came into my hands. The ends of the plates were not fashioned into edges, and this by itself is sufficient to prove the antiquity of the grant. The outer sides of the first and third plates were left blank.

The characters belong to the southern variety of alphabets, commonly termed the "Telugu-Canarese" script; but the style, a slanting and not a circular one, is the same as the one

used in many of the Bādāmi Calukyan records like the Jējūri,¹ the Kurnool,² the Togarcēḍu³ and other grants of Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. Orthographically there is nothing to mention in particular other than the several peculiarities, also found in the copper-plate grants of Vinayāditya, published so far in the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica. As usual, all consonants except *tha* and *ṣa* are doubled after *r*. However, even this rule is not strictly adhered to.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit throughout, except for the term "*māruñchamarumanno*" in lines 27-28, which appears to be a vernacular word, be it Canarese or Telugu. This and similar other terms like "*Ādityuñcha-marumanno*" and "*māruñcha-manno*" etc. occur in the copper-plate grants of Vinayāditya himself, and his uncle Ādityavarma. The meaning of these terms is not clear, though Fleet was of opinion that these might refer to taxes.⁴ This view seems to be untenable, when examined in the light of the passage "*Muṇḍakallu grāmasya Palgīre grāmasya ca uñchamannaḥṣannāsa vṛttiḥ*"⁵. Here, the land measuring "*ḥannāsa*" (*pañcāśat* meaning fifty), probably *nivartanas*, was given as "*uñchamannavṛttiḥ*" — perhaps the name of a certain kind of land tenure. Even this grant can be interpreted as a gift of a field measuring 108 *nivartanas* on the tenure of "*māruñchamarumanna*". But the exact significance of these peculiar terms is not clear. These terms occur only in the grants coming from the Kurnool district.

With the exception of the benedictory verse at the commencement and the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is written in chaste Sanskrit prose, replete with *śabdālankāras*.

The inscription belongs to the Bādāmi Calukyan ruler Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I and grandson of Satyāśraya or Pulakēśin II. The whole inscription is but a copy of the Kurnool, the Sorab⁶ and the Togarcēḍu plates of Vinayāditya.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 62 ff.

2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 88 ff.

3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 85 ff.

4. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 87, foot note.

5. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 223 ff.

6. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 146.

This inscription, however, does not contain the passage "*Pallava-Kaḷabhra-Kēraḷa--Haihaya-Viḷa-Māḷava-Cōḷa--Pāṇḍy-ādyāḥ yēn-Āluva-Gaṅg-ādyair-maulais-samabhṛtyānītaḥ*" which occurs after "*Rājāśrayatvād-Bharata-iva*" in the Jējūri, the Harihar and the Dayyaṇḍinne plates.¹

The inscription records the grant of 108 *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure, as "*māruñchamarumanna*" in the village of Ālikunde in Peḍekalviṣaya to Trivikrama Śarma, son of Hari-datta Śarma and grandson of Svasti Śarma of Bhāradvājagōtra, made by the King Vinayāditya, in the eleventh year of his reign, in the Śaka year 614 (expired) (*i.e.*, in A. D. 692),² while he was

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 300 ff.; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 62; XXII, p. 24.

2. Recently an attempt was made by Mr. Panchamukhi to adjust the dates with the regnal years of the grants of Vinayāditya and thereby to determine his date of accession. Nine dated inscriptions of Vinayāditya are, so far, discovered including this grant. I give them below:

(1) Lakṣmēśvar record — 7th Reg. yr — Śaka 608, Māgha, Śu. di. 15 — Feb. 3, 687 — (681).

(2) Jējūri record — 9th Reg. yr — Śaka 609, Āṣāḍha, Śu. di. 15 — July. 2, 687 — (679).

(3) Togarcēḍu record — 10th Reg. yr — Śaka 611, Kārtika, Śu. di. 15 — Nov. 3, 689 — (680).

(4) Kurnool record — 11th Reg. yr — Śaka 613, Māgha, Śu. di. 15 — Jan. 10, 692 — (682).

(5) Sorab record — 11th Reg. yr — Śaka 614, Saturday, Rōhiṇi — June. 22, 692 — (682).

(6) Māyalūr record — 11th Reg. yr — Śaka 614. — 692 — (682).

(7) Dayyaṇḍinne record — 12th Reg. yr — Śaka 614, Āṣāḍha, Śu. di. 15, Dakṣiṇāyanakāla — June. 22, 693 — (682).

(8) Harihar record — 14th Reg. yr — Śaka 616, Kārtika, Śu. di. 15 — Oct. 9, 694 — (681).

(9) Pāṭoḍa record — 14th Reg. yr — 617, Vaiśākha, Śu. di. 15 — May. 4, 695 — (682).

I accept the regnal year 7 for the Lakṣmēśvar record, impressions of which have not been published. We have to depend upon Fleet, who has given the text for the date portion only. He gives the regnal year as 5 and queries if it could be 7, in brackets. While editing the Jējūri grant Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar accepts the regnal year 7. Mr. Panchamukhi takes the regnal year to be 5. Besides this, there are some other differences in the English dates

encamping at *Mahākōṭatirtha*. The precise date as to when the

given by me and by Mr. Panchamukhi. I accepted Fleet's dates for the Lakṣmēśvar and the Togarcēḍu records. In his attempts at adjustment Mr. Panchamukhi has taken the Śaka dates given in the Togarcēḍu and the Lakṣmēśvar records as current years in spite of the fact that they are stated to be expired years (Śakavar-ṣeṣ-vatītēṣu). The date of the Dayyaṇḍinne plates, according to Mr. Panchamukhi, is 4th July 692, which is the date given by Swamikannu Pillai (Ep. Rep. for 1916, app. G, p. 102 and Indian Ephemeris, Vol. I, part II, p. 35). But my date is June 22nd, 693 A. D. I calculated the details for 693 A. D., with the aid of the Ephemeris. In that year *Dakṣiṇāyana-saṅkramaṇa-puṇyakāla* fell on June 22nd at gh. 18, p. 6. *Āṣāḍha, Śu. di.* 14 ends on June 22nd at gh. 37, p. 12 and *Āṣāḍha, Śu. di.* 15 ends on June 23rd at gh. 33, p. 58. (All the above calculations are for the mean *tithi*). Thus, though the *Saṅkramaṇa-puṇyakāla* did not actually fall during the *Paurṇamī tithi*, it fell on the same day on which the *Paurṇamī tithi* began. Though the details in the grant do not, thus, strictly conform to the date I have given, yet, the date may be accepted as probable, inasmuch as the commencement of the *Paurṇamī tithi* and the *Saṅkramaṇa-kāla* fall on the same day. With the exception of the Jējūri and the Togarcēḍu records all the remaining ones may be conveniently divided into two sets, one set giving the initial date A. D. 681 and the other 682. But the only grants that do not fall in line with either the first set or the second one, as already noticed, are the Jējūri and the Togarcēḍu records. In my opinion there is something wrong with the dating of the Jējūri inscription. The reason is this. The passage "*Pallava-Kaḷabhra*" etc. in the Jējūri record is not found in the Togarcēḍu, the Kurnool, the Sorab and the Māyalūr plates of Vinayāditya's 10th and 11th regnal years, but mentioned in the Dayyaṇḍinne and the Harihar records of his 12th and 14th regnal years. If the Jējūri record is the earliest one after the Lakṣmēśvar inscription in respect of time, then it is unaccountable why that passage is omitted in the subsequent records till Vinayāditya's 12th year. Such passages as these which describe the conquests of kings have a tendency to grow gradually and show a kind of development. It is easy to discern the truth of this statement, if we study the records of the early South Indian dynasties closely. Judging the Jējūri record by this criterion I suspect that there is something wrong with the date of the record if the discrepancy is not due to anything else. I am unable to account for the discrepancy in the Togarcēḍu record. If these two records are set aside,

grant was actually made is not known, due to the lack of astronomical details. Of all the copper plate grants of Vinayāditya this is the only grant that does not mention even the *tithi* and the *māsa*.

The writer of the grant was Śrīrāmapuṇyavallabha who was the writer of all the grants of Vinayāditya. He is styled *Sāndhi-vigrahika*, that is minister for peace and war.

Mahākōṭatīrtha, Ālikunde and Peḍekalviṣaya are the only localities mentioned in these plates. Mahākōṭatīrtha might be a mistake for Mahākūṭa tīrtha, which, then, may be identified with the famous *tīrtha* of the same name, three miles away from Bādāmi due east. Ālikunde may be identified with the village Ālikoṇḍa, otherwise called Ālavakoṇḍa in the Koilkuntla taluq, to the north-east of Māyalūr, six miles away from it. Peḍekalviṣaya occurs in the Togarcēḍu plates, also of Vinayāditya. The name of the village mentioned therein was read by Fleet as Togarcēḍu,¹ which is no other than Togarcēḍu. There are two villages of the same name, one in the Dhone taluq and the other in the Nandyal taluq. Unless and until the ancient territorial division of Peḍekalviṣaya is identified with reference to the existing political divisions it is difficult to say which Togarcēḍu was intended. There is epigraphical evidence to show that the villages of Gaḍigarēvula, Nandyal and Pāṇem were situated in the Peḍakaṇṭi sīma (or Peḍakallu sīma), which is no other than the ancient Peḍekalviṣaya. Taking all these villages into account, it is easy to determine that the present Nandyal and Koilkuntla taluqs of the Kurnool district once corresponded to the ancient territorial division Peḍekalviṣaya or the later Peḍakaṇṭi sīma. There are two villages by name Peṇḍēkallu, one in the Dhone taluq and the other in the Pattikoṇḍa taluq of the Kurnool district. If the modern Peṇḍēkallu is the same as Peḍekallu of ancient times (which I doubt), then some portion of the Dhone taluq which is adjacent to the Koilkuntla taluq should have also formed part of the ancient Peḍekalviṣaya.

we get 681--682 as the date of accession Vinayāditya. His father Vikramāditya's initial year of rule is 655 A. D. His rule comes to a close in 681 after a reign of twenty-seven years (Ep. Coll., No. 364 of 1920). So Vinayāditya's rule should have, naturally, begun in 681--682, the result we obtained above.

1. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 244, l. 28.

"Trairājya-Pallava."

One or two points deserve our attention when we deal with the records of the Bādāmi Calukyas in general and of Vinayāditya's charters in particular. One such point is the term "*Trairājya-pallava*." This phrase has been the subject of much controversy regarding its interpretation. It is unnecessary to go into the details about the grammar of the phrase. The point under discussion is really whether the term "*Trairājya*" in "*Trairājya-Pallava*" refers to the Pallava power itself or to some other powers. Scholars have explained it in different ways. Fleet thought, at first, that it referred to the Pallavas¹ but later on concluded that it refers to the three kingdoms of Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa². Kielhorn³, Kṛṣṇasāstri⁴ and others also were inclined to the latter opinion. On the basis of the fact that the Sinhalese claimed to have helped the Pallava king against the Calukyas, Dr. Dubreuil deduced that "*Trairājya*" refers to the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and the Sinhaḷa kingdom of Mānavamma.⁵ Reviewing the question at some length, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya came to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the three component kingdoms of the Pallava empire itself and tried to locate them in the region of Kāñcī, Ceded districts, Nellore and Guntur districts.⁶ The latest attempt to explain the term is by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, M.A., who dealt with it at some length while recently editing the Dayyaṁḍinne plates of Vinayāditya.⁷ He opines that the term can only refer to the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms.⁸

The basis for Mr. Panchamukhi's view is mainly as follows: There is no definite and incontrovertible evidence to show that there were three Pallava kingdoms, or even to prove that the region specified by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya was under the rule of the Pallavas, "in and before 643, when the confederation is supposed to have subverted the Calukyan power." Mr. Pancha-

1. Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 134.

2. Dyn. Kan. Dts., p. 368.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 202, n.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 341, n. 1.

Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 101, n. 5.

Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 205, n. 4.

5. The Pallavas, p. 44.

6. The Madras Christian College Magazine, 1929, p. 7 ff.

7. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 24 ff.

8. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 28.

mukhi says that the localities of stone inscriptions and of villages granted and registered in these early copper plate records show clearly that parts of Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II, in his famous *digvijaya* and had become subject to the Calukyan rule. He cites two Calukyan records for Guntur, namely, the Koppāram¹ and the Niduparu² grants, the Annavaram³ and the Chendalūr⁴ records for Nellore, and the Gooty and the Sorab records of Vinayāditya, besides four other stone inscriptions⁵ for the Ceded districts. The term, which is indicative of three kingdoms, no doubt varies in the grants of Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya, the former using the term "*avanīpatitritaya*" and the latter "*trairājya-Pallava*" or "*trairājya Kāñcīpati*". Yet, Mr. Panchamukhi says that the defeat of the Pallavas of Kāñcī and the capture of Kāñcī being common to the records of both the father and the son, the confederacy of the three kings referred to in Vikramāditya's grants could only refer to the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms. This view gains, in his opinion, additional strength from the mention of the term "*trairājya*" in Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa⁶ and the passage "*Trairajya-Mūṣika-jana-padān-Kanakāhvayō-bhōkṣyati*."⁷ The term "*trairājya*" in the Ādipurāṇa has been explained by a commentator on that work to mean the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms. Fleet located the Mūṣikas somewhere on the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin.⁸ So "*trairājya*" connected with "*trairājya-Mūṣika*" should naturally be located near it. Hence, "it is therefore reasonable" he writes "to think that *trairājya* of the Calukyan inscriptions refers to these three countries (namely, Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa) only."

It is true that the Guntur and the Ceded districts formed part of the Calukyan kingdom after Pulakēśin II's *digvijaya*. Though Guntur never afterwards came into the possession of the

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 257 ff.
2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p. 55 ff.
3. Nel. Ins., Vol. I, D. 2.
4. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 238 ff.
5. Ep. Coll., nos. 333, 343, 359 and 364 of 1920,
6. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 205.
7. BK. 4., ch. 24, V. 67.
8. Dyn. Kan, Dts., p. 281,

Pallavas, the Ceded districts may be said to have been reconquered by Narasimhavarman I in his expedition against Vātāpi. Now the fact should be borne in mind that whatever evidence we may cite ought to help us in deciding as to which power was suzerain in the regions mentioned by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, between the years 642 and 658, *i.e.*, after the fall of Pulakēśin II¹ and the date of the Kurnool grant² of Vikramāditya I of his third regnal year (which mentions the term "*avanīpatitritaya*"). So then, Sarvalōkāśraya being a contemporary of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya, his Chendalūr plates are of no avail to us. But on the other hand we have a lithic record³ of Paramēśvaravarman in the Nellore district which goes to prove that the greater portion of the Nellore district was under the sway of the Pallavas during the reign of Paramēśvaravarman. Anyhow it cannot be denied that Nellore came into the possession of the Calukyas after Vikramāditya's reconquest. Like the Chendalūr record of Sarvalōkāśrāya, the Gooty (?) and the Sorab records of Vinayāditya and the lithic records of Vijayāditya, son of Vinayāditya and of Pulakēśin II do not help us in deciding the problem for the simple reason that they are dated either before or after the reign of Vikramāditya I. The rest of the inscriptions, also of Vikramāditya, quoted by Mr. Pancamukhi, being undated, are of little use to us; they may as well refer to a period after the reconquest of the territory by Vikramāditya I.⁴ Therefore this objection cannot stand seriously against the contention that there was Pallava sway over the Ceded districts and that there were no Pallava kingdoms which can be taken to be the component parts of "*trairājya*", before Vikramāditya's expedition against Kāñcī.

It seems difficult to interpret the terms "*avanīpatitritaya*" and "*trairājya-Pallava*" as referring to three confederate kingdoms other than the triple Pallava kingdom. If we take the

1. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 385.
2. Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 225 ff.
3. Nel. Ins., Vol. II, Kg. 25.

4. There is an inscription of king Śrīvallabha in the Cuddapah district (Ep. Coll., no. 474 of 1906). I identify this Śrīvallabha with the Bādāmi Calukyan King Vikramāditya I himself. He obtained the title '*Śrīvallabha*' which was originally that of the Pallavas of Kāñcī, perhaps after his victory over them. Thus, it is possible to say that the inscriptions of Vikramāditya found in the Ceded districts might belong to a period after his conquest over the Pallavas.

early records of Vikramāditya I into consideration it becomes clear that there is no reference in them to the three confederate kingdoms, over and above the common fact, namely, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñcī. The defeat of the Pallavas has not been separately mentioned besides the reference to the confederacy of the three kingdoms. Only this passage "*svagurōḥ-śriya-mavanīpati-tritay-āntaritam-ālmasātkr̥tya(tvā)*" occurs in them. The defeat of the three Pallava kings, the capture of Kāñcī and the term "*avanīpatitritaya*" are mentioned in three grants of Vikramāditya I, namely the Gadwal plates¹ of Śāka 596 of his 20th regnal year, the undated Hyderabad plates² and the Kurutakunṭe grant³ — declared spurious — the date of which is not yet made out.

In fact, if the single term "*avanīpatitritaya*" that occurs in the early records of Vikramāditya, is interpreted as referring to a confederacy of three kingdoms other than the Pallava confederacy, then there is no suggestion in them to help us postulate his defeating the Pallavas, until about his 20th regnal year. It is against all historical facts so far known, to state or to presume that not only the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas but also Kēraḷas, rose in rebellion against the Pallava suzerain power, defeated the powerful Pallava lords of Kāñcī, marched as far as Vātāpi, routed the Pallava forces there, and finally confiscated the Calukyan kingdom. Many things quite unwarranted have to be assumed in such an interpretation. As a matter of fact, the Pāṇḍyan kings Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa who is identical with Arikēsari Asama-saṃ Māra-varmaṇ and his son Kōccaḍaiyaṇ, should have been contemporaries of Vikramāditya I. In the Bigger Siṅṅamanūr plates,⁴ the former is said to have defeated the Cēra king at Nelvēli. No doubt, the same plates attribute to him a victory over the Pallavas at Śaṅkaramaṅgai. But this does not weaken the above argument. The defeat which the Cēra (Kēraḷa) king suffered at the hands of the Pāṇḍya king, is enough to show that a confederacy of the three kings Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa was impossible at that period. The Pallava king who was defeated by the Pāṇḍya king might have been Narasiṃhavarma's son Mahēndravarma II. But soon after this in the time of Paramēś-

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1. Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 100 ff
 2. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 75 ff.
 3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 217 ff.
 4. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 441 ff.

varavarman I, the Pallavas regained their hold over the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, as is perhaps evident from the synchronism in the names and the titles of the Pallava and the Pāṇḍya kings. While Paramēśvaravarman I was a "*saṅgrāmadhīra*" Kōccaḍaiyaṇ was a "*raṇadhīra*". The latter is said to have defeated the Mahārathās (? the forces of Vikramāditya I) at Maṅgalāpura, probably as an ally of Paramēśvaravarman I, in the struggle between him and Vikramāditya I. Raṇadhīra's son was Rājasimha, a name assumed by him after his overlord Rājasimha or Narasimhavarman II, son of Paramēśvaravarman I. Perhaps he fought on behalf of the last of the Pallava rulers against Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. The latter is described in the early Pāṇḍyan grants¹ as having run away from the battle-field at the sight of the Pāṇḍyan King Rājasimha (Māṇavarman). Therefore it is not unlikely that the Pāṇḍyas were subordinate allies of the Pallavas of Kāñcī from the time of Paramēśvaravarman I (or even a little earlier), until the subversion of that family.

In this connection the following fact has also to be noticed, namely that the Cōḷas were not an independent power as is contended by Mr. Panchamukhi.² Before the time of Vijayālaya, that is, "from the third or fourth to the ninth century A. D., their condition", as remarked by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, "is best described as one of suspended animation."³ There is evidence to show that the Cōḷas were occupying a subordinate position during the time of the "Greater Pallavas". Simhaviṣṇu is stated to have conquered the Cōḷa country.⁴ Inscriptions prove that his son Mahēndravarman ruled over the Cōḷa country.⁵ The Kūram grant⁶ of Paramēśvaravarman I enables us to understand that his father Narasimhavarman also had the Cōḷas under his sway. Thus, the evidence at our disposal does not support the view that the Cōḷas were then an independent power.⁷

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, p. 291 ff.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p. 27, n. 10.

3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri "*The Cōḷas*," p. 128.

4. S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 508, ll. 16-17.

5. S. I. I., Vol. I, 33.

6. S. I. I., Vol. I, 151, ll. 14-15.

7. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri remarks on the title "*Sembiyam*" assumed by Kōccaḍaiyaṇ that it implies "that a part of the traditional Cōḷa country passed under his sway (p. 126 — *The Cōḷas*).

Thus, the interpretation of the term "*avanīpalitritaya*" as referring to Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms is beset with many assumptions unwarranted or even contradicted by the known historical facts.

The Ādipurāṇa also does not come in our way, because the explanation of the term "*trairājya*", so as to refer to Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa is really that of the Hindi commentator, who belongs to the 18th or 19th century. Therefore, he can hardly be relied upon for details of the political configuration of South India, centuries previous to his times.

"*Trairājya*" occurs, as noticed by Mr. Panchamukhi and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, in the Mālepāḍu plates¹ of Puṇyakumāra, a descendant of the Cōḷa King Karikāla. Mr. Panchamukhi only mentions this term but does not discuss its full significance, in his paper. Let us see if this term "*trairājya*" refers to the three powers, the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. There is one particular point here which makes it difficult to bring in the Cōḷas at any rate, among the three confederate powers. For, the Cōḷa king Karikāla is described therein as "*trairājyasthitim ātmasātkṛtavataḥ*", "one who obtained for himself the position of (the headships of) the three kingdoms", i.e., one who has conquered the three kingdoms. Whatever might be the triple kingdom referred to by the term "*trairājya*" in the above passage, it certainly does not comprise in it the Cōḷa kingdom, since the hero who claims to have subdued the triple kingdom is the Cōḷa king Karikāla himself. The Mālepāḍu plates describe Karikāla as having worked "many wonders like that of controlling the daughter of Kavēra, overflowing her banks" (*Kavēra-tanayā-vēlōllaṅghana-prāśamana-pramukhādyanēkātīśaya-kāriṇaḥ*). As Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri remarks, "this is the earliest reference to the flood banks of the Kāvērī". This is also the earliest record which refers to his supremacy over the triple kingdom. The traditional story of Karikāla states that Trinayana-pallava failed to assist Karikāla in the construction of the banks of the river Kāvērī, and so the latter defeated him and effaced his third eye.² The similarity between the early inscriptional

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, p. 337.

2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya — *Trilōcanapallava and Karikāla*.

references to his checking of the Kāvērī overflowing the banks, and to his supremacy over the triple kingdom, and the traditional references to the construction of the banks of the Kāvērī (evidently for controlling the river in floods overflowing her banks) and to his supremacy over Trinayanapallava after defeating him, assumes an interesting importance, if it is admitted that the attributes both in the epigraphical evidence and tradition, refer to the same person, *i. e.*, Karikāla. It would then follow, since there was political animosity between Karikāla and Trinayanapallava, that the former invaded and defeated the latter, — the lord of the three confederate (Pallava) kingdoms (*trairājya*) — and got them under his sway. No ruler other than the Pallava, is expressly stated in tradition as the opponent of Karikāla. The Pallava power was perhaps so great and mighty that subduing it was considered as no mean achievement. The chief Pallava overlord of the three confederate kingdoms (*trairājya*) was later on perhaps symbolised into the Pallava ruler with three eyes (*trinayana*) and as mighty as Trinayana himself. The foregoing discussion makes it abundantly clear that the term "*trairājya*" does not necessarily refer to the three kingdoms, namely Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa, but to a triple kingdom.

Now, it is to be seen whether the passage referred to in the Viṣṇu purāṇa and the location of the Mūṣika kingdom really goes against what was concluded above. Fleet locates the Mūṣikas between Quilon and the Cape Comorin which leads Mr. Panchamukhi to look for the three kingdoms (*trairājya*) somewhere near that locality. Since the only three kingdoms in the extreme south of India are the Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa kingdoms, and since the commentator on the Ādipurāṇa definitely enumerates these to explain the term, it is asserted that "*trairājya*" refers only to these three kingdoms. Let us now consider if such a deduction can be maintained in the light of the inscriptional evidence, so far obtained about the Mūṣikas. Only two inscriptions¹ of two Mūṣika chiefs have so far been discovered by the Epigraphical department, one of Udayavaṇmār, alias Irāmaguḍamūvar, and the other of Kaṇḍan, Kārivarman, alias Irāmaguḍamūvar. *Irāmaguḍa* can easily be explained by a reference

1. Ep. Coll., no. 476 of 1926.
Ep. Coll., no. 523 of 1930.

to the Sanskrit work *Mūṣikavamśa*¹ which says that the Mūṣikas were descended from Rāmaghaṭa and hence they are called Rāmaghaṭa Mūṣikas. Therefore, the term *Irāmaguḍa* in the epigraphs mentioned above is no other than Rāmaghaṭa. It remains for us now to consider what is meant by the word “mūvar” in the term “*Irāmaguḍamūvar*.” In terms like “*Mūvar Koil*”, “*Mūvar sey paluval*” and etc., the word “mūvar” means three. But the epigraphist has tried to equate it with “mūttavar”,² in the sense of elder or lord. In my opinion, this interpretation is untenable. I, therefore, equate the term “*Irāmaguḍa mūvar*” (equivalent to *Mūṣika-tritaya*) with the term “*trairājya-Mūṣika*” of the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

This term “*Irāmaguḍa mūvar*” has been used as an attribute of each Mūṣika chief so far known. If the term “mūvar” in “*Irāmaguḍa mūvar*”, “*tritaya*” in “*Mūṣika-tritaya*” or “*trairājya*” in “*trairājya-Mūṣika*” refers, as has been suggested, to Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa, then, what is the meaning in associating the Mūṣika chief thus, with these three kingdoms? It cannot be suggested that the Mūṣika chiefs ever conquered the three kingdoms. On grounds of palaeography, one of those two epigraphs is dated in the eleventh century³, at a time when the Cōḷa power was at its zenith. So it is absurd to think that the Cōḷas were then subordinate to the Mūṣikas. As a matter of fact historical evidence goes to prove that the Mūṣikas were the subordinates of the Cōḷas themselves. The *praśasti* of the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja makes it clear that he subdued the “*Irāmagu-*

1. For extracts from *Mūṣikavamśa* — see Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II.

In his excellent paper on “An unidentified territory of India” contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (1922, p. 161 ff.) Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar describes the Mūṣika kingdom lying on the west coast of the Dekkan, as extending from Tulu or South Canara to the Kēraḷa dominion. He says that the rulers of the Mūṣika kingdom, of which Kōlām on the river Prathana was the capital, are styled as “*Kōlāttirirājas*” (or *rājas* whose capital was Kōlām), in the “*Kēraḷōtpatti*”. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar takes the suffix ‘*tiri*’ in ‘*Kōlātiri*’ or *Kōlāttiri*’ as “nothing but an adaptation of ‘*Siri*’ (p. 171). But I take it to be the vernacular variant of the Sanskrit word ‘*tri*’, equivalent to “mūvar”.

2. Ep. Rep. for 1930, p. 87, para 46.

3. Ep. Rep. for 1930, p. 52,—Refer to remarks column.

damūvar"¹ ("*Mūṣika-tritaya*"). So this term "*trairājya*" or "*mūvar*" can only refer to the Mūṣikaś themselves. In that case, the attribute would signify that the chiefs mentioned above belonged to the Mūṣika confederacy of three kingdoms. Thus, the evidence from the Viṣṇupurāṇa is not at all contradictory to our position, but actually helps us to arrive at a different and definite conclusion.

On the same analogy, the term, "*trairājya-Pallava*" also has to be interpreted as referring to the Pallava confederacy of three kingdoms or the Pallava kingdom having three component parts. This contention is well supported by the passage "*Kāñcīpurīṣa-Pallavānvaya-ṣramāthī pariṅhīta-trairājya rājyaḥ*" attached to Vikramāditya I in the Osumbhala grant² of Śryāśraya Śilāditya of the Guzerat branch. The passage was translated by Bhagvanlal Indraji, the editor of the grant, thus: "(who was) the destroyer of the Pallava dynasty ruling over Kāñcī, who took the *trairājya* kingdom". Here "*trairājya-rājya*" is the term explicitly used, which means the kingdom of three component states. The taking of the kingdom of three component states ("*trairājya-rājya*") is only a natural corollary of the defeat of the Pallava king ruling over Kāñcī. Hence "*trairājya*" in the phrase "*trairājya-Pallava*" and the term "*avanīṣatīritaya*", which occur in the grants of Vikramāditya have absolutely no reference at all to the three kingdoms, namely Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa; and can refer only to the confederacy of the three Pallava kingdoms, the chief over-lord of which was the lord of Kāñcī.

Now the question may arise as to what were the three component Pallava kingdoms. The difficulty in identifying the three Pallava kingdoms, cannot, in itself, form a very serious objection to our main proposition. We have not been able so far to identify, individually, each of the five Pāṇḍya kingdoms, the three Mahārāṣṭraka kingdoms conquered by Pulakēśin II, and the three Kāḷiṅga kingdoms. But this fact has not, therefore, prevented us from assuming, on the basis of the unimpeachable evidence of inscriptions, that these kingdoms have existed. Even

1. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 56.

2. International Orientalists' Congress, Vienna (1886), Vol. I, p. 225, l. 10.

so, there is no serious objection to our postulating that there were three Pallava kingdoms even if we are not able to locate them individually and satisfactorily.

The home of the Calukyas.

The next point that deserves attention is the striking discovery of many of the records of the Bādāmi Calukyas in the Ceded districts. This leads us to consider the question of the original habitat of the Calukyas. The following factors emerge from a study of the records Calukyan and non-Calukyan, to help us to come to any conclusion regarding this question.

(i) Most of the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Calukyas have been discovered in the Ceded districts.

(ii) Many of the villages mentioned in these grants are identified with those situated in the Ceded districts.

(iii) Terms like 'vaḍlu' "*Pañcaśannivartanaṣaṁskṛtāṁ kṣētraṁ-khaṇḍugu-vaḍla-sahitaṁ*"), 'uñchamanna', 'māruñchamarumanna' which are vernacular terms occur in the inscriptions¹ of Vikramāditya, his brothers and sons. Like the word 'vaḍlu', the terms 'uñchamanna,' etc., mentioned above are probably Telugu.

(iv) Some of the stone inscriptions² of both Vikramāditya and Vijayāditya are in the Telugu language. They are some of the very few early Telugu inscriptions extant.

(v) In the legendary account of the origin of the Calukyas, given in the Naṇḍampūḍi³ grant of the Eastern Cālukya king Rāja Rāja, Vijayāditya the progenitor of the Cālukya family is said to have been defeated and slain by Trinayana Pallava. Vijayāditya's queen, who was then carrying, came with her *purōhit* to Muḍivēmu, identified with Peddamuḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu taluq of the Cuddapah district. There she was given shelter and nursed by Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji⁴ as his own

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. X, p. 104, l. 28.
Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc., Vol. XVI, p. 235, l. 17.
Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 86, ll. 28-29.

2. Ep. Coll., no. 364-1920.
Ep. Coll. no. 359-1920.

3. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 300ff.

4. In an inscription from Iṟlapāḍu, ancient Iṟṟalūr (S. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 299, no. 927) we come across a certain Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji who was the *purōhit* of Trinayana Pallava and who

daughter. In course of time, she gave birth to a male child who was named Viṣṇuvardhana. Having come to know of what had happened through his mother, he went to Caḷukyagiri, worshipped Nandābhagavatī Gaurī, the consort of Śiva, and also appeased Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and Mātṛgaṇas. Through their favour he obtained the royal insignia and then conquered the Kadam̐ba, the Gaṅga and other kings. He, thus, founded the Cāḷukya kingdom.

In this legendary account there are some historical facts that deserve our attention.

As pointed out already, Muḍivēmu is Peddamuḍiyam in the Jammalamadugu taluq of the Cuddapah district. Caḷukyagiri, the mountain on which Viṣṇuvardhana performed penance should be somewhere in its (Peddamuḍiyam's) vicinity. It should have derived its name from its being situated in the original habitat of the Calukyas, just as *Elimalai* or *Mūṣika-parvata* got its name by its being situated in the territory of the Mūṣikas.

The Kadam̐ba and the Gaṅga kings whom Viṣṇuvardhana is said to have defeated in battle had their kingdoms, originally set up in the Ceded districts. The Tālaguṇḍa pillar inscription¹ says that Mayūrasarma established his kingdom in the impregnable forests of Śrīṣaila. The nucleus of the Gāṅga kingdom set up by Daḍiga and Mādhava, the two Gāṅga princes, by winning the favour of the Jain *guru* Simhanandyaċārya was at Gaṅga Pērūr in the Cuddapah district.² These two, being perhaps the neighbouring kingdoms, were subdued first by Viṣṇuvardhana and mentioned prominently.

(vi) Calikis were mentioned in the Śrīparvata inscriptions of Nāgārjununikonḍa. Mahāsēnāpati, mahātalavara Khanda Caliki Remmaṇaka of the Hirañakas is mentioned in one of the ins-

defeated in discourse, one Gauḍabhaṭṭa. Pleased with the dexterous nature of his argument Trinayana Pallava is stated to have granted to him Irṟalūr in the country to the west of "the Mountain". I take Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of the legend to be identical with Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of the Irṟlapāḍu stone record. Having been a purōhit and a state scholar Vennayabhaṭṭa Sōmayāji was bold enough to give shelter to the queen, when her husband was defeated and slain by Trinayana Pallava, his patron.

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 33ff.

2. Rice — *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 31.

criptions¹ at Nāgārjununikoṇḍa. Any number of instances from inscriptions may be quoted to show that Caḷiki, Saḷuki, Saliki, Calki, Cāḷukya etc., are the variant forms of one and the same word Calukya. Assuming that the word Caliki Reṁmaṇaka was a mistake for *calikiraṇaka*, Sten Konow opined that the word meant moon,² which interpretation, I think, is wrong. So "Khanda Caliki Reṁmaṇaka" is Calukya "Khanda Reṁmaṇaka"³, the name of an officer under the Ikṣvākus. Khanda is Skanda or Kārtikēya or Mahāsēna, the protecting deity of the Calukyas. He bore the name of Skanda or Khanda, perhaps as a token of his devotion to that deity. If this interpretation is accepted, then the people of the Caliki sect of the Hiraṇaka clan may be said to have been living about Śrīparvata and holding high positions even during the regime of the Ikṣvāku monarchs. After they came into power these Calikis, imitating their overlords, the Ikṣvākus, perhaps adapted their phraseology "*Virūpākhaṇapati-mahāsēna-parigṛhītasya*",⁴ changing it slightly to "*Svāmi-mahāsēna-pādānudhyāta* etc."

Taking into consideration all the facts noted above it is tempting to conclude that the Calikis or Calukyas were originally

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 18. *Ayaka-pillar* inscription, B. 4, l. 4.

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 25, *Post script*.

3. Names ending with the suffixes "*ṇaka*", "*naka*" or "*naga*" like "*Khandasāgaramṇaka*", "*Khanda Viśākhaṇaka*", "*Budhiṁṇaka*" and "*ṇikā*" or "*nikā*" like "*Cātisiriṇikā*", "*Haṁmasiriṇikā*", "*Viraṁnikā*", "*Revatiṁṇikā*" and "*Bapasiriṇikā*" occur in inscriptions from Nāgārjununikoṇḍa. From a perusal of the names mentioned above, it is easy to find that "*ṇikā*" or "*nikā*" was a feminine suffix and "*ṇaka*", "*naka*" or "*naga*", a masculine one. Names with these suffixes are found in inscriptions from Kanhēri, Kārli, Nāsik, Bedsa and Junnār, as has been pointed out by Mr. Sten Konow. Could the persons whose names end with these suffixes belong to the Nāga tribe? In that case, the term "*ṇaka*", "*naka*" or "*naga*" denotes nāga. Then "*ṇikā*" or "*nikā*", perhaps the contracted form of "*nāganika*" denotes the female member of the tribe. If this interpretation is accepted as probable, then those bearing such names belonging to various clans such as the Hiraṇakas, the Dhanakas, the Kulahakas and the Pūgiyas or Pūkiyas are to be classed as belonging to the Nāga tribe. Then, Caliki or Calukya would be a sub-division of the Hiraṇaka clan of the Nāga tribe.

4. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, p. 15, C. 3 etc.

the inhabitants of the Ceded districts, and were probably living in the neighbourhood of the Śrīśaila and the Rēnāḍu country.

Text¹

First plate.

1. [स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याविष्कृतं*] विष्णो[र्वाराहं क्षोभि*][ताण्णवं]
[*]¹ दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्र[वि]श्रान्त[भु][वनं*]
2. [व] [पुः ॥ श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमनामानव्य*]सगोत्राणां
[हारिती][पुत्राणां सप्त*]
3. [लोकमातृभि*][स्सप्त]मातृभिरभिवर्द्धि[ता*]नां [कार्तिके] य-
[प*]रिर[क्षप्रप्राप्तकल्याणप*]
4. [रम्प][राणां*][भ]गवन्ना[रा][य*]णप्रसादसमा[सादितवरा*]-
[हलाञ्छ][नेक्ष्ण*]क्ष[णवशी*]
5. [कृ]ताशेषम[ही][भृ*]तां चल[क्या]नाङ्कु[लमल*]ङ्करिष्णो-
र[श्च][मे*]धा[वभृथस्नान*]
6. [पवि*][त्री]कृत[गात्र*][स्य] श्री[पुल-]केशिवल्लभ*[म]हाराज-
[स्य] [सूनुः*] पराक्र[मा*]
7. [क्रान्तवनवा*][स्या][दिप*]रनृपतिम[ण्ड]लप्रणिब[द्ध][वि*]शुद्ध-
कीर्तिः की[र्त्तिवर्म*]पृथिवी
8. [वल्लभम*]हाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्स[म*]रसं[सक्त][सकलो*]त्तराप-
[थेश्व][र*]श्रीहर्षवर्द्ध
9. [नपरा*]जयोपल[ब्धप*]रमेश्वराप[र][नामधेयस्स*]त्या[श्रय-
श्रीपृ]थिवी[व][ल्लभ*]
10. [म]हाराजाधि[रा][जप*][र]मेश्वर[स्त][त्प्रियसुतस्त*][स्य]
विक्रमा[दि]त्यपरमेश्वर

Second plate: First side.

11. भट्टारकस्य [म][तिस*][हा]यसाहसमा[त्रसमधि*]गतनिजवंश-
समुचित²

1. From the original plates which are in my possession.

2. The interpretation of the words underlined caused me much trouble. I gratefully acknowledge the kind help of some of our learned Sanskrit scholars, specially my esteemed friend Dr.

12. चितराज्यविभव[स्य विवि*]धर[सितसि][त][समरमु*]खगत-
रिपुनरपतिवि
13. जय[स][मु*][प]ल[ब्धकीर्ति]पताकावभा[सितदिगन्त]रस्य हिम-
करकरविमल
14. [कु]ल[परिभव*][वि]लयहेतुपल्लवपतिपराजयानन्त[र*]परि-
गृहीतकाञ्ची[पु*]
15. [र*][स्य] [प्र]भावकुलिशदलितचोळपाण्ड्यकेरळधरणिधरतृ[य*]
16. [मान][मा]नशृंगस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाञ्चीपतिमणिमकुटकु
17. ट[कि][रणसलि*]लाभिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमद्ध्य-
[वर्त्तिभुवनम*]
18. ण्डलाधीश्वरस्य सूनुः पितुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्ये[व] [सेनानी-
हैत्य*]
19. बलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यपल्लवबलमवष्टभ्य समस्तवि[ष][य*]
20. प्रशमनाद्विहिततन्मनोनुरञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वाद्युधिष्ठिर इव

Second plate: Second side.

21. श्रीरामत्वाद्वासुदेव इव नृपांकुशत्वात्पर[शु]रा[म]इव राजा-
[श्र]यत्वा[द्धर][त इव*]³
22. [श्री*] विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभ[महारा*]जाधिरा-
[जपरमेश्व*]र[भ]ट्टा

V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., who had given me considerable help in this connection. I have understood the word चित occurring after समुचित in l. 12 to mean 'concealed', 'veiled' or 'rendered obscure'; and I believe that this meaning is quite in keeping with the sense of the passage स्वगुरोः श्रियमवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितमात्मसात्कृत्वा कृतैकाधिष्ठाताशेषराज्यविभवः. The terms सित after रसित in l. 12 and कुट after मकुट in l. 16 have been taken to mean 'arrow' and 'pot' respectively. While editing the Jējūri plates (E. I., XIX, p.) Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar corrected unnecessarily कुट into कूट. The meaning of the expression तृयमान is not quite clear. The textual emendations त्रायमाण of Dr. Bhandarkar as well as त्रयमान suggested by some scholars who edited Vinayāditya's plates, do not, I am afraid, make the sense better.

3. The significance of this comparison is not quite apparent to me.

23. रकस्सर्वानेवमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोस्माभिश्चतुर्दशोत्तरषट्छ[तेषु] श[कव*][र्षे]
 24. [ष्व]तीतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे एकादशे वर्त्तमाने महा[को]ट
 25. ती[र्थ]मधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारे भार्गवसगोत्रस्य षडङ्ग-वि[दः] स्वस्ति
 26. शर्मणः पौत्राय⁴ चतुर्वेदविदो हरिदत्तशर्मणः पुत्राय त्रिविक्रमशर्म[णे*]
 27. वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाय पेडेकुल्विषये आलिकुन्दे ग्रामे मा ॐ ॐ ॐ
 28. मन्त्रो तस्मिन्नेव ग्रामे राजमानेनाष्टोत्तरशतनिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं दत्तं [॥*] [तदा]
 29. गामिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्च[र्या]दी[नां] विल-सि[स*][त]

Third plate: First side.

30. म[चि]रांशुचंचल मवगच्छ[द्भि][रा*]चन्द्रार्कधरा[र्ण]व-स्थिति[स]मकालं
 31. यशश्चिचीषुभि[:*] स्वदत्तिनिर्विशेषं परिपाल[नी]यं⁵ [मु] [क्त*]श्च भगवतो वेद
 32. व्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरा-दिभि [॥*]र्य्य[स्य]
 33. [य*][स्य] यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुः
 34. [खम*]न्यस्य पाल[नं] [॥ *] दान[श्च*] पालनं [श्चे*]ति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपाल[नं ॥*] [स्व]
 35. [दत्ता*] परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
 36. [वि*][ष्टा]यां जायते क्रिमिः [॥ *] महासान्धिवि[ग्र]हिक श्रीरामपुण्य[व]ल्ल
 37. [मे *] न लिखितमिदं शा[स][न *]मिति [॥ *]...ल [न] मो [न]मः [॥ *]

4. The engraver of the plate seems to have forgotten to inscribe य at first. Later, he made good the mistake by inserting the omitted letter between त्रा and च down below.

5. Read परिपालनीयमुक्तञ्च.

"ACCENTUAL VARIATION IN RELATION TO SEMANTIC VARIATION"

BY

C. R. SANKARAN B.A., (HONS.),

Dip. in German.

(Continued from Page 318, J.O.R.M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV.)

Let us proceed to see how according to Mādhavabhaṭṭa, the Vedic accent presents a very typical problem in the evolution of pitch tone from a functional, variable, morphological factor to a fixed, independent semasiological entity.

There lies a wide gulf between accent used morphologically as a grammatical process, and accent used semantically. Accent is a fixed element, to be noted down once and for all in the semantic list, being part and parcel of *semantema*, in other words, one of the phonetic elements which give this *semantema* its particular sign-value.

"It is only when tone is used as a variable element, not a part of the *semantema* but an increment to it, by which its primary concept is modified either in a derivational or relational manner, that tone patterns arise, constituting a problem intuitively apprehended by the speaker of a language. In terms of functional value, that is to say, when used as a grammatical element, a particular isolated tone has no meaning, no more than an isolated tone in a melody. It is the whole paradigm of grammatical forms present in the unconscious linguistic mind of the speaker of a language, which makes the melody. Tone used as a functional factor has to be clearly distinguished from tone levelled to a semantic character."¹

Mādhavabhaṭṭa, taking up the question of vocative accentuation, says that vocatives are accented on the initial syllable if the hearer (*i. e.*, the deity, for the vedic hymns are supposed to have been addressed to the gods) is called out loudly, otherwise unaccented.

1. *Vide* Jaime de Angulo, Tone Patterns and verb forms in a dialect of zapotek. Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of America, Volume II, (1926). pages 238-247.

आमन्त्रिताद्युदात्तत्वमुच्चैरामन्त्रणे भवेत् ।

नीचैरामन्त्रणे कार्ये पदं सर्वं निहन्यते ॥¹

On a strictly semantic basis, is explained the loss of accent of an interior vocative. Thus *mitrā-varuṇāu* is unaccented in *ṛtena mitrā-varuṇau* (Rv. I, 2, 8). But as both the words *mitrā-* and *varuṇā* are accented in the Dvandvas *mitrā-varuṇā*² in *kavī no mitrā-varuṇā tuvijālā urukṣayā* (Rv. I, 2, 9.), the compound is not a vocative.³

अर्थस्वभावाद्वाक्यस्य मध्यस्थं तन्निहन्यते ।

ऋतेन मित्रावरुणौ कवी नो मित्रावरुणा ॥

(R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, 11, 2.)

This kārīkā reminds us of what W. L. Graff⁴ points out:—
“Just as in a musical melody pauses are no less significant than tones, in language the absence of a sound (of accent, also) may have a distinct semantic value. In itself the lack of sound is, of course, absolutely meaningless and non-phonetic; but if the presence of a certain phonetic element is systematically contrasted with its absence so that there results a corresponding contrast of meaning, we are entitled to call such absence a phonetic feature of language. It is not phonetic in the sense that it is positively represented by a sound; but it may be termed phonetic in the broader sense that it belongs either to the systematical or to the rhythmical process of phonetic symbolization. The want of sound (we may take accent also) may be called a phonetic feature because it derives its meaning from the contrasting presence of sound (or accent) in systematically related form. This type of categorical symbolization is more frequent in languages that are more analytical than synthetical.”

In this connection, it is worth the mention what J. Vendryes (Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History, English

1. R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii, 1.

2. See J. O. R. M., Volume IX, Part II, page 124.

3. Sāyaṇa's comments on this are as follows:—

मित्रशब्दः प्रातिपदिकस्वरेणान्तोदात्तः ।

वरुणशब्दो निस्वरेणाद्युदात्तः ॥

द्वन्द्वे देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141.) इत्युभाववशिष्येते ॥

4. Language and Languages, Chapter V, p. 208.

translation by Paul Radin, page 78) says:—"In connection with the morphological value of tones, it must not be forgotten that one important element in certain languages is the zero tone, that is to say, the absence of tone. In Sanskrit, for example, the verb is tonic or atonic according to its particular use in the sentence. Naturally, therefore, in these respective functions, the verb is as clearly characterized by the absence of tone as by its presence."

"This constrains us to add to the morphemes already indicated a still more subtle type, but no less expressive than the others, and which we term the athematic morphemes. These play a considerable role in philology. Their value lies primarily in contrast, but it is no less great for all that. In music the pauses are often quite as expressive as the melody in which they occur, and whose development they break. In conversation too, there are eloquent silences. In language the athematic is as much a morpheme as any other." The same author (*ibid.* p. 74.) defines *semantemes* as the linguistic elements which express the ideas of the concepts (*representations*) and *morphemes* as those elements which express the connections between these ideas.

The *anomy*¹ in the occurrence of an accented vocative *narā* placed in close juxtaposition with two unaccented vocatives *aśvinā*, *vṛṣaṇā* in *śunāmandhāya bhāramahvayat sā vṛkīraśvinā vṛṣaṇā narēti* (Rv. I, 117, 18.) is accounted for strictly on a semantic basis. In this connection, it is useful to remember what W. Haskell² says, regarding this passage:—"The accentuation here indicates that *narā* alone is the cry of the she-wolf and that *aśvinā* and *vṛṣaṇā* are the utterance of the poet; if all the three vocatives belong to the former, we can hardly avoid amending the reading to *aśvinā vṛṣaṇā nare' ti*". Veṅkaṭamādhava's comments on this passage are as follows:—

1. "Bramhall's coinage *anomy* is conveniently used here for a breach in the routine of perceptions." *Vide* Karl Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*, Part I. Third edition, London 1911. page 95.

2. "On the Accentuation of the vocative case in the Rg and Atharva vedas. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume 11, p. 60.

नरेति परिदेवनासूक्तम् । आमन्त्रितम् उच्चैर्लौकिका वदन्ति तत्कृत-
निपात इत्युक्तम् ॥¹

On the same principle (अर्थस्वभाव), says Mādhavabaṭṭa, is the word *oṣadhīḥ* in the following passage unaccented:—*indrāgnī dyāvāpṛthivī āpa oṣadhīḥ* (T. S. 1, 2, 1, 2). More examples he adduces, to illustrate same principle

agne pāvaka rociṣā (Rv. V, 26, 1.)

ghṛtāhavana dīdivaḥ (Rv. I, 12, 5.)

gnāvo neṣṭaḥ pība ṛtunā (Rv. I, 15, 3.)

sakhāyaḥ stoma vāsaḥ (Rv. I, 5, 1.)

viśve devāso manuṣaḥ (Rv. X, 63, 6.)

viśve yajatrā (Rv. X, 63; 11.)

tā ādityaḥ (Rv. X, 63, 7.)

इन्द्राग्नीद्यावापृथिवी यजुष्यस्मिन्निहन्यते ।

बहुध्वामन्त्रितेष्वन्तरोषधीरिति यत्पदम् ॥

अग्नेपावकरोचिषा घृताहवन दीदिवः ।

ग्नावो नेष्टः पिबर्तुना सखायः स्तोमवाहसः ॥

विश्वे देवासो मनुषो विश्वेयजत्रास्त आदित्याः ।

सर्वत्रार्थस्वभावोऽयमूह्यः प्राज्ञैरिति स्थितिः ॥

Rgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii, 5-7.

Vocatives are treated as extraneous to a sentence²

नामन्त्रितङ्कारकवद्वाक्यार्थेनान्वितं भवेत् ।

युवन्नरास्तुवते पेशोमर्या अपेशसे ॥

(*ibid.* Part I, i, ii, 8.)

yuvam narā stuvaṭe (Rv. I, 116, 7, 117, 7.)

peś'o maryā apeśase (Rv. I, 6, 3.)

1. Paper Manuscript of the Veṅkaṭamādhava Bhāṣyam, Adyar Library, Vol. I, page 320.

अह्वयच्छुनमन्धाय सा वृकीरिति वक्ष्यति ।

नरेति तत्राद्युदात्तमेवं हि परिदेवनम् ॥

Rgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, ii, 4.

See also my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds."

2. A Macdonell, Vedic Grammar for students, page 467.

[Compare this last kārīkā with the following verse from Vākyapadīya:—

संबोधनपदं यच्च तत् क्रियाया विशेषकम् ।

ब्रजानि देवदत्तेति निघातोऽत्र तथा सति ॥ II, 5.]¹

Attention at this stage has necessarily to be drawn to the following sūtras of Pāṇini where he clearly recognises the semantic basis of accent

वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु (P. 8—1—8.)²

1. *Vide* R̥gvedānukramaṇī. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 2. Part I, 1932. Appendix II. Notes. Page XL.

In this connection, compare also what Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa says in his Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra under kārīkā 16 of Bhāṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Vaiyākaraṇa siddhānta kārīkāś (Ānandāśrama Series No. 43. page 14).

संबोधनान्तं कृत्वोऽर्थाः

कारकं प्रथमो वतिः ।

धातुसंबन्धाधिकार-

निष्पन्नमसमस्तनञ् ॥ Kārīkā 16.

संबोधनान्तस्य क्रियायामन्वयः । त्वं ब्रूहि देवदत्तेत्यादौ निघातानुरोधात् ।

“समानवाक्ये निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशाः” इत्यनेन समानवाक्ये तन्नियमात् । उक्तं हि वाक्यपदीये—

“संबोधनपदं यच्च तत् क्रियाया विशेषणम् ।

ब्रजानि देवदत्तेति निघातोऽत्र तथा सति ॥”

पञ्चति भवति देवदत्तेत्यादौ तु सूत्रभाष्यादिरीत्यैकवाक्यतासत्त्वात् स्यादेव निघातः । “तिङ्ङितिङः” [P. VIII. 1. 28] इति सूत्रयता तिङन्तानामपि एकवाक्यतास्वीकारात् । एकतिङ् वाक्यं इति वदतां वार्तिककाराणां मते परं न । वस्तुत एकतिङ् विशेष्यकं वाक्यमिति तदभिप्रायस्य हेलाराजीयादौ वैयाकरण-भूषणेऽस्माभिश्च प्रतिपादितत्वात्तन्मतेऽपि भवत्येवेत्यवधेयम् ॥

2. The word वाक्यादेः in the sūtra leads the grammarians to define the sentence. The definition in the Kāśikā is एकार्थः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् “A collection of words, *expressing one idea*, is called a sentence” (S.C. Vasu's English translation of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, p. 1495). This definition is perhaps based upon the well known Mīmāṃsaka definition

“अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात्”

(See the commentary on verse 2 of Kāṇḍa II of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya). Be it remembered that this definition emphasises

I give below the interesting comments on this sūtra by Patañjali:—

असूयाकुत्सनमित्येकोऽर्थः । कोपो भर्त्सनमित्येकोऽर्थः । असूया-
कुत्सनयोः कोपभर्त्सनयोश्चैकार्थत्वात् पृथक्त्वनिर्देशोऽनर्थकः । न ह्यनसूयन्
कुत्सयति ; न चाप्यकुपितो भर्त्सयते । ननु च भो अकुपिता अपि दृश्यन्ते
दारकान् भर्त्सयमानाः । अन्ततस्ते तां शरीराकृतिं कुर्वन्ति या कुपितस्य
भवति ॥ एवं तर्ह्यह—

सामृतैः पाणिभिर्घ्नन्ति गुरवो न विषोक्षितैः ।

लाडनाश्रयिणो दोषास्ताडनाश्रयिणो गुणाः ॥

(Kielhorn's edition of Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III, p. 367.
ll. 6-13)

स्वरितमाप्रेडितेऽसूयासंमतिकोपकुत्सनेषु (P. 8, 2, 103.)

function, while there is yet another definition which emphasises *form*.

एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्यम्

“A collocation of words *having one finite verb* is called a sentence.”

[Compare also the following apparently simple definition of sentence. समभिध्याहारो वाक्यम् । Āpadeva's Mīmāṃsā-Nyāyaprakāśaḥ, edited by Paṇḍit A. Chinnaśwami Śāstri, Kāshī Sanskrit Series. No. 25, Mīmāṃsā section No. I, p. 43]. “Expression of thought is the sole purpose that is served by the use of language; ideas are, again, completely best expressed through the medium of *sentences* as such and not by means of individual words. Jagadīśa

(वाक्यभावमवाप्तस्य सार्थकस्यावबोधतः ।

सम्पद्यते शाब्दबोधो न तन्मात्रस्य बोधतः ॥

Śabdaśakti Prakāśikā, Kārikā 12. Kāshī Sanskrit Series, No. 109
Nyāya section No. 16, p. 63.)

holds that the so called verbal cognition (शाब्दबोधः) is obtained only from a *sentence*, that is, when a number of words having proximity, expectancy and competency with one another are related to one another in such a way as to constitute a significant *sentence* which is alone sufficient to express the sense or communicate ideas to others,” *Vide* P. C. Chakravarti. “Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus.” *Journal of the Department of letters* Volume XII, (1925). University of Calcutta, p. 84.

अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् । अभिरूपका३
अभिरूपक शोभनोऽसि । अविनीतका३ अविनीतक इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि जालम् ।
शाक्तीका३ शाक्तीक रिक्ता ते शक्तिः ।

आग्नेडितं भर्त्सने (P. 8, 2, 95.)

भर्त्सने पर्यायेण (Vārtika)

भर्त्सने पर्यायेणेति वक्तव्यम् । चौरा३ चौर । चौर चौरा३ ।
कुशीला३ कुशील । कुशील कुशीला ३ ॥

(Kielhorn's edition of Mahābhāṣya, Vol. III, p. 420, ll. 9-12.)

With regard to the difference of the syllable accent, the Indian grammarians have handed down to us only one case, the so called *Pluti*, the lengthening of a vowel to an extent of three morae. This lengthening as in the instances given above appears generally only in the final syllable (Compare Wackernagel; Altindische Grammatic, I, 297) "The Pluti is used in liturgical utterances and in such expressions in which the voice is raised, like question, calling and greeting". Bezenberger¹ has compared the *pluta* accentuation of the vocative ending in -ā with the accentuation of vocatives in Lettisch like *ziemogō*. According to Hanusz,² when calling loudly, the last syllable of a vocative is always lengthened so that it appears to be accented, for instance, *pani¹cý*, and Hirt³ says that a similar thing appears in Serbian where one hears a calling like *Nedelk¹ō* with a raised final syllable while in other places the final accentuation is totally unknown.

[Incidentally these sūtras of Pāṇini clearly point to accents of a spoken language in Pāṇini's time. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kumārila says that Sanskrit of his

1. Bezenberger, zur lettischen declination II. Einige Vocativ—formen pages 296-299 in Volume 15 of Bezenberger's Beiträge (1889).

2. Betonung der subst. im kleinruss 36.

3. Idg. Gr. Teil V. pages 184-185.

See also Paul Kretschmer, Indogermanische accent-und lautstudien. Kuhn's zeitschrift Band 31 (1892), p. 357.

Compare also Friedrich Hanssen, Der griechische circumflex stammt aus der ursprache. Kuhn's zeitschrift Band 27 (1885), pages 612-617.

time was spoken without accents, for they were never heard in the conversation of old men.

न च लोके प्रयुक्तानां पदानां दृश्यते स्वरः ।

व्यवहाराद्वहिर्भूतात् स्वरान्नातोऽर्थनिश्चयः ॥

वृद्धव्यवहाराधीनं शब्दार्थावधारणम् ; तत्र च समासान्तोदात्तत्वपूर्वपद-
प्रकृतिस्वरत्वादिप्रयोगविभागाभावान्न तत्कृतार्थविशेषव्यवस्था ।

(Tantravārtika, Benares edition, p. 212.)¹

B. Liebisch, in his well-known monograph ("Pāṇini" pages 49-50) assumes that the spoken language of Pāṇini's time which formed the basis of his grammar is represented by the language of the Brāhmaṇas except that of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad which is certainly pre-Pāṇinian. Bhandarkar while admitting that there is no portion of the Sanskrit literature which accurately represents Pāṇini's Sanskrit as regards the verb and the *taddhitas* or nominal derivatives, believed that Pāṇini's Sanskrit identifiable with that which preceded the epics, (the grammarian being referred to the literary period between the Brāhmaṇas and Yāska) is best represented by the extant verbal portion in the Brāhmaṇas.² In our present state of knowledge, we cannot go beyond this except perhaps stating that the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (the language of which is also undoubtedly pre-Pāṇinian) is an old Brāhmaṇa, although its antiquity cannot decidedly go as far back as that of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.]

It is a matter of great interest to note the striking parallelism between Maurice Bloomfield's following pronouncement and Mādhavabhāṭṭa's theory. Says M. Bloomfield:—"I assume for old Hindu speech, with most scholars, as habitual the type of sentence in which the subject stands at the head; the verb (predicate) at the end; the varying mass of definitive material in between the two.

I. A light word (enclitic, or the like follows the verb).

In this class the element placed after the verb is subsidiary, often enclitic (pronoun, or vocative), so that the verb is still relatively at the end. The word after the verb trails in its wake.

1. K. B. Pathak: The Age of Pāṇini and Sanskrit as a spoken language. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol XI, pp. 68-71.

2. *Vide* Bhandarkar's collected works. Vol. IV. Wilson Philological Lectures, Lecture I, pp. 263-273.

The sensation produced by this variation is that of slightly increased speed in the movement from the noun at the beginning to the verb, by reducing the less important and less regulated assorted mass that stands between noun and verb. It costs nothing, so to speak, to reserve a subsidiary element to the time after the main thought has been enunciated. Or, again, some slight word, an enclitic, or a personal pronoun, which does not occur at all in the form with verb at the end, is passed on, as an unimportant extra, to the end of the sentence after the verb."¹ Compare with this the following *kārikā* of Mādhavabhāṭṭa:—

निघाततिङ्पदस्यार्थं वाक्यान्ते दर्शयेच्छनैः ।

उदात्ततिङ्पदस्यार्थमुच्चैरादौ प्रदर्शयेत् ॥²

Still more striking is M. Bloomfield's following argument:—

āhus te trīṇi divi bandhanāni (Rv. I, 163, 3 d.)

trīṇi ta āhur divi bandhanāni (Rv. I, 163, 4 a.)

"They say thou hast three conditions in heaven." "The first form, with opening verb, asserts with the emphasis that belongs to a novel statement; the second, with verb in the middle, repeats the same statement musingly or reflectively, as an introduction to a further development of the theme of the hymn. The same feeling accounts for the change in the order of words—this time concerning the position of the relative pronoun—in the following hemistich, which is repeated in catenation in IX, 67, 31 and 32.³

yāḥ pāvamānīr adhyety ṛṣibhiḥ sambhṛtam rāsam
pāvamānīr yo adhyety ṛṣibhiḥ sambhṛtam rāsam.

'He who reads the Pāvamāna stanzas, essence (of the Veda) that they are, compiled by the Ṛṣis (seers)'. In general we may be sure that change of order can have, though it must not have, rhetorical value. Thus VS. 38, 11, and MS. 4. 9. 9.

1. Maurice Bloomfield: On the variable position of the finite verb in oldest Sanskrit. Indogermanische Forschungen. Vol. XXXI, p. 164. H. Hirt., Idg. Gr. Teil. V. Section 219. p. 352.

2. Quoted already in the first instalment of this paper. Rgvedānukramaṇī. Part I. i. i. 4.

3. See also Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa. 1. 4. 8. 4. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Part I, No. 37, p. 214.

Cf. "An increase in the degree of crystallization will decrease the distinctness of the meaning of the element." George Kingsley Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language. 1935. page 155.

divi¹ dhāḥ¹ imam¹ yajñam¹
imam¹ yajñam¹ divi¹ dhāḥ¹ ”¹

Kārikās 2 to 5 in the next section in Mādhavabhaṭṭa's Ṛgvedānukramaṇī which deals with समासस्वर I have already noticed in my article on, “Accentuation in Sanskrit Determinative Compounds” (J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 135-146).

In *a-yoddhā*¹ (Rv. I, 32, 6), नञ् has no accent, since the second member alone is more important.

अनुदात्तश्च दृष्टो नञ्चयोद्धेव दुर्मदः ।

तादृशेषूत्तरपदे प्राधान्यमिति निर्णयः ॥

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. 6.)²

It is incapacity in *war* that is prominently brought out in this compound.

न यः समर्थो युद्ध इति युद्धासामर्थ्यदर्शनम् ।³

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verse 19.)

1. Maurice Bloomfield: On the variable position of the finite verb in oldest Sanskrit. Indogermanische Forschungen. Vol. XXXI, p. 158.

2. Regarding the next two Kārikās, see J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 147 and my paper “Double Accented Vedic Compounds” Madras University Journal, Jan. 1936.

3. But in *acchinnaṭṭrāḥ*¹ (Rv. I, 22, 11) *aprajāḥ*¹ (Rv. I, 21, 5), since the first member of the compound presents itself as being more important, it bears the accent

यदि स्वरः पूर्वपदे तदर्थः प्रस्फुटो भवेत् ।

.....

अच्छिन्नपत्राः सचन्तामप्रजा सन्त्वत्रिणः

(Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I. i. iii. 5.)

In this connection the following remarks of Whitney in the course of his review of Delbruck's Syntactische Forschungen Band V (in the American Journal of Philology, Vol. XIII, 1892, pp. 299 and 300) may be read with considerable interest:—“One more example of oversight from the Ṛgveda may be noticed, because our author repeats in regard to it an error which is committed by a whole series of translators and dictionary-and chrestomathy-makers (though the minor Pet. lex. has corrected it).

It is the word *ayoddhar*¹, occurring in verse 6 of the spirited Indra-hymn I, 32 and rendered ‘coward’ as if literally ‘non-fighter’. But this interpretation, according to ordinary rule,

As Whitney says, *indrāsomā* is an example of a peculiar Vedic class of copulative compounds of two names of divinities, each having the dual form which logically belongs to the whole compound only; if this double dual is wanting, the double accent is also wanting, as in *indravāyū* (Rv. I, 14, 3) (and not *indrāvāyū*).¹

In the following इतरेतरयोग variety of the Dvandva compounds

indravāyū (Rv. I, 14, 3),

ṛksāmābhyām (Rv. X, 85, 11),

indrāgnī (Rv. I, 21, 1.),

the importance of the first member is brought about by the position it is given in the compound and the importance of the second member is brought out by the accent. This is no doubt an ingenious explanation but does not do any special credit to Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

कार्ययोगो यदि द्वन्द्व उभयोरपि दृश्यते ।

स्थिते पूर्वपदस्यार्थे द्वितीयस्यापि सङ्ग्रहः ॥

would imply the accent *ayoddhar*, while *ayoddhar* is the accentuation belonging to a possessive compound, and the word should mean rather 'not having a fighter' that is, 'not finding any one to fight him', or 'unmatched'. The accent, to be sure, could not be absolutely relied upon to settle the matter, if the connection also did not plainly demand the normal sense. To call *Vṛtra* a coward because he dared to challenge Indra to combat is evidently the height of injustice. The act exhibits rather a foolhardy courage which is precisely what the epithet (*durmāda*) in the verse attributes to him".

1. See Whitney, the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. X, p. 10. Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, 1871. See also J. O. R. M., Vol. IX, Part II, p. 124.

On page 143 of J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II, some collective compounds which are nearly allied to *Dvandvas*, and which accent the last syllable were noticed. It is perhaps due to the influence of the collective compounds that the later *Dvandva* compounds like *indrā-pūṣṇoh* accent the last syllable of the compound. (Cf. Macdonell: Vedic Grammar 167. Section 262 f-n. 4.) Vide also Wackernagel: Altindische Grammatik II i. Section 63, p. 153).

अन्तोदात्तस्ततो द्वन्द्व इन्द्रवायू बृहस्पतिम् ।

ऋक्सामाभ्यामभिहिताविहेन्द्राग्नी उपह्वये ॥

(R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verses 7 and 8.)

(Vide my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds").

The next Kārikā has been already noticed in the second instalment of my paper on the "Five stages of Pre-vedic Determinative Compound-Accentuation . . ." in Vol. IX, Part II, p. 123 (J. O. R. M.).

Accent as an important *morpheme* is pointed out by Vendryes (Language English Translation, p. 77.) "In certain languages accent helps to define the morphological value of the word. By accent we here generally mean pitch accent, *i.e.* *tone*. In Greek and Sanskrit—and the testimony of these two languages is borne out by several others belonging to the same family such as Lithuanian and Slavonic—tone is as much a characteristic element of the word as a suffix or a formative. Certain forms, identical in all other respects, often differ only in tone; it is tone alone which distinguishes *tomos* 'cut' from *tomos* 'cutting' and marks the difference between active and passive in Greek compounds *patroktonos* 'who kills his father', *patroktonos* 'killed by his father'".

"The part played by tone is all the more remarkable because Indo-European languages, with their exceedingly rich morphology, possessed various ways of expressing the relation between words themselves, and the part such words played in the sentence".

In Sanskrit *indraśatruḥ* came to mean 'Indra's destroyer' while *indraśatruḥ* came to mean 'having Indra as his destroyer' (Vide Taittiriya Saṁhitā 2. 4. 12. 1 and 2. 5. 2. 1 and 2 with Mādhaviya Bhāṣya. See also Ancient India and Indian civilization by Paul Masson—Oursel, Helena De Willman-Grabowska and Philippe Stern. Part IV. Aesthetic life. Book 1. The Literature of India. Chapter I. Vedic and Post-Vedic Literature VI B. Vedāṅga, p. 244. See also O. A. Danielson, Die Einleitung des Mahābhāṣya ZDMG. Band 37, p. 22).

"It is all very well with your theory with regard to the explanation of accentuation in *indrāgnī* and *indravāyū*, but what is your explanation of the accent in the compound *somārudrā* (R̥v. VI, 74, 1; 2; 3 and 4) occurring in the vocative only? Is not

-*rudrā* obviously more important than *somā*—? ” Were one to ask this question, *Mādhavabhaṭṭa* has a ready answer.

प्रधान इन्द्रः पूर्वोऽत्र प्रधानः कचिदुत्तरः ।

[स सोमारुद्रयोर्द्वन्द्वे मा सहूतीति दर्शनात्]¹

Mādhavabhaṭṭa draws our attention here to the following Rk where the Vedic bard makes an apology for inviting *Soma* along with the gods who by no means are his equals. The Rk reads thus:—

मा त्वा रुद्र चुक्रधामा नमोभिर्मा दुष्टुती वृषभ मा सहूती ।

(Rv. II, 33, 4.)

Sāyaṇa comments on this as follows:—

हे रुद्र त्वा त्वां नमोभिरयथाक्रियमाणैः नमस्कारैः हविर्भिः वा मा चुक्रधाम । मा क्रोधयाम । कुद्धं मा कार्म । क्रुध कोपे । अस्माप्यम् ताल्लुङि चङि रूपम् । हे वृषभ कामानां वर्षितर्दुष्टुती दुस्तुत्याशोभनया स्तुत्या मा चुक्रधामेत्येव । तथा सहूती सहूत्या विसदृशैरन्यैर्दैवैः सहाह्वानेन मा क्रोधयाम । श्रेष्ठो हि स्वस्मान्न्यूनेन सहाह्वाने कुद्धो भवति ॥

So the Vedic bard explains away his lapse in not giving the prominence which is its due to the word—*rudrā* in the compound *somārudrā*.

The Dvandva compounds of the type *dyāvā-prthivī* (Rv. X, 63, 9) and *mitrā-varuṇau* (Rv. I, 35, 1) are brought under the sūtra देवताद्वन्द्वे च (P. VI, 2, 141). The exceptions to this kind of accentuation as for instance in *indrāgni* (and the exceptions to these exceptions) are described by Pāṇini in the next sūtra नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु (P. VI, 2, 142). *Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita*'s comments on this sūtra are as follows:—

पृथिव्यादिवर्जितेऽनुदात्तादौ उत्तरपदे प्रागुक्तं न । इन्द्राग्निभ्यां किं वृषणः । अपृथिव्यादौ किम् । द्यावापृथिवी जनयन् । आयुदात्तो द्यावा निपात्यते पृथिवीत्यन्तोदात्तः । सोमारुद्रौ । ² “रोदेर्णिलुक् च” (उ. सू. 179)³ इति रगन्तो रुद्रशब्दः ।

1. I adopt here the obviously better reading suggested by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, *Rgvedānukramaṇī*, Appendix II, Notes p. XLI.

2. This is the reading in *Vāsudev Lakṣmaṇ Śāstrī Paṇṣīkar*'s edition of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. Bombay, 1915, p. 650. The wrong reading रुद्रसोमा is however given in C. Sankararama Śāstrī's edition *Bālaṃanoramā Series*, No. I, Madras 1929, p. 1200,

3. *Bālaṃanoramā* edn., p. 1085,

Interesting are the comments on this by Nāgeśa in his Laghuśabdenduśekhara :—

सोमारुद्राविति । सोम आद्युदात्तो मन्तन्त्वात्, रुद्र रगन्तत्वादन्तो-
दात्तः । रुद्रसोमाविति कचित्कोऽपपाठः ।

In *Candrakalā* the *ṭīkā* to this, Bhairava-miśra's remarks are as follows:—

सोमारुद्राविति । सोमशब्दोऽत्र चन्द्रवाचको अतनैकशेषः । यद्यप्य-
भ्यर्हितत्वात् रुद्रशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातो न्याय्यः, तथापि पूर्वनिपातप्रकरण-
स्यानित्यत्वात् रुद्रशब्दस्य परनिपातः । अपपाठ इति । सोमशब्दस्य
आद्युदात्ततयोत्तरपदस्यानुदात्तादित्वाभावेन पृथिव्यादिपर्युदासविषयत्वात् ।

[In this connection, it has to be borne in mind that *somārudraṇ* is accented only in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 5, 2, 6, 2. (See Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Section 1255 d.)].

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then proceeds to illustrate his theory that the most important and significant element in the compound is worthy of special accentual distinction, by taking the two kinds of accentuation in the Bahuvrihi compounds. The general rule is पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वर. But उत्तरपदस्वर is not unknown. Hence we have compounds like *kavi-kratuḥ*, (Rv. I, 1, 5), *pūtadakṣam* (Rv. I, 2, 7) *pañcapādam* (Rv. I, 164, 12), *saptacakram* (Rv. I, 164, 3) on the one side and compounds like *sūpāyanah* (Rv. I, 1, 9), *uru-kramah* (Rv. I, 90, 9), *tri-cakreṇa* (Rv. I, 118, 2), *tri-nābhi* (Rv. I, 164, 2) on the other.

बहुव्रीहिषु तात्पर्यं विशेषणविशेष्ययोः ।

अग्निर्होता कविक्रतुरग्नेसूपायनो भव ॥

मित्रं हुवे पूतदक्षं शं नो विष्णुरुक्रमः ।

पञ्चपादं सप्तचक्रं त्रिचक्रेण त्रिणाभि च ॥

उदात्तश्चोभयोर्दृष्टः पूर्वस्मिन्नपि चोत्तरे ।

उदात्तानुगुणश्चार्थो दर्शनीय इति स्थितिः ॥

(Rgvedānukramāṇī, Part I, i. iii. verses 11, 12 and 13.)

Mādhavabhaṭṭa then gives examples of *avyayī-bhāva* compounds in illustration of his favourite semantic theory. *anu-kāmam* (Rv. I, 17, 3.) *prati-doṣam* (Rv. I, 35, 10).

[Sāyaṇa's comments on these are respectively as follows:—

कामस्य पश्चादनुकामम् । अथवा कामे कामेऽनुकामम् । अनुरिह
पश्चादर्थे अथवा वीप्सालक्षणे यथार्थे । योग्यता, वीप्सा, पदार्थानतिवृत्तिः,
सादृश्यं चेति चत्वारो हि यथार्था गृहीताः । 'अव्ययं विभक्ति' (P. 2, 1, 6.)
इत्यादिना अव्ययीभावसमासः । 'अव्ययीभावश्च' (P. 1, 1, 41.) इत्यव्यय-
संज्ञायाम् 'अव्ययादाप्सुपः' (P. 2, 4, 82.) इति प्राप्तस्य लुकोऽपवादो
'नाव्ययीभावात् अतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः' (P. 2, 4, 83.) इति विभक्तेरमादेशः
समासस्येत्यन्तोदात्तत्वम् ॥ and प्रतिदोषं प्रतिरात्रि । दोषां दोषां प्रति
वीप्सालक्षणे यथार्थे । अव्ययीभावः]

अन्तोदात्तोऽव्ययीभावः सोऽनुकामन्तर्पयेथाम् ।

प्रतिदोषङ्गुणानश्च तादृशाः सन्ति चापरे ॥

अनुकामं विभक्त्यर्थे नानोरर्थोऽस्ति कश्चन ।

पश्चात्कामस्य यद्वास्तु तथाप्यन्ते स्वरो भवेत् ॥

प्रतिदोषङ्गुणानोऽत्र वीप्सां द्योतयति प्रतिः ।

दोषाशब्दो वाचकश्च ततस्तस्मिन् स्वरः स्थितः ॥

(Rgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iii. verses 14, 15 and 16.)

En passant, it has to be remarked that L. V. Schroeder (Die Accentgesetze der Homerischen Nominalcomposita dargestellt und mit denen des Veda Vergleichen. Kuhn's Zeitschrift. Band XXIV, p. 102, f-n. 1) believed that the avyayībhāva compounds could have been formed from the accusative singular of the Bahuvrīhi compounds and he instances *anukāma*, *anukāma*; *pratidoṣa*, *pratidoṣam*; *abhimukha*, *abhimukham*; *pratyakṣa*, *pratyakṣam*; *ati-mātra*, *ati-mātram* etc. Although it is plausible that many later avyayībhāvas can be the mere conversions of the accusative singular of the Bahuvrīhis, the earlier ones do not warrant such an assumption. On the other hand, the old Indo-germanic avyayībhāvas may in all probability be the first class of compounds¹, barring of course the earlier loose compounds², as

1. See my paper, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds".

2. Wanting in accentual unity as opposed to the strict ones whose accentual unity is firmly established. See Morris Jones: A Welsh Grammar. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913, p. 57.

What George Kingsley Zipf (The Psycho-Biology of Language. pp. 164-5) says with regard to the early Latin compounds may equally well apply to the earliest primitive Indo-

attested by the fact that there are distinct traces of the accentuation of the first member in these prepositional compounds in many Indo-European languages. For instance Greek *prōchnu*, Latin *illico* (for *in-sloco*) Low High German *übermorgen* and Middle High German *ēgester* point out to the Old High German *ubarmorgane* and *ēgestron* for whose accent there is no evidence in the Old High German period. Perhaps the Gothic *andaugiba*, OHG *furenomes* Otrf. *umbikīng* (but instead *umbiring* = Hel. 2945 *umbihring*), *inlachen*, OE. *ondlong* (*ollung*),¹ *instæpe* (s), *widersynes*, *orceapes*.²

What really is worthy of note to learn from the attributive character of prepositions in the अव्ययीभाव compounds is that they have adverbial sense.³

germanic compounds. "After compounding had become extensive, the individual members of the small score of prepositions must have been looked upon by the speakers as common denominators, in contrast to which the scores upon scores of different roots (nominal and verbal, which happened to be the second member) were deemed the 'important' part of the word, the part worthy of special accentual distinction."

1. For its interesting cognates in old Icelandic and old High German, see F. Holthausen, *Alt-Englische Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, 1934, p. 241.

2. *Vide*, Friedrich Kluge, *Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte*. III Wort-und satzaccent. Enklitika und Proklitika. p. 397. *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* edited by H. Paul Band I.

3. Cf. क्रियाविशेषकः उपसर्गः *Mahābhāṣya* Vol. I, p. 256. P. C. Chakravarti, *Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus*. Journal of the Department of letters, University of Calcutta, Vol. XII, 1925, p. 94.

The way in which certain, if not all, adverbs have turned to be Upasargas or prepositions and have lost their independent uses altogether, suggests an instance of the law of specialisation. (*ibid.* p. 164.)

[In J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part II and in my paper on "The Double Accented Vedic Compounds" I have indicated how a significant meaning can be read in the statement अव्ययीभाव-तत्पुरुष-द्वन्द्वबहुव्रीहयः || It is interesting to note that this same statement is met with in the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra* of Kaṇḍabhaṭṭa under Kārikā 29 of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhānta Kārikās*, Ānandāśrama Series No. 43, p. 31.]

In J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part, II p. 138, the accentuation of compounds whose first member is a preposition and whose last member is a past passive participle has been pointed out and it may not be out of place here to observe that, "dependent determinatives, which have as their second member past passive participles in *-ta* and *-na* or action nouns in *-li* accent the first member (like a preposition); e.g., *indra-prasūta-* 'incited by Indra', *deva-hita-* 'ordained by the gods', *hāsta-yata-* 'guided by the hand', *deva-hūti-* 'invocation of the gods', *dhana-sāti-* 'winning of wealth.'" (Macdonell: Vedic Grammar, p. 95 and 96).

In the following verses in this section, Mādhavabhaṭṭa gives simply the विग्रहवाक्य of all the compounds whose accentuation he has so far discussed in the light of his semantic theory.

The position of the accent of an individual word is different from that of the same word in a compound and this is due to the difference in *meaning*, according to Mādhavabhaṭṭa.

आद्युदात्ताः समासस्था अन्तोदात्ता भवन्ति च ।

अन्तोदात्ताश्चाद्युदात्ताः त्यजन्तः प्राकृतं स्वरम् ॥

(R̥gvedākukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. i.)

In the following passages विश्वशब्द has accent on the initial syllable.

viśve devāso asridhaḥ (R̥v. I, 3, 9a.)

viśvam sam atrinam daha (R̥v. I, 36, 20b.)

patirviśvasya bhūmanah (R̥v. IX, 101, 7).

The root *viś* belongs to वुदादि and by adding the suffix *kvan* (विशेः क्वन्) the word *viśva* is obtained. It has accent on the initial syllable by जित्वादिर्नित्यम् (P. VI, I, 197.) (See J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part IV, p. 349).

But in compounds, विश्वशब्द has the accent on the second syllable as in the following passages

Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati brahmedam bhāratam janam
(R̥v. II, 53, 12.)

agnim ca viśvaśambhuvam āpaśca viśvabheṣajih
(R̥v. I, 23, 20.)¹

1. See J. O. R. M., Vol. VIII, Part IV, p. 349. Vol. IX, Part II, p. 131.

Mādhavabhaṭṭa gives a reason for this difference in accentuation. In the simple word *viśva*, the concept of 'pervasion' (व्याप्त) is denoted—this being the meaning of the radical element *viś*. But in the compound, the meaning of the radical element and that of the suffixal element are both blended and the concept of 'all' (सर्व) from out of 'pervasion' arises. Hence by फिषोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit sūtra 1) the word *viśva* in the compound gets the प्रातिपदिकस्वर ।

विश्वशब्द आद्युदात्तो विश्वेदेवासोऽस्त्रिधः ।

विश्वं समत्रिणन्दहपतिर्विश्वस्य भूमनः ॥

अन्तोदात्तः समासस्थो विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ।

अग्निं च विश्वशम्भुवमापश्च विश्वमेषजीः ॥

तत्राहुः कारणमिदं विश्वर्थकेवले स्फुटः ।

समस्ते तु प्रकृत्यर्थः प्रत्ययार्थोपसर्जनम् ॥¹

दर्शयेदसमस्तार्थमयं व्याप्त इतीदृशम् ।

मित्रं व्याप्तस्य सर्वस्य समस्तेऽर्थं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

(R̥gvedānukramāṇī, Part I, i. iv. verses 2-5.)

वीरशब्द is अन्तोदात्त ।

[The word *Vīra* is formed from the root *aj* (अज गतिक्लेषणयोः) and the suffix रक् when *aj* gets *Vibhāva*.

स्फायितश्चिवश्चिशकिक्षिपिक्षुदिसृपितृपिदपिवन्दुन्दिश्चितिवृत्यजिनीपदिमदि मुदिखिदिछिदिमिदिमन्दिचन्दिदहिदसिदम्भिवसिवाशिशीङ्सिसिधिशुभिभ्यो

रक् ।

(Uṇādi, 2, 170, p. 1083 of Bālaṃanoramā edition of Siddhānta-kaumudī.)]

sa ghā vīro na riṣyati (R̥v. I, 18, 4a.)

But in compounds, this word gets the accent on the initial syllable as in

rayim vahatam suvīram (R̥v. I, 34, 12a.)

This has been described by Pāṇini in his sūtra वीरवीर्यौ च (P. 6, 2, 150.) Nageśa in his Laghuśabdenduśekhara says

1. It is printed प्रत्ययार्थोपसर्जनः which is obviously wrong.

वीरो रक्प्रत्ययान्तः and in Candrakalā the following remarks are found:—

तथा चास्यान्तोदात्ततया आद्युदात्तं द्युजित्यस्याप्राप्तिरिति भावः ।

Mādhavabhaṭṭa's view is that as a simple word having the accent on the last syllable, *Vīra*¹ yields the meaning of infusing enthusiasm in the enemy-rank, that is, propelling the foes for vindictive activity. But as a second member of the compound with the accent thrown back on the initial syllable *Vīra*¹ yields to us the meaning of beneficial courage, that is, courage by which something good and noble is wrought.

अन्तोदात्तो वीरशब्दः सघा वीरो न रिप्यति ।

आद्युदात्तो बहुव्रीहौ रयिं वहतं सुवीरम् ॥

अमित्रान्वीरयत्येष इत्यर्थः केवले भवेत् ।

कल्याणवीर्यमित्यर्थं समस्तस्य प्रदर्शयेत् ॥

(R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. verses 6 and 7.)

In *ṛṣva-vīrasya* (R̥v. I, 52, 13), since the first member is more important of the two it gets the accent.

तात्पर्यं यदि पूर्वस्मिस्तदा तत्र स्वरो भवेत् ।

ऋष्ववीरस्य बृहत इति तत्र निदर्शनम् ॥

(R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. iv. verse 8.)

Sāyaṇa's comments on this compound are as follows:—

वीरयन्ति विक्रान्ता भवन्तीति वीरा देवाः । ऋष्वा दर्शनीया वीरा यस्य स तथोक्तः ।

In my paper on "The Double Accented Vedic Compounds" I have already indicated that a *समास* is conceived to be that which, though made up of two or more terms, generally produces only one idea in the mind. In *samāsa* the process by which two concepts are combined by the mind—the two concepts being mutually expectant and capable (समर्थ) of being united together to make a harmonious whole—is distinctly traceable. "Compounds thus have a psychological background, none the less important than their external aspect. The primary condition of '*samāsas*' in general is that the words to be compounded must have reciprocal competency (सामर्थ्य) for consistent unification in their

psychological aspect before they are allowed to form a compound by the correlation of their meanings."

According to the ancient grammarians there are five classes of compounds.

पूर्वमध्यान्त्यसर्वान्यपदप्राधान्यतः पुनः ।

प्राच्यैः पञ्चविधः प्रोक्तः समासो वा भटादिभिः ॥

[*Śabdaśakti*, Kār. 33, *Samāsa*, Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 109, p. 194.]

Patañjali recognises four classes:—

इह कश्चित् समासः पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधानः ।
कश्चिदन्यपदार्थप्रधानः । कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधानः ।

(*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, pp. 378, 379.)

According to Patañjali, a compound is to be distinguished from the *विग्रह* by the following features:—(1) *सुब्लोपः*: elision of case endings (2) *अव्यवधानम्* extreme proximity (3) *यथेष्टमन्यतरेणाभिसम्बन्धः* (न) certainty of construction. (4) *स्वरः* singularity of accent. (5) *संख्याविशेषः* (न) non-specification of number, etc. I have already discussed about *एकार्थीभाव* and *व्यपेक्षा* (*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 362. Lines 4 to 13) which Patañjali sets as possible explanations of the term *समर्थ* occurring in the aphorism *समर्थः पदविधिः* (P. 2. 1. 1).

"According to the first view,

[समासे खलु भिन्नैव शक्तिः पङ्कजशब्दवत् ।

बहूनां वृत्तिधर्माणां वचनैरेव साधने ।

स्यान्महद्गौरवं तस्मादेकार्थीभाव आश्रितः ।

(*Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta Kārikā* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Kārikā 31, page 33. *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series* No. 43. See also Kaṇḍa-bhaṭṭa's comments on this Kārikā in his *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*)] words with their different meanings, express but one undifferentiated signification when they constitute a compound; and in bringing out such *oneness of sense* they give up their respective denotations to some extent, as, for instance, a person engaged in the work of another man is naturally compelled to leave off his own work".

पुरुषोऽयं परकर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं कर्म जहाति । तद्यथा, तक्षा राज-
कर्मणि प्रवर्तमानः स्वं कर्म जहाति ।

(*Mahābhāṣya* Vol. I, p. 364, Lines 11, 12.)

The grammarians subscribe to the view that a special expressiveness (*not implied by any member of a compound when taken separately*) is practically acquired by the *samāsas* in virtue of the combination of words and the correlation of their meanings. This is what is known in grammar as

जहत्स्वार्था वृत्तिः [पृथगर्थानामेकार्थीभावः समर्थवचनम्]

(*Vārtika. Mahābhāṣya. Vol. I, p. 361. Line 26.*)

The *Naiyāyikas* hold to a view almost identical with the other view which does not postulate the existence of an *additional expressiveness* (अतिरिक्तशक्तिः).

But the *Bahuvrīhi* compounds present a peculiar difficulty, for in this class of compounds the meanings of the constituent parts are always found to be insufficient to express the intended sense. The *Naiyāyikas* consequently resort to *Lakṣaṇā*.

बहुव्रीहौ न वाक्ये लक्षणा किं तु पदे.....अतः तन्निर्वाहिका
पदद्वये शक्तिः...समुदायशक्तौ मानाभावात् ॥

(*Tattvacintāmaṇi. Śabdakāṇḍa. Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 745, 746.*)

"*Samāsa*, as is implied by the very term, is a grammatical device to secure brevity of speech. In the Vedas we generally meet with two-membered compounds which were mostly determined by the variations of *accents*. Of all classes of compounds, it is especially the *bahuvrīhi* that has got much linguistic advantage, as it enables us to shorten a big expression."¹

While on the subject of compound-accentuation, it is imperative that the following observations should be made. Brugmann's transpositional theory and Wackernagel's juxtapositional theory with regard to the origin of the *Bahuvrīhi* compounds have been discussed in my paper "The Double

1. P. C. Chakravarti: Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus. Part II. Semantics. Journal of the Department of letters. Calcutta University, Vol. XII, (1925), pp. 175-178.

cf.: "The purpose of a compound is to express a shade of meaning not expressible by the simplex; indeed we can observe in daily speech that such differentiation in meaning is the very purpose of compounding." George Kingsley Zipf, The Psycho-Biology of Language, 1935, page 163.

Accented Vedic Compounds". In that connection, it is useful to remember that the conception opposite to Brugmann's view is generally accepted, namely that the possessive compounds are as old as, if not older than, the determinative and descriptive compounds. According to Jacobi, they are abbreviated relative sentences of *primitive Indo-European* reduced to compounds on account of frequent use. [H. Jacobi, *Composition und Nebensatz*, Boon 1897, p. 84 ff. Cf. also H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik* IV, p. 38.]

They were thus employed at a time when the copulative verb could be left unexpressed and when the relative pronoun did not exist [Vide F.T. Wood, "On the Declension of Substantive Compounds in Lithuanian. The American Journal of Philology, Vol. 50. p. 161.] How this view and that of Brugmann can be reconciled, I have already indicated in the paper referred to above.

In passing, some more instances are given below to prove the earliest formation of loose compounds, without any comment.

dyāuśca *pr̥thivī bhūtām urvī* (R̥v. VI, 68, 4.)

tvām sūno sahaso (R̥v. IV. 2, 2, VI, 50, 9.)

tvām duhitar divaḥ (R̥v. I, 30, 22.)

Varuṇa mitraśca (R̥v. VII, 66, 17.)

Varuṇa mitraśca (R̥v. VII, 66, 18.)

mitrāvaruṇā (R̥v. VII, 66, 19.)

mitra varuṇaśca (R̥v. V, 64, 5.)

agniśca sōma (R̥v. I, 93, 5.)

[Vide R. Loewe: *Der nominativ für den Vokativ im Indogermanischen*. Kuhn's zeitschrift Band 55 (1928), pp. 200-217.]

nāsatyā kuhacit santāv aryo divo napātā (R̥v. I, 184, 1.)

(*nāsatya-* and *divo napāt* being a special name of *Aśvins*. See Geldner *Vedische Studien* 3, 72. *nāsatyā-* is an elliptic dual).

[See Caland for similar *Tmesis* in Avesta. Caland Kuhn's zeitschrift Volume XXX, 545. *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Avesta* (1890). Also cf. Bartholomæ, *Beiträge zur altiranischen Grammatik* X. *Avestische dual Verbindungen* p. 268 of Vol. X

of Bezzenberger's Beitrage.] Cf. also *Viṣṇū agan Varuṇā* (T.B. 2, 8, 4, 5.) Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Part II, No. 37, (1898), p. 793.

[Vide Wackernagel: Altindische Grammatik II, i. Göttingen 1905. S. 63c. pp. 151, 152.]

Interesting is also the parallelism between *narām na śamsaḥ* (Rv. II, 34, 6.) [and *śamso narām* (Rv. VI, 24, 2) representing an earlier stage than *narā śamsa* T.B. 3, 6, 3. 1. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, No. 37 Part II, p. 999.] on the one side and *dam patis* (perhaps for **das-pati-*, with the substitution of the pause form *dan*; the combination **dems-potis-* probably dates from the Indo-germanic primitive period. Vide Brugmann: Grundriss. English Translation. Vol. I, S. 672. f-n. 1, p. 538.) [and *patir dan*] on the other.

It has been suggested that in the earliest loose compounds, the last syllable of the first member was perhaps lengthened to show that the two words in sheer juxtaposition signified a unitary concept. In that context it should not be forgotten while examining compounds like *añjanāvati* that Bender (The suffixes *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit, p. 11) shows that the distribution of *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit is strikingly similar, except that *mant* is more common than *vant* after *i*. This exception is no doubt partly due to the influence of the *u*- stems upon the similar *i*- stems. [Vide The Relationship of Hittite to Indo-European by E. H. Sturtevant, Transactions of the American Philological Association, Vol. 60, (1929), p. 33].

"Most striking is the affinity of the suffix *mant* for *u*- stems in Indo-Iranian. In Sanskrit *mant* is very rarely attached to *a*- stems, but it is more common than *vant* with *u*- stems. In Avestan *mant* is chiefly used with *u*- stem, while *vant* is chiefly confined to other types of noun. (See Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Third edition, (1896) pp. 473-476. Jackson, Avesta Grammar Part I, Stuttgart 1892. pp. 233-235.) The statistics published by Bender, the suffixes *mant* and *vant* in Sanskrit and Avestan 11, 24, 27 show that the original distribution of these suffixes is accurately preserved in Sanskrit. In R̥g-veda and Atharva-veda stems *u*, *ū*, and *o* constitute more than half of all vowel stems with the suffix *mant*, while *vant* is used almost

exclusively after *a* and *ā* and usually after *ī*. On Avestan, See Bender, p. 81." [Vide E. H. Sturtevant, A Pre-Indo-European change of *u* to *m* after *u* or *a*. The American Journal of Philology Vol. 50 (1929) pp. 367-369.] The following from Vedic Variants (by M. Bloomfield and Edgerton, 1932. Vol. II, p. 122, S. 238) will be of great interest. "The variation between *mant* and *vant* is shown to depend on the next preceding vowel, without regard to intervening consonants. If that vowel was an *a*-vowel, the *v* form is regular; otherwise the *m* form. In pre-historic times perhaps the *m* form occurred only after *u*-vowels. The difference between this and Bender's formula would concern practically only preceding *i*-vowels, and Bender's work shows that after them *v* is much commoner than after *u*-vowels, which looks towards Sturtevant's position. In any case the original conditions are, of course, much confused in the historic texts, and much more so in the later than in the earlier texts. Our variants, however, show one or two cases in which an irregular form in an older text is replaced by a regular one later. The same conditions appear to apply to other *m* and *v* suffixes that are found with *mant* and *vant*." The rhythmic lengthening of the short vowel before the suffix as in *añjanāvati* is discussed in Vedic Variants Vol. II, Sections 423, 425, 426, 462, 463, 464. For compounds of *a* privative, sometimes lengthened to *ā*, see sections 271 and 469 f. *ibid.*¹

1. We have also a lengthening of the previous vowel before -*bhyām* as in Rv. X, 163, 1a. *akṣībhyām*, TS. 7. 3, 16, 1. *hanūbhyām*, *akṣībhyām*, *prṣṭībhyāḥ*; TS. 7, 3, 16, 2 *śronībhyām* KS. *akṣībhyām* (*Aśvamedha Grantha* 159, 20). In the TS, thus the feminine *hanu prṣṭi śroni-* go over to *ū-* and *ī-* inflections. (cf. Altindische Grammatik Band III, p. 55, note 5 f. section 68, Esp. ay). Wackernagel-Albert Debrunner (Altindische Grammatik III, 54 f. 303, Sections 21 bB. 158 b) explain the Vedic *aṣṭībhyām* (instead of the older **akṣābhyām* as can be inferred from Vedic *akṣābhiḥ*) form nominative accusative *akṣī-* and in the note to section 21 bB relates this explanation for TS. *hanūbhyām*, *śronībhyām*, *cūtibhyām*. In the third Volume of Vedic Variants (77, 92 Sections 189, 230) this explanation is discarded for *akṣībhyām* and for the long vowel the well known confusion of *i-* and *u-* stems with *ī-* and *ū-* is made responsible. Debrunner reiterates his original view (with which I am in entire agreement)

Before taking leave of the double accented compounds where the last syllable of the first member was lengthened perhaps to show that the two words in sheer juxtaposition go together to signify a single concept, it must be borne in mind with regard to *nū-nu*, that in the Indo-European languages the loss of temporal force goes hand in hand with a tendency toward enclisis of *nu* (particularly after other adverbs) and towards its use predominantly in questions and commands. [Vide E. H. Sturtevant: The Relationship of Hittite to Indo-European, Transactions of American Philological Association, Vol. 60, (1929), p. 34].

In discussing the question of the enclisis of the finite verb in principal clauses in Sanskrit, I pointed out¹ that it has been shown by Wackernagel that the Greek verbal recessive accent is nothing more than the enclisis of the finite verb in Sanskrit of the independent clauses extended to all kinds of sentences. Bezenberger (Die entstehung der griechischen verbalbetonung in Bezenberger's Beitrage Vol. XXX, pp. 167-175. Compare also, Sind die altindischen Bedingungen der Verbalenklise indogermanischen by Heinrich Zimmer. Festgruss

in his short note on Vedic *akṣibhyām* in Indogermanische Forschungen Vol. LIII, (1935) p. 21.

In my paper on, "Double Accented Vedic Compounds", I guessed a reason for the lengthening of *ṣa* into *ṣā* in the compound *naktoṣāsā* (Rv. I, 13, 7).

It is interesting to note in that connection that, "under the name of *nakta* n., combined with *uṣas*, Night appears as a dual divinity with Dawn in the form of *Uṣāsā-naktā* and *Naktoṣāsā*, occurring in some twenty scattered stanzas of the Rgveda." (A Vedic Reader for students by A. A. Macdonell. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, Impression of 1928. First edition 1917, p. 203.) [The word *naktaṁ* is formed from the stem *nakt*. Cf. Latin. *nox=noct-s*. *Uṣas* is from *vas* shine. Compare Greek *ēos* (for *āus-ōs*). Latin. *aur-ōr-a*].

The vowel *a* of the word *uṣas* is optionally lengthened in the A. s., N. A. du., N. V. pl.: *uṣāsam* beside *uṣas-am*. (Macdonell: A Vedic Grammar for Students, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 59, f-n. 1).

1. "Double Accented Vedic Compounds",

an Rudolf Von Roth 1893. pp. 173-175) brought some criticisms against [Cf. H. Hirt, *Der Akzent. Idg. Grammatik. Teil V*, p. 31] Wackernagel's views propounded in his article in the 23rd Volume of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* (1876), p. 457 f.g. [But Theoder Benfey followed the same track as Wackernagel. Cf. *Die Eigentliche Akzentuation des Ind. Praes von es and phā so wie einiger griech. Präpositionen in Vedica and Linguistica*, 1880].

(To be Continued)

॥ श्रीमेधादक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥

॥ श्रीमद्रामायणे शिल्पम् ॥

क. शिवराममूर्तिः, एम्. ए.

काव्यं नाम न तद्विद्यते यस्मिन् शिल्पविषयगन्धोऽपि न संलक्ष्यते ।
येयं दृश्यते शिल्पवैषयिकी चर्चा सर्वत्र सर्वकाव्येषु नेयमादिकाव्ये विद्यत
इति न । सर्वथा वाञ्छितार्थचिन्तामणिः भगवतो वाल्मीकेः कृतिः । किं
नाम तद्वस्तु यन्नोपलभ्यते रामायणे ॥

शिल्पं च विपुलं शाखोपशाखम् । गीतनृत्तवाद्यचित्रादिकं सर्वमपि
शिल्पशब्देन व्यवहियते । नितरामुद्वेजयेन्मेधां सर्पराजस्य सहस्रशीर्षस्यापि
समग्रस्य शिल्पशब्दाभिधेयस्य कलासमूहस्य विवेचनम् । ततो मादृशस्य
सङ्कुचितबुद्धेः अलमनतिप्रौढप्रतिपादनमेव चित्रकथायाः श्रीमद्रामायणे ॥

सेयं चित्रकला पटफलकादिगतालेख्यरचनाविधिद्योतनीति सामान्येन
सर्वजनैरुद्बुध्यते । तादृशार्थवबोधो महान् भ्रमः । चित्रशब्देनावगन्तव्यं
त्रितयं वर्तते—चित्रम्, अर्धचित्रम्, चित्राभासम्—इति । शिलाकाष्ठ-
लोहादिना कृता दृश्यसर्वाङ्गा या मूर्तिर्देवादीनां सा चित्रशब्देनाभिधीयते ।
या च तनुर्देवासुरकस्तिरुगादीनां भित्तिफलकादौ सक्तेवार्धदृश्यमूर्तिः लक्ष्यते
सार्धचित्राभिख्यां भजते । आलेख्यं च पटफलकादिगतं चित्राभासमिति
कथ्यते ॥

भारतभूमौ चित्रमिति पृथक्कृतं वस्तु न लभ्यते । सर्वत्र सर्ववस्तुगतं
चित्रकौशलं दृश्यते । विचित्रवितानादिषु, मनोज्ञकौशेषेषु, उत्तरीयचेलाञ्चलेषु,

* मद्रपुरीसंस्कृतसेवासमितिवार्षिकश्रीरामनवमीमहोत्सवावसरे उपन्यस्तोऽयं सन्दर्भः ।

आभरणजालेषु, परार्ध्यासनेषु, किं बहुना, विविधभाजनेष्वपि दृश्यमानस्य सर्वत्र व्याप्य तिष्ठतः चित्रस्य विषये पार्थक्येन बुद्धिः कुतः ? उपपन्नं च चित्रकौशलसान्निध्यं ताम्बूलकरण्डादिषु सामान्यगृहोपकरणेषु । सर्वथा शिल्पि-कौशलोपपादितमेव तीर्थामत्रादिषु मकरमुखादि, उद्धरण्यादिषु नागभोगादि ॥

तदत्र रामायणे शिल्पमाकलयतामस्माकं विचित्रानेकवस्तुकौशलेन चित्रीयते मनः । विविधप्राकारगोपुरतोरणाद्यलङ्कृताः प्रासादसहस्रसंवाधानगर्ग्यः, अतिकुशलकारुवरनिर्मितानेकचारुतरविचित्ररथाः, मणिजालखचितदान्त-सौवर्णादिपत्रलतालङ्कृतविविधशिविकाश्चेति यत् बहुविधवस्तुजालमुपवर्ण्यते रामायणे भगवता वाल्मीकिना तत्प्राचीनशिल्पवृत्तान्तजिज्ञासूनामस्मादृशानामुपयुक्ततमम् ॥

कविभिरनवरतं यद्वर्ण्यते नृपात्मजादीनां कलादिषु नैपुण्यं तन्नितरां स्पष्टीभवति रामाभ्यस्तशास्त्रकलामन्ततिसमाख्याने । कादम्बर्यादिषु काव्येषु चन्द्रापीडादयः सकलशास्त्रकलाधीतिनः कथ्यन्ते । स्त्रियोऽपि शलाकालेखनादिषु कुशला अभिधीयन्ते त्रिविक्रमभट्टेन । अतिदुष्करमपि सुकरनिव विचित्रतरं वस्तु प्रतिपादितं महर्षिणा कथयता शाखामृगानपि गीतवादित्रकोविदान् किष्किन्धाकाण्डे श्लोकयोरनयोः—

‘इतश्च नातिदूरे सा किष्किन्धा चित्रकानना ।

सुग्रीवस्य पुरी रम्या भविष्यति नृपात्मज ॥

गीतवादित्रनिर्घोषः श्रूयते जयतां वर ।

नर्दतां वानराणां च मृदङ्गाडम्बरैः सह ॥’ IV. 27. Śls. 26, 27.

को नामात्र विस्मयो यद्रामः सर्वकलापारदश्चा । अभिधया नोक्तं वाल्मीकिना कलासु आसु अमुकनाम्नीषु रामः कुशल इति । व्यञ्जनयोक्तं भगवता प्रश्नतेमं श्लोकम् ॥

‘वैहारिकाणां शिल्पानां विज्ञातार्थविभागवित् ।’ II. 1, Śl. 28,

इति । किमिदं वैहारिकशिल्पमित्यस्यावबोधः सुखतरं भवति कालिदासीय-
शाकुन्तलाध्येतृणाम् । तत्र चानेन महाकविना विनोदस्थानतया चित्रलेखन-
माख्यातं दुष्यन्तमुखेन—‘चतुरिके । अर्धलिखितमिदं विनोदस्थानमस्माभिः’
—इति विरचयता । इममेवार्थमुररीकुर्वन्नाह दामोदरगुप्तः कुट्टनीमते—

‘मांसरसाभ्यवहारः पुरुषाहतिपीडया न तु स्पृहया ।

आलेख्यादौ व्यसनं वैदग्ध्यख्यातये न तु विनोदाय ॥’ 307

इति । वैहारिकविनोदशब्दयोः शिल्पशब्दपूर्वगतयोः एकार्थद्योतनशक्तेरिदमवगतं
भवति,—सन्ति बह्व्यस्ताः कलाः शस्त्रास्त्रादिमोक्षणरूपाः याः शरीरक्लेशायैव
केवलम् ; अपराश्च ता गीतनृत्तचित्राद्याः चित्तविनोदावहाः—इति ।
तदमुमेवार्थं मनसि कृत्वा महर्षिणोक्तं पृथक् शस्त्रास्त्रादिकौशलं रामस्य ॥

अत्र किञ्चिदवगन्तव्यं भवति । न केवलं चित्रकरादयश्चित्रलेखनादिषु
निपुणाः । कलाज्ञानं तेषामाजीविकार्थम् । कलेत्येव कृत्वा विनोदार्थमभ्यस्तं
चित्रादि नागरकैः, राजसुतैः, अन्यैश्च रसिकैः । तत्प्रायशः सर्वैरेवाभ्यस्यमाना
चित्रगीतादिकलाः कीदृशीं स्थितिमनुबभूवुः पुरेत्यत्र विषये प्रश्नस्यावकाश
एव कुतः ? अन्यच्च राजसुतादीनामाढ्यानां सुकुमारकलादिशिक्षाभिनिवेशे
कारणमुदाहरन्नाह क्षेमेन्द्रः चारुचर्यायाम्—

‘आपत्कालोपयुक्तासु कलासु स्यात् कृतश्रमः ।

नृत्तवृत्तिर्विराटस्य किरीटी भवनेऽभवत् ॥’ 72

इति । तत्सर्वथा श्रीरामस्य कलाशिक्षणं सर्वमिदमस्मान् प्रतिबोधयति ॥

तथा च कलाशास्त्रार्थविदुषां राजकुलोत्पन्नानां कीदृशोऽभूत् कलास्वादः
इति युक्तोऽयं विचारः । अत्र च चित्रविषयमनुसरतामस्माकं वाच्योऽर्थः स
एव । प्रासादेषु याश्चित्रशाला वर्ण्यन्ते तत्र तत्र ता एव राज्ञां राज-
कुलोत्पन्नानां च कलास्वादं डिण्डिमोद्घोषेण प्रकटयन्ति । चित्रशालाश्चेद-
प्रथमतया रामायणे कथिता दृश्यन्ते । ततोऽप्यर्वाचीनं भूरि विद्यते
तदितरकाव्येषु चित्रशालावर्णनम् । सकललोकभाषाकाव्यमाधुर्यसाररूपे सुन्दर-

काण्डे महर्षेः कवितासर्वस्वसारद्योतनी रावणनिवेशनवर्णना, यत्र नानाविध-
गृहमुख्येषु चित्रशालागृहाद्याख्यातं दृश्यते श्लोकेष्वमीषु—

‘लतागृहाणि चित्राणि चित्रशालागृहाणि च ।

क्रीडागृहाणि चान्यानि दारुपर्वतकानि च ॥

कामस्य गृहकं रम्यं दिवागृहकमेव च ।

ददर्श राक्षसेन्द्रस्य रावणस्य निवेशने ॥ V. 7. Śls. 36, 38.

Cf. स तस्य मध्ये भवनस्य मारुति-

लतागृहांश्चित्रगृहान्निशागृहान् ।

जगाम सीतां प्रति दर्शनोत्सुको

न चैव तां पश्यति वामलोचनाम् ॥ V. 12. Śl. 1.

Cf. आपानशाला विचितास्तथा पुष्पगृहाणि च ।

चित्रशालाश्च विचिता भूयः क्रीडागृहाणि च ॥’ V. 12. Śl. 13.

चित्रशालाश्च त्रिविधा लक्ष्यन्ते—नृपसौधगताः, पौरादिगृहवर्तिन्यः,
सार्वजनीन्यश्च नगरमध्यप्रतिष्ठिताः—इति । विभागश्चैष तत्र तत्र काव्येषु
शिल्पग्रन्थेषु चोपलभ्यते । सार्वभौमस्य रावणस्य गृहे किं नाम तद्यन्त्रोप-
लभेमहि । नैका चित्रशाला तस्य भवने । बहुवचनेनैवोक्तं रामायणकविना
‘चित्रशालागृहाणि च’ इति । चित्रागाराश्च पृथगन्तःपुरे, पृथग्जलमण्डपे
पृथगन्यत्र तत्र तत्रेति काव्येषु कथ्यन्ते । धनपालेन तिलकमञ्जर्यां विविधानि
निरूप्यन्ते चित्रसम्मानि । ‘रणितमणिना भूषणचक्रवालेन वाचालयन्ती
चित्रशालिकां शय्याममुञ्चत्’ (p. 238) ‘... प्रविश्य बन्धुसुन्दरीद्वितीया
शयनचित्रशालाम्...’ (p. 246) इत्यादिवाक्येषु तिलकमञ्जर्याम् ‘विचित्र-
चित्रशालिनि शय्यागृहे’ इत्यस्मिन्श्च नलचम्ब्वाम् शयनचित्रशालाः
कथ्यन्ते । ‘अतिविचित्रानेकचित्रशालं जलमण्डपमगच्छत्’ (p. 88) इत्यस्मि-
न्तिलकमञ्जरीवाक्ये ‘शाला वा ह्यभिषेका सर्वविचित्रान्विता सभा तत्र’ इति
मयमतोक्तजलमण्डपचित्रशालिका निर्दिश्यते । इत्थं च चित्रशालिकाया
अनेकरूपत्वात् बाहुल्याच्च ‘चित्रशालागृहाणि च’ इति महर्षिणेरितम् ॥

अन्तःपुरे च वधूविहारार्थं चित्रशालाः पृथगभिधीयन्ते काव्येषु ।
 ‘अधिरुहान्तःपुरप्रासादमिमम् अस्याश्चित्रशालिकायाः प्राङ्गणवितर्दिकोपविष्टां
 समाश्लिष्य देवीम्’ (p. 24.) इति यत्तिलकमञ्जर्यामुपलभ्यते तद्दृष्टान्तायालम् ।
 अयोध्याकाण्डे कैकेयीनिलयं वर्णयता वाल्मीकिना अन्तःपुरगताः चित्रशालाः
 बह्व्यो निर्दिष्टाः

‘स कैकेय्या गृहं श्रेष्ठं प्रविवेश महायशाः ॥

पाण्डराभ्रमिवाकाशं राहुयुक्तं निशाकरः ।

शुकवर्हिणसंधुष्टं क्रौञ्चहंसरुतायुतम् ॥

वादित्रवसंधुष्टं कुब्जावामनिकायुतम् ।

लतागृहैश्चित्रगृहैश्चम्पकाशोकशोभितैः ॥

दान्तराजतसौवर्णवेदिकाभिः समायुतम् ।’ II. 10. Śls. 11-14.

इत्येषु श्लोकेषु । विषादस्येयं महती भूमिर्यदस्याश्चित्रशालिकाया नाम केवलमुच्चार्य
 विरराम वाल्मीकिः । विपुले च काव्ये तस्य न कुत्राप्यङ्गप्रत्यङ्गवर्णनं चित्रगृहस्य
 विद्यते । तेन चालेख्यगृहस्य निवेशादिकं तद्गतचित्रादिवर्णनं च रामायणे-
 तरकाव्येभ्य एवास्माभिरवबोद्धव्यम् ॥

चित्रकराः कीदृशा वर्ण्यन्ते ? तेषां सम्भावना कीदृशी राज्ञा कृता ?
 इत्येतादृशस्य प्रश्नजालस्योत्तरं रामायणे लभ्यत एव । चित्रकराः, कारवः,
 शिल्पिनः, वर्धक्य इत्यनेके सौधादिनिर्मातारः, शिलादारवादितक्षकाः,
 पटफलकाद्यालेख्यकराश्चात्र विषये विवक्षिता भवन्ति । भवननिर्माणे, देवता-
 यतनघटने, यज्ञशालाविधाने, शिलादारुतक्षणे, दारुचित्रोपरि राजतसौवर्णादि-
 पत्रारोपणे चेत्येतादृशेषु करणेषु किं नाम तद्यत्र विना चित्रकौशलं सुकरं
 भवति कार्यम् । तत्केवलं रङ्गाजीवा एव नात्र विचार्याः ॥

शास्त्रज्ञाः, कुशलाः, वृद्धाः, परमधार्मिका एव शिल्पिनस्तत्र तत्र कार्येषु
 नियुक्ता भूभृता दशरथेन । बालकाण्डे हयमेधार्थं यज्ञवाटस्य तदङ्गभूतभूसुर-
 भूनाथाद्यावसथानां च निर्माणे शिल्पसंघानाञ्जितान् वर्णयन्नाह वाल्मीकिः—

‘ततोऽब्रवीत् द्विजान् वृद्धान् यज्ञकर्मसु निष्ठितान् ।
 स्थापत्ये निष्ठितांश्चैव वृद्धान् परमधार्मिकान् ॥
 कर्मान्तिकान् शिल्पकरान् वर्धकीन् खनकानपि ।
 गणकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव तथैव नटनर्तकान् ॥
 तथा शुचीन् शास्त्रविदः पुरुषान् सुबहुश्रुतान् ।
 औपकार्याः क्रियन्तां च राज्ञां बहुगुणान्विताः ॥
 ब्राह्मणावसथाश्चैव कर्तव्याः शतशः शुभाः ॥
 न चावज्ञा प्रयोक्तव्या कामक्रोधवशादपि ।
 यज्ञकर्मसु ये व्यग्राः पुरुषाः शिल्पिनस्तथा ॥
 तेषामपि विशेषेण पूजा कार्या यथाक्रमम् । I. 13. Śls. 6-10, 15-16.
 कारिताः सर्व एवैते शास्त्रज्ञैर्यज्ञकोविदैः ।
 शोभार्थं तस्य यज्ञस्य काश्चनालङ्कृताभवन् ॥
 एकविंशतियूपास्त एकविंशत्यरत्नयः ।’ I. 14. Śl. 24.

इति । ‘वृद्धान् परमधार्मिकान्’ इति यदुक्तं रामायणे स्थपतिवर्णनावसरे
 तदनूक्तं भवति शिल्परत्ने यत्र शिल्पिलक्षणकथने श्लोकाविमौ श्रीकुमारस्य—

‘स्थपतिः स्थापनार्हः स्यात् सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।

न हीनाङ्गोऽतिरिक्ताङ्गो धार्मिकस्तु दयापरः ॥

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चित्रज्ञः सर्वदेशज्ञः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः ।

अरोगी चाप्रमादी च सप्तव्यसनवर्जितः ॥’

इति । ‘शास्त्रविद्’ इत्यस्य विशेषणस्य शिल्पिनः दशरथोक्तस्य ‘सर्व-
 शास्त्रविशारदः’ इत्यत्रैव श्रीकुमारवाक्ये लक्ष्यतेऽनुवादः । शास्त्रकुशल-
 प्राशस्त्यं चोद्धृत्य कथितं विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—

‘शास्त्रज्ञैः सुकृतैर्दक्षैश्चित्रं हि मनुजाधिप ।

श्रियमावहति क्षिप्रमलक्ष्मीं चापकर्षति ॥’

इति । महाराजाधिराजेन भोजेनाख्यायते महान् दोषः शास्त्रानभिज्ञस्य कार्या-
भिनियोगे । दृश्यते च तस्यायमाशयः समराङ्गणसूत्रधारे—

‘अशास्त्रज्ञेन घटितं शिल्पिना दोषसंयुतम् ।

अपि माधुर्यसंपन्नं न ग्राह्यं शास्त्रवेदिभिः ॥’

इत्यस्मिन् । ‘शुचीन्’ इति प्रयुञ्जानस्य विशेषणं वाल्मीकेरभिमतमिव
द्योतयन्नाह विष्णुधर्मोत्तरकारः—

‘चित्रायोगे विशेषेण श्वेतवासा यतात्मवान् ।

ब्राह्मणान् पूजयित्वा तु स्वस्तिवाच्यं प्रणम्य च ॥

प्राङ्मुखो देवताध्यायी चित्रकर्म समाचरेत् ।’

इति । अयमेवार्थः प्रतिपादितः कविना राजशेखरेण काव्यमीमांसायां
शौचस्यावश्यकतां कविचित्रकरयोः कथयता यस्येयं भणितिः “अपि च नित्यं
शुचिः स्यात् । त्रिधा च शौचं वाक्शौचम्, मनःशौचम्, कायशौचं च । प्रथमे
शास्त्रजन्मनी । तार्तीयिकं तु सनखच्छेदौ पादौ, सताम्बूलं मुखम्, सविलेपनमात्रं
वपुः, महार्हमनुल्बणं च वासः, सकुसुमं शिर इति । शुचि शीलनं हि सरस्वत्याः
संवननमामनन्ति । स यत्स्वभावः कविस्तदनु रूपं काव्यम् । यादृशाकारश्चित्र-
करस्तादृशाकारमस्य चित्रमिति प्रायो वादः ।” x इति ॥

‘यज्ञकर्मसु ये व्यग्राः पुरुषाः शिल्पिनस्तथा ।

तेषामपि विशेषेण पूजा कार्या यथाक्रमम् ॥’ 1. 13. Śls. 15, 16.

इत्यस्य दशरथाज्ञापितस्य शिल्पिसभाजनस्य सहेतुकविचारो दृश्यते
शिल्परत्ने यत्र विविधकारणाख्यानानन्तरं ब्रवीति स्म श्रीकुमारः—

‘तस्मादेष सदा पूज्यः स्थपत्यादिचतुष्टयः’ ।

इति । सा च संमानना चित्रकराणां कीदृशीत्यस्योत्तरं बहुत्र काव्येषु स्फुटतर-
मुपदीयते । ‘सितकुसुमविलेपनवसनसत्कृतैः सूत्रधारैरादीयमानविवाहवेदी-
सूत्रपातम्’ (p. 142) इत्यमुं हर्षचरितनिर्मातुर्गिरम्,

‘तस्यापहसितत्वष्टुस्तक्षकर्मणि शिक्षया ।

विस्मितोऽयं स्मितं कुर्वन्नर्घ्यैरर्चयति स्म तम् ॥’ (p. 5, Śl. 53.)

इति श्लोकमवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारविरचयितुः, “क्वचिद्दर्शनपथावतीर्णेषु शीर्ण-
देवायतनेषु कर्मारम्भाय सपदि सम्पादितपूजासत्कारान् व्यापारयतः” (p. 54)
इति धनपालस्य वाक्यं च तिलकमञ्जर्यां कलयतामस्माकं स्पष्टतरा समुज्जृम्भते
शिल्पसम्माननासरणिः ॥

‘ताम्बूलद्वयमासनं च वृणुते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात्’

इति यद्वचः श्रीहर्षस्य येन धरणीश्वरोपपादितासनरूपा अभ्यर्चा द्योत्यते तस्य
च समर्थनं कर्तुं शक्यं रामायणगतैरेव कैश्चन श्लोकैः येषु राजसभायां कवि-
वराणाम्, षडङ्गवेदविदुषाम्, शास्त्राधीतिनाम्, चित्रगीतादिकलाचतुराणां
चाभ्यर्हणा कथ्यते विष्टराद्युपवेशनरूपा । उत्तरकाण्डे चेयं वल्मीकप्रभवस्य
वर्णना सभायाः सम्राडुरस्य श्रीरामभद्रस्य

‘अथ कर्मान्तरे राजा समाहूय महामुनीन् ।

पार्थिवांश्च नरव्याघ्रः पण्डितान्नैगमांस्तथा ॥

पौराणिकाञ्छब्दविदो ये च वृद्धा द्विजातयः ।

स्वराणां लक्षणज्ञांश्च उत्सुकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ॥

लक्षणज्ञांश्च गान्धर्वान्नैगमांश्च विशेषतः ।

पादाक्षरसमासज्ञांश्छन्दःसु पारिनिष्ठितान् ॥

कलामात्राविभागज्ञाञ्ज्यौतिषे च परंगतान् ।

क्रियाकल्पविदश्चैव तथा काव्यविदो जनान् ॥

भाषाज्ञानिङ्गितज्ञांश्च नैगमांश्चाप्यशेषतः ।

हेतूपचारकुशलान् वचने चापि हैतुकान् ॥

छन्दोविदः पुराणज्ञान् वैदिकान् द्विजसत्तमान् ।

चित्रज्ञान् वृत्तसूत्रज्ञान् गीतवृत्तविशारदान् ॥

शास्त्रज्ञान् नीतिनिपुणान् वेदान्तार्थप्रबोधकान् ।

एतान् सर्वान् समानीय गातारौ समवेशयत् ॥ VII. 94. Śls. 4-10.

इति । विद्वज्जनगोष्ठीषु चित्रकरस्याप्यास्थानसाधनानि नृपतेरासननिर्देशरूपा-
मर्हणामेव केवलं कथयत्यत्र वल्मीकजन्मा मुनिः । कुत्र कस्य स्थानमित्यासन-
विन्यासक्रमः, तत्र च चित्रकरस्य संनिवेशनिर्णयश्चेत्येतद्विषयस्याकलनं न
कृतं रामायणकविना । सर्वमिममर्थमालोड्य विरचयांबभूव काव्यमीमांसायां राज-
शेखरकविः ‘राजा कविः कविसमाजं विदधीत । राजनि कत्रौ सर्वो लोकः
कविः स्यात् । स काव्यपरीक्षायै सभां कारयेत् । सा षोडशभिः स्तम्भैश्चतुर्भिर्द्वारै-
रष्टभिर्मत्तवारणाभिरुपेता स्यात् । तदनुलग्नं राज्ञः केलिगृहम् । मध्येसभं चतुः-
स्तम्भान्तरा हस्तमात्रोत्सेधसमणिभूमिका । तस्यां राजासनम् । तस्य चोत्तरतः
संस्कृताः कवयो निविशेरन् । बहुभाषाकवित्वे यो यत्राधिकं प्रवीणः स तेन
व्यपदिश्यते । यस्त्वनेकत्र प्रवीणः स सङ्क्रम्य तत्र तत्रोपविशेत् । ततः परं
वेदविद्याविदः प्रामाणिकाः पौराणिकाः स्मार्ता भिषजो मौहूर्तिका अन्येऽपि
तथाविधाः । पूर्वेण प्राकृताः कवयः, ततः परं नटनर्तकगायनवाग्जीवनकुशी-
लवतालावचरा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । पश्चिमेनापभ्रंशिनः कवयः, ततः परं
चित्रलेप्यकृतो माणिक्यबन्धकाः स्वर्णकारवर्धकिलोहकारा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः ।
दक्षिणतो भूतभाषाकवयः, ततः परं भुजङ्गगणिकाः प्लवकशौभिकजम्भक-
मल्लाः शस्त्रोपजीविनोऽन्येऽपि तथाविधाः ।” X. अ. इति । एतच्च वगतं
भवत्यनया शिल्पिसम्भावनया रामायणे तदितरकाव्येषु चाख्यातया । एतादृशा-
र्हणापात्रभूताश्चित्रकरादयः परस्परजयापजयमसहमानाः स्पर्धया कलां पुपुषु-
रित्यत्र न कोऽपि संशयः । स्वभाव एष जन्तोः यद्राजसम्भावनया तृप्यति
मनुष्यजन्मा । न तादृशी प्रीतिः सुवर्णकोटिलाभे यथा नृपतिदत्तशाटिकायां
वैदुष्यचिह्नभूतायाम् । अधुनापि दृश्यन्ते खलु बहवः श्रवणमात्रसुभगानां विरुदा-
वलीनां कृते भूरिप्रियासमनुभवन्तो धनव्ययमपि विपुलं कुर्वन्तो जनाः ।
अनेन सुविशदं प्रकटीक्रियते भ्रमोऽयं महान् ‘धनप्रभवः प्रमोदः’ इति ॥

विचारश्चासौ युक्ततर एव कीदृशमिदं शिल्पं येन शिल्पिसार्थैस्तथा
तोषिताः पृथिवीपा इति । जानते च रामायणाध्येतारः शिल्पिसार्थस्य कौशलं
गोपुरतोरणाद्यलंकृतविविधसौधशतभासुरपुरीनिर्माणे, विविधचित्रपत्रमकरिकाद्यलं-
कारशतभासुरविचित्रानेकरथतक्षणे, सुन्दरतरचतुरस्रयानविधाने चेत्येतादृशचित्र-

तरवस्तुशतसम्पादने । श्रूयन्ते च भारतभूमौ स्वस्तिकसर्वतोभद्रादिविविधविन्यास-
क्रमाः प्रासादानाम्, ग्रामाणाम्, पत्तनानां च शिल्पग्रन्थोक्ताः । दौर्भाग्यस्येयं
परा काष्ठास्माकं यन्नामान्यप्येषां विभागानां न जानन्त्याधुनिका वास्तुविद्याविशारदा
इत्यलमतिविस्तरेण दुःखनिदानकथायाः । स्फुटतरमाख्यायते च रामायणे
शिल्पग्रन्थोपपादिता स्वस्तिकवर्धमानादिभवनघटना । तादृशी भवननिर्माणक्रम-
शोभा लङ्कायां यदस्या दर्शनेन भृशं तुतोष पवमाननन्दनः । तथा च
सुन्दरकाण्डे—

‘गृहमुखैः पुरी रम्या बभासे द्यौरिवाम्बुदैः ॥

प्रजज्वाल तदा लङ्का रक्षोगणगृहैः शुभैः ।

सिताभ्रसदृशैश्चित्रैः पद्मस्वस्तिकसंस्थितैः ॥

वर्धमानगृहैश्चापि सर्वतः सुविभूषिता ।

तां चित्रमाल्याभरणां कपिराजहितंकरः ॥

राघवार्थं चरन् श्रीमान् ददर्श च ननन्द च ।’ V. 4. Śls. 6—9.

बहुभूमिकालिन्दचन्द्रशालादिसम्पादितमौन्नत्यं भवनानामतिशोभावहमिति वस्तु
प्रकटयन्निव वर्णयामास रावणनिवेशनमतिसुन्दरं मुनिसिंहः । स्थालीपुलाक-
न्यायेन वीक्षमाणानामस्माकमलं तत्र तत्र केचन श्लोकाः प्रतिपादयितु-
मुद्दिष्टार्थम्—

‘कैलासशिखरप्रख्यमालिखन्तमिवाम्बरम् ।

डीयमानमिवाकाशमुच्छ्रितैर्भवनोत्तमैः ॥’ V. 2. Śl. 23.

‘निवेशनानां विविधाश्च शालाः

प्रधानशङ्खायुधचापशालाः ।

मनोहराश्चापि पुनर्विशाला

ददर्श वेश्माद्रिषु चन्द्रशालाः ॥’ V. 7. Śl. 2.

‘तदप्रमेयाप्रतिकारकृत्त्रिमं

कृतं स्वयं साध्विति विश्वकर्मणा ।

दिवं गतं वायुपथे प्रतिष्ठितं

व्यराजतादिलपथस्य लक्ष्मवत् ॥' V. 8. Śl. 2.

‘मेरुमन्दरसंकाशैरालिखद्विरिवाम्बरम् ।

कूटागारैः शुभाकारैः सर्वतः समलंकृतम् ॥

ज्वलनार्कप्रतीकाशं सुकृतं विश्वकर्मणा ।’ V. 9. Śls. 14, 15.

इति श्लोकेष्वमीषु भवनौन्नत्यद्योतनमेव व्यापारः प्रयुक्तपदानाम् ‘डीयमानमिवा-
काशम् उच्छ्रितैर्भवनोत्तमैः’, ‘वेश्माद्रिषु’, ‘दिवं गतम्’, ‘मेरुमन्दर-
सङ्काशैः’ इत्यादीनाम् ॥

ध्रुवमभिमुखावलोकनमेव रुचिरतरं भवनानां यत्र विचित्रतोरणालङ्कृत-
द्वारशोभा चक्षुषोरानन्दजननी । तत एव मकरतोरणादि सर्वथा शिल्पिसार्यैर्न-
घटितं सर्वत्र देवगृहेषु दृश्यते पूर्वभागे । तोरणाश्च विविधाः । तेष्वन्यतमो
लतातोरणाख्यः । स च विविधलतापत्रमुकुलादिविविधचित्रोत्कीर्णः । मकराकृति-
विचित्रश्च मकरतोरणः । लङ्कायां पत्रतोरणाः कथ्यन्ते द्वारदेशेषु श्रीरामायणे—

‘तोरणैः काञ्चनैर्दासां लतापङ्क्तिवित्रितैः ।

ददर्श हनुमालङ्कां दिवि देवपुरीमिव ॥’ V. 2. Śl. 18.

गृहद्वारेषु प्रायशः सर्वत्र समुत्कीर्णां कारुभिरधुनापि दृश्यते या मूर्तिः
कमलालयायाः करधृतसरसिजकरियुगसेव्यमानायाः तस्या अपि निर्देशः
संदृश्यते सुन्दरकाण्डे पुष्पकवर्णनावसरे—

‘नियुज्यमानास्तु गजाः सुहस्ताः

सकेसराश्चोत्पलपत्रहस्ताः ।

बभूव देवी च कृता सुहस्ता

लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता ॥’

V. 7. Śl. 14. इति ।

अतिविवृतमुखेषु सिंहिकावक्त्रसोदरायमाणेष्वधुनिकगृहाणां वातायनेषु
दंष्ट्रायन्ते केचन कालायसदण्डाः । तदमीषां शोभा कीदृशीत्यस्य विचारः

पिशाचानामुचितः, न शिल्पशास्त्रजिज्ञासूनाम् । वातायनस्य नामान्यद्विद्यते गवाक्ष इति । कुतस्तादृश्यमिह्या तस्येत्यस्यावबोधः सुकर एव । पुरा वातायनानि जालविचित्रितानि । तत एव गवाक्षस्य जालमित्यपरं नाम । आकृतिमनुकुर्वन् धेनुनयनस्य यत्र जालसन्ततिरुत्कीर्यते काष्ठतक्षा तत्र गवाक्ष-
नामधेयस्यान्वर्थता । जालवातायनसौन्दर्यविषये सर्वशिल्पकोविदाभ्युपगते वावदूकता कालविलम्बनाय केवलम् । ये नामात्र विषये विप्रतिपद्यन्ते पश्यन्तु ते विचित्रजालवातायनानि तुरुष्कजनभवनचैत्यादिषु प्रसिद्धेषु । अन्वर्थनामानः पुपुषुः शोभां गवाक्षाः प्राचीनभारतीयसदनानाम् । तद्युक्तमाख्यानं गवाक्षशोभाया राक्षसेन्द्रपुरीगृहमुख्यरामणीयकवर्णने—

‘ प्रासादमालाविततां स्तम्भैः काञ्चनराजतैः ।

शातकुम्भमयैर्जालैर्गन्धर्वनगरोपमाम् ॥ ’ V. 2. Śl. 51.

‘ जालवातायनैर्युक्तं काञ्चनैः स्फाटिकैरपि ।

इन्द्रनीलमहानीलमणिप्रवरवदिकम् ॥ ’ V. 9. Śl. 16.

‘ विमानं पुष्पकं दिव्यमारुरोह महाकपिः । ’ V. 9. Śl. 19.

‘ मणिसोपानविकृतां हेमजालविराजिताम् । ’ V. 9. Śl. 22.

इति । अलमेतावता विचारेण भवनादिशोभायाः यत्र शिल्पिजनकौशलमपेक्ष्यते नितराम् । अधुना च पश्यामः कीदृशाः कारवः पुरेति ॥

कारुषु रथकारा इति केचन ये स्यन्दननिर्माणकुशलाः । अधुनापि दृश्यन्ते केचन विरलास्तत्र तत्र तदन्ववायसंभवाः प्राचीनमिमं शिल्पमुपजीवन्तो देवतायतनरथनिर्मितिमात्रव्यापाराः । तत्रापि प्राचीनशिल्पाभिमानविमुखैः, अनाघ्रातभगवद्भक्तिगन्धैरत एव रथवाहनादिकं बालेन्दुमौलेरुत्सवादिषु नितरां परिहसद्भिर्न केवलमुपेक्ष्यमाणा अपि तु विडम्ब्यमानाः कारवः अति-जर्जरामाजीविकां कथमपि क्लेशेन धारयन्तीत्यहो पदं महद्विषादस्य । ये चांशाः भगवदुत्सवस्यन्दनेष्वधुनापि दृश्यन्ते ते सर्वे नितरां पुरातना इत्यस्यावबोधाय रामायणगतरथवर्णनैवाल्म् । अत्र चामी श्लोकास्तत्र तत्र रथवर्णनापराः—

‘ततः पर्वतसंकाशमारुरोह रथोत्तमम् ।
 वैयाघ्रं पुरुषव्याघ्रो राजतं राजनन्दनः ॥
 मेघनादमसम्बाधं मणिविद्रुमभूषितम् ।
 मुष्णन्तमिव चक्षूषि प्रभया सूर्यवर्चसम् ॥
 करेणुशिशुकल्पैश्च युक्तं परमवाजिभिः ।’ II. 16. Śls. 28-30.

इत्ययोध्याकाण्डे रामार्थमानीतो रथः सुमन्त्रेण । अरण्यकाण्डे च खर-
 स्यन्दनवर्णनायां बहु ज्ञेयवस्तु विद्यते ।

‘तं मेरुशिखराकारं तप्तकाञ्चनभूषणम् ।
 हेमचक्रमसम्बाधं वैदूर्यमयकूबरम् ॥
 मत्स्यैः पुष्पैर्द्रुमैः शैलैश्चन्द्रसूर्यैश्च काञ्चनैः ।
 मङ्गलैः पक्षिसङ्घैश्च ताराभिरभिसंवृतम् ॥
 ध्वजनिखिशसंपन्नं किङ्किणीकविराजितम् ।
 सदश्वयुक्तं सोऽमर्षादारुरोह खरो रथम् ॥’ III. 22. Śls. 14-16.

रामार्थं वासवेन प्रेषितः सुन्दरतमो रथः कथ्यते युद्धकाण्डे—

‘ततः काञ्चनचित्राङ्गः किङ्किणीशतभूषितः ।
 तरुणादित्यसंकाशो वैदूर्यमयकूबरः ॥
 सदश्वैः काञ्चनापीडैर्युक्तः श्वेतप्रकीर्णकैः ।
 हरिभिः सूर्यसंकाशैर्हेमजालविभूषितैः ॥
 रुक्मवेणुध्वजः श्रीमान् देवराजरथो वरः ।’ VI. 103. Śls. 6-8.

अत्र प्रथमोद्दिष्टस्य रामरथस्य वैयाघ्र इति कथनं व्याघ्रचर्मवृत्तत्वात् यथा
 पाण्डुकम्बलेनावृतः स्यन्दनः पाण्डुकम्बलीत्याख्यायते । अधुनापि पश्येम
 विविधलतापत्रमृगादित्रिचित्रकम्बलावरणान् स्यन्दनान् देवतोत्सवेषु । खररथ-
 वर्णने च विचित्रविविधवस्तुतत्क्षणसम्पादिता शोभा स्यन्दनस्याख्यायते । पुण्य-
 रथाद्यनेकविधा रथाः । विशिष्टतया रथेध्वन्यतमस्य भूसुरयानार्हस्य ब्राह्मस्यन्दनस्य

कथनात् रथनानात्वं न केवलमभ्युपगतं रामायणे किंतूपपदितम् । अत्र चायं रथनिर्देशकः श्लोकः—

‘स्वयं वसिष्ठो भगवान् ययौ रामनिवेशनम् ॥

उपवासयितुं रामं मन्त्रवन्मन्त्रकोविदः ।

ब्राह्मं रथवरं युक्तमास्थाय सुधृतव्रतः ॥’ II. 5. Śls. 3, 5.

इति । पुनश्चान्यत्र ब्राह्मणारूढा रथा गोरथा इति कथ्यन्ते ये वृषभयुग्माः—

‘समाहिता वेदविदो ब्रह्मणा वृत्तसंमताः ।

गोरथैर्भरतं यान्तमनुजग्मुः सहस्रशः ॥’ II. 83. Śl. 16.

स्वर्णकाराणां शिल्पं तत्कृताभरणजालैरेव परीक्ष्यते । रामायणे च विविधमणिखचितभूषणानामियत्ता वर्णनाया न विद्यते । अत्रापि विशिष्टनिर्देश-महन्ति काश्चन भूषाः । गोशृङ्गाग्रे सुवर्णभूषा सुन्दरतमा ॥

‘सुवर्णशृङ्गाः संपन्नाः सवत्साः कांस्यदोहनाः ।’ I. 72. Śl. 23.

इत्यत्र कथ्यते । यदतीव सुकुमारसूक्ष्मा यत्नखचिताश्च भूषाः तद्दुकूलास्तृत-शयनं विहाय स्थण्डिले सुप्तायाः सीतायाः सक्ता भूषणांशाः कनकबिन्दवस्तत्र तत्र । बिन्दवश्च ते सूचयन्ति सीतायाः शयितक्रमं भरताय ।

‘इयं शय्या मम भ्रातुरिदं हि परिवर्तितम् ।

स्थण्डिले कठिने सर्वं गात्रैर्विमृदितं तृणम् ॥

मन्ये साभरणा सुप्ता सीतास्मिञ्शयने शुभा ।

तत्र तत्र हि दृश्यन्ते सक्ताः कनकबिन्दवाः ॥’ II. 88. Śls. 13, 14.

अनेनोदाहरणेनैकेन केवलं सम्यगुपपादितं भवति नाडिधमजनशिल्पकौशलम् ॥

इतश्च पुस्तक्रियायामभिनिवेशः कीदृशस्तत्कर्म जानतामिति विषयस्य परीक्षां कुर्याम । उत्तरकाण्डोक्तं सुवर्णनिर्मितं सीतायाः प्रतिरूपं के न

जानते ? एक एवात्र मुख्यांशो वक्तव्यः । आधुनिकभौतिकशास्त्रचुम्बुभिर्योऽसौ निर्मितः कोऽपि मानवाकृतिर्महान् लोहयन्त्रसञ्चारी प्रतियातनापुरुषस्तस्य 'भवेदीदृशः' इति तत्सत्ता, तादृशस्य वस्तुनः करणे शक्तिश्चेत्युभयम् अभ्युपगम्यते रामायणे । ईदृशः कुतस्ते तर्क इति वृथासौ प्रश्नः । स्पष्टमुक्तं विभीषणेन रामायणे—

‘कुम्भकर्णं समीक्ष्यैव हरयोऽद्य प्रविद्रुताः ।

कथमेनं रणे क्रुद्धं वारयिष्यन्ति वानराः ॥

उच्यन्तां वानराः सर्वे यन्त्रमेतत् समुच्छितम् ।

इति विज्ञाय हरयो भविष्यन्तीह निर्भयाः ॥’ VI. 61. Śls 32, 33.

इदं मनसि कृत्वा कथयत्यङ्गदः—

‘महतीमुत्थितामेनां राक्षसानां विभीषिकाम् ।

विक्रमाद्विधमिष्यामो निवर्तध्वं प्लवङ्गमाः ॥’ VI. 66. Śl. 7.

इति । यदि नाम नाभूवन्नतिबृहत्स्यस्तादृश्यो विभीषिकास्तदा नूनं न विश्वसेयुः कपयः । अतस्तादृशसञ्चारियन्त्रपुरुषकरणशक्तिरङ्गीकर्तव्या पुस्त-
कोविदेषु लोहकारेषु ॥

निकामं विषयानवलोकयतः कोऽप्यवधिर्न विद्यते रामायणे । विचित्र-
वस्तुनिकाराकर इव भाति रामायणम् । दीपवृक्षादयो वस्तुजालाः कथ्यन्ते
भूरि तत्र । अथ कोऽसौ दीपवृक्षः । उत्सवदिनेषु तत्र तत्र रथ्यासूदीपितास्ते
वर्ण्यन्ते—

‘प्रकाशीकरणं च निशागमनशङ्कया ।

दीपवृक्षांस्तथा चक्रुरनुरथ्यासु सर्वशः ॥’ II. 6. Śl. 18.

देवायतनेष्वद्यापि दृश्यन्ते तत्र तत्रेदृशा दीपवृक्षाः । शाकम्भरीदेव्या आय-
तनस्य पुरतः प्रतिष्ठितं वातापिनगरसमीपे दीपवृक्षमेकं महान्तं सर्वेऽप्यद्यापि
पश्येयुः । असौ च महानलङ्कारः पत्तनस्य ॥

कति शाखाः शिल्पस्येत्येतच्च वक्तुं न पार्यते । बहवः शिल्पिनः
कथ्यन्ते रामायणे—

‘ मणिकाराश्च ये केचित् कुम्भकाराश्च शोभनाः ।

सूत्रकर्मकृतश्चैव ये च शस्त्रोपजीविनः ॥

मायूरकाः क्रकचिका रोचका वेधकास्तथा ।

दन्तकाराः सुधाकारास्तथा गन्धोपजीविनः ॥

सुवर्णकाराः प्रह्यातास्तथा कम्बलकारकाः ।

स्नापकाच्छादका वैद्या धूपकाः शौण्डिकास्तथा ॥

रजकास्तन्तुवायाश्च ग्रामघोषमहत्तराः ।

शैल्लषाश्च सह स्त्रीभिर्ययुः कैवर्तकास्तथा ॥ ’ II. 83. Śls. 12-15.

विषयाश्चैतादृशाः कथ्यमाना न यान्त्यन्तम् । तदलं स्थूलदृष्ट्या किञ्चिदिवोप-
पादितं शिल्पं रामायण इति कृत्वा विरम्यते ॥

TANJORE FRESCOES.

In his Note on the Tanjore Frescoes (Vol. IX, p. 363 ff. above) Mr. S. Paramasivan advocates a twelfth century date for them. He reaches this conclusion on the ground that in these frescoes is painted the story of Sundaramurti reaching the Kailāsa on a white elephant preceded by Śēramāṇ on horseback, and that this incident 'emanated from Śēkkiḷār's imagination.' He cites in a note a remark from *The Cōḷas* Vol. I p. 18 in support of this view. Conceding, for the sake of argument, the correctness of Mr. Paramasivan's identification, I would draw his attention to Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi's *Tiruttonḍar Tiruvandādi* verses 44 and 45 on Śēramāṇ Perumāḷ Nāyaṇār where this incident is mentioned. How much earlier than Nambi's time this incident or any other given by him became part of Śaiva hagiology, we seem to have no means of deciding at present. But it is clear that the story of Sundaramūrti's journey to Kailās on a white elephant is anterior to Śēkkiḷār's time.

When I examined the frescoes *in situ* some years ago together with Mr. S. K. Govindaswami very soon after he had discovered their existence, I thought that they must be cœval with the temple itself (See *The Cōḷas* Vol. I, p. 199 n.), and I have as yet seen no reason to change this view.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

PRAKATARTHA-VIVARANAM: A COMMENTARY ON THE BRAHMA-SUTRA-BHASYA OF SRI SANKARA. VOL. I (MADRAS UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES, NO. 9) EDITED BY T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., PH.D., SENIOR LECTURER IN SANSKRIT, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1935. pp. xx, 588. Price Rs. 6.

There are a number of commentaries on Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-sūtras*, although only a few of them have been printed and are in common use. This commentary has for long been known by name, since it is referred to by Advaitic writers like Ānandajñāna and Appayya Dikṣita; but hardly any one knew that manuscripts of it were extant. All credit is, therefore, due to the enterprising editor who has made it available in print. The volume now issued contains only about one half of the work (from the beginning to the close of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*); and the remaining part of it, we are informed, will soon be published as a second volume. Generally these commentaries follow, in their interpretation of the *bhāṣya*, what is known as the Vivaraṇa school; and the present one also does the same. From the disparaging terms, however, in which its author speaks of Vācaspati Miśra (p. x), it appears that he entertained an aversion to the other or Bhāmatī school as it is commonly styled. He is also often hard on Bhāskara and Keśava (cf. pp. 220 & 55) who, like Śaṅkara, have commented upon the *Vedānta-sūtras*, but differ considerably from him in their interpretation.

The *Prakāṭārtha* seems to have served as the basis of the familiar, but more elaborate, commentary by Govindānanda, known as the *Ratna-prabhā*. We may cite in support of this dependence the remarkable coincidence of terminology between the two works as, for example, in the explanation of *sūtra* I. i. 23. Like the *Ratna-prabhā*, it is written in a simple style and its exposition is uniformly clear. It also explains briefly but lucidly the numerous *śruti* passages cited in the *bhāṣya*. But the author

indulges, particularly in the earlier part of the work, in the use of out-of-the-way verbal forms which, while they may point to his proficiency in grammar, also indicate his weakness for grandiloquent expressions. Bādarāyaṇa, it is well known, does not specifically criticise the Nyāya system as he does the other systems, including the Vaiśeṣika. This deficiency is supplied in the present work at the end of the second *pāda* of the second *adhyāya*, which is devoted to the refutation of views that are at variance with Advaita. The work also contains long discussions of controversial topics, like the nature of *tamas* (p. 139) and the need for postulating *śakti* as a separate *padārtha* (p. 291), to which there is only a passing reference in the original. The date of the commentator cannot be ascertained definitely. The learned editor suggests a relatively early date for him. In fact, he describes the work as 'the first complete commentary on the *Bhāṣya*' excepting only the *Bhāmātī*. But for detailed arguments in support of it, we have to await the publication of the second volume of the work in the Introduction to which he promises to consider the problem fully. The only point that is certain so far is that it is later than Udayana (984 A. D.) whom it mentions more than once. There is a stray reference to a *Sāṅkhya-sūtra* (in *Sāṅkhya-sūtra-kṛt*) on p. 388, but it is difficult to say what work, if any, is meant by it. It is not merely the date of the author that remains undetermined; his name also is unknown. None of the five manuscripts, used in preparing this edition, gives any clue to it; and even the old writers who cite his opinions do not seem to have been aware of it, for they refer to him only by the descriptive title of *Prakaṣārtha-kāra*. This is a fact which shows with what detachment ancient Indian writers pursued their avocation, and must appear very strange in these days of copyright and author's alliances.

The editing has been carefully done, and the get-up of the book is quite neat. The printing of the *bhāṣya* along with the commentary is a great help to the student, although it has raised the price of the volume somewhat. The Sanskrit Department of the Madras University has already added more than one old and important work to the printed literature relating to Indian thought; and it is to be heartily congratulated now on making another valuable addition to it.

THE BRHADARANYAKOPANISAD WITH THE COMMENTARY OF SANKARACARYA—TRANSLATED BY SWAMI MADHAVANANDA WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PROFESSOR S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIAR AVL. M.A., I.E.S., PUBLISHED BY THE ADVAITASRAMA, MAYAVATI, ALMORA, HIMALAYAS. xviii + 960 pages. *1934.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka, among the major Upaniṣads is the most important for the Advaitin for in it is contained the quintessence of Advaitic thought. Śrī Śaṅkara's commentary on this Upaniṣad is, therefore, of immense value to the student of Indian philosophy in general and Advaita Vedānta in particular. The predecessors of Śaṅkara wrote commentaries on this Upaniṣad and many of them were Advaitins but they held views that were in several respects contradictory to those of Śaṅkara's. Bhartṛprapañca and others represented the school of Advaita which in later days came to be designated as the Bhedābheda school of Advaita Vedānta. Dramiḍācārya represented an allied but different school of philosophic thought. Śaṅkara, writing after these philosophers of repute emphasised the defects in the interpretation of these writers and exposed the fallacies in their argument and established the *nirguṇa-brahma* aspect of Advaita Vedānta. The *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara therefore contains a clear statement of the development of philosophic ideas in the days prior to him and in the sense that it contains the history of the philosophy of Advaita Vedānta it is doubly important. An authoritative English rendering of this Upaniṣad itself was a desideratum and more so of the Commentary of Śaṅkara. Svāmi Mādhavānanda to whom we are all indebted has rendered a distinct service to the students of Advaita Vedānta. who are not sufficiently familiar with the Sanskrit language and its grammatical and philosophic technicalities by making the contents of the Bhāṣya available in lucid, clear and elegant English.

Himself a scholar of great repute, Svāmi Mādhavānanda has had the valuable help of eminent scholars in this meritorious undertaking. The authenticity of the translation is therefore assured. Mahāmahopādhyaya Kuppuswami Sastriar, in his informing and masterly introduction, has given a clear analysis of the essential elements in the Advaitic system of philosophic thought as expounded by Śrī Śaṅkara in his Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣya. Particular attention may be drawn to the following extract from the concluding portion of the Introduction:—

"Some alien and alien-minded scholars are not inclined to see any systematic presentation of a philosophical doctrine in the Upaniṣads and believe that the Upaniṣads including even the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, form a spiritual conglomerate of several things of varying value belonging to different stages—of thaumaturgic pebbles, dualistic and pluralistic toys and monistic gems. Those who carefully study the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, and Śrī Śaṅkara's great bhāṣya thereon, cannot easily resist the feeling that the Bṛhadāraṇyaka thought is an integral whole which is rooted on the Advaita doctrine and has as its precious fruit, which uses a sound system of exposition and dialectics easily lending themselves to being expressed in the terms of the Gautamīya logic, and which refuses to accomodate itself in a satisfactory manner to any form of pluralistic realism or to any kind of the timid spiritual and metaphysical compromises involved in the bhedābheda (difference-cum-identity) phases of monistic thought belonging to the pre-Śaṅkara or post-Śaṅkara stage in the history of Vedānta."

This publication is in perfect keeping with the traditions of the Ramakrishna Mission. Śrī Ramakrishna was a jīvanmukta and it is therefore in the fitness of things that under the auspices of that Mission this volume should have been published. The author deserves our grateful thanks for this undertaking; he would have made us much more indebted to him, had he given us, wherever necessary, the arguments contained in the Vārtikas of Sureśvara. The printing and get-up of the work leave nothing to be desired. The use of proper diacritical marks would have certainly enhanced the value of the publication.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

KATYAYANASMRTISARODDHARA - VYAVAHARA. TEXT (RECONSTRUCTED) TRANSLATION, NOTES AND INTRODUCTION—BY P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., ADVOCATE, BOMBAY. xxxix + 116 + 372. 1933. Price Rs. 4.

Mr. P. V. Kane is already familiar to students of Indology as the author of several treatises, covering a wide range of subjects. Alankāra, Mīmāṃsā, and Hindu Law happen to be his special *forte*. His History of Dharmasastra Vol. I was recently reviewed in the columns of this journal and it is now followed up by this notice.

Those that are conversant with the growth of the Dharmaśāstra literature cannot but be struck with the fact that a mass of original works on Dharmaśāstra are not available to us, copies of such works having been completely lost to us. To mention only a few—the Smṛti of Bṛhaspati, of Śaṅkha-Likhita, of Hārīta, of Kātyāyana and a host of other writers of old are not available at present. For a proper perspective of the development of Hindu Law, jurisprudence, morality, social laws etc. a correct understanding of the texts of ancient writers is necessary and we are much handicapped when we do not find the works of many of those writers. A reconstruction therefore of the texts of the lost works of old writers will go a great way towards a correct appreciation of the value of their works. Several scholars have therefore attempted such a reconstruction and the work under notice is the second of such attempts of Mr. Kane, the first being his reconstruction of the Dharmasūtra of Śaṅkha-Likhita. Mr. Kane is an eminent lawyer and it is but natural that he should devote a good deal of his attention to the Vyavahāra section of Dharmaśāstra.

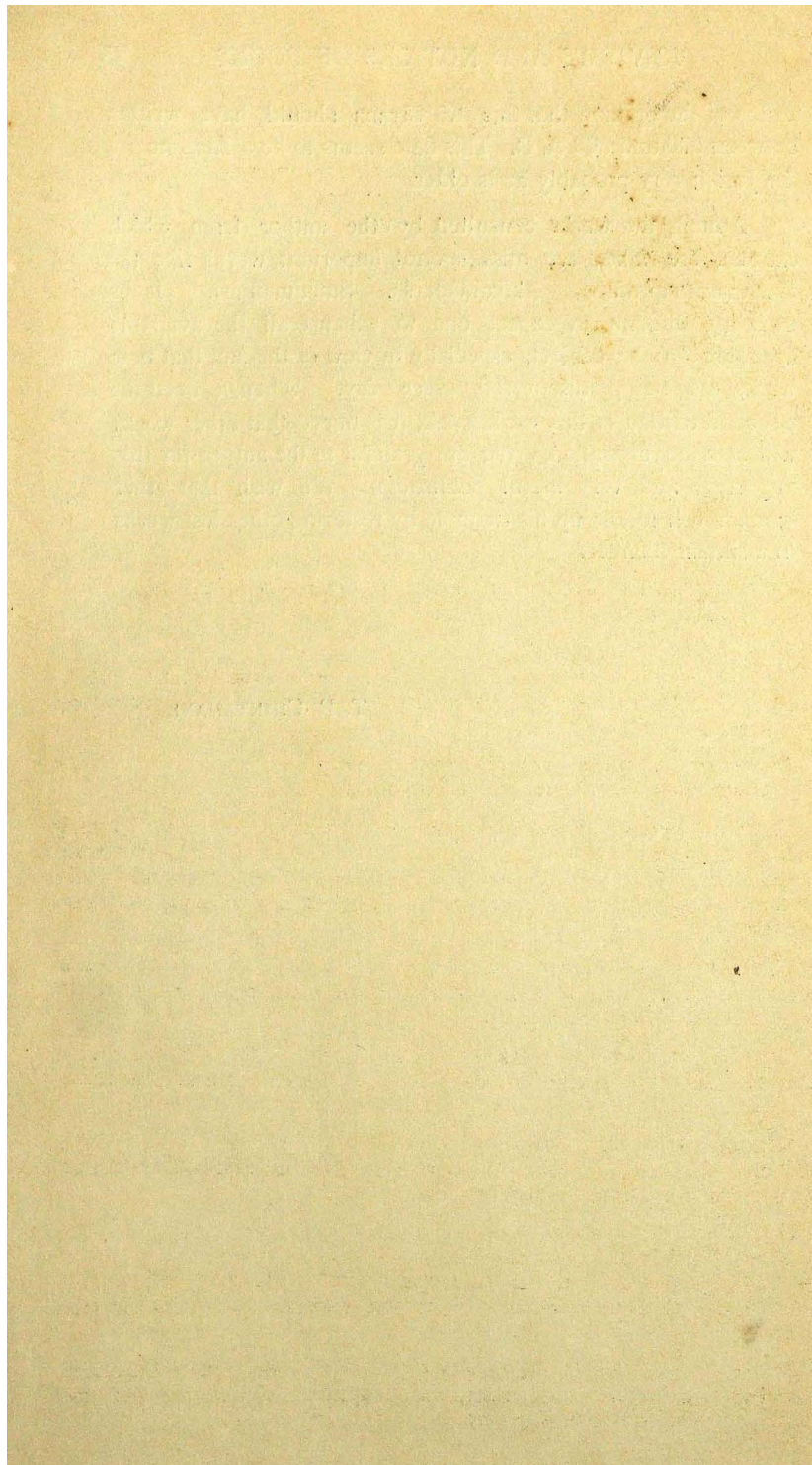
Kātyāyana was an eminent jurist and he has been referred to with reverence as an authority on the several branches of Dharmaśāstra by almost all the Nibandhakāras, beginning from Viśvarūpa. The majority of the citations from the lost work of Kātyāyana are from the Vyavahāra section of his work, and they cover almost all aspects of Vyavahāra. Among the topics discussed, that relating to the rights of women is likely to interest the modern reader much more than others. Kātyāyana shows himself to be a great champion of woman's rights to own property and deal with it as she liked. Mr. Kane's comparison of the rules of Kātyāyana with the Institutes of Justinian reveal to what extent the Roman Law is behind those of Kātyāyana. The rules of the latter are found to be more equitable and more logical than those of Justinian.

Regarding the date and identity of Kātyāyana one thing is certain *i.e.* that he is earlier than the oldest nibandhakāra. It is also certain that he is later than Bṛhaspati and Manu for these sages are referred to by name in the extracts that are collected. Mr. Kane wants to make out that he is later than Kauṭilya but this point does not carry conviction. Mr. Kane, distinguishes between the Kātyāyana referred to by Yājñavalkya and the jurist, extracts from whose work, are collected in the work under notice;

and is of the opinion that this Kātyāyana should have written between 300 and 600 A. D. This date seems to be a late one for the Jurist; very probably he is older.

Among the works consulted by the author from which extracts are taken we miss several important works like the Madanaratnapradīpa, Akhaṇḍādarśa, Smṛtimañjarī. It is certainly difficult to expect one to exhaust all the available literature on the subject, especially in view of the fact that new works are being discovered every day. When a need for a second edition of this work is felt, it is hoped that other works will also be consulted. We are grateful to the author for this important and very useful publication. We wish that other scholars will follow up his example by restoring other lost works in a similar manner.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.



THE NUMBER OF RASAS.

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from Vol. X, Pt. I, p. 10.)

II

Bharata certainly mentioned only eight Rasas. He did not give Śānta as the ninth Rasa. The texts on Śānta in certain recensions of Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra must have been interpolated by advocates of Śānta. Abhinava once argues the cause of Śānta on the basis of these Śānta texts available in certain recensions but he advocates its cause more vigorously earlier, quite independent of these Śānta texts in Bharata. Abhinava even gives various arguments to show why Bharata did not speak of it at all. Further, the advocates of Śānta who point out Nirveda or Dhṛti or any other Vyabhicārin already mentioned by Bharata as the Sthāyin of Śānta do so only because they feel that Śānta, its Sthāyin etc., are not given in Bharata; so do they resort to the Dehalīdīpanyāya, Māṅgalya-amāṅgalya etc. to read the Śānta rasa into the text of Bharata. How they do this is discussed in the section on the Sthāyin of Śānta below. Again, if Ānanda who speaks of Śānta had known the Śānta texts of Bharata and had believed in them as genuine parts of Bharata, he would have quoted them in his advocacy of Śānta in Uddyota 3. Ānanda advocates Śānta on his own grounds and holds as its Sthāyin neither Nirveda with all its trifling supports, nor Śama which is given as its Sthāyin in the interpolated Śānta text in Bharata; Ānanda holds as its Sthāyin 'that happiness which is the annihilation of all desires'—तृष्णाक्षयसुख.

“तृष्णानां विषयाणां यः क्षयः सर्वतो निवृत्तिरूपो निरोधः, तदेव सुखम्” Abhinava, Locana.

All the writers who refute Śānta are of opinion that Bharata's text does not know the Śānta rasa. Further, Bharata gives Laya, Svara, Guṇa, Alamkāra, Vṛtti, Vṛtta etc. for the eight

Rasas only in the several sections of his work; Śānta is not mentioned here anywhere. This is part of the objection raised against Śānta by its critics. They say, Bharata has related music and Rasas and has mentioned the Jātyaṅgas suggestive of the several Rasas but does not mention the Śānta here. (*Vide* N. S. XXIX, Śls. 1-4.) We find in the Abhinavabhāratī:

“अनेनैव चाशयेन न शान्ते कश्चन मुनिना जाल्यङ्गको विनियोक्ष्यते ।
तेन जाल्यङ्गकविनियोगाभावात् असत्त्वमिति प्रत्युक्तम् ।”

Gaek. Edn. 1, p. 339.

Abhinava first argues for Śānta not on the basis of Bharata's mention of it, but on the basis of his silence on the subject which Abhinava makes out as more eloquent. This will be explained later. Suffice to point out here that express mention of Śānta is not found in Bharata.

If this is accepted, we can trace the way by which Śānta slowly came to be accepted as a Rasa. We can even explore the possibilities of finding some aspects of Śānta in Bharata's accepted text. Bharata, it must be borne in mind, handles the whole world and analyses human psychology to a great extent and it will be a wonder if he were to be entirely innocent of that part of human activity which is the sphere of the Śāntarasa. The absence of Śānta in theory does not, however, mean the absence of poetry or drama with the quietistic motif. To suppose so would be as foolish as to think that before Rasadhvani was formulated as the soul of poetry, no great poetry existed. As Ānandavardhana points out, the Rasa of the great epic, the Mahābhārata, is Śānta. The Ṛṣi, the fourth Puruṣārtha or Mokṣa, the third and the fourth Āśramas of the Vānaprastha and the Saṁnyāsin—these were already parts and sublime parts of Kāvya such as the Raghuvamśa and Nāṭakas such as the Śākuntala. Bharata, himself a sage, gave the Nāṭyaśāstra to an assemblage of sages. Bharata, therefore, could hardly have lost sight of the Ṛṣis, the forests, Tapas etc. As a matter of fact, Bharata does mention aspects of this Śāntarasa and its attendant conditions.

An emotion is recognised as Rasa if it is sufficiently permanent as an instinct of man, if it is capable of being developed and delineated to its climax with its attendant and accessory feelings and if there are men of that temperament to feel imaginative emotional sympathy at the presentation of that Rasa. Thus are

Śṛṅgāra and the other seven Rasas. So, if Bharata says that drama is of a varied nature in accordance with the varied nature of the world on the one hand and of the spectators on the other, if he says that one drama predominantly develops one Rasa whose appeal is only to those whose hearts are attuned to it and if he says that a certain drama may have its theme or purpose in Śama, it certainly means that Bharata has landed, though unconsciously, on the Śāntarasa. Bharata says and these are surely genuine parts of the text:—

1. कचिद्धर्मः कचित् क्रीडा कचिदर्थः कचित् शमः । I. 106.
2. दुःखार्तानां श्रमार्तानां शोकार्तानां तपस्विनाम् ।
विश्रान्तिजननं काले नाट्यमेतद्विष्यति ॥ I. 115.
3. ब्रह्मर्षीणां च विज्ञेयं नाट्यं वृत्तान्तदर्शनम् । I. 121.

The first given passage is referred to by Abhinava also in connection with the discussion on the admissibility of Śānta as a Rasa and by drawing attention to this bit—कचिच्छमः; Abhinava asks whether Bharata did not recognise the quietistic element also as part of dramatic presentation:

“प्रतीयत एवेति मुनिनाप्यङ्गीक्रियत एव ‘कचिच्छमः’ इत्यादि वदता ।”

Abhinava, Locana, p. 177.

Another instance of Bharata's awareness of the element of Śānta is pointed out by Abhinava. It is similar to the second passage extracted above. It refers to such spectators as are bereft of life's passions—Vitarāgas—to whom only dramas of a nature in harmony with theirs and dramas depicting the Mokṣa puruṣārtha can have any appeal. While pointing out in Ch. XXVII that the very life of drama is its fusion with the audience and that certain hearts can respond only to certain themes, Bharata says:

तुष्यन्ति तरुणाः कामे विदग्धाः समयाश्रिते ।

अर्थेष्वर्थपराश्चैव मोक्षेष्वथ विरागिणः ॥ XXVII. 59, Kāśī Edn.

Says Abhinava in regard to this passage:

“हृदयसंवादोऽपि तथाविधतत्त्वज्ञानबीजसंस्कारभावितानां भवत्येव, यद्वक्ष्यति ‘मोक्षे चापि विरागिणः’ इति” । Gaek. Edn. I., p. 340.

Further, Bharata speaks of a Kāma for each Puruṣārtha in Ch. XXIV and mentions here the variety called Mokṣa Kāma. What does this mean ?

धर्मकामोऽर्थकामश्च मोक्षकामस्तथैव च ।

स्त्रीपुंसयोस्तु संयोगो यः, कामः स तु संस्मृतः ॥ XXIV. 91.

The Śāntarasa is only Mokṣa Kāma. Compare the Mahābhārata, Āśva. parvan, Ch. XIII. 16, where Kāma says of himself :

यो मां प्रयतते हन्तुं मोक्षमास्थाय पण्डितः ।

तस्य मोक्षरतिस्थस्य नृत्यामि च हसामि च ॥

Again, what does Bharata mean by giving great scope for Dharma as an important theme handled in drama, by saying that drama is Dharmya, by mentioning Dharma as the purpose of some dramas, कचिद् धर्मः, by speaking of Dharma Śṛṅgāra and by pointing out that the old, the learned and the experienced respond to such drama as Dharmākhyānapurāṇa which comes under the Vibhāvānubhāva of the Śānta ?

धर्माख्यानपुराणेषु वृद्धास्तुष्यन्ति नित्यशः । XXVII, 61.

While describing Nirveda¹, Bharata speaks of one kind of it that is born of Tattvajñāna; giving the causes of Glāni, he speaks of Taponiyama; defining Dhṛti², Bharata gives Vijñāna, Śruti, Śaucācāra and Gurubhakti as some of its Vibhāvas and these pertain to Śānta; Mati is given as born of Nānāśāstravicintana. If the quietistic element is not recognised even in some aspect by him, Bharata cannot say of Nāṭya that it is Trailokyānukaraṇa, that there is no Jñāna which is not part of drama and no Vidyā which does not come within it: न तत् ज्ञानम् etc. I. 117.

The instances above shown point only to the recognition of Śāma as an element and they do not mean Bharata's acceptance of the Śānta as a Rasa. To be precise, Śāma is not mentioned as one of the forty-nine Bhāvas. Bharata did not have before him any specimen of drama written only for Mokṣa and Virāgins. It may be that there cannot also be dramas having only Bhayānaka, Adbhuta etc. as their Rasa. These can appear only as Aṅga or Sañcārirasas. But the reason for the acceptance of Bhayānaka, Adbhuta, Bibhatsa etc. as Rasas is that humanity is more liable to these than to Śāma, hearts attuned to which must necessarily be very small in number. Śāma is almost impossible. For, the opponents of Śānta say, Ignorance, Avidyā,

1. Some hold this Nirveda as the Sthāyin of Śānta.

2. Bhoja holds this Dhṛti as the Sthāyin of Śānta in his S. K. Ā. V. 23 and also pp. 514-5.

producing Rāga and Dveṣa which result in a network of psychology covered by the eight Sthāyins, is inborn in man ever since he began his migration in Saṁsāra and practically speaking this Avidyā cannot be rooted out. That is, Śama which is their absence cannot be obtained. The Avaloka on the Daśarūpaka says:

“अन्ये तु वस्तुतस्तस्याभावं वर्णयन्ति । अनादिकालप्रवाहायातराग-
द्वेषयोरुच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वात् ।” p. 117.

This, however, is not wholly true for there is not any lack of persons who take to Śama and strive to root out Rāga and Dveṣa. But this criticism against Śānta is pertinent to some extent in regard to drama generally which is for pleasure and which deals with worldly things. Drama arose as an entertainment: क्रीडनीयकमिच्छामो दृश्यं श्रव्यं च यद् भवेत् । Bharata often says that Nāṭya is Vinodajanana. Bhāmaha also says that though the Mahākāvya depicts all the four Puruṣārthas, it shall predominantly inculcate only Artha.

मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणाजिनायकाभ्युदयैश्च यत् ।

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चतुर्वर्गाभिधानेऽपि भूयसार्थोपदेशकृत् ॥ K. A. I. 20—21.

Abhinava draws our attention in this connection to Bharata's definition of Nāṭaka which emphasises the fact that it shall depict chiefly worldly prosperity, gaiety etc. From this point of view, Abhinava even says that Śānta is after all only Apradhāna, not the leading motif.

“अत एव शान्तस्य स्थायित्वेऽप्यप्राधान्यम् । जीमूतवाहने
त्रिवर्गसम्पत्तेरेव परोपकृतिप्रधानायाः फलत्वात् । अनेनैवाशयेन नाटकलक्षणे
वक्ष्यते ‘ऋद्विविलासादिभिर्गुणैः (N. S. XX. 11.)’ इति । अनेन हि
ऋद्विविलासप्रधानमर्थकामोत्तरं सर्वं चरितं सकललोकहृदयसंवादसुन्दरप्रयोजनं
नाटके निवेशयितव्यमित्युक्तम् । एतच्च तत्रैव वर्णयिष्यामः ।” Gaek. Edn. I,
p. 339.

Therefore it is that the Candrikākāra, the earlier commentator on the Dhva. Ā., says that the Śānta spoken of by Ānanda is certainly admissible as a Rasa, but that it can appear only as an Aṅgarasa in the Prāsaṅgika Itivṛtta and never as the chief Rasa figuring in the Ādhikārika Itivṛtta. Evidently, the Candrikākāra also held the view that Vira and Śṛṅgāra are the Rasas in the Nāgānanda in accordance with the ending in the attainment of

Vidyādhara cakravartitva and the sustained love-theme, and that the Śānta came in as a subsidiary idea to give a new variety of Vīra called Dayāvīra. Abhinava, however, rejects this view of the Candrikā in his Locana.

“आधिकारिकत्वेन तु शान्ते रसो [रसो न] निबद्धव्य इति चन्द्रिकाकारः ।

तच्चेहास्माभिर्न पर्यालोचितम् ।” Locana, p. 178.

But the above given extract from the Abhi. Bhā. seems to grant what Abhinava has criticised in his own Locana. He seems to grant that it is literature of Trivarga-interest that is of wide appeal in the world. Early dramas likewise dealt with Trivarga and the eight Rasas only.

But soon drama was to be made the noble vehicle of spiritual and religious instruction to the masses. Leaving the Brahminic Mahābhārata, we find Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarananda starting the religious kāvya, and his Śāriputraprakaraṇa and the allegorical dramatic fragment discovered by Dr. Luders, the religious drama. The Buddhistic and Jain poets and dramatists might have been responsible for the introduction of philosophical poems¹ and plays, for making Śānta the Aṅgīrasa of the Ādhi-

1. (a) The Saundarananda has two verses in the end in which Aśvaghoṣa says that he wrote a Mahākāvya for Upaśānti and Mokṣa, mixing a Tikta-medicine with Madhu.

इत्येषा व्युपशान्तये न रतये मोक्षार्थगर्भाकृतिः

श्रोतॄणां ग्रहणार्थमन्यमनसां काव्योपचारात्कृता ।

यन्मोक्षात्कृतमन्यदत्र हि मया तत्काव्यधर्माकृतं

पातुं तिक्तमिवौषधं मधुयुतं हृद्यं कथं स्यादिति ॥

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काव्यव्याजेन तत्त्वं कथितमिह मया मोक्षपरमिति ।

(b) The Jain work, the Vastuvijñānaratnakośa, is a handbook of knowledge of miscellaneous things enumerated in sets of one, two etc. (Peterson's Report III. Oxford. 352a. IO, Keith 7583-4, Asiatic Soc. Beng. 4703 A). Of uncertain date, this work mentions Turuṣkas in the 36 Rājavarṇas given by it. Albeit its Jain authorship, it gives only Eight Rasas,—अष्टौ रसाः (Peterson III. p. 268a).

(c) There is a Jain work named Adhyātmakalpadruma by Munisundarasūri (end of the 14th and early part of the 15th cent. A.D.), which is otherwise called Śāntarasabhāvanā. (Ed. Nirṇaya-sāgar, 1906, with extracts from Dharmavijayagaṇi's gloss). The

kārika itivṛtta. We know that there were Buddhistic writers on Nāṭya like Rāhula, who as citations of his views in the Abhinavabhāratī show, had his own differences from Bharata. Further, a Jain work, placed in the fifth century, mentions nine Rasas, adding the Praśāntarasa to the eight old Rasas. Dr. S. K. De says in his Skr. Poetics (Vol. I, p. 36 f.n.): "The Jaina Anuogadāra Sutta (ed. N. S. P. 1915, fol. 134-5, also quoted in Weber ii, 2, pp. 701-2) which, Winternitz thinks, was probably put together by the middle of the fifth century, mentions nine Rasas, which, however, have hardly any reference (?) to poetic or dramatic Rasas; but the enumeration is interesting from the inclusion of Praśānta (not mentioned by Bharata) apparently from religious motives."

The Nāgānanda, the first and only specimen to which the early advocates of Śānta cling is a Buddhistic story. Śrīharṣa had leanings towards Buddhism and if this king Śrīharṣa is the same as the Vārtikakāra of the Nāṭyaśāstra quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī (which, however, is yet quite unproven), it is likely that his Nāṭya Vārttika which must have made उक्त-अनुक्त-दुरुक्चिन्तन, introduced the Śānta as a Rasa. It seems very likely that it is the appearance of the Nāgānanda in the world of drama that created a stir and set the discussion on Śānta on its feet in works on Nāṭya and Alamkāra.

What are the objections raised by the critics of Śānta against recognising it as a Rasa? The first objection is that Bharata did not speak of it. This is really no serious objection. The greater objection is that pertaining to the real nature of Śānta itself. Śānta, its critics say, is the total absence of all feelings and activities. Such a state of non-action cannot be presented on the stage.

“कामाद्यभावोऽपि नानुभावः * * * प्रयोगासमवायित्वाच्च ।
न हि चेष्टाव्युपरमः प्रयोगयोग्यः ।” Abhi. Bhā., p. 334.

This argument proceeds on a wrong assumption. The state of absolute cessation of action is only the climax, the Paryanta-bhūmi, and this certainly cannot be shown. But the Paryanta-

work says in the Pratijñāśloka that Śānta is proposed to be treated in the work and in the next verse which is titled 'Śāntarasamāhātmya', the author describes the Śānta as *Rasendra*. The commentary describes the Śānta as "Śrīmān Śāntanāmā Rasādhirājah" and "Sarvarasasūra".

bhūmis of all other Rasas also sail in the same boat. Śṛṅgāra is not denied as a Rasa because Samprayoga is unfit to be shown on the stage. So also murder and Raudra. So, the acceptance of Śānta does not mean the attempt to present the impossible cessation of action but means only the portrayal of an ardent spirit in search of truth and tranquillity. The manifold efforts of the Yata māna, his trials, his victories over passions—these can be portrayed with great interest. Even one who has attained truth can be shown and there will be no lack of action in him. A Siddha like Janaka will be doing Lokasaṅgraha. The Gītā says:

कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्तः चिकीर्षुर्लोकसङ्ग्रहम् । III. 25.

The Gītā speaks of a many a thing which a Sthitaprajña does.

That Bharata has not given the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhicārins of Śānta, as also its appropriate Vṛtti, musical Jāti etc. is another trifling objection. These can be easily made out. Abhinava gives them. The interpolated Śānta text in Bharata gives the Vibhāvas etc. of Śānta. The Sthāyin of Śānta is elaborately discussed in a special section below. Its Vibhāvas are given in the text as Tattvajñāna, Vairāgya, Āśayaśuddhi etc. Its Anubhāvas are Yama, Niyama, the practice of virtues, penance etc. Almost all Bhāvas can be its Vyabhicārins. Abhinava adds the Vibhāvas, साधुसमागम, सत्संपर्क, the good done in the past births, God's grace, study of philosophy etc. Abhinava further remarks that in Śānta one can see and enjoy the Anubhāvas, viz., the slow disappearance of Kāma, Krodha and other evils and that though the whole world of Bhāvas becomes Vyabhicārīn for the Śānta, such Bhāvas like Nirveda and Jugupsā for worldly objects, Dhṛti, Mati, Utsāha of the type in Dayāvīra, Rati for God in the form of Bhakti and Śraddhā will stand out prominently as more intimate accessories, Ābhyantara Aṅgas.¹ The text of the Abhinavabhāratī bearing on these is edited in a further section of this paper.

The next objection against Śānta is the impossibility of Śānta becoming a general feature of humanity in the same

1. In Ch. 6 (pp. 135-6) Sāradātanaya again treats of Śānta, in a clumsy manner. First he praises it as the Rasa which gives Mokṣa and gives its Vibhāvas etc. Then he says that it has not got Vibhāvas etc. to a full extent, is Vikalāṅga; but concludes that despite its imperfections, it is Prakṛṣṭa because of its relation with the fourth Puruṣārtha of Mokṣa.

measure and to the same extent as Rati etc. for the whole world is wrapped in Avidyā and is eternally slave to Rāga and Dveṣa. We know of the eight Sthāyins only as instinctive in man. Dhṛti, Mati etc. are given as Vyabhicārins in Śānta but we do not know of Dhṛti or Mati helping Śāma. All the Dhṛti and Mati known to us is mingled with Rāga and Dveṣa and other mundane associations.

धृतिप्रभृतिरपि प्राप्तविषयोपरागः कथं शान्ते स्यात् ।

Abhi. Bhā., p. 334.

Nor is the portrayal of non-action any good for Vyutpatti. The mere presentation of non-action does not educate anybody in the means to attain knowledge of Truth.

न च अकिञ्चित्करत्वमात्रेण तत्त्वज्ञानोपाये व्युत्पाद्यन्ते विनेयाः ।

Ibid, p. 334.

The quietistic element is not a dominant factor in man's life. If a poet develops it, it will become strange and unbelievable that there are really such impossible men who have spurned the pleasures of the world, women, position, wealth etc. The general mass of the audience is mostly of ordinary men who will hardly respond to such a drama or have any Cittasānvāda in it. The Avaloka on the Daśarūpaka says:

‘अन्ये तु वस्तुतस्तस्य अभावं वर्णयन्ति । अनादिकालप्रवाहायातराग-
द्वेषयोरुच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वात् ’ । D. R. A., p. 117.

‘न च तथाभूतस्य शान्तरसस्य सहृदयाः स्वादयितारः सन्ति ।

Ibid, p. 124.

All these objections are raised and answered by Ānandavardhana:

‘यदि नाम सर्वजनानुभवगोचरता तस्य नास्ति, नैतावतासौ अलोक-
सामान्यमहानुभावचित्तवृत्तिवत् प्रतिक्षेप्तुं शक्यः । Dhva. Ā., p. 177.

That the major part of humanity is wallowing in mundane pleasures does not disprove the existence of saints and sages. There are persons of spiritualistic bent and to them the Śānta play is bound to appeal. To them, the Śṛṅgāra and Vīra plays will have little appeal. Surely, on that ground, Śṛṅgāra and Vīra are not dismissed from the fold of Rasas.

“ननु तत्र हृदयसंवादाभावाद्रस्यमानतैव नोपपन्ना । क एवमाह
नास्तीति ? यतः प्रतीयत एवेत्युक्तम् । ननु प्रतीयते, सर्वस्य श्लाघास्पदं
न भवति । तर्हि वीतरागाणां शृङ्गारो न श्लाघ्य इति सोऽपि रसाच्चयवतामिति
तदाह—यदि नामेति ।” Locana, p. 177.

The argument of the impossibility of non-action being shown has already been refuted.

An extension of the argument that the *Śānta* is not relishable is the argument that drama which is essentially for entertainment and *Trivargavyutpatti* must depict *Ṛddhi*, *Vilāsa* etc. So have all dramas done. There are no plays which have developed *Śānta*. The *Nāgānanda*, which some hold as a *Śānta* play, is plainly not so. For the end here is not *Mokṣa*, but the attaining of lordship over the *Vidyādhara*s; and all through, the love-theme runs and this is the first thing antagonistic to *Śānta*. Therefore *Vīra* and *Śṛṅgāra*, the former as *Dayāvīra*, stand out prominently in the *Nāgānanda*.

“यत्तु कैश्चिन्नागानन्दादौ शमस्य स्थायित्वमुपवर्णितम्, तत्तु मलय-
वत्यनुरागेण आप्रबन्धप्रवृत्तेन विद्याधरचक्रवर्तित्वप्राप्त्या विरुद्धम् । न
ह्येकानुकार्यविभावाम्बनौ विषयानुरागापरागावुपलब्धौ । अतो दयावीरोत्साह-
स्यात्र स्थायित्वम् । तत्रैव शृङ्गारस्य अङ्गत्वेन चक्रवर्तित्वादेष्व
फलत्वेन अविरोधात् ईप्सितमेव च सर्वत्र कर्तव्यमिति परोपकारप्रवृत्तस्य
विजिगीषोः नान्तरीयकत्वेन फलं संपद्यत इति आवेदितमेव प्राक् ।

D. R. Avaloka, p. 117.

All the arguments given above cannot disprove the possibility of *Śānta* as a *Rasa* capable of relish by spectators. It is bound to be uncommon; all the same, it is as true as the inner experience and the higher life of the mystic which is not in common with the life of ordinary worldly men. If *Śānta* is not only a part of the world but a glorious part of it also, it should also be so of the drama. *Abhinava* says that literature, poetry and drama, cannot restrict itself to the *Trivarga* only but must get ennobled by embracing the fourth and the greatest *Puruṣārtha* also, *Mokṣa*. The attitude to *Mokṣa* is *Śānta* and *Śānta* is the *Rasa* of the drama which depicts the endeavour to attain that.

“अत्रोच्यते—यथा इह तावत् धर्मादित्रितयम्, एवं मोक्षोऽपि
पुरुषार्थः, शास्त्रेषु स्मृतीतिहासादिषु च प्राधान्येन उपायतो व्युत्पाद्यत
इति सुप्रसिद्धम् । यथा च कामादिषु समुचिताश्चित्तवृत्तयो रत्यादि-
शब्दवाच्याः कविनटव्यापारेण आस्वादयोग्यताप्रापणद्वारेण तथाविधद्वय-
संवादवतः सामाजिकान् प्रति रसत्वं शृङ्गारादितया नीयन्ते, तथा मोक्षाभि-
धानपरमपुरुषार्थोचिता चित्तवृत्तिः किमिति रसत्वं नानीयत इति
वक्तव्यम् ।” *Abhi. Bhā., I, Gaek. Edn., p. 334.*

To say that it is impossible to exterminate Rāga and Dveṣa is to insult humanity, its heritage of philosophy and the long chain of its spiritual leaders. Surely there are men of that mind which can respond to a Śānta drama. That hedonists are not able to sit through it cannot disprove Śānta. It will be a pity if literature or drama in particular cannot rise beyond the level of mere entertainment and gaiety. It has been accepted that all cannot respond to all Rasas. Surely Bhayānaka will not raise sympathy in a heroic spirit. Bharata himself gives the respective characters—Prakṛtis—who respond to the different Rasas. Bhaya and Jugupsā are Nica-prakṛti Bhāvas; Uttama Sāmājikas do not have Cittasāmhvāda on seeing them. If Viṭas delight in Śṛṅgāra, Vīta-rāgas delight in Śānta.

“हृदयसंवादोऽपि तथाविधतत्त्वज्ञानबीजसंस्कारभावितानां भवत्येव, यद्वक्ष्यति ‘मोक्षे चापि विरागिणः’ इति । सर्वस्य नैकत्र (or न सर्वत्र) हृदयसंवादः, भयानके वीरप्रकृतेरभावात् ।” Abhi. Bhā., I, p. 340, Gaek.

And Bharata also says:

[edn.]

‘न चैते गुणाः सर्वे एकस्मिन् प्रेक्षके स्मृताः ।

* * * *

उत्तमाधममध्यानां संकीर्णानां तु संसदि ।

न शक्यमधमैर्ज्ञातुमुत्तमानां विचेष्टितम् ॥

* * * *

तुष्यन्ति तरुणाः कामे विदग्धाः समयाश्रिते ।

अर्थेष्वर्थपराश्चैव मोक्षेष्वथ विरागिणः ॥

नानाशीलाः प्रकृतयः शीले नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

* * * *

शूरा बीभत्सरौद्रेषु नियुद्धेष्वहवेषु च ।

एवं भावानुकरणैर्यो यस्मिन् प्रविशेन्नरः ।

प्रेक्षकः स तु मन्तव्यो गुणैरेतैरलङ्कृतः ॥ N. S. XXVII. 56-62.

There is a continuous chain of literature that depicts the supreme Rasa of Śānta. In Kāvya, Ānanda argues in Ud. IV. that the Mahābhārata leads as the great epic of Śānta. All the vicissitudes of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas are only the Vācyavācaka, the Pūrvapakṣa, of which the purpose is the suggestion of the fact that Śānta is the greatest for which man

should strive.¹ The utter uselessness of even the great victory at Kurukṣetra, not to mention other worldly victories, is very well brought out by the epic. By the annihilation of even the race of Kṛṣṇa and by postulating Kṛṣṇa as the central personality, as the pivot of the plot, by calling the epic Nārāyaṇakathā, sage Vyāsa has made his message plain. The genius of Vyāsa would not have attempted at anything lower than this.² If one finds relish and importance in the subsidiary themes of marriage, dice, suffering, fight, it does not prevent another reader of nobler instincts and mystic disposition seeing through these, and deduc-

1. *Vide*, The Message of the Mahābhārata, V. Rāghavan, The Mahābhārata, G. A. Natesan & Sons, Madras.

2. The following ideas and passages in the epic may be considered in this connection:

(a) In the first Adhyāya of the Anukramaṇikāparvan, the epic salutes Dharma and Kṛṣṇa, its promulgator and sustainer, and says that it shall speak of the eternal Dharmas. If a work is a Dharmaśāstra in Vācyavācaka, it is a Mokṣa śāstra in Dhvani.

नमो धर्माय महते नमः कृष्णाय वेधसे ।

ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नमस्कृत्य धर्मान् वक्ष्यामि शाश्वतान् ॥ Śl. 3.

(b) In Śl. 32 of the same ch. Sauti says that the Bhārata is the story of the Lord Himself: यस्य प्रसादाद्वक्ष्यामि नारायणकथामिमाम् ।

(c) While giving the essential ideas of the great epic, it is said that the epic depicts the greatness of the Lord: वासुदेवस्य माहात्म्यम् * * उक्तवान् भगवानृषिः ।

(d) युधिष्ठिरो धर्ममयो महाद्रुमः * *

मूलं कृष्णो ब्रह्म च ब्राह्मणाश्च ॥

(e) In Śls. 104-8 in which the epic is described as a tree, it is said in Śl. 106 that the great fruit of this tree is the Śānti-parvan: 'शान्तिपर्वमहाफलः'.

(f) At the end of the Anukramaṇikāparvan, Dhṛtarāṣṭra who is grieved at the loss of his sons is consoled by Sañjaya who has a hymn on Kāla, the all-devouring Kāla, on hearing which the old King got Dhṛti.

धृतराष्ट्रोऽपि तच्छ्रुत्वा धृतिमेव समाश्रयत् ।

दिष्ट्येदमागतमिति मत्वा स प्राज्ञसत्तमः ॥ 278.

Immediately after this, the Bhārata is described as Upaniṣad:

अत्रोपनिषदं पुण्यां कृष्णद्वैपायनोऽब्रवीत् ॥ 279.

ing the greatness of the Lord, of Dharma, Śama and Mokṣa. To write in such a perfect manner as to give Viśrānti for the readers in the Sañcāri-rasas and Sañcāri-themes also is not only not incompatible but is in perfect harmony with the chief Rasa and

(g) In Śl. 291, the Bhārata is likened to the Āraṇyakas among the Vedas.

(h) In Śls. 35-36, in the Parvasaṅgrahaparvan, it is said that the wise seek the Bhārata, even as Vairāgya is sought by those who desire liberation; and that it is like Ātman among things one must realise:

विचित्रार्थपदाख्यानमनेकसमयान्वितम् ।

प्रतिपन्नं नरैः प्राज्ञैर्वैराग्यमिव मोक्षिभिः ॥

आत्मेव वेदितव्येषु * * श्रेष्ठः सर्वागमेष्वयम् ॥ 35-36.

(i) At the end of the Parvasaṅgrahaparvan and at the end of the Mahāprasthānika, Dharma is sung as the supreme good, not either Artha, or Kāma. (I. ii, 392. and XVIII, v. 76-7.)

(j) Ch. 62. Ādi.

अस्मिन्नर्थश्च कामश्च निखिलेनोपदेक्ष्यते ।

इतिहासे महापुण्ये बुद्धिश्च परिनैष्ठिकी ॥ 19.

धर्मशास्त्रमिदं पुण्यमर्थशास्त्रमिदं परम् ।

मोक्षशास्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनामितबुद्धिना ॥ 25.

धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।

यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न कुत्रचित् ॥ 26.

(k) Both in the beginning and end, all-devouring Kāla is sung of. (I. i. 272-275 and XVI. ix. 36-40.) This is for Vairāgya.

(l) The triumph of Time, the vanity of earthly glories and the inevitable Nirveda are given in a masterly manner when the great archer, Arjuna tried and tried but could not use his bow when before his very eyes the Yādava women were lifted by the Dasyus and Ābhīras:

ददर्शापदि कृष्टायां गाण्डीवस्य पराभवम् ।

सर्वेषां चैव दिव्यानामस्त्राणामप्रसन्नताम् ॥

नाशं वृष्णि कलत्राणां प्रभावाणामनित्यताम् ।

दृष्ट्वा निर्वेदमापन्नो व्यासवाक्यप्रचोदितः ॥

धर्मराजं समासाद्य सन्न्यासं समरोचयत् ॥ 361—3.

In the second of his introductory verses in his commentary on the Gītā, Abhinavagupta says that the chief fruit of the epic of Vyāsa is Mokṣa, and that Dharma etc. are for its development.

chief idea. *Vide* Dhva. Ā.Ud. IV, p. 238. Also Abhinava in his Abhi. Bhā.:

‘दृष्टः अङ्गेष्वपि विश्रान्ति लाभः, स्वभावौचित्यात्, यथा रामस्य वीराङ्गे पितुराज्ञां पालयतः ।’ Gaek. I, p. 339.1

Among dramas, Aśvaghōṣa's seem to be the earliest to have Śānta as their dominant Rasa. His Śārīputraprakaraṇa deals with the conversion of the hero to the Buddhistic faith and another of the dramatic fragments discovered by Dr. Leuders is an allegorical spiritual drama. Long after this, after the time of Ānanda, and about the time of Abhinava, Kṛṣṇamiśra (c. 1098) wrote his Advaita allegory, the Prabodhacandrodaya, which inaugurated a regular category of philosophical and allegorical plays. The following plays of this class were produced in different parts of the country, to propagate the several schools of philosophical and religious thought:—

1. Moharājaparājaya, Jain. Yaśaḥpāla. (c. 1229-32). Gaek. IX.
2. Amṛtodaya. Nyāya. Gokulanātha. Kāvya-mālā.
3. Saṅkalpasūryodaya. Viśiṣṭādvaita. Venkaṭanātha. 14th cent.
4. Caitanyacandrodaya. Caitanya. Kavikarṇapūra. Kāvya-mālā.
5. Vidyāpariṇayana. Advaita. Ānandarāya. Kāvya-mālā².

द्वैपायनेन मुनिना यदिदं व्यधायि

शास्त्रं सहस्रशतसंमितमत्र मोक्षः ।

प्राधान्यतः फलतया प्रथितस्तदन्य-

धर्मादि तस्य परिपोषयितुं प्रणीतम् ॥

1. The author of the Bhāgavata, in his criticism of the Bhārata, says that in the Great Epic, Vyāsa had described ‘Pravṛtti’ (as Pūrvapakṣa) so much and so well, that man who is by nature attached to it, has mistaken the Pūrvapakṣa itself for the Siddhānta.

जुगुप्सितं धर्मकृतेऽनुशासतः

स्वभाववक्तव्यं महान् व्यतिक्रमः ।

यद्वाक्यतो धर्म इतीतरः स्थितो

न मन्यते तस्य निवारणं जनः ॥ I. 5. 15.

2. This author wrote an Āyurveda allegory called Jivānan-dana, (Kāvya-mālā) in which Religion also figures.

6. Dharmavijaya. Śuklabhūdeva. Ed. Bombay. MSS. in many catalogues. For com. on this, see Peterson, IV. p. 27.

7. Bhāvanāpuruṣottama. Advaita. Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa-dīkṣita, father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi dīkṣita.

PPS. Tanjore new cat. Nos. 4427-4429.

8. Muktipariṇaya. Sundaradeva.

PPS. 4460. NW Provinces cat. Pt. VII, p. 46.

9. Pracaṇḍarāhūdaya. Ghanaśyāma.¹

PPS. 4388.

10. Jīvanmuktikalyāṇa. Nallādīkṣita. Advaita. Mysore I, p. 276. p. 637. Adyar II, p. 27b. IO Keith. pp. 1224-5.

11. Cittavṛttikalyāṇa. Nallādīkṣita.² Mentioned by him in his Jīvanmuktikalyāṇa. IO Keith. p. 1225a.

12. Siddhāntabherināṭaka. Viśiṣṭādvaita (?). Sudarśa-nācārya. Mysore I., p. 286.

13. Anumitipariṇaya: marriage between Anumiti, daughter of Parāmarśa and Nyāyarasika; by Nṛsimhakavi of Triplicane, Madras. Though of interest to the writer of this article, writing from Triplicane, this play is of little philosophical interest; it is a logic-play, तर्कनाटक.

MDSC.³ 12463.

14. Vivekavijaya, the triumph of Viveka over passions by Rāmānuja Kavi, son of Pūrṇaguru and grandson of Rāmānuja guru, of Śrīperumbudur near Madras.

MDSC. 12683-4. Adyar II, p. 30b.

15. Bhaktivaibhavanāṭaka, on Kṛṣṇabhakti; by Rājaguru Vāhinīpati Mm. Jivadeva, son of Trilocanācārya, of Puri, patronised by King Pratāparudradeva.

1. A strange dramatic composition of his is the Navagraha-carita. PPS. 4689.

PPS. Vol. XIX, p. 55. Kalitāṇḍavanāṭaka may be a philosophical or religious drama.

2. Dr. Keith's remark on p. 1225a of his IO catalogue and on p. 1695b, Index, that Mallādīkṣita is the correct name and 'Nallā-' is incorrect, is wrong. The name of this wellknown South Indian author is Nallādīkṣita.

3. MDSC=Descriptive cats. of the Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library.

MTSC=Triennial cats. of the Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library.

MTSC. 3752.

16. Mithyājñānakhaṇḍana, a short allegorical play in one act; by Ravidāsa. IO. 4200. Bombay Branch R. A. S. 1289-90 and many other catalogues also.

17. Mudritakumudacandra, a dramatisation of a philosophical debate; by Yaśaścandra.

Bombay Branch R. A. S. 1292.

18. Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya, on the union of Ānandapakvavallī and King Daśāśva (lord of the ten senses, *i.e.*, Ātman); by Jātavedas of Viśvāmitra gotra. The author later became an ascetic.

MDSC. 12540-1.

There are 2 copies of a commentary on this drama in the Travancore list of MSS. Collected in 1103 Kollam.

19. Jñānamudrāṇāṭaka.

Adyar II. p. 28a.

20. Prabodhodayanāṭaka by Śukleśvaranātha. The several systems of philosophy dispute here in a debate in the Court of King Bhagavantarāya.

Mm. Haraprasad Sastry, Notices II Series, Vol. III, No. 190, pp. 122-4.

21. Śivanārāyaṇabhañja mahodayanāṭikā; an allegorical play from Orissa; by Narasiṃha miśra who lived under the patronage of Śiva Nārāyaṇa Bhañja, Rāja of Keujhor. The work ends with Jīvanmukti.

Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, Report on search for Skr. MSS. 1895-1900. Calcutta, published by the Asiatic Soc., Bengal. 1901. p. 18.

22. Jñānasūryodayanāṭaka by Vādicandra; Jain; Hiralal, Centr. Prov. Cat. p. 646. No. 7252. Granthanāmāvali, Ailak Pannalal Digambar Jain Sarasvatī Bhavan, Jhalrapatan, p. 30. Peterson II, 198. III, 401. See Pāthak, J. of the Bom. Br. R.A.S. XVIII, p. 223¹.

23. Mitra, Notices, 1607: Tārābhaktitarāṅgiṇī contains two allegorical dramatic sequences in which Kali, Dharma, Viveka etc. figure as characters. The work as a whole however is not a drama.

1. Akalaṅka's Aṣṭaśatī, commentary on Samantabhadra's Āptamīmāṃsā, is introduced as a female character in this drama.

24. Satsaṅgavijayanāṭaka by Vaijanātha.

Cat. of Sks. MSS in the Private Libs. of Guj., Kath., Kacch, Sind and Khāṇḍeś by Buhler. (II). p. 124. No. 54.

25. Svānubhūtināṭaka. Ms. dated Sam. 1705; by Ananta-panḍita, son of Tryambaka Paṇḍita.

S. R. Bhandarkar II Tour Report of Mss. in Raj. and Centr. India. 1904-6. p. 9.

26. Vivekacandrodayanāṭikā by Śiva.

S. R. Bhandarkar, Deccan Coll. Cat. p. 43. No. 31.

27. Dharmodayanāṭaka composed in 1692 Śaka, A.D. 1770, by Dharmadeva Gosvāmi who composed a Dharmodaya Kāvya also.

Jour. of the Assam Res. Society. III, 4. p. 119.

28. Māyāvijaya by Anantanārāyaṇasūri.

29. Jñānacandrodaya by Padmasundara.

The last two are mentioned on page v. fn. of the English introduction to the Gaekwad edition of the Moharājaparājaya (No. IX).

30. Ṣaṇmatanāṭaka by Jayantabhaṭṭa. Peterson's Report, V. p. 262. No. 437.

31. Tattvamudrābhadrodaya, by Trivenī, a prolific south India Vaiṣṇava Brahmin poetess, daughter of Udayendrapuram Veṅkaṭācārya, author of a Yādavarāghavapāṇḍaviya. She lived between 1817-83 and was the wife of Prativādibhayaṅkaram Veṅkaṭācārya of Śrīperumbudur.

(Dr. M. Kṛṣṇamacharya, M.A. M.L., Ph.D. Skr. Poetesses, pp. 62-63, Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee of the Trivandrum Skr. Series).

Besides there are many late dramas on the lives of the religious leaders, saints and devotees of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Rāmānujācārya's career is dramatised in the Yatirājavijaya or Vedāntavilāsa by Varadācārya of Kāñcī. (MDSC. 12696-12700; PPS. 4486; Mysore I. p. 281; Adyar II. p. 30a). Śivabhaktānandanāṭaka, MTSC. 5092 and 5520, is on the life of one of the Śaivite saints. Such dramas are more truly spiritual; for their portrayal of the religious and spiritual career of such personalities is more effective than the presentation of abstract spiritual ideas as characters on the stage.¹ A love-story evokes love and for this

1. (a) The Bhartṛharinirvedanāṭaka of Harihara (Kāvya-mālā) is a Śānta play of a conception far superior to other speci-

purpose, one does not write a play in which Śṛṅgāra figures as a character with Madhu, Viraha etc. as other characters. Thus dramas on the life of saints and devotees are Śāntarasa plays. Even in dramas on Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva, which are very large in number, there is Bhakti and through it Śānta as the ultimate Rasa, though the drama by itself has a different and definite Rasa in its theme. For, it is devotion to these forms of God that prompted the poets to write and it is devotion that is the result in the hearts of the Sāmājikas. The actual Rasa of the play in such cases will thus be a Rasavat, subordinated to Bhakti and Śānta which form the Paramadhvani.

(To be continued).

mens though the author is somewhat unequal to the theme. The Prastāvanā says that it is a Śānta play and that the Śāntarasa is the only lasting Rasa.

श्रीहरिहरप्रणीतेन भर्तृहरिनिर्वेदनाम्ना शान्तरसप्रधानेन नाटकेन तानुपासितुमीहे ।

शृङ्गारादिरनेकजन्ममरणश्रेणीसमासादितैः

एणीदृक्प्रमुखैः स्वदीपकसखैरालम्बनैरार्जितैः ।

अस्त्येव क्षणिको रसः प्रतिपलं पर्यन्तवैरस्यभूः

ब्रह्माद्वैतसुखात्मकः परमविश्रान्तो हि शान्तो रसः ॥ २ ॥

(b) There is a Śāntarasakhaṇḍakāvya in the Siddhadūta of Avadhūtārāma, (Sam. 1423) (Bom. Br. R.A.S. 1235), an imitation of the Meghadūta. Here, "a Tāpasa is the lover, a Siddha is the Dūta and Vidyā is the beloved."

(c) PPS. 3792. Jñānavilāsakāvya by Jagannātha. "This is an allegorical Kāvya explaining the greatness of Vedānta."

(d) PPS. 3736. Vijñānatarāṅgiṇī by Mahārudrasimha. A Kāvya on the life of Śaṅkaradāsa, a great devotee.

(e) Mysore I. p. 246. Gītavitarāga (2 Mss) by Abhinava Cārukīrtipaṇḍitācārya. This work is called Bāhubalisvami Aṣṭapadī in a ms. in the Jain Mutt at Sravana Belagola. This appears to be a Jain Śānta Rasa imitation of the Gītagovinda of Jayadeva.

SĀYAṆA, MĀDHAVABHAṬṬA AND VENKATAMĀDHAVA

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

In his explanation of RV. 10,86,1, Sāyaṇa has referred to a Mādhava-bhaṭṭa and quoted his words in the following passage:

माधवभट्टास्तु विहि सोतोरीत्येषर्गिन्द्राण्या वाक्यमिति मन्यन्ते । तथा च तद्वचनम् । इन्द्राण्यै कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगोऽदूदुषत् । इन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्तमानः । तत्रेन्द्रमिन्द्राणी वदति । तस्मिन् पक्षे त्वस्या ऋचोऽयमर्थः । सोतोः सोमाभिषवं कर्तुं विह्यसृक्षत । उपरतसोमाभिषवा आसन् यजमाना इत्यर्थः । किं च मम पतिमिन्द्रं देवं नामंसत । स्तोतारो न स्तुवन्ति । कुत्रेति अत्राह । यत्र यस्मिन् देशे पुष्टेषु प्रवृद्धेषु धनेषु अर्यः स्वामी वृषाकपिरमदत् । मत्सखा मत्प्रियश्चेन्द्रो विश्वस्मात् सर्वस्माज्जगत उत्तर उत्कृष्टतरः ॥

This Mādhava-bhaṭṭa was, at first, identified by Geldner, on p. 28 of *Vedische Studien*, Vol. 2 (published in 1897) with Sāyaṇa's elder brother Mādhava (or Mādhavācārya); but in his *RV. Kommentar* (p. 184), published in 1909, Geldner discarded this opinion and expressed his inclination to identify him with the Mādhava-deva who is mentioned by Devarāja on pp. 4, 16 of his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu*¹. According to Satyavrata Sāmaśramin however (footnote on p. 4 of his edition of the *Nighaṇṭu* with commentary) this Mādhava-deva is identical with Mādhava, author of the commentary known as *Vivaraṇa*, on the *Sāma-saṁhitā*; and this opinion is endorsed by Prof. Bhagavad Datta on p. 133 of his *Vaidika Vāṁmayakā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, part 2.

In any case, nothing is known to us about this Mādhava-deva, not even if the *veda-bhāṣya* which Devarāja says was written by him was on the *Ṛksaṁhitā*, *Sāma-saṁhitā* or other

1. In reality, the name *Mādhava-deva* is mentioned by Devarāja on p. 4 only; the name mentioned on p. 16 is *Mādhava* and not *Mādhava-deva*.

Vedic text; and it is, in these circumstances, futile to discuss the question whether this Mādhava-deva is, as suggested by Geldner, identical with the Mādhava-bhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyaṇa.

In the recently-discovered RV. commentary, known as *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, of Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭārya, the explanation of the above verse reads as follows (see L. Sarup's *Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta*, Introd., p. 32);

इन्द्राण्यं कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगः दूदुषमिन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये
वर्तमानस्तत्रेसृक्षाभिषोतुमुपरतामिषवा आसन् यजमाना न च सम
पतिमिन्द्रं देवं स्तुवति दुष्टे यज्ञे यस्मिञ्जनपदे अस्मद्वृषाकपिस्तवपुत्रः
स्वामी पुष्टेषु माद्यत्सु मत्सखायो विश्वस्मान्मम पतिरिन्द्र उक्कृष्टः ।

Allowing for the corruptions contained in the MS, the first sentence of the latter commentary is, evidently, identical with the two sentences of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa cited by Sāyaṇa; and it has therefore been concluded by Prof. Lakshman Sarup (l.c.) and Dr. Kunhan Raja (*Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 236 f.) that the Mādhava-bhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyaṇa is identical with Mādhava author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, and that this commentary is earlier than that of Sāyaṇa. This opinion is endorsed by Pandit Sambasiva Sastri also (see p. 6 of his Introd. in No. 96 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) who, further, identifies with this Mādhava (see p. 5, l.c.) the Mādhavācārya-sūri mentioned by Keśava-svāmin in his *Nānārthhārṇava-samkṣepa*. It is the belief of this scholar and of Prof. Bhagavad-Datta also (*op. cit.*, p. 26) that the author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* lived in the 12th century A. D., while Prof. Sarup (*op. cit.*, p. 34) and Dr. Raja (l. c.) incline to the view that he lived in the 9th or 10th century A. D.

This identification of the RV. commentator Mādhava-bhaṭṭa with Mādhava, author of *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, is plainly erroneous. The name of the former is given as Mādhava-bhaṭṭa by Sāyaṇa while the name of the latter appears as Mādhavācārya in the colophon (*iti śrī-Veṅkaṭārya-sūnunā Mādhavācāryeṇa kṛtam ṛg-veda-bhāṣyaṃ samāptam*) given at the end of the work (see L. Sarup, *op. cit.*, p. 54), as Veṅkaṭa-mādhavārya in the colophon (*iti śrī-Veṅkaṭa-mādhavārya-viracite Ṛk-saṃhitā-vyākhyāne prathamē prathamodhyāyaḥ*) printed at the end of the 1st Adhyāya in the Trivandrum edition, and as Mādhavārya in the colophon (*iti śrī-Mādhavārya-viracita Ṛgarthadīpikāprathamā-*

ṣṭakāḥ samāptāḥ) that is found at the end of the 1st Aṣṭaka¹ in the Mysore Oriental Library manuscript. A comparison of the last two colophons shows that the author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* spoke of himself as Mādhavārya, and there can be therefore no doubt that the reading *Mādhavācāryeṇa* found in the Lahore MS at the end of the work is a corruption of the original reading *Mādhavāryeṇa*.² In any case, the identification of this Mādhavārya or Mādhavācārya with Mādhava-bhaṭṭa is as illegitimate as the identification of Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Dīpikā* commentary on the *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad* with Nārāyaṇāśramin who too has written a commentary³ on that Upaniṣad. If Sāyaṇa had wanted to refer to the author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, he would have, without

1. Similar colophons are, probably, given at the end of Aṣṭakas II-VII also.

2. Similarly, there is no doubt that the reading *Veṇkaṭācārya-tanayasya* on p. 4 of Satyavrata Sāmaśramin's edition of Deva-rāja's commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu* is likewise a corruption of the original reading *Veṇkaṭārya-tanayasya*. Compare in this connection the colophons at the end of the Adhyāyas reproduced by Prof. Sarup on p. 41 ff. *op. cit.* The name of Veṇkaṭa, father of Mādhavārya, occurs, uncompounded with *ātma* and *suta*, in the colophons of seven Adhyāyas (Adh. 8, 10, 16, 24, 40, 48 and 56), and always as *Veṇkaṭārya*.

It may be noted that the name of Mādhavārya's paternal grandfather Mādhava, too, appears in the colophons of 2 Adhyāyas (Adh. 10, 32), and on both occasions, as Mādhavārya.

Moreover, I feel very doubtful if the word *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* was really used by Mādhavārya in his work. As will be seen below, Mādhavārya holds that there is only one commentary on the *Ṛk-saṃhitā*, namely that written by Skandasvāmin, Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha, that deserves the name of *Bhāṣya*; and he accordingly calls his commentary, a *vyākhyāna* in the colophon at the end of the first Adhyāya. Secondly, although the name *Ṛgveda* is now loosely used for *Ṛgveda-saṃhitā* by Western Orientalists and others who follow their practice, it is most improbable that Mādhavārya used the word *Ṛgveda* in the place of *Ṛk-saṃhitā*: compare the above-cited colophon in the Trivandrum edition where the correct expression *Ṛk-saṃhitā* has been used by him.

3. Extracts from the latter commentary are given in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in Tanjore Sarasvatī Mahāl Library*, p. 1054, no. 1556. (see also *Indian Antiquary*, 62, p. 188) and comparison with Nārāyaṇa's *Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad-dīpikā* shows that the two are quite different works.

doubt, employed in this connection one of the two names, *Mādhava* and *Mādhavārya*, which this author has used in that work when speaking of himself, and not employed the name *Mādhava-bhaṭṭa*. The very employment, therefore, of this name *Mādhava-bhaṭṭa* shows conclusively that the commentator referred to by Sāyaṇa is not the author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* but a different person.¹

As a matter of fact, it is impossible that Sāyaṇa could have made any mention of the author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*; for this commentary contains unmistakable references to Sāyaṇa's commentary on the RV, and thus shows that its author *Mādhavārya* was posterior to Sāyaṇa:

(1) The explanation of VIII. iv. in this commentary is preceded by some stanzas in which *Mādhavārya* has set down what, in his opinion, commentators on the RV should say in their commentaries. Among these stanzas are the following (see Dr. Kunhan Raja's *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa*, part 2, p. 80f., stanzas 7-16):

tasmāt padārtha-vākyārthān prayatnena pradarśayet |
 nānyat kiñcid api brūyāt niruktam api tādṛśam || 7
 bhāṣyāṇi vaidikāny āhur Āryāvarta-nivāsinaḥ |
 kriyamāṇāny apidānīm niruktānīti Mādhavaḥ || 8
 Skandasvāmī Nārayaṇa Udgītha iti te kramāt |
 cakruḥ sahaikam Ṛg-bhāṣyaṃ pada-vākyārtha-
 gocaram || 9
 bhāṣamāṇās tam evārtham atha samprati mānavāḥ |
 māyāvino likhanty anye vyākhyānāni gr̥he gr̥he || 10
 vargāṇām atha sūktānām ṛk-saṃkhyāṃ tatra kaś cana |
 pradarśayati māyārthaṃ viniyogam athāparaḥ || 11
 pr̥cchanti tāv imau prājñāḥ Śaunakena pradarśitā |
 akṣarāṇām padānām ca saṃkhyā sā kiṃ na likhyate || 12
 etāvad-akṣaraṃ sūktaṃ etāvat-padakam tathā |
 ity evam ucyamāne hi tac ca jānanti laukikāḥ || 13

1. The names Raman, Ramiah, Ramaṇṇa, Ramappa, Ramaiyar, Ramacharya, Rama Sastri, Rama Pāndit, Rama Dikshit, Rama Iyengar, Rama Bhatta, Rama Jois, Rama Rao, Ramasvami, Ramamurti are, not infrequently, found in the roll of students of the same class in High Schools and Colleges in Southern India; and the Headmaster who thinks that all these are the names of the same person, or can be used indiscriminately of one person and acts on such belief, would soon find himself overwhelmed in wild confusion.

granthe'sti pada-saṁkhyeti yatno na bhavatos tataḥ |
 pada-saṁkhyā ca bhavator vācyā grantham nirīkṣya
 tam || 14
 lokataḥ kāryato'ṅgaiś ca padārthān anvayān api |
 na vijñātān vadet prājño mantrāṇām iti niścayaḥ || 15
 na tv ātmīyaṁ pariñānam aṅgopāṅgādi-gocaram |
 anapekṣitam apy arthe darśayed yatnam āsthitaḥ || 16

“The commentator should hence take pains to set forth the meaning of (the individual) words and of the (whole) sentence; he should not set down anything else in his explanation. The people of India are wont to call by the name *veda-bhāṣya* commentaries that are being written even now-a-days; I, Mādhava, call them *niruktas* (scholia). Skandasvāmin, Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha have together, in the order named, written a *Bhāṣya* on the *Ṛk-saṁhitā* which explains the meaning of (individual) words and of the (whole) sentence also. There are many frauds and impostors now-a-days who pretend to write commentaries on the *Ṛk-saṁhitā*; they merely reproduce the meaning given in the *Bhāṣya* (and have nothing of their own to contribute).¹ One fraud, however, in order to impose upon the readers, mentions the number of the *ṛks* contained in each *varga* and *sūkta*, while another gives the *vinīyoga* of each *sūkta*. These two frauds should be asked: ‘Why do you two not mention the number of syllables and of words contained in each hymn? They have been given by Śaunaka in his work, and laymen can understand it (*i.e.*, will feel impressed) when you write, “this hymn contains so many words and so many syllables”. You two need not fear that this demands any exertion on your part. The number of words is given in Śaunaka’s work, and you can take it from that work’. A commentator, if he is wise, should not, in connection with the mantras, give the *anvaya* and meaning of words when

1. It is of interest to note in this connection that the RV. *Bhāṣya*, of which Mādhavārya has such a high opinion, is, according to the statement of Skandasvāmin (*Valabhī-vinivāśyetām ṛgarthāgama-saṁhytim | Bharṭṛ-dhruva-sutaś cakre Skandasvāmī yathā-smṛti*) nothing but an ‘epitome of the explanations, given by earlier commentators’ which Skandasvāmin has set down to the best of his memory; it contains no contribution made by Skandasvāmin himself. One wonders if this fact was not known to Mādhavārya, or if it had escaped from his memory at the time when he was blaming other commentators as lacking in originality.

they are already well-known. He should also carefully avoid making a display of his knowledge of the Vedāṅgas and Upāṅgas, except when it is needed for elucidating the meaning".

Mādhavārya then goes on to observe (in st. 17-19) that there is no imposture in his work, that his explanations of many ṛks and even whole hymns are quite different from those given in the *Bhāṣya*, and that this difference is like that between a cow and a horse, and not like that between an *āmra* and a *sahakāra* (a species of the mango tree).

Now, we do not know how many RV. commentaries¹ were extant and known to Mādhavārya at the time he wrote the *R̥garthadīpikā*. We have, however, in print two commentaries, those of Skandasvāmin and Sāyaṇa, besides that of Mādhavārya himself. As the first of these is definitely excluded from the scope of the observations made by Mādhavārya, let us examine the RV. commentary of Sāyaṇa in the light of the above observations and see how it fares.

On making such an examination, we find that it contains all the features which Mādhavārya considers to be defects. Thus, (1) Sāyaṇa explains the meaning of familiar words like *deva* (RV. 1, 1, 1), *namaḥ* (1, 1, 7), *gaṇa* (1, 6, 8), *divi* (1, 7, 3), *iśānaḥ* (1, 7, 8), etc.² (2) He has introduced a long grammatical discussion in his explanation of 1, 7, 7; discussed at length the question *śastraṃ kiṃ devatā-smaraṇa-rūpaṃ saṃskāra-karma kiṃ vā dr̥ṣṭa-phalaṃ pradhāna-karma* before explaining 1, 2, 1-3; and explained at length different kinds of *vinīyoga* before explaining the hymn 1, 1. (3) He has introduced lengthy and unnecessary discussions, and made a display of his knowledge of *Mīmāṃsā*, *Kalpa* (Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra) and *Vyākaraṇa* in the places above-mentioned and elsewhere also in his commentary on the RV.; and in his explanation of the 1st Aṣṭaka, he has everywhere given a full explanation, mostly unnecessary, of the *svara* (accent).

Further, Sāyaṇa's commentary bears the name of *bhāṣya* (compare the colophon *Sāyaṇācārya-viracite Mādhaviye Vedārtha-prakāśe R̥k-saṃhitā-bhāṣye* that is found at the end of each *Adhyāya*), which name Mādhavārya wants to restrict to the

1. Their number could not, in any case, have exceeded seven or eight.

2. None of these words is explained by Mādhavārya in the *R̥gartha-dīpikā*.

RV. commentary of Skandasvāmin only; and in the case of very many mantras, Sāyaṇa's explanations are almost identical¹ with those of Skandasvāmin. Sāyaṇa has, moreover, given in his commentary not only the number of *ṛks* in each hymn, but also the *vinīyoga* of each *mantra* and *sūkta*.

This last-mentioned feature of Sāyaṇa's commentary is of much significance in this connection. As we have seen above, Mādhavārya has referred to two commentators, one of whom has given the number of verses contained in each *varga* and hymn, and the other, the *vinīyoga* of each *mantra* and *sūkta*. Now, it seems to me very improbable that there was another commentator on the RV. (besides Sāyaṇa) who also mentioned² the *vinīyoga* of each *mantra* and hymn in his work; and the conclusion is hence irresistible that Sāyaṇa is one of the two commentators who is referred to by Mādhavārya in st. 11 above as 'fraud and impostor' (*māyāvin*).

(2) Mādhavārya's explanation of IV. ii is preceded by 16 stanzas of which nos. 5-13 read as follows (see pp. 55 56 in part 1 of Dr. Raja's above-cited edition):

vājebhir vājinivatī vājebhir iti pūraṇaḥ |
yuktā 'nnair bahubhis seyaṃ yajñam vaṣṭu dhiyāvasuḥ || 5
nanv atra vigrahas so'yam asty asyā vājihīti yaḥ |
tṛtīyāntasya sambandhaḥ puṁliṅgasya ca tatra kaḥ || 6
tasmādannair asmadiyaṃ havir-bhūtais Sarasvatī |
vahatām iti mantrārtho na tv annair annavatīti || 7

1. This must be so, by the very nature of the case, with all RV. commentaries. The meaning of many RV. mantras being plain and unambiguous, the explanations of all commentators must of necessity be identical.

2. As a matter of fact, the sarcastic remark, 'why do you two not mention the number of syllables and of words also in connection with each *ṛk*?' that is addressed to the two frauds in st. 12-14, seems to show that *both* of them have, in their commentaries, given some numbers in connection with *vargas* and hymns. And hence it seems to be Mādhava's intention that we should understand stanza 11 as follows: *tatra kaścana vargāṇām atha sūktānām ṛk-saṃkhyāṃ māyārthaṃ pradarśayati; atha aparāḥ sūktānām ṛk-saṃkhyāṃ vinīyogaṃ pradarśayati*. If this conjecture be correct, the second of the frauds referred to by Mādhavārya has mentioned in connection with each hymn, not only the *vinīyoga* but also the number of verses contained in it. He is thus without doubt identical with Sāyaṇa.

kim atra tava vaktavyam tvam Soma kratubhir iti |
 kim vaha tava vācyam syād yajñebhir yajña-vāhasam || 8
 tarhy evam vigrahaḥ kāryo vājinibhis samanvitā |
 yā sā vājinīvatī tṛtīyāntas tathānvitā || 9
 kratubhir yuktas sukratur bahuvrīheś ca vigrahaḥ |
 na tv asya santi kratavas tṛtīyās ca tathānvitā || 10
 kratavo yasya santīti yo'yaṁ laukika-vigrahaḥ |
 sa vispaṣṭābhīdhānāya sattva-mātram apekṣitam || 11
 anvayo vāja-śabdena puṁliṅgenāpi siddhyati |
 vājebhir iti puṁliṅgaṁ tathā sati na duṣyati || 12
 yad vā'nnavattvaṁ bahubhiḥ kratumannais tathā sati |
 vṛṣā vṛṣatvebhir iti samīcīno bhaviṣyati || 13

These stanzas contain an argument¹ between Mādhavārya and an opponent about the meaning of the expression *vājebhir vājinīvatī* which occurs in RV. 1, 3, 10:

पावका नः सरस्वती वाजोभिर्वाजिनीवती । यज्ञं वष्टु धिया वसुः ॥

In the opinion of Mādhavārya, *vājebhiḥ* is a *pāda-pūraṇa*² or expletive, and the meaning of the expression is *bahubhir annair yuktā*.³

The opponent objects that such an interpretation is not possible here, that the *vigraha* of *vājinīvatī* is *vājinyaḥ asyām santi* (it seems to be agreed by both disputants that *vājinī* = *vājah*), and that the masculine instrumental plural *vājebhiḥ* cannot therefore be said to be contained in the the word *vājinīvatī*. He therefore contends that the instrumental *vājebhiḥ* should be construed with the verb *vaṣṭu* and that the meaning of

1. One experiences some difficulty in following the course of this argument, owing to the fact that the text of the stanzas, as printed by Dr. Raja contains corruptions; compare for instance st. 13ab: *yad vānnavattvaṁ bahubhiḥ kratumannais tathā sati*.

2. That is, just as in the expressions *draviṇodā draviṇasaḥ* (RV. 1, 15, 7), *gavām gopatiḥ* (1, 101, 4), etc., the genitives *draviṇasaḥ* and *gavām* are already contained in the compound words *draviṇodāḥ* and *gopatiḥ* and are therefore merely expletives, in the same way, in the expression *vājebhir vājinīvatī* also, the word *vājebhir*, is contained in the compound word *vājinīvatī* and is a mere expletive.

3. In the *R̥garthadīpikā*, Mādhavārya paraphrases the expression similarly as *annair annavati*; this is the interpretation of Yāska also in the *Nirukta* (11, 26).

pādas b, c of the RV verse in question is *havir-bhūtair annair asmadīyaṃ* [*yajñam*] *Sarasvatī vahatām*. Mādhavārya replies: "There is no difficulty in such construction which is admitted universally in, for instance, RV. 1, 91, 2 :

त्वं सोम क्रतुभिः सुक्रतुर्भूस्त्वं दक्षैः सुदक्षो विश्ववेदाः ।

त्वं वृषा वृषत्वेभिर्महित्वा युन्नेभिर्द्युम्यभवो नृचक्षाः ॥

Here, every one has to admit that *kratubhiḥ* has to be construed with *sukratuḥ*. The *vigraha* of *sukratuḥ* is *kratubhir yuktaḥ sukratuḥ*, the usual *vigraha*, [*śobhanāḥ*] *kratavo yasya (santi saḥ) sukratuḥ* having only the object of making the meaning clear. In the same way, the *vigraha* of *vājinīvatī* too is *vājinībhir yuktā vājinīvatī*. And just as, in the above verse, *kratubhiḥ* is construed by everyone with *sukratuḥ* because it is contained in it, in the same way, *vājebhiḥ* too is to be construed with *vājinīvatī* because it is contained in it. Its masculine gender makes no difference; and its only function is to indicate that the compound word *vājinīvatī* contains the plural word¹ and not the singular; compare the expression *vṛṣā vṛṣatvebhiḥ* in pāda c of the above-cited verse (1, 91, 2) where too the word *vṛṣatvebhiḥ* performs the same function, and the word *yajñaiḥ* in RV. 8, 12, 20.

“यज्ञैर्मियज्ञवाहसं सोमेभिः सोमपातमम् । होत्राभिरिन्द्रं वावृधुर्व्यानशुः ॥”

It is unnecessary to point out that, in the above stanzas, Mādhavārya is not recording for us a disputation that really took place between him and another, but is refuting the view of an earlier commentator. Now, who is this earlier commentator? Skandasvāmin's explanation of RV. 1, 3, 10 reads as follows in the Trivandrum edition (p. 24):

पावका शोधयित्री अंहसां पापानामपनेत्री । अथवा पवतिः क्षारणार्थः ।
सोमः पवते जनितामतीनामिति । प्यन्तश्चात्र द्रष्टव्यः । क्षारयित्युदकानाम् ।
नः अस्माकं स्वभूतम् । सरस्वती प्रथमस्था न वाक् । कीदृशी । वाजेभि-
र्वाजिनीवती । वाज इत्यन्ननाम । वाजिनीशब्दोऽपि तस्यैव पर्यायान्तरं द्रष्टव्यम् ।
यजमानेभ्यो यानि ददाति तैर्हविल्क्षणैश्चान्नैरन्नवती । अथ वा वाजेभिरिति

1. That is to say, the plural *vājebhiḥ* indicates that the *vigraha* of *vājinīvatī* is *vājinībhir yuktā*, and not *vājinyā yuktā*, and that the meaning is (*bahubhir*) *annair annavatī* (and not *annena annavatī*).

तृतीयानिर्देशात् युक्तमिति वाक्यशेषः । हविलक्षणैरनैर्युक्तम् । वाजिनीवती । वाजो बलं वेगो वा, तद्वती वाजिनी । कासौ । सरस्वत्याः स्वभूता सेना । तद्वती वाजिनीवती । सरस्वती । अथवा वाजो हविलक्षणमन्नं तद्वस्या अस्ति सा वाजिनी यागसन्ततिः । तद्वती सरस्वती वाजिनीवती । यज्ञं वष्टु । वश कान्तौ । कामयताम् । कामनेनात्रागमनं संभजनं च लक्ष्यते । यो हि यं कामयते स तमागच्छति संभजति च । आगच्छतु संभजतां चेत्यर्थः । धियावसुः प्रज्ञाधना । अथवा वसेराच्छादनार्थस्य वसुशब्दः । प्रज्ञया छादयित्री सर्वार्थानाम्¹ ॥ १५ ॥

Sāyaṇa's explanation of the verse reads as follows:—सरस्वती देवी वाजेभिर्हविलक्षणैरनैर्निमित्तभूतैः । यद्वा यजमानेभ्यो दातव्यैरनैर्निमित्तभूतैर्नोऽस्मदीयं यज्ञं वष्टु । कामयताम् । कामयित्वा च निर्वह-त्वित्यर्थः । तथा चारण्यककाण्डे [Aitareya Āraṇyaka, I, 1, 4] श्रुत्यैव व्याख्यातम् । यज्ञं वष्टुति यदाह यज्ञं वहत्वित्येव तदाहेति । कीदृशी सरस्वती । पावका शोधयित्री । वाजिनीवती । अन्नवत्क्रियावती । धियावसुः । कर्मप्राप्यधननिमित्तभूता । वाग्देवतायास्तथाविधं धननिमित्तत्वमारण्यककाण्डे श्रुत्या व्याख्यातम् । यज्ञं वष्टु धियावसुरिति । वाग्वै धियावसुरिति ।

[See Ait. Ār. I, 1, 4];

and it is evident that Mādhavārya's words in stanza 7, अनैरस्मदीयं हविर्भूतैः सरस्वती वहताम् are a literal reproduction, as literal as the exigencies of the metrical form of the śloka allow, of Sāyaṇa's words, हविलक्षणैरनैः अस्मदीयं यज्ञं सरस्वती निर्वहतु occurring in the above explanation.

The word *vaṣṭu* used in the above RV. verse is formed from the verb *vaś* 'to wish; to desire' (*vaśa kāntau*). Sāyaṇa's explanation of it as *nirvaha*tu is a most unusual one, and it is very improbable that² this explanation was given by another RV commentator also (beside Sāyaṇa) in his commentary.

1. The explanation printed in the Madras edition is much shorter, but similar to this.

2. To illustrate this improbability, I reproduce here (from the Nirṇayasāgara Press edition of 1912) the explanations of Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara of VS. 24. 84 [=RV. 1, 3, 10]. Uvaṭa: pāvakā naḥ | pāvayitrī Sarasvatī vājebhir annair vājīnīvatī anna-
vatī | sā naḥ asmākam yajñam vaṣṭu kāmayaṭām | yo hi yad
icchati sa tat prati gacchati | dhiyāvasuḥ dhiyā vasu dhanam
yasyāḥ sa dhiyāvasuḥ || .

It is still more improbable that such a commentator (in case there was one) explained the expressions *kratubhiḥ sukratuḥ* and *vṛṣā vṛṣatvebhiḥ* in RV. 1, 91, 2 in the sense given above. In any case, Mādhavārya's citation of the very words found in Sāyaṇa's commentary shows beyond doubt that he is referring to Sāyaṇa's RV. commentary.

(3) Among the stanzas that precede Mādhavārya's explanation of III. vi, are the following (see pp. 45, 46 in part 1 of Dr. Raja's above-cited edition):

iyattikā śakuntikā sūrye viṣam āsajāmi |
 anayor uttare 'rdharce dvaividhyam dṛśyate pade || 6
 adhīyate hi dvididham so ity api sa ity api |
 na tatra vāsanām eke vaktavyām manvate janāḥ || 7
 yathānu śrutām amatim akravi-hastā sukrte |
 Varuṇelāsv antar iti pada-dvaividhya-darśanam || 8
 na tatra doṣaḥ pūrvasyām prthaṇ Mitraś ca kīrtiyate |
 Varuṇeti dvilīyasyām ekenoktāv ubhāv api || 9
 tasmād atrāpi vaktavyam dvaividhyasya prayojanam |
 tad ucyate sā no amā so cin nu bhadrā kṣumatī || 10
 so cin nu vṛṣṭir yūthyā ca triśūkāraḥ pradṛśyate |
 spaṣṭīkaroti sa strītvam ur ity āhur vipaścitāḥ || 11

Mahīdhara: Sarasvatī no'smākaṁ yajñam vaṣṭu kāmāyatām | vaśa kāntau | yo yad icchati sa tat prati gacchati | asmad-yajñam praty agacchatv ity arthaḥ | kīdrśī Sarasvatī | pāvaka pāvayitṛ pāvanam pāvaḥ śodhanam | ghañ | pāvam kāyati kathayati pāvaka | 'āto 'nupasarge kaḥ' | vājebhir vājair annaiḥ | vājīnīvatī | vājā annāni vidyante yasyām sā vājīnī yajña-kriyā | vājīnī vidyate yasyāḥ sā vājīnīvatī yajña-kriyā-dhiṣṭhātrī | dhiyāvasuḥ | dhiyā karmaṇā vasu dhanam yasyāḥ sā dhiyāvasuḥ | chāndasas tṛtīyāyā aluk ||

Sāyaṇa's explanations of these expressions are: *kratubhiḥ tvat-sambandhibhir agniṣṭomādi-karmabhir ātmīyair jñānair vā sukratuḥ śobhana-karmā śobhana-prajño vā* and *vṛṣatvebhiḥ vṛṣatvaiḥ kāmābhivarṣanaiḥ* (*mahitvā mahattvena mātmyena ca*) *vṛṣā kāmānām varṣitā*,

Though the above explanation of the expressions *kratubhiḥ sukratuḥ* and *vṛṣā vṛṣatvebhiḥ* is the most natural, we should not therefore think that all RV commentators have explained them in this way. Skandasvāmin, for instance, while explaining *kratubhiḥ sukratuḥ* as *kratubhiḥ karmabhiḥ prajābhir vā sukratuḥ sukarmā suprajño vā*, construes *mahitvā* with *vṛṣatvebhiḥ* and interprets *vṛṣā vṛṣatvebhir mahitvā* as *mahadbhir varṣanair varṣitā*.

The reference in these stanzas is to RV. 1, 190, 10-11 and 5, 62, 5-6. In the first pair of verses, the second half reads in the Saṃhitā text as सो चिन्नु न मराति नो वयं मराम; but Śākalya

gives the *padapāṭha* as सः । चित् । नु । न । मराति । नो इति । वयं । मराम । in verse 10, and as सो इति । चित् । नु । न । मराति । नो इति । न । मराम । in verse 11.

Similarly, in 5, 62, 5-6, the end of pāda d of verse 5, and of pāda b in verse 6, reads in the Saṃhitā-pāṭha as वरुणेळास्वन्तः ;

but Śākalya has given the *padapāṭha*, in the case of the former, as वरुण । इळासु । अन्तरिति । and of the latter as वरुणा । इळासु । अन्तरिति ।

In the above stanzas, Mādhavārya refers first to the opinion of 'some' who think that there is no need to point out the fine distinction in meaning conveyed by the difference in *pada-pāṭha*, that is, to some commentators who have not, in the explanation of the verses 1, 190, 10-11, brought out this distinction though, in the analogous instance of 5, 62, 5-6, these same commentators have shown in their explanation the distinction in meaning conveyed by the difference in the *pada-pāṭha*. He then condemns this course, giving, as his considered opinion, that the use of the particle *u* in 1, 191, 11 shows that the feminine form (*sā*) is used in it, in the same way as it does in the case of RV.

RV. 10, 63, 16; सा नो अमासो अरणे निपातु स्वावेशा भवतु देवगोपा;

10, 11, 3: सो चिन्नु भद्रा क्षुमती यशस्वयुषा उवास मनवे

स्वर्वती ; and 10, 23, 4: सो चिन्नु वृष्टिर्यूथ्याइ स्वा स चाँ इन्द्रः

स्मश्रूणि हरितामि प्रुणुते ।

Skandasvāmin's commentary on 1, 191, 10-11 is not printed; but, Sāyaṇa it is interesting to note, has, in his explanation of these verses, said nothing about a distinction in meaning caused by the difference in the *Padapāṭha*. This is, without doubt, due to the fact that he, in disregard of the *Pada-pāṭha* and of the R̥k-prātiśākhya (4, 40; sūtra 313; so *cinnv agastyē daśame ca maṇḍale*), decomposes (as pointed out by Max Muller on p. XXXII of the Introd. to Vol. 2 of his first edition) सो in verse

10 also into सः । ऊ इति । When explaining 5, 62, 5-6, on the other hand, he has duly taken account of the difference of reading in the *Pada-pāṭha*, and explained वरुणा as मित्रावरुणौ. Now, it is most improbable that there was another commentator besides Sāyaṇa who, too, in disregard of the *Pada-pāṭha* and Ṛk-prātiśākhya, read an *u* in verse 10 also and effaced the distinction between it and verse 11; and it hence follows that the RV commentator¹ referred to by Mādhavārya in the above stanzas too is without doubt Sāyaṇa.

(4) Stanzas 3-8 of those that precede Mādhavārya's explanation of III. iii. read as follows (see p. 38 in part 1 of Dr. Raja's above-cited edition):

nanv eva-kāra-sadrśa ukāro darśanāt tathā || 3
 sa drśyate ca pādādāv u lokam agne kṛṇavaḥ |
 u lokakṛtṇum imahe u lokakṛtṇum adrivaḥ || 4
 u loko yas te adrivas te catvāra udāhṛtāḥ |
 nāmī vinigrahārthīyā na hy eṣv asti vinigrahaḥ || 5
 pūraṇatvaṃ ca naiteṣāṃ na hy ādau santi pūraṇāḥ |
 u loka uttamo loka iti vaktuṃ na yujyate || 6
 Śākalyo hy avagr̥hṇīyāt tadā nomiti darśayet |
 athāpy uttama-paryāyaṃ lokāt prāk paryupasthitam || 7
 manyāmahe kāndīśikās tatra vṛddheṣu nirṇayaḥ |
 upamārthaś ca nanv ādau yathā-śabdaḥ prayujyate || 8

The RV. verses referred to in the above stanzas are: 5, 4, 11:
 यस्मै त्वं सुकृते¹ जातवेद उ लोकमग्ने कृणवः स्योनम् । अश्विनं स पुत्रिणं²
 वीरवन्तं गोमन्तं रयिं न शते स्वस्ति ।। 9, 2, 8: तं त्वा मदाय घृष्वय
 उलोककृत्नुमीमहे । तव प्रशस्तयो महीः ॥ 8, 15, 4; तं ते मदं गृणीमसि
 वृषणं पृत्सुसासहिम् । उलोककृत्नुमद्रिवो हरिश्रियम् ॥ and 3, 37, 11;
 अर्वावतो न आगद्यो शक्रपरावतः । उ लोकोयस्ते अद्रिव इन्द्रेह तत
 आगहि ॥ and each of them contains a pāda which, according to
 Śākalya's *Pada-pāṭha*, begins with the unaccented particle उ. In

1. It must be borne in mind in this connection that, except when contempt is implied (see in this connection the stanza VIII. iv. 11 of the *R̥garthadīpikā* cited above), it is the custom of Sanskrit writers to use the plural (*ke cit*; *anye*; *apare*; *eke*; etc.) even when referring to a single individual.

connection with this उ, Mādhavārya mentions the views (1) that उ is *vinigrahārthīya*, (2) that it is a *pāda-pūraṇa* or expletive, and (3) that it is a synonym of *uttama* (and that *uloka* therefore is equivalent to *uttama-loka*); and he rejects them, one by one, on the grounds (1) that there is no *vinigraha* in these verses, (2) that unaccented expletives (*pāda-pūraṇa*) cannot occur in the beginning of *pādas*, and (3) that the fact that Śākalya gives the first *pāda* as ऊं (इति) shows that *u loka* is not a compound word made up of *u* and *loka*. (If the word had been a compound, Śākalya would have given the *pāda-pāṭha* as उ लोक and not have said ऊं (इति).

It is needless to point out that the views rejected above by Mādhavārya are those entertained by some earlier commentators; and the question therefore arises, who are these earlier commentators whom Mādhavārya has in mind? Now, Skandasvāmin's commentary on the above RV verses is not printed; but Sāyaṇa when explaining RV. 5, 4, 11 and 8, 15, 4 has said *u iti pūraṇaḥ* and *u-śabdaḥ samuccaye pāda-pūraṇe vā*, and when explaining 9, 2, 8 and 3, 37, 11 has said *uloka-kṛtṇum uttamasya lokasya kartāram* and *uloka uttamo lokaḥ*. The explanation of *uloka* as *uttama-loka* is, plainly, unusual, and cannot have been given by more than one RV commentator; and hence it becomes evident that in these stanzas too it is Sāyaṇa's views that are referred to by Mādhavārya.

(5) In Mādhavārya's *R̥garthadīpikā*, we find the following stanzas among those that precede his explanation of IV. iii. (see p. 57, in part 1 of Dr. Raja's above-cited edition):

prāyeṇa vyakti-bhedasya vīpsaikasyā api kva cit |
 agnim-agnim havīmabhir iti tatra nidarśanam || 4
 subantasya dvir-vacane tiñantasyātra nityatā |
 evaṃ-vidhe'pi nityārthe dvir-uktir iti ke cana || 6
 vadanty anye kāla-bhedād agnir eko'pi bhidyate |
 vidyate tatra vipseti deśa-bhedād athāpare || 7

The RV. verse referred to here is 1, 12, 2; अग्निमग्निः हवीमभिः

सदा हवन्त विस्पतिम् । हव्यवाहं पुरुप्रियम् । and the point discussed

is the *dvir-ukti* or doubling of the word *agnim*. According to Pāṇini (8, 1, 4: *nitya-vīpsayoh*), doubling takes place, in the case of nouns, when there is a desire to include all individuals of the genus denoted by the noun. As Agni however is a proper

name, there can be no question of 'including all individuals of the genus Agni', and the doubling of *agnim* in 1, 12, 2 requires an explanation. Mādhavārya gives in the above stanzas three different views proposed by earlier commentators: the doubling of the word *agnim* (1) denotes in effect the doubling of the verb, or in other words, the repetition of the action denoted by the verb, (2) is for the purpose of including the different Agnis that exist at different times, and (3) is for the purpose of including the different Agnis that are found in different places.

Skandasvāmin, in his commentary on the above verse, explains *agnim-agnim* as *yāvān kaścīd agniḥ sarvam*, while Sāyaṇa, in his explanation of that verse, has observed *yady apy agniḥ svarūpeṇaika eva lathāpi prayoga-bhedād āhavanīyādi sthāna-bhedāt pāvakādi-viśeṣaṇa-bhedād vā bahu-vidhatvam abhipretya agnim-agnim iti vīpsā*. Thus one of the views put forward by him is *sthāna-bhedād bahu-vidhatvam*, and it is, in all likelihood, this observation that is referred to by Mādhavārya in the above-cited stanza 7 cd.

(6) In the stanzas that precede the explanation of IV. i in the *R̥garthadīpikā*, Mādhavārya has discussed the question of interpretation of the expressions that are found repeated in the hymns attributed to Paruccheṇa¹ (RV. 1, 127-139). In this connection he mentions two views, (1) that the repeated words are necessary to complete the meaning of the sentence and are not *pūranas*, and (2) that the repetition is due to *śraddhātīreka* (excess of zeal), and rejects them, giving as his considered opinion that the

1. These hymns are composed mostly, in Aṣṭi and Atyaṣṭi metres and contain in each verse 7 pādas, of which the 3rd and 7th contain usually, words repeated from pādas 2 and 6. Compare for instance, 1, 134, 2: मन्दन्तु त्वा मन्दिनो वायविन्द्वोऽस्मत्क्राणासः सुकृता अभिद्यवो गोभिः क्राणा अभिद्यवः । यद्ध क्राणा इरथ्यै दक्ष सचन्त ऊतयः । सध्रीचीना नियुतो दावने धिय उपब्रुवत ई धियः ॥; 1, 134, 4: तुभ्यमुपासः शुचयः परावति भद्रा वस्त्रा तन्वते दंसु रश्मिषु चित्रा नव्येषु रश्मिषु । तुभ्यं धेनुः सबर्दुघा विश्वा वसूनि दोहते । अजनयो मरुतो वक्षणाभ्यो दिव आ वक्षणाभ्यः ॥ and 1, 135, 3: आ नो नियुद्भिः शतिनीभिरध्वरं सहस्रिणीभिरुपयाहि वीतये वायो हव्यानि वीतये । तवायं भाग ऋत्विग्यः सरश्मिः सूर्ये सचा । अध्वर्युभिर्भरमाणा अयंसत वायो शुक्रा अयंसत ॥

repeated words are all *pāda-pūraṇas* (expletives).¹ He then condemns in the following stanzas (nos. 20-25; see p. 53 in part 1 of Dr. Raja's above-cited edition) the procedure of those, who, holding the first of the views mentioned above, interpret the mantras as if they were poems, by explaining the same word in two different ways:

Pārucchepīṣu sarvāsu śakyaṃ dvairūpyam añjasā |
 jātavedaś-śabda iva na pradarśayitum budhaiḥ || 20
 yathā-kathaṃ cid dvaividhyaṃ pratipādayitum budhāḥ ||
 necchanti tena sarve'mī bhavanti pāda-pūraṇāḥ || 21
 tam evārthaṃ bruvāṇānāṃ vacana-vyaktayaḥ prthak ||
 mantreṣu keṣu cit santi keṣu cit tu na santi ca || 22
 icchanti kāvyavad vṛddhā na vede bahu-bhāṣaṇam |
 tasmāc chabdasya tasyārthaṃ tam evāhur vipāścitaḥ || 23
 Pārucchepī ṛcaḥ sarvā yadā paśyati paṇḍitaḥ |
 na tadā pratipādyo'sya so'yam artha iti sthitiḥ || 24
 veda-mudrām ajānantaḥ kutarka-gata-mānasāḥ |²
 āpātato bhāṣamāṇās te hāsyā vaidikair iha || 25

And Mādhavārya then winds up the discussion by referring to Yāska who has said that repetition has the effect of amplifica-

1. Mādhavārya has said that this observation of his applies to the hymn RV. 9, 111, seen by Ananta son of Parucchepa, and the verses 4, 1, 1-3, seen by Vāmadeva. These verses are all composed in the metres Atijagatī, Dhṛti, Aṣṭi and Atyaṣṭi; and Mādhavārya has observed in stanza 17 (l.c.): "Verses composed in the metres beyond Jagatī (that is, containing more than forty-eight syllables) cannot, because of the length of the metres, be fully and properly seen; therefore the lacking syllables in these verses are made up by the repetition of words already seen".

2. "In the hymns seen by Parucchepa, it is not always possible to assign to the repeated word a different meaning that is as felicitous as that which can be assigned to the repeated word *jātavedasam* in 1, 127 1; and wise people do not like to give to the repeated word a different meaning that is not felicitous. When, on the other hand, the repeated word is explained in the same way as the original word, such an explanation suits the context in a few verses only, and does not suit the context in others. And hence it is held that the repeated words are *pāda-pūraṇas* or expletives. The interpreting of mantras as if they were kāvyas, by explaining the same word in two different senses, is abhorrent to discerning persons; and it will become plain to the discerning, on examining the Parucchepa hymns, that each word has one meaning only. Those therefore who, not knowing the meaning of the Veda, explain the verses on the impulse of the

tion and who therefore does not countenance the explanation of the same word in two different ways).¹

Now Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Parucchepa hymns is not printed, and we do not therefore know if his explanation of the repeated word was different from that of the original word. The two explanations undoubtedly differ in Sāyaṇa's commentary whenever the context allows it. Thus, in 1, 134, 2 (cited in the foot-note above), Sāyaṇa explains *abhi-dyavaḥ* as (1) *abhito dyotayantaḥ* and (2) *abhi-gantāraḥ*, and the word *dhiyaḥ* as (1) *karmāṇy (uddiśya)* and (2) as *karmavanto buddhimanto vā ṛtvijo yajamānā vā*; in 1, 134, 4 (cited above), he explains *raśmiṣu* as *homāya pradīptāgni-jvālāvatsu* and as 'rays', and the word *vakṣaṇābhyah* as *pravahana-śilābhyo'dbhyo vṛṣṭi-lakṣaṇābhyah* and as *nadī-nāmaitat| tāsām arthāya*; and in 1, 135, 3 (cited above), he explains *vīlaye* as *tvad-abhimata-kāmāya tatpūrtaye* and as *bhakṣaṇāya*, and the word *ayaṃsata* as *niyatā abhavan* and as *udyatāḥ*.²

This interpreting of Vedic mantras as if they were kāvyas is unusual; and since it is improbable that such a mode of interpretation could have been adopted by another commentator also besides Sāyaṇa,³ it becomes clear that, in these stanzas also, it is Sāyaṇa who is referred to by Mādhavārya.

moment (*i.e.*, without careful consideration), allowing their minds to be swayed by specious logic, become butts for the ridicule of Veda-knowers."

1. Compare Nirukta, 10, 42: अभ्यासं भूयांसमर्थं मन्यन्ते । यद्वा अहो दर्शनीय इति । तत् परुच्छेपस्य शीलम् ॥

2. Other interesting examples of a similar nature from Sāyaṇa's commentary are—his explanation of *sucetunā* as *śobhanena cetanena cetasā vā* and as *śobhana-cetovatā mayā* in 1, 127, 11; the explanation of *bhṛgavaḥ* as *Bhṛgu-gotrotpañnā maharṣayah* and as *bhraṣṭāro haviṣām pāpānām vā* in 1, 127, 7; the explanation of *satpatih* as *satām sarvadā vartamānānām ṛtvijām pālako yajamānaḥ* and as *satām nakṣatrānām patiḥ candramāḥ* in 1, 130, 1; and the explanation of *vrajam* as *antarikṣe gacchantam megham* and as *gavām samūham* in 1, 132, 4.

3. The explanation *jāta-prajñam vipram in jāta-prajñam* cited by Mādhavārya as that of an earlier commentator in stanza IV, i. 8 is, it may be noted, the same as that given by Sāyaṇa.

(जातवेदसं जातानां वेदितारं जातप्रज्ञं जातबलं वा । जातविद्यं मेधाविनं ब्राह्मणमिव).

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that Mādhavārya's *Ṛgarthadīpikā* contains more than one reference to Sāyaṇa's commentary on the RV. Mādhavārya could not therefore have lived in the 10th, 11th or 12th century A. D. as believed by Dr. Sarup and others, but must have been posterior to Sāyaṇa.

But, it may be asked, if Mādhavārya is later than Sāyaṇa, how can the latter's commentary on the RV contain a citation of some sentences from that of the former? This is easily explained. Mādhavārya himself informs us that it is his aim to explain the meaning of the RV verses in a few words; compare his statements *varjayan śabda-vistaram* and *śabdaiḥ katipayair iti* that are quoted by Prof. Sarup on p. 70 of his above-cited work. Compare also that scholar's observation (l.c.), "The author takes pride in brevity and has expressly stated the fact in several colophons", and the similar observation of Prof. Bhagavad Datta on p. 38 of his above-cited work. One of the means adopted by Mādhavārya to attain this end is to omit acknowledgment in connection with passages which he cites from other authors. Thus, in the Trivandrum edition of Chap. I of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, the reader finds, in the explanation of 1, 14, 4 (p. 100) the observation *mandates tṛpti-karmaṇaḥ*, and in the explanation of 1, 3, 3 (p. 20) the passage *satyāv eva nāsatyāv ity Aurnavābhaḥ | satyasya praṇetārāv ity Āgrāyaṇaḥ*. Though these passages are, in reality, quotations from the Nirukta (see 2, 5 and 6, 13), there is nothing in the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* to indicate that they are such; and most readers will naturally conclude that these observations are Mādhavārya's own. Similarly, Mādhavārya cites without acknowledgment three stanzas from the *Bṛhaddevalū* (and another work?) in the beginning of his explanation of II. i (see Dr. Raja's above-cited edition, p. XIX of *Intro.*); and the absence of acknowledgment¹ in this instance,

1. It must be mentioned here that Mādhavārya does occasionally acknowledge that some passages are quotations. See, for instance, his explanation of 1, 14, 4 where he has said *indur indhater dīpti-karmaṇa ity uktam*. See also p. 59 ff. of Dr. Sarup's above-cited work which give the names of works and authors that are mentioned in the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*.

As observed by Prof. Bhagavad Datta on p. 40 of his above-cited work, (see also in this connection p. 237 ff. of *Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*), the explanations given by Mādhavārya in the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* are, in innumerable

did, indeed, mislead Dr. Sarup once (*see* p. 31 of his above-cited work) into thinking that the third of the stanzas in question was originally written by Mādhavārya, and quoted from his work by Durga in his commentary on the Nirukta. The passage cited above from the beginning of Mādhavārya's explanation of 10, 86, 1 belongs evidently to this category; here too Mādhavārya is citing from an earlier commentator without giving the slightest indication that he is doing so, and we should be wrong, if, on the strength of this unacknowledged quotation, we were to conclude that Mādhavārya was earlier than Sāyaṇa.

The upper limit for Mādhavārya is thus about 1386 A. D., the probable date of the death of Sāyaṇa. The lower limit is the date of Devarāja-yajvan who mentions Mādhavārya in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭu. This date, unfortunately, is not yet definitely known; but the belief of Dr. Sarup (p. 7, *op. cit.*) and of Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, p. 211) that Devarāja is anterior to Sāyaṇa, is without doubt erroneous. The grounds for such belief that are given by the former are:

(1) Devarāja in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭu makes no mention of Durga, author of the commentary on Yāska's Nirukta, who is mentioned by Sāyaṇa in his commentary on the RV. Devarāja is therefore earlier than Durga, and *ipso facto*, than Sāyaṇa.

(2) Sāyaṇa, in his explanation of RV. 1, 62, 3, has observed *usrā-śabdāt svārthe pṛṣadarāditvā gha-pratyaya iti nighaṇṭu-bhāṣyam*. Now, Devarāja not only does not mention Sāyaṇa,

cases, borrowed without acknowledgment from the Nirukta. They are, in very many cases, borrowed from Skandasvāmin's commentary also (*e.g.*, *satyasya vardhayitārau* and *satyasya spraṣṭārau* in 1, 2, 8; *bahu-nivāsau* in 1, 2, 9; *kṣīpra-hastau* in 1, 3, 1; *aṅgulibhir daśāpavitreṇa ca pūtāḥ* in 1, 3, 4; *yajñam dhārayati Sarasvatī* in 1, 3, 11), and I have likewise observed instances of what seem to me to be borrowings from Sāyaṇa's commentary. In all these cases, it is impossible to acknowledge the borrowing every time, and it does not seem reasonable on our part to expect Mādhavārya (or any other RV. commentator) to do so. But, stanzas from the *Brhad-devatā* and observations like *satyāu eva nāsatyāu ity Aurnavābhaḥ* belong to a quite different class; and in connection with such, omission to indicate that they are quotations is apt to mislead readers and make them believe that the passages in question are original.

but he has, when explaining the word *usriyā* (p. 230), said *usra-śabdāt prṣodarādītvena svārthe ghaḥ*; and it is evidently this passage that Sāyaṇa had in his mind when making the above observation.

These grounds are very weak and cannot stand examination; and in fact, Prof. Sarup has himself since admitted (*see* p. 97 of the Introd. to his edition of Skanda-Maheśvara's commentary on the Nirukta, Vol. 3) that the above-mentioned Durga is a very ancient writer who is anterior to Skandasvāmin who is mentioned by Devarāja. And, as regards the passage cited by Sāyaṇa from a *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya*, it has been pointed by Dr. Raja (p. XVIII of the Introd. to his edition of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*) that there existed more than one *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* before Devarāja wrote his,¹ that it is quite possible that Sāyaṇa and Devarāja are both citing the above passage from one of them, and that it is not hence right to infer on the strength of this one passage that Devarāja was earlier than Sāyaṇa. In reality, the name *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* is inapplicable to Devarāja's commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu* (this is called *Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana* or *Naighaṇṭuka-kāṇḍa-nirvacana* in the colophon); and there is not the slightest basis for the identification of the *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* mentioned by Sāyaṇa with Devarāja's work.

Prof. Bhagavad Datta has observed on p. 211, *op. cit.*, that 'excepting the *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* of Devarāja, there was no *Bhāṣya* on the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu*'. In support of this opinion, he has cited the following observation of Devarāja in his *Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana*: एवं व्याकीर्णेषु कोशेषु नियमैकभूतस्य प्रतिपदनिर्वचननिगम-प्रदर्शनपरस्य कस्यचिद्व्याख्यानस्याभावात् नैघण्टुकं काण्डमुत्सन्नप्राय-मासीत् । ; and he has said that this passage shows clearly that there was no *Bhāṣya* on the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* at the time when Devarāja wrote his, and concluded that the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin and Anantācārya which are mentioned by Devarāja were commentaries on *laukikakośas* which are also known as *nighaṇṭus*.

1. Devarāja himself has mentioned (p. 4) that he has made use, among other works, of the *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* of Kṣīrasvāmin, Anantācārya and others.

This reasoning is not at all convincing. (1) Devarāja does not say in the above-cited passage that there were no commentaries on the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu* before he wrote his work, but that there was no single commentary 'that regularly explained the etymology of every word and also quoted in connection with every word the Vedic passage in which it occurred'. In other words, while some commentaries explained the etymologies but cited no Vedic passages, others cited the Vedic passages in which each word occurred without, however, explaining the etymology of the words. There was thus no SINGLE WORK in which the reader could find both the etymology and also the Vedic passage in connection with every word; and it was to supply this want that Devarāja wrote his work. (2) So far as we know, none of the numerous commentaries that are written on the *laukika nighaṇṭus* bears the name of *bhāṣya*; they are known as *ṭikā*, *vyākhyā* or *vyākhyāna*. (3) In particular, Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the Amara-kośa is said in the colophon to be a *ṭikā*; and it is not right therefore to identify it with the *Kṣīrasvāminiviracita-nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* mentioned by Devarāja. (4) It is difficult to understand what exactly Prof. Bhagavad Datta has in his mind when he points out (p. 210, *op. cit.*) that Anantācārya's words 'are not cited even once by Devarāja'; and I cannot see how this fact shows that the *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* of his mentioned by Devarāja is a commentary on a *laukikanighaṇṭu* and not on the Vedic *Nighaṇṭu*. As a matter of fact, it is impossible, in a work like that of Devarāja, to acknowledge obligation on every individual occasion; and that is why Devarāja has, in the beginning, acknowledged his obligation in a general way to all the authors named. This also explains why one finds in his work many unacknowledged quotations from Skandasvāmin's commentaries (see in this connection App. 5 in Dr. Sarup's edition of Skanda-Maheśvara's commentary on the Nirukta, Vol. 3), and doubtless from the works of other writers also; and if a copy of Anantācārya's *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* were to come to light, one can be sure of finding unacknowledged quotations from it in Devarāja's work. (5) Finally, as pointed out above, Devarāja's commentary is not a *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* at all but a *Nighaṇṭu-nirvacana*.

Dr. Raja has also pointed out (*Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 229 ff.) that, though Devarāja has not mentioned the name of Sāyaṇa, he has mentioned that of Mādhava, and that many of the passages cited by him from the

work of Mādhava (Dr. Raja has adduced seven such passages in illustration) are, in fact, found in the RV commentary of Sāyaṇa. This fact however is disputed by Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, p. 27 ff.) who contends (1) that Sāmaśramin's edition of Devarāja's work, which forms the basis for Dr. Raja's comparison, is not a critical edition and is unreliable, (2) that though it is true that two passages,¹ as printed in it, are identical with those in Sāyaṇa's commentary, a correct reading of them shows that in reality they are quotations from Veṅkaṭamādhava's commentary on the RV, and (3) that the other five passages also cited by Dr. Raja are quotations from the second RV. commentary of Veṅkaṭamādhava as will become apparent when that commentary comes to light.²

It is perhaps possible that Prof. Bhagavad Datta is right in his contention about the two passages in question. With regard to the 5th and 7th passages, however, cited by Dr. Raja (p. 231, 232, l.c.), there can be no doubt that Devarāja is quoting from Sāyaṇa's commentary on the RV and from no other work. There is also no doubt that the Anantācārya who is mentioned by Devarāja (p. 4) as the author of a *Nighaṇṭu-bhāṣya* is identical with the Anantācārya who has written a commentary on Chaps. 21-40 of the Kāṇva recension of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* and who mentions Mādhava's (*i.e.*, Sāyaṇa's) commentary on Chaps. 1-20 of that text. In any case, since, as seen above, Veṅkaṭa-mādhava is posterior to Sāyaṇa, Devarāja who mentions the former must also be posterior to the latter.

Mādhavārya has given much information about himself in the colophons at the end of the various chapters of the *Ṛgartha-dīpikā*. He has thus said that he lived in the Coḷa country

1. With respect to one of these passages however it has been pointed out by Dr. Raja (*Ṛgvedānukramaṇī of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa*, Introd., p. XIX) that the manuscripts contained in the Govt. Oriental MSS Library, Madras and the Tanjore Palace Library have exactly the same reading as that printed by Sāmaśramin on p. 150 of his edition.

2. Considering that the similarity of the passages by Devarāja from Mādhava's work with those found in Sāyaṇa's commentary is patent, Prof. Bhagavad Datta's assertion that Devarāja is not quoting from Sāyaṇa but from a not-yet-discovered second commentary of Veṅkaṭamādhava on the RV. appears to one as a strange kind of reasoning.

(*Coleṣu nivasan grāme gomaty āryaiḥ samāvṛte*), in a village on the south bank of the Kāverī river (*tīram āśritya nivasan Kāveryā dakṣiṇaṃ sukhāṃ*), and that the ruler of the country was known as "The Sole Hero of the Worlds". Prof. Bhagavad Datta has concluded from these passages (*op. cit.*, p. 31) that he lived during the reign of a Coḷa king whose name began with *vīra*, that is during the reign of Virarājendra (A. D. 1062-1070), Viracōḷa (1078-1088), Viracōḷa (1135-1149), or Virarājendra (1207-1255).¹ This conclusion is plainly erroneous; for, the expression *coleṣu* ('in the Coḷa country') does not mean 'in the country now being ruled by the Coḷa king', but denotes a certain part of Southern India which is still known as the Coḷa country. Again, it is not right to conclude from the expression *jagatām eka-vīrasya viṣaye* that the ruler of the country in which Mādhavārya lived had a name beginning with *vīra*. The expression really indicates that the ruler was known as Jagadeka-vīra, that is, that he was named Jagadekavīra or that *Jagadeka-vīra* was one of his well-known titles.² Who this Jagadekavīra was, I have not yet been successful in finding out.

According to the statement made by Devarāja on p. 4 of his work, Veṅkaṭamādhava is the author, not only of a *bhāṣya* (i.e., commentary on the RV.), but also of a *Nāmānukramaṇī*, *Ākhyā-*

1. The names of these kings have been taken, Prof. Bhagavad Datta tells us, from an article published in the Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. 21, pp. 44-46.

In the genealogical table given by R. Sewell on p. 341 of his Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, only two of the above names are met with, those of Virarājendra (1063-1070), and of Viracōḷa (1078). The latter did not rule over the Coḷa kingdom at all, but governed Veṅgi as viceroy in 1078-1092.

2. It is also possible that the expression *jagatām ekavīra* may be a paraphrase of the word that was actually in use. That is, the name (or title) of the ruler may have been, not Jagadeka-vīra, but Bhuvanaikavīra or Lokaikavīra. According to the Amara-koṣa, the synonyms of *jagat* are *jagatī*, *loka*, *viṣṭapa*, and *bhuvana*.

The Cālukya king Jayasiṃha II was often referred to by his title Jagadekamalla; so were many other kings of that dynasty and of the dynasty of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. See Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* published in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 7.

tānukramaṇī, *Svarānukramaṇī*, *Nipātānukramaṇī* and *Nirbandhānukramaṇī*; and his reference on p. 150 to 'the first *bhāṣya* of Mādhava' (Mādhavasya prathama-bhāṣyam) has led Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, p. 36) to believe that Veṅkaṭa-mādhava has written, beside the above-mentioned *Anukramaṇīs*, two commentaries on the RV. of which the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* is the first¹. Now, Dr. Raja has printed, as App. IV, in his edition of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, an *Ākhyātānukramaṇī* and a *Nāmānukramaṇī*. The author's name is given in neither work; but the former contains an *upodghāta* from which we learn that the author has written also a *Svarānukramaṇī*, a *Nipātānukramaṇī* and eight other *Anukramaṇīs*, of which the last is the *Mantrārthānukramaṇī*. This twelfth *Anukramaṇī*, says Dr. Raja (*op. cit.*, Introd., p. XXII), is nothing but a Veda-bhāṣya; and he identifies it with the *Ṛk-saṃhitā-bhāṣya* (different from the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*) of a Mādhava (different from Veṅkaṭamādhava), a copy of which is found in the Adyar Library. That is to say, Dr. Raja agrees with Devarāja that Mādhava, author of the commentary on the RV., has also written the *Nāmānukramaṇī*, *Nipātānukramaṇī*, etc., mentioned by Devarāja and utilised by him; but he holds that this Mādhava is not the same as Veṅkaṭa-mādhava, and that Devarāja errs when he ascribes all these works to Veṅkaṭamādhava, and thus makes out that he wrote another commentary, beside the *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, on the RV. As I have not read the RV. commentary of Mādhava referred to above, I am unable to pronounce any opinion on this matter. It is, however, difficult to believe (as Devarāja and Prof. Bhagavad Datta would have us do) that the same person has written *two* commentaries on a voluminous work like the *Ṛk-saṃhitā*; and Dr. Raja's observations on this point in *op. cit.*, Introd., p. XXI and on pp. 316 ff. in Vol. 5 of the *Journal of Oriental Research* seem to me to be very cogent.

Dr. Raja has made it plain in the article in the above-mentioned *Journal* that Mādhava, author of the RV. commentary in

1. Prof. Bhagavad Datta is mistaken when he says (*op. cit.*, p. 36) that the Adyar Library manuscript, referred to above, of the RV. commentary mentions Veṅkaṭamādhava as the name of the author. A description of the contents of this Ms. is given by Dr. Raja in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. 5, 316 ff.; and he has said in it that the name of author is Mādhava and not Veṅkaṭamādhava.

question, has also written a *Svarānukramaṇī*, *Samayānukramaṇī*, *Itihāsānukramaṇī*, etc., and that some of the references made by Devarāja to Mādhava are to the RV. commentary of this Mādhava. When however Dr. Raja further asserts (*op. cit.*, Introd., pp. XX and XXII) that the *Ākhyātānukramaṇī* and *Nāmānukramaṇī* printed by him in *op. cit.*, have been written by this Mādhava, and that there is undisputable evidence to show that it is these works that are referred to by Devarāja, I must protest against it and point out that he has produced no evidence in support of these statements. The two *Anukramaṇīs* printed by Dr. Raja are in verse, and so, doubtless, are the other ten *Anukramaṇīs* also¹ written by this unknown author. The *Anukramaṇīs* of Mādhava, on the other hand, seem to have been written in prose; compare, for instance, the quotations from these works contained in the following passages of his RV. commentary (see *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, pp. 317, 318) :

(a) tatra yathety asya anudāttatvam upamārthasya bhavati | prakāravacanasya udāttatā vaktavyā | iti Svarānukramaṇyām uktam.

1. As pointed out by Dr. Raja (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, p. 325), one of the two recensions of Skandasvāmin's commentary on the RV. contains quotations from the printed *Nāmānukramaṇī* of the unknown author. It is of interest to note that the following quotations too are contained in the explanations of RV. 1, 6, 4 and 1, 7, 3 in this recension :

(1) ripuṃ muṣṇantv asmadiya indrasyaitāvatīḥ stutīḥ |
yā na anyasmān nindhyayuh tā indratvasupūjakāḥ ||
ataḥ prasannād indrāc ca dhaninaḥ syāma tādṛśāḥ |
īśvarā ripavo 'py asmān yad brūyuh sudhanān iti ||

(2) [atretihāsam ācakṣate:]
vṛtras tatāna tanvemāṃl lokāṃs tat-tamasā vṛtāḥ |
sarve'ndha-buddhayo'bhūaṃs tad indras taṃ jaghāna
ca ||

tadiya-tamaso nuttyai divi sūryam arohayat |

The first of these passages is, plainly, an explanation of RV. 1, 6, 3-4 and seems therefore to be a quotation from the twelfth *Anukramaṇī* (which gives the meaning of all mantras) of the same unknown author, while the second passage seems to be an extract from the eleventh *Anukramaṇī* (*Itihāsānukramaṇī*) of that author. The passage cited in the explanation of 1, 10, 11 too seems likewise to be a quotation from the latter *Anukramaṇī*,

(b) nareti cāmantritam | artha-svabhāvād ādy-udāttam
iti Svarānukramanyām uktam.

(c) vo na iti sārva-vibhaktike | iti Vibhakty-anukramanyām
uktam.

(d) aṅgira ity ātmāna eva āmantraṇam | tac ca vākyaāt
prthag-āhūtam | iti Vibhakty-anukramanyām uktam.

These quotations seem to be in prose, which accords with the fact that Mādhava's RV. commentary too is in prose.

If we assume then for the present that Dr. Raja is right in holding that Mādhava, author of the above RV. commentary is different from Veṅkaṭamādhava, we find the question arising in our minds, "Is this Mādhava, perhaps, identical with the Mādhava-bhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyaṇa?" To this question, we can give no answer before the commentary in question is published.¹

All that we know of Mādhavabhaṭṭa is, that he is mentioned by Sāyaṇa and is therefore anterior to him. The fact however that Sāyaṇa has employed the plural number when speaking of him (*Mādhavabhaṭṭās tu . . . manyante*), while, on the other hand, he has used the singular number when speaking of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara, Skandasvāmin, Bharatasvāmin, Udgītha, Kapardisvāmin, Yāska, etc., seems to indicate that he was a senior contemporary of Sāyaṇa. It is therefore probable that the RV. commentary of this Mādhavabhaṭṭa was written in the period 1300-1350 A. D.

1. The passage *agnim agnim | eko 'py agniḥ bhedaṁ aneka iva | daśā-bhedā ity apare | tan na samāñjasam* | quoted by Dr. Raja (*Jour. of Oriental Research*, Vol. V, p. 322) from his commentary on RV. 1, 12, 2 seems however to show that he is posterior to Sāyaṇa; see in this connection the observations made above.

SVARABHAKTI ACCORDING TO THE TAITTIRĪYA PRĀTISĀKHYA.

BY

M. LAKSHMI NARASIMHAYYA, M.A., LECTURER,
Maharaja's College, Mysore.

Dr. Siddhesvar Varma expressed the hope that his work might serve as a stimulus for further research into the phonetic observations of Indian Grammarians.¹ This is a modest attempt to fulfil that noble hope, though in a meagre way, by a close study of Svarabhakti as understood by the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya and the literature connected with it.

I. THE MEANING OF THE TERM. The two standard commentaries on the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya differ fundamentally in their views on the meaning of the term Svarabhakti. The Tribhāṣyaratna derives the word as *svarasya bhaktiḥ* and gives *bhāga*, *avayava* and *ekadeśa* as synonyms of the word *bhakti*.² In doing so it is only following the Māhiṣeya Bhāṣya.³ Vowel-fragment and vowel-fraction or the German words 'vokal-teil' and 'vokal-bruch'⁴ would be accurate equivalents of it in this sense. But the Vaidikābharaṇa, probably following Uvaṭa,⁵ derives the word as *svarasya iva bhaktir yasya saḥ* adding that *bhakti* itself means *dharma* (*bhājyata iti bhaktiḥ dharmah*)⁶. The meaning would then be that the *repha* becomes similar to a vowel or acquires the characteristics of a vowel. Probably 'vowel-like' would be the best equivalent of Svarabhakti in this sense. Since 'vowel-fragment' and 'vowel-like' are not synonymous with each other it is clear that the two commentaries differ

1. cf: Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians, P. 188.

2. Taitt: Prāti: (Mysore Oriental Library Edition), P. 485.

3. cf: Taittirīya Prātiśākhya with Māhiṣeya Bhāṣya. (Madras University Publication), P. 175.

4. cf: Rk Prātiśākhya. Max Muller, P. XVII.

5. cf: Rk Prātiśākhya I. 17 svaraprakāra ityarthah and Vāj; Prāti: IV. 17. svarasadṛśatvāt.

6. Taitt: Prāti: P. 488.

in their conceptions of the nature of Svarabhakti. This difference of opinion between them is foreshadowed even at the threshold of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya. Under the first *sūtra* which gives us the letters of the Vedic alphabet the two commentaries give their lists. While the Tribhāṣyaratna (P. 3) looks upon Svarabhakti as an independent letter the Vaidikābharaṇa says (P. 9) that it will refute in the XXI Adhyāya the views of those who believe that Svarabhakti is an independent letter.

We may now consider which of these interpretations is acceptable and why it is so. According to the Tribhāṣyaratna the *repha* gets the name of (or should be treated as) Svarabhakti when it is followed by an *ūṣman*. But the Vaidikābharaṇa would have us believe that the *repha* acquires the characteristics of a *svara* or becomes similar to it. The chief characteristics of a *svara*, according to it, are *mātrikatva* (requiring one mora for its utterance) and *pradhānatā* (independence). The *repha* which has only half a mora as the time of utterance will be given another $\frac{1}{2}$ mora and thus becomes equal to a *svara* which requires one more for its utterance. But *pradhānatā* is not a feature which characterises all Svarabhaktis alike. Here one cannot help asking the Vaidikābharaṇa why it would stop short of attributing *pradhānatā* to all Svarabhaktis while it concedes *mātrikatva* the other characteristic. As one can clearly see this is an instance of the fallacy of Ardharatīya. In fact the chief characteristic of a vowel is independence. The Vaidikābharaṇa itself quotes a half-śloka¹ which describes a vowel as something which shines of its own accord. *Repha* would not be similar to a vowel if it should not be independent also. Thus denial of independence is tantamount to denial of similarity to the vowel.

The Tribhāṣyaratna says, "*rephasya ūṣmaṇaśca saṁyoge sati tatroṣmasaṁyukto rephas svarabhaktir iti jānīyāt*" (P. 485). This does not imply that the *repha* is substituted with another letter or that it acquires the characteristics of another letter. When *repha* is followed by an *ūṣman* it ought to be looked upon as a Svarabhakti or vowel fragment. It explains itself thus: the

1. cf: Vaidikābharaṇa, P. 14, Yas svayam rājate tam tu svaram āha Patañjaliḥ.

cf: also Mahābhāṣya under 'Nīcāiranudattāḥ'.

anvartham cedam nirvacanam.

svayam rājanta iti svarāḥ.

anvaghbhavati vyañjanam iti.

repha becomes the fragment of a vowel which has the same place of utterance as itself. *R̥* which has the tip of the tongue as the *karana* is similar to *repha*. Hence *repha* becomes part of the vowel *r̥*. The following analysis of *r̥* will show how *repha* is a part or fragment of it. $\frac{1}{4}$ mora (*r̥* vowel) + $\frac{1}{2}$ mora (*repha*) + $\frac{1}{4}$ mora (*r̥* vowel) = *r̥*. The vowel *r̥* which has one mora consists of a consonantal element ($\frac{1}{2}$ mora) hedged in between two vowel-elements ($\frac{1}{4}$ mora each). If the whole should now be divided into two equal halves we have a fragment beginning with $\frac{1}{4}$ mora of vowel and another beginning with $\frac{1}{4}$ mora of consonant. These are given the names *svarodayā Svarabhakti* and *vyañjanodayā Svarabhakti* respectively. Thus we obtain two Svarabhaktis out of a *r̥*. Of these the *repha* is considered to be the former when it precedes *s*, *ṣ* or *ś* and the latter when it precedes *h*. The former has *vivṛta* as the *karana*, the latter *saṃvṛta*.

So far the commentaries have interpreted the *sūtra* "Rephoṣmasaṃyoge *rephas* svarabhaktiḥ" (XXI. 15, Taitt: Prāti:). But they add that 1 also yields under similar circumstances two Svarabhaktis. The Vaidikābharāṇa adds a justification for thus supplementing the *sūtra* with the word *adhyayanānurodhāt*. Reciters of the Veda have been pronouncing a Svarabhakti for 1 under similar circumstances from time immemorial. The Vyāsa Śikṣā has the words *lasyāpi* as part of the half-śloka which enjoins Svarabhakti (cf. XXIII. 1 Vyāsa Śikṣā). The former process obtains even in the case of 1. Only in its case the vocalic elements on both the sides would be those of *l̥*.

It was already pointed out how the Vaidikābharāṇa is not prepared to follow its line of argument to its logical conclusions by admitting for the *repha* independence equal to that of a vowel. Further, each Prātiśākhya is attached to a particular Śikṣā which is believed to be its source. Though, chronologically speaking, some of the Śikṣās are, in their present forms, posterior to the Prātiśākhyas which are supposed to be based upon them, still there must have been certain nuclei of the Śikṣās which paved the way for the Prātiśākhyas. The Taittirīya Prātiśākhya is closely connected with the Vyāsa Śikṣā and the interpretation of the Vaidikābharāṇa is in flagrant contradiction with that of the Vyāsa Śikṣā and its commentaries. Except the independent Svarabhaktis the others have only $\frac{1}{4}$ mora as the time of utterance. The Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī quotes the follow-

ing from a Śikṣā: Vyañjanasvarabhaktinām kālas syād ardhamātrikaḥ.¹ This idea is paraphrased by the Vedataijasa, another commentary on the Vyāsa Śikṣā, by saying svarabhakter ardhamātroktatvāt. The Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī continues:—

ṛkāśasya svarūpaṃ tad buddhvā boddhum hi śakyate |
 svarabhaktimato vidyādṛkāramiha vistarāt |
 ṛkāśasya svarūpaṃ hi śliṣṭaṃ pādacatuṣṭayaṃ |
 pādeṣu teṣu vijñeyāvādāvante svarātmakau |
 aṇū rephasya madhye dvau vijñeyau vyañjanātmakau |
 rephasya cādibhūtaṃ hi pādaṃ pūrveṇa yojayet ||
 svarātmakena pādena hyultareṇottaram tathā |
 svarapādān vitau bhāgau svarabhaktiritirītau ||

Moreover this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the Vyāsa Śikṣā gives the special name Pṛkṭasvara to *ṛ* and *ḷ*. *A*, *i* and *u*, the other primary vowels, are not analysable like *ṛ* into vocalic and consonantal elements as shown above. cf: ṛvarṇasyāpyḷkāśasya pṛkṭasamjñā prakīrtitā |² The Vedataijasa says: anayoranyavarṇasammīśratvādetatsamjñeti kecit. It refers to Svarabhakti as a svaravyañjanātmakavarṇa.³ The ascription of one mora to the *repha*, as the Vaidkābharaṇa does, is against all accredited canons of linguistics. In this connection one cannot help referring to the scholarly introduction contributed to the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya (Mysore Oriental Library Edition) by Pandit Rangacharya who observes—prāyassarveṣvevaiṣu vimatiṣṭhaleṣu tribhāṣyaratnakṛto vyākhyānameva vyāsaśikṣayā samvadatīti tadeva jyāyo manyāmahe | sā hi Vyāsaśikṣā śikṣāsvabhyarhiteti tadgaṇanāvasare prathamaparigaṇanād avagamyate.⁴

Thus the expression “vowel-like” fails to denote the Svarabhakti of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya. A similar remark applies to the word “vokal-einschub,”⁵ which means vowel-insertion because this Prātiśākhya does not enjoin the augmenting of a vowel, but only emphasizes the vowel-aspect of the two halves of *ṛ* or *ḷ*. Hence anaptyxis⁶ which means a vowel, consonant or nasal inserted between sounds with a view to facilitate pronuncia-

1. cf: P. 223 Tiruvadi Edition of Vyāsa Śikṣā in Grantha characters.

2. Vyāsa Śikṣā, p. 9.

3. *Ibid*, p. 222.

4. cf: P. 22, Introduction.

5. cf: Wackernagel. Altindische Grammatik, Vol. I, P. 55.

6. cf: P. 273—4. Taraporevala.

tion is not a correct equivalent of the word Svarabhakti as understood above.

II. Svarabhakti and the fricatives. The circumstance under which Svarabhakti appears is the presence of a *r* + an *ūṣman* + a vowel. We shall here deal with the first of these conditions leaving the second for consideration under the following section. Though the sūtra "nājjahalau" (I. i. 10 Pāṇini) denies sāvarṇya between vowels and consonants still the fact that the *ūṣmans* and vowels have, even according to Pāṇini, the same places of utterance (each *ūṣman* is connected with a particular vowel) and the same ābhyantaraprayatna viz: *vivṛta* (*vivṛtam ūṣmaṇām svarāṇām ca*) implies that there is close kinship between them though Pāṇini who started with a particular scheme of classification was forced to deny it. He formulated a water-tight division of letters into vowels and consonants which were mutually exclusive and hence was forced to give a specific ruling in the matter of sāvarṇya though, on his own admission, there was scope for it. But to us who believe that there are sonant liquids and nasals this need not present an insuperable difficulty. The fricatives are sonants in embryo—a view which Professor Passy endorses.¹

Or it may be due to the fact that the sonant character of the *r* or *l* is brought into greater relief in their association with fricatives. With vowels or consonants other than fricatives the *r* or *l* becomes subordinate to them and cannot show itself forth. But the *ūṣman* is not strong enough to exercise full control over the *r* or *l* like a full vowel or a consonant. Thus the need for the *ūṣman* is established.

III. The fricative to be followed by a vowel. The second factor necessary for the appearance of Svarabhakti is a vowel immediately after the *ūṣman*. The Vyāsa Śikṣā says: *svaro-rdhvoṣmaṇi rephasya lasyāpi svarabhaktitā* (XXXIII. i)². The *r* or *l* will be preceded by a vowel and will be followed by an *ūṣman* itself followed by a vowel. It is in order to avoid a difficulty in pronunciation that the tongue glides at the point of the *repha* into a vocalic sound. As the Vaidikābharāṇa puts it, the *repha* is unfused with the *ūṣman* and thus cannot be pronounced.³

1. cf: P. 134. Critical Studies.

2. cf: The Vaj: Prāti: IV, 17. "svarodaye" and Atharva Prāti: I. 101 "svarapare."

3. cf: P. 488. *asamśliṣṭo'tra repha ūsmaṇā iti na śakyate prayoktum.*

But the vocalic sound is not equal to a full vowel. Hence if we get another consonant immediately after the *ūṣman* the difficulty in pronunciation recurs in an unmanageable form. Though it is akin to a vowel in certain respects and thus gets associated with it more easily than the other consonants the *ūṣman* cannot develop itself into a vowel or discharge the functions of a vowel. Unless the letter which precedes it is a full vowel it would be impossible to pronounce the *ūṣman* when it is followed by a consonant. The consonant that can possibly follow it is another letter of its own kind caused by reduplication or a first mute which naturally appears there or intrudes as an *abhinidhāna*. The Taittiriya Prātiśākhya excludes these by the sūtra "Na krame prathamapare prathamapare (XXI. 16). It may be remarked in passing how Whitney's tirade against the Tribhāṣyaratna (Taitt: Prāti:, P. 394.) is undeserved because the Māhiṣeya Bhāṣya and Vaidikābharaṇa also interpret the sūtra as containing the idea of alternation and give illustrations for kramapara and prathamapara separately. Further it is not correct to say that the spirant is *always* doubled before a first mute because sūtra XIV. 17 (Prathamaparaśca plākṣi-plākṣāṇayoḥ) does not allow an option though the names of two ācāryas are mentioned. As the Vaidikābharaṇa says, the mentioning of their names is pūjārtham.

The presence of a small vocalic element like Svarabhakti would hardly be enough to enable the tongue to pronounce a consonant coming immediately after the *ūṣman*. This would be possible if we should have a vowel requiring greater effort than usual (e.g. a *svarita* or *dīrgha*) preceding at least the *repha*. Or it would also be possible to pronounce another consonant along with *ūṣman* if the vowel following such a consonant is itself long or has a *svarita* accent attached to it. Requiring as they do a greater effort and a longer duration of time than the other forms of vowels, the long vowel and the *svarita* help the tongue, at least to some extent, in pronouncing the preceding or following consonants. The following *kārikā* from a Śikṣā confirms the above opinion:¹ svārāḥ kampāśca raṅgāśca ye yatkalāssvabhāvataḥ | vardhante procyamānāste kṣiprayatne'pi vaktari ||

On a close scrutiny of the instances adduced by all the three works, Tribhāṣyaratna, Vaidikābharaṇa and Vedatāijasa it is clear how in most of them there is a *svarita* immediately before

1. cf: Vaidikābharaṇa, P. 40-41. svaritagrahīṇām vyañjanānām kālādhiyam uktaṁ śikṣāyām,

or immediately after the group of consonants. Only in *dārśyam*, *etarhyārūḍhaḥ* and *anumārṣtu* is the *svarita* absent. No such combination of consonants is characterised by the presence of a *hrasva* immediately before and immediately after it. The momentum of the greater effort required for pronouncing either the preceding long vowel as in *dārśyam* and *mārṣtu* or the preceding *svarita* as in *adarśma* enables the tongue to go farther in the direction of pronouncing this combination of consonants. Or the greater force exerted for pronouncing the following long vowel as in *etarhyārūḍhaḥ*, or the following *svarita* as in *varṣma* or the following long vowel also characterised by *svarita* as in *kārṣṇī*, *varṣṭā*, *varṣyābhyaḥ*, *barsvėbhīḥ*, *yarhyenādāhutiḥ*, is able to account for the possibility of pronouncing these combinations of three consonants. The following table will make the point clear:—

i	ii	iii	iv	v
Long vowel alone before.	svarita alone before.	long vowel alone after.	svarita alone after.	svarita and long vowel after.
1. <i>dārśyam</i> (T. S. III. ii. 2).		4. <i>etarhyā- rūḍhaḥ</i> (T. S. V. i. 5).	5. <i>varṣma</i> ¹ (T. S. III. iv. 8).	7. <i>kārṣṇī</i> ¹ (T.S. V. iv. 4).
2. <i>mārṣtu</i> (T. S. I. iv. 44).			6. <i>nirhyag- niḥ</i> (T. S. VI. ii. 2).	8. <i>varṣṭā</i> ¹ (T.S. VII. v. 20).
	3. <i>adarśma</i> ¹ (T. S. III. ii. 5).			9. <i>varṣyā- bhyaḥ</i> (T. S. VII. iv. 13).
				10. <i>barsvėbhīḥ</i> (T. S. V. vii. 11).
				11. <i>yarhyena- dāhutiḥ</i> (T. S. V. i. 3).

Thus Whitney's great problem (Atharva Prāti: I-101-2) relating to "the reason for distinguishing the case of a following spirant and that, too, only when followed by a vowel" is satisfactorily solved.

IV. The pronunciation of Svarabhakti. According to the Taittirīyakas it is erroneous to attach an *a*, *i* or *u* to the *repha* to facilitate pronunciation. Their attitude in the matter

is clear because they point out how the *repha* in the particular context is not a full consonant with half mora as its time of utterance; in which case a vowel like *a* etc. could be attached to it. It is only a glide-sound with a vocalic element which must be brought into clear relief. The Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī quotes the following verse, probably from the Ātreya Śikṣā:—*pūrvasvarasya cālpatvam (?) itvam utvam iti trayaṃ | etat sarvaṃ viśṛjyaiva svarabhaktiṃ samuccaret ||*¹ Thus *dhūruṣadam*, *śata-valiṣam* and *akāriṣam*—are, from its point of view, erroneous. That the form *dhūruṣadam*² is a case of error is proved by the fact that there is a denial of Svarabhakti in other cases with *ru*. e.g., *puruṣa*, *pauruṣeṇa*, *pūruṣaḥ*. “*Pupaupūtriṣu pūrveṣu śaśaseṣu pareṣu ca | rephādukāra eva syāt svarabhaktir na vidyate ||*” (A manuscript called *Varṇa-krama-darpaṇa*.)

Moreover in the process of *varṇa-krama* the *svrabhakti* is referred to as *dharmatryarahitocārīta*. The three *dharma*s are *attva*, *ittva* and *uttva*. The *Svarabhakti* ought to be pronounced without any of these vowels attached to it. That the vocalic element in *Svarabhakti* imperceptibly develops into an *a*, *i* or *u* in certain mouths is a phenomenon which cannot be gainsaid. If a guess could be hazarded it is probable that at the time of the Ātreya Śikṣā all these forms of pronunciation were current and that the Śikṣā made an explicit prohibition in order to correct an error on the part of the ordinary reciters.

V. Independence of *Svarabhakti*. Turning to the vexed question of the *svātantrya* of *Svarabhakti* we find ourselves confronted with a highly embarrassing maze of conflicting opinions. We may rest content with noting only the general principles which regulate the independence or otherwise of *Svarabhakti*. The *Tribhāṣyaratna*, like the proverbial commentary, is quite silent on this important problem. But the *Vaidikābharaṇa* is forced to say something because it believes that in *Svarabhakti* the *repha* acquires the features of a vowel, one of which is independence. As already pointed out it does not concede independence to *Svarabhakti* under all circum-

1. I could not get a copy (printed or manuscript) of the Ātreya Śikṣā to make sure of the reading because *alpatvam* conveys no sense. But a competent vedic scholar told me that the reading was “*cāpyattvam*”.

2. cf: *Critical Studies*, P. 85.

stances. It says that Svarabhakti is pūrvāṅga in certain places, but svatantra in other places. It quotes a śloka:—svārātparā svarabhaktiḥ svapradhānā prakīrtitā | ṛtasya dhūrṣadam ceti svatantrā bhaktiṣyate.”¹ A Svarabhakti coming after a svarita (long or short) should be treated as independent. Among the examples it gives we find dhītibhirhitaḥ which calls for a special remark later on. Another example is ṛtasya dhūrṣadam. Here the Svarabhakti does not follow a svarita and yet the śloka endorses independence to it. The Vaidikābharāṇa confers animittasvātantrya on it. Another interesting case considered by the Vaidikābharāṇa is doṣāvastor¹ haviṣmatī which, though coming after a svarita is yet not considered to be svatantra. We thus have two examples which run counter to the principle laid down in the kārīkā. Dhūrṣadam is a case of ativyāpti and doṣāvastor is one of avyāpti. These examples will be fully explained when we consider the remarks of the Vyāsa Śikṣā.

Dīrghāt svārādanantyā ca svarabhaktiḥ pṛthag bhavet |² Though the Svarabhakti in doṣāvastor¹ comes after a svarita it is still at the end of a word and thus fails to be treated as independent. Thus the rule framed by the Vyāsa Śikṣā seems to have an eye on cases like doṣāvastor¹. Svarabhaktis following short svaritas have of course their independence.³

The independence of the Svarabhakti in ṛtasya dhūrṣadam is justified by the latter half of the kārīkā quoted above: pratyeka-svarabhāgyaśca na bhāktirnihate ca he || The Svarabhakti will be independent when it is preceded and followed by letters having svaras (udātta etc.) other than its own. In ṛtasya dhūrṣadam the Svarabhakti is anudātta while the letters which precede and follow it are udātta and svarita respectively.

Coming to dhītibhirhitaḥ it is to be noticed how the last quarter of the preceding half śloka denies independence to a Svarabhakti followed by an *h* which is nihata or anudātta. Thus Dr. Varma's remarks (Critical Studies, P. 86) are probably not relevant because the Vyāsa Śikṣā deprives the Svarabhakti in dhītibhirhitaḥ of its independence because it is followed by

1. cf: P. 488. Mysore Oriental Library Edition.

2. cf: P. 225. Vyāsa Śikṣā, Tiruvadi Edition.

3. cf: Vedataijasa, P. 225-6 hrasvāt svaritāt parā svara-bhaktiśca pṛthag syāt.

an *h* which is anudātta.¹ The Vedatāijasa also endorses this opinion (P. 226). This rule could easily account for the want of independence for the Svarabhakti in doṣāvastor because the *h* following the Svarabhakti is an anudātta. But we cannot, on that account, dispense with dīrghāt svārāt..... because, otherwise the Svarabhakti in vasatīvarīr hotṛcamasam becomes independent. But the difficulties relating to doṣāvastor and vasatīvarīr do not seem to have come to an end though dhūrśadam and dhītibhirhitaḥ are satisfactorily explained because the Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī believes that these are cases of independent Svarabhakti (P. 227). “Evam vastorhaviṣmatī, vasatīvarīr hotṛcamasam ityādaḥ śikṣāntareṇa pūrvasya svaritasya uccavattvam, svarabhaktirephayoḥ svaritatvam, anayā śikṣayā svātantryam ca. It refers to ‘other’ Śikṣās without explicitly mentioning their names so that, if the Śikṣās concerned were available, we could see if its conclusions are corroborated by them or if it has misinterpreted the statements of the several Śikṣās.

Further we get half a dozen Svarabhaktis catalogued in the following śloka; they are all considered to be cases of independent Svarabhakti. Yāyakāṇḍa—vidhāyordhvam ṛṣibhyo hyṛṣayo hyṛṣiḥ | ityāśrasīmakāpūrvamṛṣam ceti svatantratā ||²

1. indriyāyarṣibhyaḥ (Taitt. Ār: X. vii. 22.)
2. aruṇāḥ kāṇḍarṣayaḥ (Aruṇa Praśna. Last anuvāka.)
3. vidhāyarṣiravocat. (Taitt. Ār: VII. vii.)
4. agnirdevatā brahma ityārṣam. (Taitt: Ār: X. xxxiii.)
5. sahasraśīrṣam. (Taitt: Ār. X. xi.)
6. pāpamakārṣam. (Taitt: Ār: X. xxiv.)

The independence of four of these is vouchsafed by the statement ‘pratyekasvarabhāgyaśca’, the exceptions being Nos. 4 and 6 which seek protection under the special rule.

The Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī summarises the conclusions on the independence of Svarabhakti in the following verses:—³

pūrvāṅgatvaparaṅgatvasvatantratvavibhedataḥ |
svarabhaktistridhā proktā traividhyaṃ ca vivicyate ||

1. cf: Sarvalakṣaṇamañjarī, P. 227 evaṃ ca sati dhītibhirhita ityādaḥ svātantryābhāvāt pūrvāṅgatvena svaritatvam.
2. cf: P. 85. Foot-note 3. Critical studies.
3. cf: P. 228. Tiruvadi Edition,

svārāddhṛasvācca yā bhaktiḥ parāṅgaṃ pracaye pare |
 nice svatantrā pracayā pūrvāṅgaṃ nihate ca he ||
 svāre dīrghe tu yā'nantīā svatantrā pracayā bhavet |
 nihate pracaye vā'pi pūrvāṅgamitaratra tu ||
 antīā yadi bhavet saiva svaryate pūrva uccavat |
 āyapūrvādivihitāstisro'pi svarabhaktayaḥ ||
 svatantrāstā uccanīcasvārā jñeyāḥ kramādbudhaiḥ |
 ityāmaketi pūrvā cet svatantrā'raṇyake matā |
 svatantrasvarabhaktīnām kālassyādekamātrikaḥ |
 pratyekasvarabhāktvācca nirdeśādangulau pṛthak |
 itarāstvardhamātrāssyuriti vedavido viduḥ ||

It classifies Svarabhaktis under three heads:

i. Pūrvāṅga, ii. Parāṅga and iii. Svatantra.

i. Pūrvāṅga Svarabhaktis.

1. Short svarita + Svarabhakti + anudātta-h e.g., dhīti-
 bhir¹hitaḥ.

2. Long svarita + Svarabhakti (at the end of a word)
 e.g., doṣāvastorhaviṣ¹mati, vāsati¹varīrhotṛcamasaṃ.

3. Vowels other than svarita + Svarabhakti + nihata or
 pracaya e.g., parśur¹vedīḥ, ārṣeyam (nihata); sahasra¹valśāḥ
 (pracaya).

ii. Parāṅga Svarabhakti.

4. Short svarita + Svarabhakti + pracaya e.g., yaddārśa-
 pūr¹namāsau.

iii. Svatantra Svarabhaktis.

5. Short svarita + Svarabhakti + anudattā
 e.g., sadārśa¹satasya¹.

6. Long svarita + Svarabhakti (not at the end of a word)
 e.g., yadbārhas¹patyaḥ, kōr¹hati, tenār¹hati.

The half a dozen exceptional cases of independent Svara-
 bhakti like indriyāyarṣibhyaḥ should also be added.

VI. A word about the nomenclature of Svarabhaktis which
 has been passed over by Dr. Varma. We have noticed above
 how several attributes like svarodayā or vyañjanodayā, pūrvāṅga
 parāṅga or svatantra, udātta, anudātta, svarita etc., get attached
 to a Svarabhakti. In the process of Varṇakrama these features
 will have to be expressed individually as characterising a parti-

cular Svarabhakti. Moreover since the ūṣmans are four in number while the preceding letters are two, *viz.*, *r* and *l*, even simple arithmetic would show how there would be eight kinds of Svarabhakti. But *l* does not get associated with *s* and *ṣ*. Thus the number is short by two. Among the Svarabhaktis yielded by *r* we get three names: $r + h = \text{kareṇu}$; $r + ś, ṣ \text{ or } s = \text{hariṇi}$; but some people speak of $r + ṣ$ as *haṃsapadā*. The varieties under *l* are: $l + h = \text{karviṇi}$; $l + ś = \text{hāritā}$. Thus the total number, if we should ignore the subvariety *haṃsapadā*, will be four, two under *r* and two under *l*. The commentary on the Pāri Śikṣā justifies the nomenclature as follows: *saṃjñā karaṇasya tu upayoga ucyate : varṇakramoccāraṇakāle tattannāmnā vaktavyetyetadārthaṃ saṃjñākaraṇamuktaṃ*.¹

In the foregoing paragraphs certain observations on the nature of Svarabhakti, its occurrence, independence and nomenclature have been made on the basis of a close study of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya, Vyāsa Śikṣā and some of the standard commentaries on them. Though I have tried to steer clear of some of the difficulties which threatened Dr. Varma still I am afraid my own sails have encountered other harsh winds which can be avoided only if other beacon-lights are forthcoming.

1. *cf.* P. 230. Tiruvadi Edition.

YAVANARĀJYA-STHĀPANĀCĀRYA.

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D.,

Reader in Indian History and Archæology, University of Madras.

I

The poet, Allasāni Peddana, addresses his patron, Kṛṣṇa-dēvarāya as 'the establisher of the Yavana Kṣoṇḍhava, or the Mussalman king.'¹ The identity of this monarch, and the occasion which gave rise to this title are not known. No doubt, this phrase calls to mind a familiar passage from the chronicle of Nuniz, in which he describes Kṛṣṇarāya's attempt to resuscitate the defunct Bahmani monarchy, some years after his capture of Rāicūr in 1520 A. D.

"In the city of Calbergara, in the fortress belonging to it, the King took three sons of the King of Daquem. He made the eldest King of the kingdom of Daquem, his father being dead, though the Yadallcāo wanted to make king one of his brothers-in-law, who was a bastard son of the King of Daquem, and had married one of Yadallcāo's sisters; for this reason, he had kept these three brothers prisoners in that fortress. He whom he (Kṛṣṇarāya) thus made King was received by all the realm as such, even by the Yadallcāo, owing to his fear of the King (Kṛṣṇarāya)."²

The musician, Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, also refers to this incident in his *Saṅgītasūryōdaya*³, though he does not mention the restoration of the Bahmani prince to his ancestral throne. He states that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya crossed the river Kṛṣṇā, and set fire to the whole of the Muslim territory; he captured the forts of Fīrōzābād, Hasanbād and Sagar; and having inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Persian, he quickly seized the city of Kalubarga; he took, by the strength of his arms, three sons of the Sultan who had been harassed by the Sapāda (*i.e.*, the 'Ādil Khān) and set them at liberty.

1. Manucaritra, iii, 142.

2. F. E., p. 358.

3. The Bhārati: VII. P. 684.

Thus, it is evident that Kṛṣṇarāya made an attempt subsequent to 1520 A. D., to revive the Bahmani monarchy. However, it is doubtful whether the title 'Yavana kṣoṇīdhava sthāpana' of Manucaritra has any connection with the incident described by Nuniz and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa; for it occurs in a slightly modified form in the inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya much earlier.

Ref.	Date.	Title.
N. D. I. ii. Kr. 27.	1 Sept., 1514.	Yavanarājya Sthāpanācārya.
M. E. R. 272 of 1897.	8th July, 1515.	Do.
M. E. R. 243 of 1899.	29th March, 1516.	Do.
M. E. R. 381 of 1908.	1517.	Do.
M. E. R. 244 of 1899.	8th Aug., 1519.	Do.

As Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had the title 'Yavanarājya Sthāpanācārya' from at least 1514, if not earlier, his attempted restoration of the Bahmani Sultan subsequent to 1520 A. D. could not have been the cause of its assumption. It cannot be passed over as a conventional title devoid of all significance, because Kṛṣṇarāya was the only king of Vijayanagara, who assumed it, and it does not appear even in his earliest inscriptions, though they allude to his victory over the Bahmani Sultan.¹ Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the assumption of this title by Kṛṣṇarāya as early as 1514 points to the restoration of some Muhammadan king by him still earlier.

How did this title originate? Had Kṛṣṇarāya any justification for assuming it? So far, the title has been generally ignored; and no attempt has been made to discover its meaning. Although no information elucidating its significance is furnished by the Muslim historians, the Hindu and foreign writers mention certain facts which seem to throw some light upon it. In a report prepared by the Aṭṭhavaṇam officials by the command of Veṅkaṭa II in 1604, A. D., called, for the sake of convenience, 'the Vijayanagarada Sāmrājyavu', Kṛṣṇarāya is said to have waged a war of three years' duration on the Muhammadan states of the Deccan at the beginning of his reign. "On the 10th

1. *Paribhūta Suratrāṇena*, E. I., i. p. 363.

of the month of Tai of the year Prajōtpatti (9th January, 1512), (Kṛṣṇadēvarāya) pitched his tent outside the city and set out with the object of marching against Qutb Shāh and Nizām Shāh. Having waged war upon the three kingdoms (Bijāpūr, Gōlkoṇḍa, and Ahmadnagar) for three years, and set up a pillar of victory at Kalabarige, he exacted tribute from the three kingdoms and returned to Vijayanagara where he remained (for some time). Then, he set out on the Śrīrāmadaśamī of the month of Cittirai of Śrīmukha (? 16th March, 1513 A. D.) on an expedition against the Gajapati."¹

As the interval between 9th January, 1512 on which Kṛṣṇadēva is said to have set out from his capital against the Muhammadans and 16th March, 1513 when he left Vijayanagara to attack the Gajapati is a little over fourteen months, the war which lasted for three years must have commenced earlier. The date 9th January, 1512 probably refers to the day on which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya left his capital to join the army fighting against the Mussalmans and not to the commencement of the war. Since Kṛṣṇarāya was in the Ummattūr country in September, 1512 directing operations against its rebellious chief,² he must have returned to his country having concluded his three years' war with the Muhammadans. Assuming that he went straight to Ummattūr from Gulburga his war with the Muhammadans must have commenced three years earlier, *i.e.*, about

1. The Bhārati of Śukla, Āśvija.

Certain peculiarities of the date must be mentioned here. It is said that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya started on his campaign against the Gajapati on Śrīrāma 10 of Cittirai of the year Śrīmukha. There is Śrīrāmanavamī and no day like Śrīrāmadaśamī is known to the Indian calendar. This may, however, be taken as the daśamī following Śrīrāmanavamī. Again, the day Śrīrāmanavamī or the daśamī following it does not fall in the month of Cittirai in the year Śrīmukha. The month Cittirai commenced on 17th March, 1513, whereas the Śrīrāmanavamī occurred a few days earlier, 15th March, 1513. As the Śrīrāmanavamī occurs invariably on Caitra su. 9 of every year, the scribe, who seems to have been more accustomed to use the Tamil month than the Telugu, appears to have wrongly substituted Cittirai for Caitra. In that case, the corresponding date in the Christian calendar is 16th March, 1513. A. D.

2. M. E. R., 180 of 1913; Rep. 1914, p. 99.

September, 1509. This conclusion is borne out by the evidence of foreign writers. Purchas describes briefly the political condition of the Deccan at the time of the Portuguese conquest of Goa in the following passage:

"Sabaius (*i.e.*, 'the Sabayo') when he died, left his sonne Idalcan ('Ādil Khān) very young; whereupon, *his subjects rebelled, and the king of Narsinga warred upon him, to dispossess him of his Dominion.* Albuquerque, taking his opportunitie, besieged and . . . took Goa with the Iland. Which was soon after recovered by Idalcan, coming with a strong Armie thither, the Portugals flying away by night. *But when the King of Narsinga again invaded Idalcan, He was forced to resist the more dangerous Enemy,* leaving a strong Garrison at Goa, which yet Albuquerque overcame, and sacked the Citie."¹

'Though Purchas's work was published in 1626', it is said that he merely followed Barros,² who published his first Decada in A. D. 1552; and as Barros is believed to have drawn the material for his history from the Portuguese merchants like Nuniz³ who visited Vijayanagara and collected information therefrom, it is not unreasonable to believe that the account of Purchas is ultimately derived from contemporary sources. Nevertheless, it is necessary to find out how far, if at all, this is supported by other evidence. The information furnished, *e.g.*, by the Muhammadan historians on some of the facts mentioned by Barros and Purchas such as the death of Sabaius, *i.e.*, Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān before Albuquerque's first attack upon Goa, the rebellion of his subjects against his young son and successor, and the invasion of his dominions, immediately after his death by the king of Narsinga demands reconsideration.

The death of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān:

Considerable uncertainty hangs over the date and the circumstances of death of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān, the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhi dynasty of Bijāpūr. The Mussalman historians assign his death variously to a date ranging from A. H. 910 to 925. Zabīri alludes to the divergent views of Muslim writers in a short sentence. "The death of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān was, according

1. F. E., p. 125., n. 1.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.* Preface p. vi.

to the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, in 913, according to the history of Muhammad Qāsim Ferishtah in 916, and according to Rafī‘-ud-dīn Shirāji and Mir Ibrāhim Asad Khāni in 925.”¹ To this list the opinion of other writers may also be added. Syed ‘Āli Azīz-ul-lah Tabātabah places Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān’s death after 912,² the Anonymous Historian of the Qutb Shāhi kings in 910 and Khāfi Khān in 916 and 914.³

These historians do not, however, adduce evidence in support of their statements. Therefore, it is impossible to discover the actual date of Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān’s death with the help of the material furnished by them.

Ferishtah, who assigns Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān’s death to A. H. 916 (1511–12 A.D.), mentions certain facts which enable us to verify his date. He states that Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān died sometime after he recaptured Goa from the Christians. This event took place, according to the contemporary Portuguese records, on 20th May, 1510. If the capture of Goa immediately preceded Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān’s death, he must have died subsequent to this date. As the year 916 A. H. began on the 10th April, 1510,⁴ his death must have taken place in that year.

It may appear from what is said above that the date of Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān’s death mentioned by Ferishtah is correct, and that the problem has been satisfactorily solved. This is far from the truth. A perusal of Albuquerque’s commentaries brings to light the fact that Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān had not only no connection with the recapture of Goa but he was actually dead before Albuquerque’s arrival at the place. Albuquerque had set out from Cochin

1. *Busātin-ul-Salātīn*. p. 22.

2. *Burhan-i-Ma’asir* (I.A. xxviii, p. 319).

3. Khāfi Khān gives two dates: On p. 128 of *Munta Khab-ul-Lubāb* iii (Bibliothica Indica No. 60) he states.

Wa dar sanah 914 nuh šad wa chahārdah Yūsaf ‘Ādil Khān wadī‘at-i-ḥayat namūd;

and on p. 280 he gives the chronogram

namand shahanshah ‘ādil tarikh-i-wafāt-i-ū yāftah and.

but this is a mistake. The chronogram should begin with ‘*namandah*’. I am obliged to Mr. A. S. Ushah of the Oriental Research Institute for drawing my attention to this.

4. Haig: *Comparative Tables*, P. 20.

to make his first attack upon Goa on 10th February, 1510; he reached, after a few days' voyage, the island of Anjadiva, where he met Timōja, the commander of the Vijayanagara fleet. He learnt from Timōja that "Cabaio, (a name by which the Commentaries of Albuquerque always refer to Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān) the lord of Goa was dead".¹ Albuquerque, thereupon, resolved to attack Goa, and having secured the support of his captains in a debate which terminated on 25th February, 1510, he sailed towards Goa. When he was lying at anchor off the castle of Cintacora, Timōja met him again and said that 'by means of messages and letters that he had received from the Hindus of the city, he had been notified of the death of Cabaio and that in Goa there was a captain, named Malik CuferGūgi this captain after the death of the Cabaio, obeyed no one.'² On being asked why he was urging Albuquerque to capture Goa, he replied that 'the death of the Cabaio was certain', and that the people of Goa whom he oppressed and robbed the previous year were very glad and had risen up in mutiny.³ After the capture of Cintacora, a fakir whom Timōja seized said that the news of Goa was that the Cabaio was dead and his son away in the interior of the country.⁴ Thus assured, Albuquerque attacked Goa on 1st March, 1510; and it fell into his hands without any fighting.⁵ Probably about the end of March, 1510 A. D., two ambassadors who came from Shaik Ismael and the king of the Ormuz to the court of Cabaio found that the Cabaio was dead.⁶ Therefore, the Commentaries of Albuquerque make it clear that the Cabaio, i.e., Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān, died before the arrival of Albuquerque at Goa about 20th February, 1510;⁷ and that he had captured the port from his son

1. Commentaries: i. pp. 81-82.

2. *Ibid*, p. 85.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*, p. 87.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 88-92.

6. Commentaries: i. p. 106.

7. The following sentence in p. 187 of the Commentaries iii is very intriguing: "The *Hidalcão*, having recalled to mind that which the great Affonso Dalboquerque had sent to declare to his

and successor Ismael 'Ādil Shāh. It follows from this that Ferishtah wrongly attributes to Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān an achievement for which his son was really responsible.

The foregoing discussion makes it clear that sometime before the arrival of the Portuguese at Goa (20th February, 1510) Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān was dead. Though the date of his death cannot be fixed exactly, a few indications in the Commentaries show that he died only a short time before. On the eve of Albuquerque's first attack upon Goa, Timōja told him that *'during the year last passed'* the Cabaio had murdered and robbed more than 200 merchants of Goa.¹ He also informed

father (while that commander was lying in the river Goa) . . . , that he should yet see his words come to pass, and the city in the power of the Christians, and Milrrho, the Hindu carrying on the government."

When Albuquerque had made the above declaration, it is not clear. This could not, however, refer to the threat which he uttered at the conclusion of his meeting with Mustafā Khān, an officer of the *Hidalcão*; for its tenor was different: "And he would promise him, before that summer should pass away that he would be taking his rest again, in the palace at Goa, and that he hoped to make Timōja, a very great lord in the kingdom of Decan" (Commentaries ii. p. 187). The declaration was made probably on an earlier occasion before Albuquerque's first attack upon Goa. It must be remembered, in this connection, that the Cabaio was an

ally of the people of Malabar who made him their Captain-general, and offered him great sums of money and soldiers and every kind of assistance that he required in his operations against the Portuguese. And with the object of expelling the Portuguese from the Indian sea, he prepared 'a large fleet of ships, vessels and galleys in the river Goa' (Commentaries ii Ch. XX. p. 97). And he was in the habit of attacking the ships of the Portuguese and their allies in the ports of Malabar. Therefore, Albuquerque resolved to strike at his base: "You must well know", says he, "how the Cabayo, your father used to take the ships of Malabar out of the ports and harbours of the king my Lord; wherefore it was that I was constrained to go against Goa and take the city. . . . I wish most sincerely that your father had been living, that he know me to be a man of my word." (Commentaries iii. pp. 20-21). The declaration was evidently made at the time when Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān was attacking the Portuguese ports on the coast of Malabar.

1. Commentaries: ii. p. 85.

him a little earlier that a captain of the Grand Sultan who had been defeated by Almeida took refuge, after his defeat, at Goa, and that he made it his headquarters at the request of the Cabaio.¹

Now, the Egyptian fleet was defeated by Almeida on 3rd February, 1509.² If the Cabaio requested a captain of the Grand Sultan who had been defeated by Almeida to reside at Goa, this request must have been made after 3rd February, 1509, and that the Cabaio must have been alive at the time. It is evident from this that the Cabaio *i. e.*, Yusaf 'Ādil Khān, must have died sometime between February, 1509 and February, 1510.

The outbreak of rebellions: Albuquerque's commentaries give a fairly accurate estimation of the internal condition of the Bijāpūr territory immediately after the death of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān. Albuquerque learnt from Timōja at Anjadiva about 20th February, 1510 that 'the Hidalcão son of the Cabaio was very young, and on account of the death of his father, great divisions had arisen within the kingdom of Decan between the Lords.'³ At Goa, the commandant, Malik Cufer Gūgi, 'who had in his pay a thousand men under arms, 'after the death of the Cabaio, obeyed no one; and the people of the land' were in great dissension one with another, 'and the whole land had risen up in mutiny and in quarrels one against the other.'⁴ The Hindus of Belgaum also rebelled 'against the Hidalcão and had cast the Moors out of the city.'⁵ It is, therefore, certain that there broke out rebellions in the territories of Bijāpūr after Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān's death.

The invasion of the king of Narsinga: The Commentaries do not allude to an invasion of the 'Ādil Khān's territory by the king of Vijayanagara; but they refer to a war between the kings of the Deccan and Vijayanagara which appears to have broken out before January, 1510.⁶ The 'Ādil Khān must have participated

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1. Commentaries: ii. p. 82.
 2. Whiteway: The Rise of the Portuguese, p. 124.
 3. Commentaries: ii. Ch. xviii. p. 82.
 4. *Ibid.* Ch. xix. p. 85.
 5. *Ibid.* iii. Ch. viii. p. 36.
 6. *Ibid.* iii. Ch. xvii. 76.

in this war, as he was still a subordinate, even though nominally, of the king of the Deccan, and a bitter enemy of the king of Vijayanagara. Moreover, the attitude of the Hindu subjects of Bijāpūr must have offered the king of Vijayanagara sufficient encouragement for invasion. The Hindu rebels of Belgaum, for instance, 'put themselves under the command of the king (of Narsinga) for this city had formerly belonged to him.'¹

It is reasonable to think that the king of Vijayanagara would not have failed to profit himself by invading the Bijāpūr dominion taking advantage of the prevailing political disorder and confusion. Thus, there is good reason for accepting the evidence of Purchas and Barros. Therefore, it may be concluded that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was engaged in a war with the 'Ādil Khān in 1509-10 A. D.

II

Purchas distinguishes between two periods in the war which the king of Narsinga waged on the 'Ādil Khān:

A. Before the capture of Goa by Albuquerque in February 1510. This war must have broken out earlier, *i.e.*, in 1509.

B. After the capture of Goa from Albuquerque by the 'Ādil Khān in May, 1510 A. D.

A. In one of the earliest inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya dated January, 1510 A. D., he is said to have defeated the Sultan.² As Mahmūd Shāh II Bahmani was still alive, and as Kṛṣṇarāya did not recognise, the Bahmani nobles who asserted their independence, even after Mahmūd Shāh II death³, it is reasonable to hold that the Sultan referred to in the inscription is the Bahmani Sultan Mahmūd Shāh II, and not any one of the nobles who declared independence in defiance of his authority. The statement of the inscription is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary Portuguese records. In the instructions which Albuquerque gave to Friar Luis, whom he sent as an ambassador to Vijayanagara court for concluding a treaty against the Zāmurin in January 1510, he directs the ambassador to promise the king of Vijayanagara, on his behalf, to 'help him in the war against the king of Decan',⁴ *i.e.*, the Bahmani Sultan. Therefore,

1. Commentaries: iii. Ch. viii. p. 36.

2. *Paribhūta Suratrāṇēna*: E.I. i. p. 363.

3. See F.E. p. 358.

4. Commentaries: ii. 74-77.

it is certain that before January, 1510 Kṛṣṇadēvarāya waged a war upon the Bahmani Sultan and inflicted a defeat upon him. It may be noted in this context that Rāmarāja-Timma, one of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's officers, is said to have made a gift of life to 'the Muslim Muhammad.¹ It is not unlikely that the Muhammad to whom Rāmarāja-Timma gave life should have been identical with Sultan Mahmūd II, and that this incident should have occurred during this war.

Some of the Muhammadan historians describe a war between the Bahmani kingdom and Vijayanagara in which Sultan Mahmūd II not only sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the king of Vijayanagara, but also received serious wounds from which he recovered but slowly. The Anonymous Historian of the Qutb Shāhi kings narrates the events connected with this war briefly.

"On the following year A. H. 911 (1506 A. D.), according to the compact of Bidur, the King ordered his nobles with their troops to repair to the capital, all of whom having joined him, he again proceeded towards Beejanuggur. On his arrival at Dewly, the king's army was opposed by the Hindoo forces, when a sanguinary action took place. Mullick Kootb-ool-Moolk broke the left wing of the enemy, but Mahmood Shah in the centre, gave way, and being thrown from his horse, was nearly trodden to death. He was, however, fortunately discovered by some of his troops, and being placed in a palankeen was conveyed to the tent of Meer Lootf Oolla, the son of Shah Mohib Oollah. Thence the army retreated to the capital when the nobles retired to their respective governments.²

Syed 'Āli gives a more elaborate account :

'Historians have related', says he, 'that before the execution of Bashīr Khudāwind Khān (A. H. 923=A.D. 1517), a royal order was issued to the *amīrs* and great men in all parts of the dominions to assemble with a large force at the royal court in order to repel the refractory. The *amīrs*, according to

1. Padya Bālabhāgavatam :

క॥ కదసంధసంజయునకు మహా । మదమల్క ప్రాణదానమతి కొడ్డియరా
యదికొప్పటైన కరిరా । యదశవిభా శునకు పాండవాన్వయపతికి॥

The sentence శత్రుహతా న ప్రస్థపాలపాలిత occurring in another verse of the same work very probably refers to the same incident.

2. Brigg's Ferishtah, iii (app), pp. 350-51.

orders, busied themselves in preparing war material and collecting their armies; but before they could make their obeisance at court the heart of the Sultan was freed from anxiety on account of those three rebels. Since the *amīrs* were thus kept back from attendance at the court, they now hastened to make their obeisance. Greater than them all, *Sultan Ahmad Bahrī* with his army presented himself, and was exalted by royal favours. After him, *Nūri Khān Khwājah Jahān*, coming from *Parenda*, paid his respects. The remaining *amīrs* and *grandees*, such as *Majlis-i Rafī* 'Ādil Khān, *Masnad-i* 'Āli Imād-ul-Mulk, *Dastūr-i Mamālik* and others besides of the *amīrs* and *maliks*, when they heard of the arrival of the Sultan at the court, started for the capital with an army in numbers beyond computation, and making their obeisance offered their services.

“When the Sultan found such an army assembled under the shadow of his standard, he was seized with the desire of obtaining the happiness of waging a *jīhād* against the worshippers of idols; so for the purpose of overthrowing the idolaters and tyrants, he raised his standard and started from the capital. When the Sultan arrived at *Dīwānī*, the enemy becoming aware of his approach, prepared for battle and hastened to engage the royal army. A battle then ensued; but suddenly a fatal misfortune occurred to the royal army. The King of Islam, from the centre of the army which was his post, became separated from the rest; and owing to the thronging of the horses and the running to and fro of the troops, fell from his horse, and when the two armies closed they raised so great a dust that friends and opponents were mingled together, and could not be distinguished from one another, so no one was aware of what had happened to the Sultan till the blessed head of that leader with his most pure body was broken and wounded in several places. In the midst of this some of the attendants saw the king; and immediately went to him and brought him out of the midst of the horses, and putting him in a *pālki* took him to the dwelling of *Mīrzā Lutf-Ullāh*, son of *Shāh Maḥabb-Ullāh*.

“When the *amīrs* and *grandees* became aware of the Sultan's misfortune, they ceased fighting and repaired to his presence and seeing the Sultan lamenting and afflicted they shed fountains of blood like the *Jaiḥūn*. After that, folding up the carpet of contention and war, they turned towards the capital.”¹

1. *Burhān-i-Mā'asir*; I.A. xxviii. p. 321.

It is obvious that the Anonymous Historian and Syed 'Āli describe the same *jīhād*, although they do not agree about the year in which it had taken place. The former places it, as noticed already, in 1506 A. D., and the latter in 1517 A. D. It is not easy to discover the actual date of the occurrence of the *jīhād*. The dates mentioned by these two historians cannot be accepted, as neither of them can be relied upon. The Anonymous Historian dislocates the events from their chronological setting in his anxiety to show that the Bahmani nobles, specially Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, asserted their independence only after the death of Mahmūd Shāh II which event he assigns to 1507 A. D.² The death of Mahmūd Shāh II took place, as a matter of fact, not in 1507 A. D., but much later in 1518. Again, such a great Hindu victory as the one with which the *jīhād* had terminated must have left its mark on the Hindu records.³ But they do not even remotely allude to the invasion and victory over the Sultan at the head of all the Bahmani forces. It is not also possible that the *jīhād* should have taken place in 1517 A. D., for the internal state of the Bahmani kingdom did not favour a combination of all the Bahmani noblemen, as will be shown later, under the command of the Sultan subsequent to the year 1510 A. D. Despite the fact that Syed 'Āli places the occurrence of the *jīhād* in 1517 A. D., he gives a valuable hint which indicates the probable time when it could have taken place. One of the principal noblemen who is said to have participated in this *jīhād* was Malik Ahmad Bahrī Nizām-ul-Mulk. Though the death of Malik Ahmad is placed by Ferishta in 1508, and by Syed 'Āli a little earlier in 1505-06, there is reason to believe that he was alive in 1510; for, he offered succour to Dastūr-i-Mamālik in 1510 A. D., when he was assailed by Ismael 'Ādil Khān,⁴ and his death took place, according to the Arabic History of Gujerat, in

1. Brigg's Ferishta: iii app., p. 551.

2. The contemporary literature and the later Āraṇḍi inscriptions, no doubt, refer to an invasion of the 'Ādil Khān, his defeat at Kurnool and Ādōni at the hands of Bukkarāja-Rāmārāja and his son Timmarāja and his final retreat. This invasion took place very probably early in the reign of Vīra Narasimha, for Varthema who visited Goa about the beginning of November 1504 A. D., alludes to a war which Savain (Çabaio) was waging at the time with the king of Narsinga. (The Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema P. 48.)

3. Burhān-i-Mā'asir I, A., XXVIII, p. 318.

A. H. 916 (10th April 1510—31st March 1511).¹ As Malik Ahmad Bahri died in 1510 A. D. the *jihād* in which he participated could not have taken place after that year.

Another fact must be taken into consideration in this connection. The *Rāyavācaka* describes a great battle on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā in the neighbourhood of the frontier of Gōlkoṇḍa, in which Kṛṣṇadēvarāya overthrew the combined armies of the three Mussalman tribes.² The *Kṛṣṇarāyavijaya*, which also relates the events connected with the battle, mentions in the place of the three Mussalman tribes, the rulers of Bijāpūr, Gōlkoṇḍa and Ahmadnagar.³ They place this battle between Kṛṣṇarāya's conquest of Ummattūr and his march upon the fort of Udayagiri, i.e., about the end of 1512 A. D. As a combination of these three chiefs was rendered impossible by their mutual jealousies, and internal dissensions, an invasion of the kind described in the *Rāyavācaka* and the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijaya* could not have taken place at this time.

The battle described in the *Rāyavācaka* and the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijaya* refers very probably to the disaster which befell Mahmūd Shāh II during his last *jihād*. The name of the Bahmani Sultan, it is true, is not mentioned in the *Rāyavācaka* and the *Kṛṣṇarāyavijaya*; nevertheless, it must be taken to be identical with the last *jihād* owing to the following considerations:

In the first place, information had already reached Albuquerque at Calicut in January 1510 that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was at war with 'the king of Decan', and in the Hampi inscription dated January, 1510, he is said to have defeated the Sultan. Secondly, the *jihād* itself could not have taken place later than 1510 A. D., as the political disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom prevented the combination of all the nobles under the Sultan subsequent to this date. And lastly, the invasion of the three chiefs of Bijāpūr, Gōlkoṇḍa, and Ahmadnagar mentioned in the *Rāyavācaka* and other works could not have been unconnected with the said *jihād*, as a combination of these three chiefs subsequent to 1510 A. D. is rendered impossible by the trend of events in the Bahmani Kingdom.

1. Arabic History of Gujerat, III, Index p. 84.

2. The Sources: p. 119.

3. *Ibid*, p. 131.

The disastrous manner in which the *jihād* had terminated has been adequately described in the two extracts from the Anonymous Historian and Syed 'Āli cited above. The Sultan was seriously wounded, and he had to be rescued from being trampled to death under the hoofs of horses. Rāmarāja Timma who is called 'the giver of the life of the Muhammadan Muhammad' and 'the protector of wounded kings who submit', had probably helped to save the Sultan from death on this occasion. After their defeat, the Muhammadans had to retreat, pursued, of course, by the victorious Hindus.

Kṛṣṇadēvarāya appears to have invaded the Bahmani dominions either immediately after this victory or a little later, when he came into conflict with Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān who was the virtual master of the Mussalman territory adjoining the Vijayanagara frontier and killed him in a battle; for, he asserts in his *Āmuktamālyada* that he had slain the 'Ādil Khān during an uninterrupted expedition against the northern country'.¹ As the term 'the 'Ādil Khān' is a title that might have been borne by any Muhammadan, the identity of the 'Ādil Khān slain by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya can be established only after investigation. It must be kept in mind, however, that the 'Ādil Khān slain by Kṛṣṇarāya must have been a person of importance, a king or a chief of great power. Otherwise Kṛṣṇarāya would not have deemed killing him an achievement worthy enough to be mentioned along with his victories over the Gajapati. Muhammadan historians mention three persons bearing this name during the period of Kṛṣṇarāya's rule. One of them was Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān Savāyī. He was one of the slaves of Mahmūd Gawān, who sold him to Sultan Muhammad Shāh Bahmani II; Yūsaf greatly distinguished himself in the Sultan's service. On the death of Muhammad Shāh II, his son and successor Mahmūd Shāh II posted him to Bijāpūr, where he established himself permanently and became the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhi kingdom. He died, as noticed already, in 1509 A. D. His son Ismael inherited from his father his kingdom as well as the title. He ruled up to 1534 A. D., when he died. Another person who bore this title was 'Ādil Khān III Āzam Humāyūn who ruled over Khandesh from 1510 to 1518.² Of the three 'Ādil Khans mentioned above, the second, viz., Ismael 'Ādil Khān must be left out of

1. The Sources: p. 136.

2. The Arabic Hist. of Gujerat, iii, p. 22.

consideration, as he survived the death of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Though the death of the 'Ādil Khān III Āzam Humāyūn took place while Kṛṣṇadēvarāya was still ruling, it is unlikely that it was brought about by his warlike activities; for, he was at war with the Gajapati up to 1518; then he undertook an expedition against the ruler of Katuir; and lastly he was engaged in making warlike preparations against Ismael 'Ādil Khān which culminated in his attack on and capture of Rāicūr in 1520 A. D. Therefore, it is impossible that Kṛṣṇarāya should have undertaken an expedition to such a distant country as Khandesh without coming into conflict with the other Muhammadan princes of the Deccan in 1518, and killed its ruler. Consequently, the 'Ādil Khān III of Khandesh must also be left out of consideration. Then, if an 'Ādil Khān was slain by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, he must be, as pointed out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, none other than Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān.¹

Muhammadan historians, however, give different accounts of the circumstances under which Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān died. According to Ferishtah whose narrative is followed by later writers, he died at Bijāpūr 'of a dropsy'.² Other Muslim historians of the age state that he died not at Bijāpūr but in or near Kōvilkoṇḍa, a fort on the frontier of the Qutb Shāhi dominions. The Anonymous Historian of the Qutb Shāhi kings asserts that 'Yoosoof 'Ādil Khān died at Kōvilkoṇḍa';³ and Syed 'Āli corroborates his statement by declaring that Majlis-i Rasī' 'Ādil Khān died within sight of Kōvilkoṇḍa.⁴

There is thus considerable doubt and uncertainty about the place and circumstances of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān's death. This must be attributed to the unwillingness of the Mussalman historians to divulge the true cause of his death. The following facts must be kept in mind while attempting to discover the cause of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān's death: (1) Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān died in 1509-10 A. D. (2) The Bahmani Sultan waged a war on and was defeated by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya in 1509-10. (3) Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān was a subordinate of the Bahmani Sultan and his territory abutted on the Vijayanagara kingdom. As he was a bitter enemy of the king of Vijayanagara, he must have necessarily participated

1. The Lakṣmaṇarāya Vyāsāvali, pp. 40-41.

2. Brigg's Ferishta: iii, p. 30.

3. *Ibid.* p. 350.

4. Burhān-i-Mā'asir. I. A. XXVIII. P. 319.

in the war. (4) Kṛṣṇadēvarāya killed an 'Ādil Khān in an uninterrupted expedition against the northern country. (5) There was no 'Ādil Khān at the time excepting Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān who could have suffered death at his hands. And (6) Kṛṣṇarāya was at war with Bijāpūr immediately after the death of Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān. Therefore, the conclusion that Kṛṣṇarāya killed Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān during an invasion of the Bahmani kingdom in 1509 seems to be unavoidable.

B. About the end of July 1510, while Albuquerque lay in the river of Goa, awaiting a favourable opportunity to cross the bar, information reached him that the *Hidalcão* wished to depart from Goa, "because the Lords of the kingdom of Decan had risen up in rebellion" against him.¹ Albuquerque sailed away from the river on 15 Aug. 1510, crossing the bar on the morning of 16 Aug. 1510 A. D.² Three days after "he passed out over the bar with his fleet, the *Hidalcão* set out to return to his kingdom", on 19th Aug. 1510. The reasons for this abrupt departure are the rebellions, as mentioned already, of 'the Lords of the kingdom of Decan', and the invasion of his dominions by the king of Narsinga.

The cause of the rebellion of the lords of the kingdom of Decan against the 'Ādil Khān is also explained in the Commentaries. Fr. Luis informed Albuquerque in Dec. 1510 that "he had received trustworthy news that the *Hidalcão* had set forth with a large force to attack the city of Calbergate, the Guazil of which was an Abyssinian eunuch, a servant of the king of Decan, by name Melique Distur, and as it could not withstand the siege, after two months it had surrendered upon certain conditions; and there had risen up against the *Hidalcão* four of the principal Guazils of the kingdom (for the *Hidalcão* carried back with him, *the king of Decan a prisoner, deprived of all his command*) who had gone up against him with a numerous force in hopes of destroying him; and when these Guazils arrived at a certain water-course which they could not pass, they let themselves rest and there remained; but the *Hidalcão* out of fear of them, had sent for the soldiers who were on duty in guarding the land of Goa."³

1. Commentaries: ii. ch. xlii, p. 196.

2. *Ibid* ch. xlii, p. 201.

3. *Ibid*. iii ch., viii, p. 63.

The Muhammadan historians from whom much help is expected in elucidating these facts have created confusion by deliberately distorting the chronological sequence of events. Thus, Ferishtah, who is our earliest authority on Bijāpūr history, and whom all the later historians have followed, either omits these incidents or post-dates their occurrence. Syed 'Āli, no doubt, alludes to them, but he passes over so much in silence that the truth is completely obscured. The following table shows clearly how utterly impossible it is to get at the truth from their accounts:

SYED 'ĀLI

(1)

In the year 916 (April 10 1510 to March 31, 1511) discord and contention arose between Majlis-i-Rafī 'Ādil Khān and Dastūr-i-Mamālik on account of an old quarrel; as Dastūr-i-Mamālik was not strong enough to oppose Majlis-i-Rafī, he put his trust in the protection and favour of Sultan Ahmad Bahrī Nizām-ul-Mulk, and took refuge at his court. This celebrated prince, thinking it incumbent on him to assist that unfortunate one, took up arms in his cause, and marched with his army towards the province of Majlis-i-Rafī. When the latter heard of this movement of his army, feeling himself unable to oppose them, he took refuge at the court of the Sultan. He entirely forbade Majlis-i-Rafī 'Ādil Khān to quarrel with Dastūr-i-Mamālik After that, the Sultan sent to that prince of men (Sultan Ahmad Bahrī) a *farman* ;

FERISHTAH

(1)

Ferishtah also refers to these incidents; but he places them much earlier. "In the year 904 (19th August, 1498 to 8 August 1499) Yoosoof Adil Khan led an army against Dustoor Deenar, who fled from Koolburga. He was persuaded, however, by Kasim Barid to seek protection with Mullik Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk at Ahmudnuggur. That chief having espoused his cause warmly, Yoosoof Adil Khan was unable to oppose him, and went to Ahmadabad-Bidur, where the King wrote to Mullik Ahmud to desist from interference".

(Brigg's Ferishtah, ii, pp. 546-7.)

and told him how he had prohibited Majlis-i-Rafī' from quarrelling with Dastūr-i-Mamālik, and related to him circumstantially the agreement made by Majlis-i-Rafī'. The prince, conformably with his desire, returned to the seat of government."

(I.A. XXVIII, p. 318.)

(2)

In the year 920 (26th February 1514 to 15th February 1515) the Sultan by the advice of Majlis-i-Rafī' 'Ādil Khān marched towards Ahsanābād- Kalburgā and took the fortress of Kalburgā by force, and from the fire of rapine and plunder of the conquering army, it became like the dust of the road. From this time, in the country of Dakhan, the plunder and devastation of the territory of Islām and the Mussalmāns became a regular custom.

Dastūr-i-Mamālik, flying from those perils, took refuge with Barīd-i-Mamālik. The latter met him with the greatest respect, gave him hopes of his assistance; and sending a person to Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, strengthened the bonds of friendship with him. In the year 921 (A. D. 1515), Malik Barīd-i-Mamālik, Malik Kutb-ul-Mulk, and Malik Dastūr-i-Mamālik Malik Dīnār went to

(2)

Ferishtah, though he agrees with Syed 'Āli about the date, gives a somewhat different account:

In 920 (26th February, 1514 to 15th February 1515) Ameer Bareed, having levied a great army with the royal treasures, marched with the King, and took Koolburga from the garri-son of Ismael Adil Shah, conferring it on Jehangeer Khan, the son of the late Dastoor Deenar, for whom he procured the title of Dustoor-ool-Moolk. This chief having collected troops recovered all the forts on the east of the Beema river, from Sagur to Nuldroog, which had been held by his father; and Ameer Bareed receiving reinforcements from Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, and Kootb-ool-Moolk, crossed the river with twenty thousand men, and proceeded by regular marches to Beejapoor. Ismael Adil Khan gave him battle near the city, and totally defeated him, so

the royal capital, and laid siege to the fortress of Bīdar At last, 'Azamat-ul-Mulk—who on behalf of Majlis-i-Rafī 'Ādil Khān used to be in attendance on the Sultan—came out and had an interview with Majlis-i-Mukrām Malik Barīd-i-Mamālik. With the pure water of exhortations he extinguished the fires of killing and fighting in which they had been engaged, and acted as the arbitrator of supplications and claims of the *amīrs*."

(I.A. XXVIII, p. 319-20.)

that he fled in greatest confusion; while Mahmood Shah (who had fallen from his horse and received a severe bruise), together with his son Ahmud Khan, were left defenceless on the field and taken prisoners".

(Brigg's Ferishta ii, pp. 549-50.)

Though it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the contradictions and distortions of the Mussalman historians, it must be pointed out that the 'Ādil Khān's first attack upon Gulburga did not take place in 1498 A. D., as Ferishtah would have us believe, but in 1510, as the statement of Syed 'Ālī is shown to be true, by a contemporary letter written by Fr. Luis to his official superior.¹ The 'Ādil Khān was worsted in the struggle on account of the intervention of Malik Ahmad Bheiry, and he was saved from ruin only by the kind offices of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh II. The 'Ādil Khān's second attack upon Gulburga, which both Syed 'Ālī and Ferishtah place in 1514 A. D. must have also taken place in 1510, because the attack and the consequent fighting among the Bahmani noblemen are described by Fr. Luis in the said letter. His allusion to the capture of the Sultan by the 'Ādil Khān is also supported by an obscure statement of Syed 'Ālī. At the time when Malik Barīd, Qutb-ul-Mulk, and Dastūr-i-Mamālik laid siege to the fort of Bidar, 'Azamat-ul-Mulk is said to have been in 'attendance on the Sultan', 'on behalf of Majlis-i-Rafī 'Ādil Khān.' In other words, 'Azamat-ul-Mulk was the custodian under whose charge the 'Ādil Khān placed the Sultan whom he had captured at Gulburga. Again, 'the four of the principal Guazils of the kingdom of Decam' who marched against the 'Ādil Khān were Malik Barīd-i-Mamālik, Malik Qutb-ul-

1. *Op. cit.*, P. 168.

Mulk, Malik Dastūr-i-Mamālik Malik Dīnār and Malik Ahmad Bheiry. The water-course where they halted as they could not pass it was, of course, the Bhīma. And, as the information of Fr. Luis stops abruptly here, he must have written his letter to Albuquerque, while the war had not yet concluded. It might have terminated in a defeat of these nobles at Bijāpūr by the 'Ādil Khān as stated by Ferishtah, though the wounding and imprisonment of the Sultan on the battle-field were incidents that properly had no connection with it, but were dexterously grafted upon it, having been wrenched from their proper context.

The war of 'the four principal Guazils' against the 'Ādil Khān had ended in a victory of the latter. The Sultan had to remain a prisoner in his hands until release came to him from an unexpected quarter. The troubles in which the 'Ādil Khān was involved immediately after his accession were very propitious to foreign invasion. Notwithstanding his ultimate victory 'over the four principal Guazils', they 'wrested from him', at the beginning of the war, 'a great part of his lands.'¹ The Portuguese attacked Goa, the principal port of the kingdom and captured it. These circumstances were in themselves sufficient to tempt foreign invaders. The action of the Hindus of Belgaum worsened the situation by bringing in fresh complications. They 'had broken into rebellion against the Hidalcão, and cast the Moors out of the city, and put themselves under the command of the king (of Narsinga).'² This was a direct invitation to the king of Narsinga to invade the country of the 'Ādil Khān. And as the head of the Hindu people and of the Vijayanagara kingdom in which Belgaum was included in the past, he was obliged to respond to this invitation. Kṛṣṇadēvarāya must have welcomed the invitation. Although he had the satisfaction of winning a great victory over the Bahmani Sultan and of putting to death Yūsaf 'Ādil Khān, who was a constant source of annoyance to his predecessors, he had yet to recover the forts of Mudgal and Rāicūr which were captured by the Sultan in 1502, and "were delivered over to the charge of Yoosoof Adil Khan."³ Therefore, Kṛṣṇadēvarāya readily undertook the invasion of the Bijāpūr kingdom.

1. The Commentaries: iii, Ch. i, pp. 2-3.

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. VIII, p. 36.

3. Brigg's Ferishta III (app.), p. 249.

The invasion appears to have begun in August 1510 A. D., for according to De Barros and Purchas, the 'Ādil Khān who had recaptured Goa from Albuquerque, had to depart from the city, 'leaving a strong garrison' to protect it, because 'the King of Narsinga again invaded Idalcan'.¹ And his departure took place, according to the Commentaries, 'three days after he (Albuquerque) had passed out over the bar with his fleet,'² i.e., on 19th August 1510. Kṛṣṇarāya's invasion, therefore, must have already begun by that time.

The history of this war is very obscure. Though some of the important events of the war are described by contemporary and later writers, nothing is known about the exact time and the order in which they occurred. Nevertheless, they deserve consideration in this context.

(1) *The capture of Bidar*: An anonymous writer states in a verse addressed to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya that the sound of war drums proclaiming his victory rent the heart of the ladies of Beḍadakōṭa i.e., Bidar (by reporting to them the death of their lords in battle); and that it also caused the gates of the fort of Delhi to be strengthened; the fortifications of the fort of Mekka to be extended; the battlements of Maṇḍu to be provided with new towers; and the forts of Bōlēru and Chandēru to be stocked with grains. Allasāni Peddana alludes in a verse also addressed to Kṛṣṇadēvarāya to a victory which the king had won over the cavalry of Beḍadakōṭa. In a copper-plate charter dated 12th February, 1577 A. D. which refers to a grant of the *kāvali* rights by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya formerly, the king is called *Beḍadakōṭa saptāṅgaharaṇa* or depriver of the seven constituents of the royalty of Bidar.³ It is evident from these that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya defeated the cavalry of Bidar in a battle and captured the fort. As no mention of this event is made by Nuniz or any other writer in describing Kṛṣṇarāya's wars with the Mussalmans, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it happened during this early and unknown campaign of the king. If the reasonableness of this assumption is conceded, it may be pointed out that Kṛṣṇarāya had excellent reasons for attacking Bidar. In the first place, it

1. F. E., p. 125, n. 1.

2. Commentaries: II, Ch. xliii, p. 202.

3. M. E. R. A9 of 1912-13.

would be a fitting reply to the *jihād* of Mahamūd Shāh II; and secondly, the power of the 'Ādil Khān who held the Sultan a captive in his hands would be checked.

(2) *The capture of Rāicūr*: This fort and probably the territory dependent upon it remained in the possession of the 'Ādil Khān ever since 1502 A. D., and Kṛṣṇadēvarāya laid siege to it, taking advantage of the internal trouble caused by the assassination of the Bijāpūr regent, Kumāl Khān.¹ As Kumāl Khān's assassination took place before October, 1512 A. D.,² the siege and capture of Rāicūr by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya must be assigned to this period.

(3) *The capture of Gulburga, and the restoration of the Sultan.*

The capture of Gulburga by Kṛṣṇadēvarāya is frequently alluded to in contemporary and later literature; but some amount of caution is necessary in utilising this information; for Kṛṣṇadēva attacked and captured Gulburga twice, once before 1513 A. D., and again after 1520 A. D.; and it is difficult to determine to which of these occasions a given literary allusion refers. Nevertheless, the *Saṅgītasūryōdaya* must be taken to refer to the second capture of Gulburga, as its account is essentially identical with the description of Nuniz. The *Āmuktamālyada* which couples the capture of Sagar with that of Gulburga probably refers to the second attack, as Sagar does not figure in any account of Kṛṣṇarāya's campaigns excepting the one described by Nuniz and Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa. Peddana alludes also to the attack on Gulburga in a beautiful stanza of his *Manucaritra*. The sound of Kṛṣṇarāya's victorious war-drum roaring like the thunder of the Praḷaya is said to have given a terrific slap on the cheek of *the ruler of the fort of Kalubarigi* and hurled him upon the ground.³ As Peddana speaks of the ruler of the fort of Kalubarigi, and not of the 'Ādil Khān, he seems to refer to the Abyssinian chief Dastūr-i-Mamālik Malik Dīnar, the ruler of Gulburga. Therefore, this may be taken as an allusion to Kṛṣṇarāya's first attack upon Gulburga. Two other allusions must also be taken into consideration here. The *Vijayanagara-dasāmrājjavu* mentions, as pointed out already, that Kṛṣṇa-

1. Brigg's *Ferishta*: iii. p. 38.

2. *Commentaries*: III, p. 249.

3. *Manucaritra*, ii. 81.

rāya set up a pillar of victory at Kalubarige during the three years' war with Qutb Shāh, the Nizām Shāh and [the 'Ādil Shāh]; and the mention of Qutb Shāh and Nizām Shāh is of special interest, as these chiefs were the allies of Dastūr-i-Mamālik Dastūr Dinār. They probably came to his assistance when Kṛṣṇarāya marched against his capital. This is corroborated by the evidence of the Kaifiyat of the Naḍimidodḍipālem Pālaigārs which refers to the presence of the troops of Nizām-ul-Mulk among the defenders of Gulburga. A fierce battle seems to have been fought before the fall of the fort.

"Then, as the Rāya marched at the head of his army upon Kalubarige, all (the officers of) the Nizām came thither with a large force, and lay encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort. Summoning all (his nobles and captains) to his presence, the Rāya said, 'if in this battle you fight with the enemy without turning your back upon them, and put them to flight, we will reward you richly'. Then he commanded *vīrakaṅkaṇas* and *tāmbūlas* to be distributed among them. The battle having commenced by this time, several captains including old Mesā Chennama Nāyaḍu, the Haṇḍēs of Sonnalāpuram, and other pālaigārs uniting (their forces) together, marched upon the enemy.

And as the forces of Kṛṣṇarāya broke in the sanguinary battle that followed, he raised his arm and shouted loudly, "We bestow upon those who charge the enemy and put them to flight, many titles and rewards". Old Chennama Nāyaḍu with some other captains wheeled round and confronted the Muhammadan army. They charged the forces of the Nizām with such vigour that the front line broke and fled. At the same time, as the rest of the (Rāya's) army rushing upon the forces of the Nizām caused them panic, they fled leaving several of their comrades dead upon the battle-field. (Kṛṣṇarāya) then commanded that the triumphant boar-standard should be planted (on the battlements of Kalubarige) and the drum of victory should be sounded."¹

Although the foregoing account of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya's first invasion of the Bahmani kingdom is fragmentary, it contains enough to show that it ended in a triumph to his arms. He was not, however, satisfied with military glory. Since he was as capable a politician as general, he wanted to weaken the Mussal-

mans by throwing an apple of discord in their midst. He placed the Bahmani Sultan Mahmūd II, whom he had liberated from the clutches of Ismael 'Ādil Khān, upon the throne of Bidar, and thus revived the Bahmani kingdom which was falling to pieces on account of the selfish ambitions of the Muslim nobles. It was in virtue of this act that Kṛṣṇadēvarāya assumed the title of Yavanarājya Sthāpanācārya.

LITERARY NOTE.

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR,
Advocate, Madras.

सान्निध्ययोगात् किल तत्र शच्याः स्वयंवरक्षोभकृतामभावः ।

काकुत्स्थमुद्दिश्य समत्सरोऽपि शशाम तेन क्षितिपाललोकः ॥

Raghuvamśa, VII, 3.

The exact meaning and import of the phrase: सान्निध्ययोगात् किल तत्र शच्याः in the above śloka requires investigation. My subtle friend, Mr. K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar who is a close student of the Raghuvamśa raised the point whether here there is not a reference to the fact that, as Indumatī was originally a heavenly damsel and later on born on earth as the daughter of the Vidarbha king on account of the curse of the Sage Tṛṇabindu, the queen of heaven, Indrāṇī, was deeply interested in her welfare and in her returning to heaven, freed from the curse, and, therefore, on the occasion of the Svayaṁvara by her invisible spiritual presence and power saw that there was no hitch during the Svayaṁvara due to the jealousy of the rival competitors of the Prince Aja. The story of the curse is related later on in the 8th canto. But Mallinātha, in his commentary, states that the reference here was to the tradition that all obstruction to a Svayaṁvara is removed by the grace of Indrāṇī. The other commentators of the Raghuvamśa like Caitravardhana and Hemādri, pursuing the same line, refer to the authority of two passages from the Nārada Saṁhitā and the Vedas wherein the worship of Indrāṇī in the beginning of marriage ceremonies is ordained. In the notes by G. R. Nandargikar in his edition of the Raghuvamśa, it is also stated as follows:—"At the beginning of the Hindu marriage ceremonies, the presence of Śacī and her husband Indra was invariably invoked. The object of the presence of Śacī being prayed for might perhaps be to secure eternal freedom from widowhood which is specially enjoyed by that Goddess." These quotations, however, indicate,

that the worship of Śacī is a part of the marriage ceremonies. But here the marriage between Aja and Indumatī is described later and this is only the occasion of the Svayamvara and therefore these quotations are not strictly relevant. Possibly there was the usage of the worship of Śacī before the auspicious beginning of a Svayamvara, especially as Indra is revered as the favourite God of the Kṣatriya kings, who were said to derive their strength from Indra. It may be that in a Svayamvara usually held on the occasion of selecting a bridegroom for a princess in ancient India, the presence of the Goddess Indrāṇī was invoked for the purpose of the peaceful conduct of the Svayamvara. But Mallinātha, apart from saying that by the word 'Kila' the Āgama is indicated, does not refer to any authority for his statement. Still, the reading of the whole śloka indicates that some such tradition is referred to. But it is also equally possible that there may be a veiled reference and a clever anticipatory hint also—much in the habit of the poet—to the special interest which in this case the Queen of Heaven took in the princess and in this Svayamvara. It may be that the poet wanted to convey that ordinarily in every Svayamvara there is the presence of the Goddess Śacī invoked but that in this Svayamvara she has a special interest also to be present and her benign influence was much more keenly felt than in other cases and therefore it was that the jealousy of the other princes who had come for the Svayamvara, though very great indeed, considering the beauty and other excellences of the princess Indumatī, subsided. It would have required more than the usual method of Sānnidhya in an image or other ceremonial form to see that this Svayamvara went on without any hitch. My revered friend Professor Kuppaswami Sastri was inclined to feel that this allusion may not be quite in place, and he thought that the special interest of Indrāṇī could not under the circumstances here be imagined. For, Śacī could not be said to take interest in a heavenly damsel who suffered the curse of the sage. In this connection it has to be remembered that Kālidāsa ends the story of King Aja and Indumatī by stating that both became subjects of heaven afterwards and were united there again in love. It has also to be remembered that there was no hitch on the occasion of the Svayamvara, while there was a fight between Aja and the other princes soon after the marriage ceremony. In śloka 15, he gives as the reason for the princess selecting Aja as her husband amidst the large concourse of princes assembled at the Svayam-

vara, the fact that the human mind has got an intuitive perception of the impressions of previous states and of future states. From the two allusions it is clear that Kālidāsa wants to make out that as both Aja and Indumatī were destined to become heavenly beings united again there in love and Indumatī's mortal existence should be only temporary owing to the curse, and the selection of the prince as her husband should be an inevitable incident, in this course of events, the queen of heaven was naturally interested in the marriage of two of her subjects who strayed away to the earth and who by their marriage only as human beings were to again unite in heaven. Viewed from this aspect it may be stated that there is every reason for the queen of heaven to take a special interest in this Svayamvara, of all the Svayamvaras among mortals here.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA—BY DR. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M.A., PH. D.,
READER IN INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS. (Madras University Historical Series—No. 11.)

This work is an account of the administration and social life of the empire of Vijayanagara during the first half of the 16th century, to which is prefixed a discussion of the stormy politics of Acyuta Rāya's reign (1530-1542). Its author has thoroughly exploited Telugu Literature and contributed substantially to a fuller appreciation of many aspects of Vijayanagara history than is possible with the aid of the late Mr. Rangasvami Sarasvati's *Sources*. The chief value of his book lies in his earnestness to read the other side of the medal, and in performing this task of the historical critic, his discriminate appreciation of the past has stood him in good stead. In most cases he has discussed the problems of his period in the light of the developments and theories of the previous ages so as to exhibit the continuity of Indian history. In these respects the work under review deserves a warm reception.

The chapters on Acyuta Rāya give a critical survey of the political tempests of his reign, and emphasise the great value of Diṇḍima Kavi's *prāśasti*. The inner unity of the history of the period consists in the persistent attempt of Aḷuja Rāmarāya to step into the shoes of his father-in-law, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and in his ultimate triumph in 1543, after many vicissitudes of fortune. The machinations of the two brothers-in-law of Acyuta are fully exposed and their final discomfiture adequately explained. The administrative system in all its parts is described with a wealth of details adequate for its comprehension. The high value of the *Āmuktamālyadā* is conspicuously brought out. The *amara-nāyaka* system is thoroughly discussed, and its feudal aspects are cautiously pointed out. Sufficient attention is given to the much-neglected subject of taxation. The adequacy of the police system is considered from the point of view of the normal and special props to it. Judicial administration is examined in the

light of the *Parāśaramādhaviya*, the historical value of which is rightly stressed. The activity of the innumerable sea-ports is explained, and an account of the industries and their organisation into guilds, of the trade routes, etc., is given. Social life in its numerous aspects is well described with special attention to the position of women and to the activities of the courtesan class. The progress of literature, Sanskrit, Tamil, Canarese and Telugu, especially the last, is outlined, and emphasis is laid on the Telugu *prabandhas* and their historical value. The book is well written, free from the obscurity and heaviness characteristic of dry-as-dust research. The analytical index is carefully done.

But the quotation on the title-page that "Archæology is seldom an exact science", does not make the work an archæological study unless we include in the term anything relating to the past and agree with the author of "*The Romance of Archæology*", who describes Alexander the Great as an archæologist, because he loved the *Iliad*. The author is generous enough to his predecessors in the field of his research, but the omission of the names of the late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar from his 'Acknowledgments' is serious. A fuller bibliography than is indicated under 'Abbreviations' would further clear up his indebtedness to his predecessors. Nuniz is rather a chronicler than a historian (p. 3).

Dr. Venkata Ramanayya fails to sustain his thesis that Acyuta was "a worthy successor of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, and had shown himself to be a capable ruler" (p. 55). This conclusion is out of tune with Nuniz's picture of Acyuta as a craven and a tyrant. Nor does the author pronounce on Fr. Heras' explanation of this contradiction between indigenous and foreign evidences. Diṇḍima's panegyric is worthless as proof of Acyuta's valour. The author himself points out throughout his book the serious defects of Acyuta as a ruler. There is, however, no question regarding his piety or military earnestness; he was certainly no harem-bred worm. But while the *Acyutārāyā-bhyudayam* is helpful for historical facts, its value for an estimate of Acyuta's greatness is limited. The main outlines of Nuniz's strictures must stand in spite of the efforts of Dr. Venkata Ramanayya to vindicate Acyuta's character.

Sewell wrote 35 years ago (not some thirty years ago, p. 75). It is going too far to describe Ferishta's history as a historical romance, nor is it reasonable to pooh-pooh the value of a circum-

stantial account (p. 90n.). The unity of the volume is marred by appending to the account of Acyuta an essay on the administrative and social system during the 16th century. A full monograph on that king's reign in all its aspects would be sufficiently interesting. The author does not cover the whole of the 16th century, but confines himself to its first half with occasional references to the previous century. Hence the vague title of the volume.

A static picture of life in the 16th century is no doubt useful, but a historical study should point out the changes in life. This necessitates a comparison with previous conditions. It is interesting that *maireya* is mentioned in the list of liquors of the 16th century by a Telugu writer (p. 392). It is a Vedic drink alluded to by Pāṇini in his sūtra *Aṅgāni maireye*. The life of the courtesan might be discussed with reference to general books like Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and its numerous adaptations, and to special treatises like the *Kuṭṭanīmata*. The pitfall of the social historian is to be the slave of his sources. Because foreign writers have much to say on courtesans, we cannot picture to ourselves a society dominated by dancing girls. Vice gets greater publicity than virtue, and European travellers would have had little access to the homes of Indian virtue. On the other hand, in interpreting indigenous evidence there is the difficulty of distinguishing between theory and practice. To regard the Śāstras as descriptive of reality is just like regarding the qualifications of legislators laid down in the present-day books on Political Science as those of our Members of the Legislature Council.

The chronological untenability of the theory of the *aṣṭa diggajas* Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is not pointed out. In exhibiting the unique historical value of the *Āmuktamālyadā*, one would expect a reference to Mr. Rangaswami Sarasvatī's article on the *Political Maxims of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya*, in the *Journal of Indian History*, January, 1926, pp. 61-88. The account of art given by the author is perhaps based on his old lecture notes. The identification of 'Catur' in Appendix A shows ignorance of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's article on *Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya* in the *Hindustan Review*, May-July, 1917, in which 'Catur' is identified with Śiva-samudra (Kāḍavadurga) in Mysore. On the whole this identification is more satisfactory than the one proposed by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya. In the discussion of the origin of the Nāyakship of

Madura, the author appears more as a *Vaitaṇḍika* than as a sound historical critic, and overlooks inconvenient evidences, while emphasising his less conclusive arguments. He has no faith in circumstantial evidence. His central error consists in his neglect of the synchronism of Nāgama Nāyaka's revolt and Viśvanātha's governorship of Madura.

The spelling of the following with a *w* is curious: Ālwars, Mādhwas, Viśwanātha, etc. We are not familiar with *rendez-vouses* as a noun (p. 265). 'The rebellious *propinquities* of the Tiruvaḍi' is a *malapropism* (p. 460). *Arthachandrabāṇa* (p. 121) is obviously an error for *Ardhachandrabāṇa*. 'Manu and other *smṛtis*' (p. 282) is funny. The list of misprints is by no means complete.

This volume of more than 500 pages might well have been reduced to half its present size by the exclusion of rigorous condensation of well-known facts and criticisms. Pāṇini, the apostle of bravery with a vengeance, who made a regulating *sūtra* by a single letter, would be made to turn in his grave by our methods of composition.

In spite of the criticisms made above there is no belittling the great service that Dr. Venkata Ramanayya has done to students of Vijayanagara history. His thoroughness, his emphasis on the other side of the medal, and his discriminate live of the past are the valuable assets of every honest historical investigator.

R. SATHYANATHAIAER.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA (1000-1500 A.D.)—

BY DR. A. APPADORAI, M.A., PH.D., LOYOLA COLLEGE, MADRAS (Madras University Historical Series, No. 12—Vols. I and II).

Dr. Appadorai has truly earned his Doctorate by his extensive and scientific researches into the economic condition of South India during A.D. 1000-1500. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri's Foreword is judicial in temper and admirable in technique. Though the work gives an inevitably incomplete picture and "a first view" of economic life, it is "an objective study" of a vast field, free from the besetting sin of researchers, dogmatism and facile generalisation.

The author's statement of the nature and scope of his subject is full of unexceptionable sentiments and reflections on its methodological aspect, but the difficulty of reducing them to

practice has been actually experienced by him. The sources are discussed and their evidential value assessed, and the unique value of inscriptions, particularly as corrective testimony in the study of theory, is stressed. The mention of the *Acyutarāyā-bhyudayam* on p. 45 is not justified by any subsequent reference to it; perhaps it is a mistake for the *Āmuktamālyadā*.

Most of Vol. I is devoted to an elaborate and searching enquiry into the various aspects of village economy. The incorporation in the book of the data of the *Mānasāra* shows the width of the author's studies. The much-discussed question of the ultimate ownership of the soil is pursued, but the following *criterion* is by no means decisive: "Private property in land was obviously a fact, when the state felt it necessary to give compensation for land taken from private individuals and communities" (p. 113). The discussion of this question leads to much profitless hair-splitting and verbiage. One need not "swear by" the magic of private property. The vital question is not one of abstract right; what really matters is the judicious exercise of the right by the individual or the state. Bernier in the 17th century went to the absurd extent of attributing most of the ills of the Indian peasant to his lack of ownership of the land he cultivated. Whether land revenue is regarded as rent or as a tax, it is its relation to the ability of the peasant to pay that is the foundation of his prosperity.

The author tries to show that the committee system of local administration, which has for long been the subject of eulogistic comment, was "prevalent only in a particular type of village in South India, viz., the joint village, and, as far as our evidence goes, the *Brahmadeya* type of joint village, and not necessarily over the whole of South India" (p. 152). This proposal to revise the view of Venkayya is welcome, but to say that the committee organisation was "primarily economic in motive" (p. 142) is going too far and overlooking its ultimate connection, not far-fetched, with the system described in the *Indica* of Megasthenes. The name of the *Udāsīna* committee mentioned on p. 137, might well have been explained. The evidence is inadequate for the observation that "fragmentation of holdings had proceeded far". The author makes a careful use of the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Parāśara-Mādhaviya* (why the author invariably writes *Parāśara-Mādhava* we do not know), constantly bearing in mind the difficulty of reconciling theory with practice.

The role of the temple in economic life is fully elucidated, and the comparison of the South Indian temple with the mediæval European Church is not inapt, though it is courageous to compare a giant organisation with a comparatively puny Indian institution. "The isolation and self-sufficiency" of the South Indian village cannot be regarded as absolute, and the author rightly protests against extreme views which overlook the many contacts between villages and the rest of the Indian world.

Though the survey of village life is masterly and critical, the author does not note its features in Ancient India. Like an economist he looks forward, but a historical study should explain mediæval conditions as the outcome of the earlier conditions. This defect is found in the whole work.

The chapter on urban life gives much attention to the *śrenis* and their varied activities. Three guilds of major importance are dealt with separately—Ayyāvoḷe, Maṇigrāmam and Añjuvaṇṇam. The high rate of interest—15 % for secured debts—coupled with its increase and decrease on account of caste considerations, is characteristically mediæval. The law of debt, unduly favouring the creditor, reminds us of early Roman law; there is not a tincture of the Cæsarian humanity which regarded indebtedness as a misfortune rather than as a crime.

Vol. II opens with an account of the chief industries. The author protests against the denial of the existence of tailors in South India and quotes picture inscriptional evidence to the contrary. But he does not catalogue the dresses that the mediæval South Indian tailors made. Even at the present day the typical villager does not depend much upon the tailor, and orthodoxy is associated with absence of contact with the tailor, or even with the washerman, and with occasional submission to the ministrations of the hair-dresser. The story of South Indian nudity and non-acquaintance with tailors should be interpreted less rigidly than is done by the author. In fact the tailor was conspicuous neither by his presence nor by his absence.

The chapter on Foreign Trade is full and comprehensive, thanks to the observations of European travellers, and supplies much interesting information, including the superstitions of merchants and sailors. The pest of piracy is amply elaborated, and the significance, positive and negative, of the *Mōṭupalli abhayaśāsana* is brought out.

The "formidable list" of South Indian taxes, containing in some cases 66 items (p. 672), is discussed in its theoretical and practical aspects. A correlated study of the literary and epigraphical evidences is successfully made. Land revenue, exceeded the customary $\frac{1}{6}$ of the gross produce, but amounted to less than $\frac{1}{4}$, including the extra burdens on land. Professional and other taxes were numerous; a tax on the looking-glasses of dancing-girls is mentioned (p. 699). But the difficulty is to assess the taxative burdens of the individual. The need for a multiple tax system might have been considered in the light of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's suggestion that the customary amount of the land revenue could not be easily increased.

Special care is bestowed on the section on currency, and the analysis of the available numismatic data is valuable. Poor relief is adequately discussed. The concluding chapter considers the people's standard of life, but a definite statement of it is not possible, as the evidence is "one-sided and incomplete" (p. 765). This chapter might have been enlarged so as to give a bird's eye view of the economic condition during the whole period. Such a summary is indispensable at least to the general reader as the two volumes exceed 800 pages.

The work is well written, and most of the chapters are easy to read. But greater attention should have been paid to the punctuation marks. The spelling of some proper names is not uniform. The diacritical marks should have been placed more carefully. *Khaskhas* is spelt in two ways; betel-leaf appears with a hyphen and without it. The French expression *raison d'être* is not carefully used, and the circumflex accent is omitted. The errata requires considerable enlargement. The value of the Appendices is indisputable. The list of authorities is exhaustive, and even Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* is mentioned. The Index is tolerable.

On the whole the work exhibits solid learning, a critical outlook, and a disinclination for generalisation on inadequate data. Its author has made a successful attempt to bridge the gulf between theory and practice. In short he has executed his task conscientiously and critically. In spite of his insufficient attention to the continuity of Indian history, his work is an invaluable reference book for all lovers of India's fact.

R. SATHIANATHAIER,

A STUDY OF YOGA BY JAINESWAR GHOSH—PUBLISHED BY SANATKUMAR GHOSH, 37, BARRACK ROAD, CHINSURA DT., HOOGLY, BENGAL, Paper Cover Rs. 3; Cloth-bound, Rs. 4.

This book deals with the philosophy of Yoga as explained in the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali, the Vyāsa Bhāṣya and other standard works on Yoga. The science and practice of Yoga was highly developed and widely prevalent in ancient India. Though, in our own day, the ranks of the Yogīs have thinned into a very small number and the great masters of Yoga are few indeed, and even those few are not before the public eye but prefer to live away from the crowd and the bustle in lonely places, still they embody the great traditions of the once famous science and envisage to us its great achievements in the past and the great possibilities in store, if it is to be revived now in our country. In Paul Brunton's work "In search of Secret India", his interview with a great Yogī, Ramiah, is described. He is said to live very near Madras, unobserved by the public. He exhibited the wonderful feat of stopping the pulse beating for 10 minutes to the astonishment of the author. There is a fairly large number of English-educated men amongst us who feel that many of the achievements claimed to its credit by Yoga may not be real. Except in the ocular demonstration of the lower stages of Yoga system, namely physical exercises, they do not believe in the reality of the higher psychic and occult powers described in the great works on Yoga. But there are ample evidences in our religious literature of the belief entertained by great thinkers in the truth of those powers. In the standard works on Indian Logic, the masters of that Śāstra, who are exponents of realism in Indian philosophy and who believe in the paramount authority of the actual perception of the senses, refer to two kinds of perception, one, the ordinary physical perception, and the other, the preception through Yoga, Yogaja Pratyakṣa, as they call it in Sanskrit. Among the illustrations of transformations, they mention the power of the Yogī to assume the appearance of a tiger. Even in criticising some of the principles of the Yogic philosophy, the great Śaṅkara in his commentary praises the system of Yoga, as the one great practical science approved by the Vedas for the realisation of the true knowledge of Brahman, and says that nobody can gainsay its great practical achievements. When, therefore, even such a discerning critic as Śaṅkara, who never

accepts without thorough investigation, believed in the truth of the great powers that can be achieved by the discipline of the Yoga and its methods, we at the present day will not be right in discarding the whole thing as moonshine. In fact, in his Bhāṣya on Adhyāya 1, Pāda 3, Sūtra 33, he observes as follows:—"It is impossible to discard rashly the Yogic texts which describe the transcendental powers of अणिमा etc., which can be attained by the Yogī. The Vedas proclaimed the greatness of Yoga. He whose body is full of the fire of Yoga will never suffer disease, old age or death." It is also to be remembered in this connection, as pointed out by Mr. Ghosh, that the merit of the system is not to be judged merely by the truth or otherwise of the supernatural powers, for Yoga regards the acquisition of these powers as more to be dreaded than desired, or, at any rate, as immaterial to the main object of the pursuit of its methods. Mr. Ghosh, in his present work, deals with only the philosophical theories and principles of the Yoga system. He has not included within its scope the description of the practical Yogic methods and exercises such as are found in the Haṭha Yoga Pradīpikā and the Gheranda Saṁhitā. It would certainly be useful to include in a study of Yoga such a description of the practical lessons of Yoga, as some of the main simple methods of Yoga form the fundamental basis of the practical side of Hindu religion. There is no recitation of Mantra or doing of any spiritual act, without Prāṇāyāma. All meditation and concentration of the mind is done only according to the process of Yoga by the Hindu devotee. The Yoga system of philosophy is closely allied to the Sāṅkhya system. Hence the Vedāntins have applied all the criticisms directed towards the Sāṅkhya system, to this also. The Sūtra of Vyāsa runs: "By this, reply is given to Yoga also." What he means is that his criticisms of the theories of Sāṅkhya philosophy in the previous Sūtras apply to the Yoga system. It is unnecessary here to refer to the theories of the Sāṅkhya system and their criticisms by Śaṅkara and other Vedāntins, for these are well-known to the students of Hindu philosophy. A perusal of the book will convince the reader that Mr. Ghosh has done a distinct service to us, by giving a succinct and clear exposition of this great system and by discussing its principles in comparison with the views of Western philosophy and psychology and thus bringing home to the modern educated man, the great value of

this science of Yoga, which has been to a great degree responsible for the grand achievements of ancient India in religious experience and realisation.

K. B.

THE ṚGVEDA BHĀṢYA OF SKANDASVĀMIN—EDITED
BY DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON), PUBLISHED
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, Price Rs. 6.

This is a publication by the Oriental Institute of the Madras University, Sanskrit Department under the able guidance of Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. This edition contains the Bhāṣya of the first Aṣṭaka only of the Ṛgveda and we understand from the preface that the remaining portion of the Bhāṣya so far as it is available will also be printed. The first Adhyāya of this work has already been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, but the Grantha manuscript followed here discloses many interesting peculiarities and therefore it is, Dr. Raja says, that he thought of bringing out an edition of this Bhāṣya. Though the first Adhyāya of the work had already been published, the Sanskrit Department of the Oriental Institute has been with commendable diligence publishing many rare and valuable works from manuscripts and thus adding to the store of our knowledge of the literature in Sanskrit and this work is one of that series. Though, as pointed out in the preface, the manuscripts available for this edition contains many omissions and gaps, still the work as printed will be of great interest to the students of Vedic literature. Inasmuch as we find Skandasvāmin referring to the opinions of some other commentators in many places, we have to conclude that there must have been other earlier commentators of the Ṛgveda.

Publications like these are brought out after great labour and study. But they can only appeal to a very limited circle of readers in our country. This is to be deplored greatly. Even among Paṇḍits, the least studied among our scriptures is the Veda. Though our scholars are not tired of saying that the Veda is the paramount authority for Hindu religion, still the contents of the Vedas are practically unknown to many. Even though many portions of the Vedas are recited in Hindu rituals, many do not care to know its meaning and those who recite are mostly ignorant of it. In the very first Śloka, Skandasvāmin points out

the necessity for knowing the meaning of Mantras and gives that as the chief reason for his writing a commentary. Hence publications like this will help a great deal in the revival of Vedic scholarship in our country and the dissemination of the Vedic knowledge among our countrymen.

K. B.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ALPHABET OF CAMPĀ

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI,

Madras.

In the course of a very useful and comprehensive discussion of the palaeography of the inscriptions of Campā,¹ Prof. R. C. Majumdar of Dacca discusses the question of the origin of the alphabet employed in the earliest of these inscriptions, that of Vo-Canh, and reaches the conclusion that the first colonists of Campā had a North Indian origin,—more precisely, that they must have gone forth from the central region of Northern India. He adds that Cham traditions and other arguments tend to the same conclusion and refers his readers to his work on *Campā*.² A reference to this book will show, however, that while there is much evidence of contact between Bengal and Northern India on the one side and the Hindu colonies of the East on the other, there is nothing to establish a North Indian *origin* for the Colonies. To prove 'a close association of Bengal with Indian colonies in South and East throughout the Hindu period' or 'a far more intimate connection between Bengal and Indian colonies than has yet been recognised'³ is one thing; to hold that Northern India was the home of the earliest colonists who went to the East is quite another proposition, and it is this that Majumdar seeks to establish by the argument drawn from palaeography. Our object is to examine the validity of the new view propounded by him.

We may start with some general considerations. Though not with any specific reference to his theory of the origin of the Vo-Canh alphabet, Majumdar has expressly stated that his conclusions must be treated as only provisional, subject to confirmation by a more complete study calculated to lead to more definite

1. La Palaeographie des Inscriptions du Campa, BEFEO., xxxii, (1932) pp. 127-39.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-9.

3. Majumdar: Champa, p. xvii.

results.¹ But opinions provisionally stated often tend to become accepted as definite results in a short time; and the conclusion regarding the northern origin of the Campā alphabet is sought to be sustained by a detailed argument in the course of which are urged a number of considerations which, if correct, would render the conclusion almost self-evident. For these reasons it seems worth while to determine if sufficient cause has been shown to abandon or modify the older view of the South Indian origin of this alphabet.

Palaeography, we should remember, is only one of the considerations, though an important one, likely to indicate the original home of the colonists.² Social institutions, religious practices, architectural features, and above all the general trend of events in history are also factors that must be taken into account before a final decision is reached on the question of the original home of the emigrants. And we should not forget that South Indian culture was largely inspired by northern influences, and that the common presence of broad general traits in all Hindu societies, Indian or overseas, is only to be expected. Any argument that seeks to decide between the North and South of India must proceed with caution and enter into details of striking significance; that Majumdar is well aware of this is seen from the careful elaboration of his palaeographic arguments.

Even with palaeography pointing decisively in one direction, if we find other considerations pointing in another, the solution of the problem is not likely to be easy. As I understand the matter, very few analogies have been traced between specifically North Indian customs, institutions or legends, and those of Campā and Kambhōja. With the exception of a far-fetched interpretation put on a passage in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya by Jacobi,³ an interpretation which to my mind seems wholly improbable and which has not received general assent, I doubt if there has been any evidence (excepting of course the evidence in Majumdar's paper now being discussed) produced in support of a northern origin for the early Indian colonists. We shall be led too far afield if we attempted to trace the similarities between South India and the colonies; but we may note a few salient points. The spread of the Nāgī legend, as we may conveniently designate

1. BEFEO., xxxii, p. 139.

2. Cf. BCAIC., 1909, pp. 223-4.

3. BEFEO., xii, 8: 1-4.

the story which ascribes the origin of ruling dynasties to a casual meeting between an earthly prince and a water-nymph, from South India to the Eastern Colonies has been frequently studied by scholars.¹ There are many traits in common between the Śaivism of South India and that of the Colonies, one of the most significant among them being the naming of liṅgas and shrines after the ruling monarch. Then we have the -varman endings of royal names which has been frequently traced to a Pallava source. Again, Majumdar himself said not many years ago in his discussion of the origin of Cham art: 'We need not hesitate to trace the origin of the Cham style to Indian temples at Bādāmi, Conjeevaram and Māmallapuram—particularly as this part of India was the nearest by way of sea to the Kingdom of Campā'.² Then we have the use of the Śaka era and the amānta reckoning of the months. Again I do not know if any part of Northern India ever adopted the distinction between what are known as right-hand and left-hand castes; but this was one of the most permanent divisions in South Indian society, and one legend (there are others) ascribes its origin to the fact that on one famous occasion the partisans to a dispute laid it before the king, one party standing to his right and the other to his left. This curious division into right-hand and left-hand sections was known among the officials of Fu-nan.³ Facts like these raise a presumption in favour of a South Indian origin of the principal culture elements of the Colonies.⁴ And in the face of such facts we shall not be wrong if we decline to accept a North Indian origin for the Campā alphabet unless the case for it rests on very clear and decisive evidence. We may now turn to a detailed examination of the points urged by Majumdar in support of his position.

After summarising the views of Bergaigne on the script of the Vo-Canh inscription, Majumdar observes that while Bergaigne's conclusions on the date of the record are remarkably just, considering the materials he had at his disposal, his discussion suffers not only from the paucity of data at his command, but from his preconceived notion of the southern origin of this alphabet. "In fact", he says, "it seems to me impossible to consider

1. BCAIC., 1911, pp. 32 ff. BEFEO., xi, 391-3; xxiv, 501 ff.

2. Champa, pp. 273-4.

3. BEFEO., III, p. 282.

4. Cf. Burnell's remarks *re* Java in South Indian Palaeography, pp. 132-3.

the inscription of Vo-Canh as of the same palaeographic type as that of Rudradāman at Gīrnār or that of Sātakarṇi at Kaṇhēri as Bergaigne suggested". Majumdar bases his opinion on the absence in the Vo-Canh inscription of two characteristics found in the inscriptions of Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri and in all later inscriptions of the southern type. These two characteristics are:

(1) the reascent to the left of the lower end of the verticals of *a*, *ā*, *r* and of the medial *u* and *ū* (2) the bend towards the left of the upper end of the vertical of *l*.

It may be noted in passing, that after the southern origin of the alphabet of Campā was postulated by the older generation of scholars to which Burnell, Kern, Bergaigne and Barth may be taken to have belonged, this question has been re-examined systematically by Vogel in his well-known edition of the Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarman, and in part by Finot when he edited the Hon-cuc and Myson inscriptions of Bhadravarman. Neither of these two eminent epigraphists seems to have experienced any difficulty in upholding the conclusions reached earlier by Bergaigne and his contemporaries.

The first of the two features noted above is rightly designated by Vogel as 'the little hook attached, on the left, to the foot of the long verticals', and he traces the development of this trait of the Southern alphabets in the following words:¹ 'It is interesting that similar little hooks or curves are found in the Pallava Prākṛt grants of the fourth century, whereas in Simhavarman's charters of the fifth century those excrescences are unusually prolonged so as to reach up to almost half the length of the vertical²..... It is noteworthy that in the Campā

1. Yūpa Inscriptions: pp. 223-4.

2. In Amarāvati Nos. 2 and 8 the letters *r* and *a* show the curve very clearly, and this feature becomes even more pronounced at Nagārjunikoṇḍa (ASSI. I. pl. lvi and EI. xx and xxi). These inscriptions represent a fairly early stage in their development. Note also the form of *ra* in *mahārājyasya* in an inscription of Huviṣka—EI. viii, p. 182 which shows that this curve is not exclusively South Indian in the early stages of its development. In fact there is much waywardness in the adoption of these ornamental excrescences when they first come into vogue. A period of uncertainty precedes the definite adoption or rejection of the trait concerned.

inscriptions of Bhadravarman which otherwise betray so marked a palaeographical affinity to those of Koetei, the long verticals show no trace of the little hook. In this respect they represent an earlier stage of writing than the Koetei inscriptions, a conclusion which is confirmed by other observations'. We see then, that the reascent of the lower end of the vertical, as Majumdar calls it, is the result of a gradual development of the Southern alphabets, and the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions of Campā, Borneo and W. Java are generally taken to be among the earliest specimens of these alphabets, the Vo-Canh record being absolutely the earliest so far known. Anyone who looks at the record last mentioned and those of Bhadravarman will see at once that the Vo-Canh record is clearly an earlier specimen of the same type of script, and that, as such, it stands at the commencement of the whole series of these records. If therefore we miss the little excrescence of a hook below the verticals of these letters in the Vo-Canh inscription, and if, in the Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri records it is only a slight bend to the left, this can be only a proof of the high antiquity of the Vo-Canh record and cannot disprove the southern origin of its alphabet, if such an origin is established on other grounds. Attention may, however, be drawn to the letter *ra* in l. 14 of the Vo-Canh record in the word *bhaviṣyairapi*, and to the *ra*-s in the Mi-son inscriptions which betray a tendency to thickening at the foot of the vertical. Note also the *ka* in *mamānukamṣārtham* in Mi-son l. 11-A and the two *a*-s in lines 8 (*ayanna*) and 9 (*atha*) of Mi-son B, the latter *a* showing a clear curve of the vertical to the left, the vertical in the former being straight.¹ It is clear from the two forms of *ra* in the Yūpa inscription (A) that this particular development had not yet become quite fixed even at a much later date than that of Vo-Canh.

The second fact noted by Majumdar is the absence at Vo-Canh of the bend towards the left of the vertical of *la*; a reference to the facsimile of the inscription shows that this feature is clearly present in l. 10 (*kulanandanena*), and l. 11 (*lokasyāsyā*) of the Vo-Canh record, and Majumdar himself marks it in one of the

1. ISSC., pl. 18, BEFEO., XVII, pl. 18 and BEFEO., ii, plate next to p. 187.

forms he gives of *l* in column I of his table.¹ A comparison of this form with that in the inscriptions of Bhadravarman and Mūlavarman shows once more that Vo-Canh is the oldest record of the series. Thus we see that the attempt to deny a southern origin of the Vo-Canh alphabet has not fared very well so far.

The next step in Majumdar's argument is to trace in the Vo-Canh inscription features which are not present in the South Indian alphabets and to point out that some, if not all, of these are seen to be present in North Indian scripts, particularly Kuṣāṇa and Central Indian. We must now consider each of these features.

(1) Curvature of the horizontal member of *Ka*. Majumdar himself notes that this feature, absent in Kaṇhēri, has begun to appear in Gīrnār. A comparison of the facsimiles of Gīrnār and Vo-Canh will show that the curvature of the horizontal stroke is by no means more pronounced in the latter than in the former. There is therefore nothing in the shape of *ka* in Vo-Canh to invalidate Bergaigne's comparison of the record with the Gīrnār praśasti. I may add that the curved horizontal stroke is found in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. A perusal of the seventh row in Bühler's table III shows that the horizontal stroke in *ka* developed on identical lines both in the northern and southern scripts.

(2) The elongation of *śa*. It is surprising that Majumdar should have sought to base his argument on this letter which does not occur in the Vo-Canh inscription at all except in the ligature *śrī*. It is true that Bühler traces a characteristic development of this letter, which Majumdar has designated elongation, in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions;² but we have no means of judging if the Kuṣāṇa *śa* was adopted in Campā. On the other hand, we find a little hook attached to the right hand stroke of *śa* instead of the cross-bar, 'a feature of special importance as it is peculiar to the alphabet of the Pallava inscriptions...(and) mentioned by Bühler among the chief characteristics of what he calls the archaic type of the grantha alphabet.'³ This feature indeed does not appear in col. 1 of the table which accompanies Majumdar's article, but

1. This curve, however, is not present in the Andhau inscription which precedes the Gīrnār inscription by only twenty years and comes from the same region-EI. xvi, plate facing pp. 24 and 25.

2. Ind. Pal, p. 41 sec. 19B. 14.

3. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

is fairly well-marked in the facsimile of the Vo-Canh record.¹ In fact the ligature *śrī* here seems to differ little from that in the Bhadravarman records.

(3) Omission of the central vertical member of *t*. It is difficult to discover what Majumdar means by this. He is not supported either by the facsimile of the Vo-Canh record (cf. *ta* and *ti* in l. 11 and l. 12 in *putre*), or even by his own table where, though the central vertical appears shorter than in the inscription itself, it is still not more so than, say, in column X of Bühler's table III.

(4) The cursive form of *d*. I fail to see that *da* in Vo-Canh is more cursive than in the Gīrnār and other southern inscriptions cf., Gīrnār *divasa*, *sadisa*, *vadana* all in l. 3, with *tadevam* l. 14 and *viditam* l. 15 of Vo-Canh.

(5) *Na* and *Ṇa* with the two parts of the base forming an angle on the two sides of the vertical, the base being a curve at Gīrnār. Here Majumdar's table has unduly simplified the shape of *na* as it occurs in the Vo-Canh record; for while the peculiarity noted by Majumdar is visible in l. 10—*svajana* and in l. 12 *nantuka*, and l. 15 *anumantavyam*, the curved base also appears in l. 14 *nampriya*, and in l. 14—*mayānujñātam*. The letter *ṇa* is formed with the usual horizontal base in *kariṇo* l. 11, it takes the form noted by Majumdar in l. 12—*samikaraṇa* and in *ruṇa* in l. 13. A perusal of Bühler's table III, columns XIII (Nasik) XV (Kuda) and XVII (Jaggayyapetta), will show that the forms of *na* and *ṇa* in the Vo-Canh inscription are closely paralleled by these letters in the Southern inscriptions. Both forms of *ṇa*² occur in the Kaṇhēri inscriptions.

(6) Medial *ā* and *o* marked with oblique strokes, while Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri conserve the horizontal strokes. It may be observed that this feature has been noted also in Jaggayyapetta and some Pallava charters, e.g. Uruvapalli. The *ṇo* in *Kariṇorvareṇa* of l. 11 is a fair approximation to the same letter figured by Bühler from Jaggayyapetta.

We see thus that all the traits traced by Majumdar as present at Vo-Canh, but not in the two Indian cases (Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri) are either not present in the Vo-Canh record or are found

1. ISCC., pl. 18. This trait is, however, not noticeable in the plate in BEFEO. XV.

2. ASWI. V. pl. li cf. *ṇas* in Nos. 5 and 15.

in South Indian inscriptions of an age not much later than the Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri records. In fact, there is no reason why we should now confine ourselves to the Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri records in talking of South Indian inscriptions. We have sought in the few remarks under each of the items considered above (and these remarks are by no means meant to be exhaustive) to show that the progress in our knowledge of South Indian epigraphy tends to confirm the remarkably sound judgment of Bergaigne regarding the original home of the Campā alphabet. And in the frequent references we have made above to Bühler's tables, we have only followed the line suggested by Majumdar himself. For after enumerating the six traits discussed above, he says: "Now, these peculiarities which characterize the inscription of Vo-Canh, in relation to those of Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri, recur in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions of Northern India, and a general comparison of the alphabets does not permit any doubt that the alphabet of Vo-Canh belongs to the Kuṣāṇa type. One can assure oneself easily about this by comparing my column I with columns III—V of plate III in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*". Only in making the comparison we have preferred a direct reference to the facsimiles of the Vo-Canh inscription in the ISCC and in BEFEO to the table produced by Majumdar.

Next, Prof. Majumdar points out that Bergaigne attached great importance to the occurrence of the subscribed *ya* in a tripartite form in the Vo-Canh, Gīrnār and Kaṇhēri, but not in the Mathurā inscriptions, and he draws our attention to this feature found in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions of Sārnāth.¹ It is enough to mention that Barth, while editing Bergaigne's work, drew pointed attention to the fact that the subscribed *ya* was not so sure a test as Bergaigne thought; he added that this did not vitiate the correctness of the sum total of Bergaigne's observations on the alphabet of the Vo-Canh record.² The position then is that the subscribed tripartite *ya* is not exclusively Southern in its provenance, but occurs in some Northern Indian records as well.

The remarks that follow in Majumdar's paper relate to some obstacles he has encountered in formulating his new hypothesis and the way in which he proposes to get over them. He says:

1. See, however, Sten Konow's remarks on the place of the tripartite subscribed *ya* in Kuṣāṇa records—K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, p. 264.

2. ISCC, p. 194, n. 1.

"The only characteristic of the Vo-Canh inscription which is found at Gīrnār and is not found in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions is the break of the left vertical stroke of *p* and *b*. It may be due to a western influence, but the general traits of the other letters lead us to place the writing of the inscription of Vo-Canh in the Kuṣāṇa variety of the Indian alphabet. It is only necessary to note that the curved strokes of *k* and of *n* always recall the more evolved Kuṣāṇa forms whereas *y* generally resembles the less evolved Kuṣāṇa form".

The 'break' (*fracture*) of the left vertical of *p* and *b* is a feature which has struck other writers as of somewhat greater significance than Majumdar appears to believe. Vogel has discussed this feature fully in his *Yūpa Inscriptions*¹ where he notes that the notched *pa* is even found in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions; says that 'the origin of this peculiarity can be traced back to the famous Gīrnār *praśasti* of Rudradāman'; and holds that 'here again the alphabets of Southern India, Indo-China and the Archipelago exhibit a parallel development'. Again, the difficulty touched on by Majumdar that on a comparison with the Kuṣāṇa alphabet, some letters of the Vo-Canh inscription present a less developed form while others appear to resemble more evolved forms of the Kuṣāṇa script, is a serious obstacle to our accepting his conclusion that the Vo-Canh alphabet belongs to the same class as the Kuṣāṇa; especially when closer parallels in form and development are available from Southern India as different scholars have repeatedly demonstrated.

The few resemblances with Northern scripts that have been traced in the Vo-Canh record by Majumdar and other writers as pointed out above, do not seem to be so significant as to outweigh the evidence of other features more distinctly southern in character. It would indeed be surprising if there were no features in common between any two scripts evolved out of the ancient Brāhmī script. It is only resemblances traced in detail in the shape and the development of individual letters that must be the means of determining the exact origin of any particular alphabet;² and judged by this test, I think, the case for the Southern Indian origin of the alphabet of Campā is indeed overwhelming. Some other southern features can be traced in Vo-Canh in an in-

1. Pp. 224-5.

2. Cf. Burnell—South Indian Palaeography, p. 132.

ipient form; for instance, the artificial development of the *serif* which culminates in the 'box-head' of letters, as in Bhadravarman inscriptions of Campā, might have begun in a thickening of the serifs of which we seem to have sporadic instances in the Vo-Canh record—witness the three letters *na-nut-ka* in l. 12, *ma* in *-ranumantavyam* in l. 15, *Sa* in *Sva* l. 10, and so on. The practice of writing the vowelless consonant in smaller type beneath the line is more common in South Indian records than in North Indian ones and is a very early feature;¹ this feature is also traceable in the Vo-Canh record (l. 8).

The result of Majumdar's investigation is to suggest that the original home of the Vo-Canh alphabet was in Central India of the third or the fourth century A. D. where the script had already acquired some of the Southern characteristics, but not the feature of turning upwards (to the left) the vertical strokes of *ka*, *ra* etc.; and to argue further that the Campā alphabet became more and more southern in character for a time thereafter, and then once again the southern features began to disappear. I have sought to show that the evidence cited by Majumdar in support of his thesis does not stand the test of a close examination; and it seems to me also that his conclusion does not emerge from his argument. I have confined myself to the Vo-Canh inscription on which rests the whole argument for the new view of the origin of the Campā alphabet. I do not follow up the further history of its development as envisaged by Majumdar, because if, as I consider, the older view of the origin has not been disproved by his argument, there is no need to explain the southern traits in the relatively later records of Campā. The gradual disappearance of Indian features and the emergence of local variations not only in script but in the whole culture of Indo-China and the Archipelago is the chief trend in the secular development of life in Hindu colonies of these regions.

1. Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.*, 227-8.

ON THE DATE OF SKANDASVĀMIN, MAHEŚVARA AND MĀDHAVA

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

Mysore.

Skandasvāmin and his commentary on the *Ṛk-saṃhitā* are mentioned in the following stanzas that are found in the beginning of Harisvāmin's commentary on the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* in a manuscript of that work belonging to the Queen's College, Benares:

Nāgasvāmī tatra . . . śrī-Guhasvāmi-nandanah |
tatra yājī pramāṇajña ādhyo lakṣmyā samedhitaḥ || 5
tan-nandano Harisvāmī praspurad-veda-vedimān |
trayī-vyākhyāna-dhaureyo 'dhīta-tantro guror mukhāt || 6
yaḥ samrāt kṛtavān sapta soma-saṃsthāḥ tathark-śruteḥ |
vyākhyāṃ kṛtvā' dhyāpayan mām Skandasvāmy asti me
guruh || 7

tato 'dhīta-mahātantro viśvopakṛti-hetave |
vyācikyāsuḥ śruter arthaṃ Harisvāmī nato gurum || 8
śrīmato 'vanti-nāthasya Vikramasya kṣitīśituḥ |
dharmādhyakṣo Harisvāmī vyākhyāṃ kurve yathā-
mati || 9

yadādinām [read *yadābdānām*] kaler jagmuḥ sapta-
triṃśac-chatāni vai |
catvāriṃśat-samāś cānyās tadā bhāṣyam idaṃ kṛtam || 10

It is said that Harisvāmin, pupil of Skandasvāmin who had commented on the *Ṛk-saṃhitā*, son of Nāgasvāmin, and *Dharmādhyakṣa* of King Vikrama, wrote a commentary on the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* in the Kaliyuga year 3640, when Vikrama was ruling over Avanti or Malwa. Kaliyuga year 3640 corresponds to A. D. 638-639; and since Harisvāmin's commentary was, according to the above stanzas, written in that year, it has been inferred by Dr. Kunhan Raja (in his edition of *Mādhava-bhaṭṭa's Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*, Introd., p. XVII), Pandit Sambasiva Sastri (in his edition of the *Ṛk-saṃhitā with Skandasvāmi-bhāṣya*, no. 96 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, Introd., p. 2) and

Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*Vaidika Vāṇmayakā Itihāsa*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 3) that Harisvāmin's teacher Skandasvāmin flourished in about 600 A. D.

As pointed out, however, by Dr. Sarup (in his edition of *Skanda-Maheśvara's Commentary on the Nirukta*, Vol. III, Introd., p. 55 ff.) there was no king bearing the name Vikrama, who ruled over Malwa in A. D. 638-639, or indeed at any time in the period 600-900 A. D.; and the statement made in the above stanzas that King Vikrama was ruling over Malwa in A. D. 638-639 is thus patently false. Dr. Sarup therefore emends (l.c., p. 57) the expression *sapta-triṃśacchatāni vai* into *ṣaṭ-triṃśac-chatakāni vai*, and arrives at the conclusion that Harisvāmin's commentary was written in A. D. 538-539 when Yaśodharman Vikramāditya was ruling over Malwa, and that his teacher Skandasvāmin flourished therefore in about 500 A. D.

It is, however, possible to emend the phrase *vikramasya kṣitīśituh* occurring in the above stanza into *harṣavardhana-bhūpateḥ* and hence derive the conclusion that Harisvāmin and Skandasvāmin flourished in A. D. 638-639 and c. 600 respectively. It is likewise possible to emend the expressions *vikramasya kṣitīśituh* and *yadādīnām kaler jagmuḥ sapta-triṃśacchatāni vai* | *catvāriṃśat-samāś cānyāḥ* into *śrī-Bhojasya kṣitīśituh* and *yadābdānām kaler eka-catvāriṃśac-chatāni vai* | *catvāriṃśat samā jagmuḥ* and thus arrive at the conclusion that Harisvāmin and Skandasvāmin flourished respectively in 1038-1039 A. D. (when the Paramāra king Bhoja was ruling over Malwa) and c. 1000 A. D.; and one can also similarly emend the two stanzas in question in many other different ways so as to make out that Harisvāmin and Skandasvāmin flourished in centuries of the Christian era other than those mentioned above, when other kings were ruling over Malwa. Now, there is nothing to show that, of the three modes of emendation¹ proposed above, one only is admissible and the other two not; and it hence becomes plain that the above-cited stanzas are useless for purposes of chronology.

It must moreover be noted that the above-cited stanzas are found in one manuscript only of Harisvāmin's work, and that this Ms. is not old but very modern (saṃvat 1849). Sāmaśramin's

1. Regarding the futility of emending dates and the unreliability of the results obtained from emended dates, see *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, Introd., p. VIII, ff.

edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* contains Harisvāmin's commentary too on some adhyāyas; the colophons at the end of these adhyāyas contain the following two ślokas:

Nāgasvāmi-suto 'vantiyāṃ Pārāśaryo vasan Harih |
 śruty-arthaṃ darśayāmāsa śaktitaḥ Pauṣkarīyakaḥ ||
 śrīmato 'vanti-nāthasya Vikramārkasya bhūpateḥ |
 dharmādhyakṣo Harisvāmī vyākhyac chātapathīm
 śrutim ||

These stanzas too, observes Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 40), are not found in the Mss. of Harisvāmin's *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa-bhāṣya* that he has seen; and it is his opinion that they are not genuine.

It thus becomes plain from the foregoing that the stanzas found in Harisvāmin's work do not help us in any way in finding out the date of Skandasvāmin; it is also very doubtful if Skandasvāmin was really the teacher of Harisvāmin as stated in the above-cited stanzas. Moreover, even if we give credence to it, it does not take us any further; for, the current belief that Harisvāmin is mentioned in the commentary on *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* by Karka who lived in the eleventh century A. D. is shown by Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 249) to be based on an error,¹ and there are no means of determining the date of Harisvāmin himself.

Let us therefore turn our attention to other evidences about Skandasvāmin, external and internal. As pointed out by the above-mentioned scholars in the above-named works, Skandasvāmin's name is mentioned by Sāyaṇa in his explanation of R̥v. 1, 88, 5 and 5, 12, 3; and it hence becomes clear that Skandasvāmin must have lived before c. 1350 A. D. His name is mentioned by Devarāja also whom the above-named scholars, with the exception of Dr. Raja, assign to about 1320 A. D.; it is likewise mentioned by the R̥v. commentator Veṅkaṭa-mādhava whom all the above-named scholars, including Dr. Raja, assign to the eleventh century A. D. or earlier. As I have shown elsewhere however (*see pp. 118 ff. above*) these two writers were both posterior to Sāyaṇa. Dr. Sarup has further cited (*Indices and App. to the Nirukta*, p. 28 of the Introd.) the passage *skandaḥ*

1. On the other hand, Prof. Bhagavad Datta is inclined to believe (l. c.) that Harisvāmin is later than Karka.

svāmī | *tat-tulyaḥ skandyaḥ* from Vardhamāna's Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi (p. 232) as containing a reference to Skandasvāmin; and he has based on it the conclusion that Skandasvāmin was earlier than 1140 A. D., the year in which Vardhamāna wrote that work. This is however a mistake; Vardhamāna explains *skanda* as *svāmī*, not because he wants to refer to the author Skandasvāmin, but because the word *skanda* has several meanings (cf. Vaijayanti, 2, 1, 1, 65: *skando dhātā nadīmūlam*), and he wants to point out that the suffix *ya* is added to it when it has the sense of *svāmī*, i.e., Kumāra or Skanda (cf. *ibid.* 2, 1, 5, 94; *svāmī pātyau ṣaḍānane*). The word *svāmī* used by Vardhamāna thus refers to Kumāra and not to Skandasvāmin; and thus the only certain information about Skandasvāmin that we obtain from external evidence is that he lived before c. 1350 A. D.

Let us turn now to the internal evidence. It is worthy of note that the colophons of Skandasvāmin's commentary on the R̥v. give to it two different names, *R̥garthāgamasamḥṛti* and *R̥gvedabhāṣya*. The latter name, *R̥gvedabhāṣya*, occurs in the colophons at the end of Adhyāyas 6 and 8 (and of 1 and 2 also of the Trivandrum edition); it occurs in the benedictory stanza also, *mantrāṇām avaboddhavyo yato' rtho' ṅgatva-siddhaye* | *ṛgvedasyāvaboddhārtham ato bhāṣyam kariṣyate* that stands at the beginning of the work. The former name, *R̥garthāgamasamḥṛti*, is used in the colophon at the end of Adhyāyas 1, 2, 5, 7 which reads as *Valabhī-vinivāsy etām R̥garthāgamasamḥṛtim* | *Bharṭṛ-dhruva-sutaś cakre Skandasvāmī yathā-smṛti*. Both names are found in the colophon at the end of Adhyāya 3 and of Adh. 1 and 2 of the Trivandrum edition, while no name is mentioned at the end of Adhyāya 4.

The expression *R̥garthāgamasamḥṛti* is a compound of the words *R̥garthāgama* and *samḥṛti*. The latter word denotes 'collection, epitome, abridgment', and the former, 'teaching (i.e., what has been taught) concerning the meaning of the ṛks; i.e., explanations given by commentators of the mantras of the R̥k-samhitā'; compare the following observations of Pandit Sambasiva Sastri on p. 8 of the *upodghāta* in his above-named edition:

ऋचामर्था ऋगर्थास्त एवागमा ऋगर्थागमास्तेषां संहतिः ऋगर्थागमसंहतिरिति स्वारसिकेन विग्रहेण निखिलाभ्युपगम्यतया आगमभूता ऋगर्था इह भाष्या इति

सिध्यति । अनेनास्वकपोलकल्पितत्वात् समूलत्वाच्च कश्चिदसाधारण उपादेयता महिमा चाविष्कृतो भवति ।

The title *Rgarthāgamasamḥṛti* thus means 'epitome of the commentaries on the *Ṛk-saṃhitā*'. These commentaries are, naturally, those that are anterior to Skandasvāmin, and the expression *Rgarthāgamasamḥṛti* can thus be paraphrased as *Pūrvarg-bhāṣya-samuccaya*. The adverb *yathā-smṛti*¹ used in the above stanza is, it should be noted, quite appropriate in this connection, and the meaning of the stanza is, "Skandasvāmin, resident of Valabhī, son of Bharṭṛ-dhruva, has compiled this epitome of the commentaries on the *Ṛk-saṃhitā* to the best of his memory". Skandasvāmin thus disavows all claims to originality in this stanza and says that he is merely compiling an epitome of the commentaries on the *ṚV* known to him.

That Skandasvāmin's commentary on the *ṚV* should have two titles, *Rgvedabhāṣya* and *Rgarthāgamasamḥṛti*, is in itself peculiar; it is still more peculiar that his commentary on the *Nirukta* too should have two² titles, *Niruktabhāṣyaṭikā* and *Niruktabhāṣyavivaraṇasamuccaya*, and that the latter title should, like the title *Rgarthāgamasamḥṛti*, represent that this commentary too is an epitome of the works of anterior commentators. In this case, the introduction itself contains the passage:

तस्य पूर्वटीकाकारैर्बर्बरस्वामिभगवद्दुर्ग-प्रभृतिभिर्विस्तरेण व्याख्यातस्य तद्वचनै-
कदेशानुच्चित्योच्चित्याल्पक्लेशेनाभ्याससिद्धयर्थम् अल्पग्रन्था वृत्तिः क्रियते,

and tells us that, among the anterior commentators whose works were utilised by Skandasvāmin are Barbarasvāmin and Durga.

1. The reading *yathā-mati* that is found instead of *yathā-smṛti* in the colophons of Adh. 1, 2, (of the Madras edition only), and 5, is distinctly inferior. It is more suited to the writing of an original work than to the compilation of an epitome, which Skandasvāmin's work professes to be.

2. The titles निरुक्तवृत्ति, निरुक्तटीका, निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चय, निरुक्त-
भाष्यविवरण, निरुक्तमन्त्रभाष्यार्थपूर्ववृत्तिसमुच्चय etc., that are also found in the colophons at the end of several pādas and adhyāyas are but paraphrases of these two original titles. The majority of them seem to be due to copyists; compare pp. 9-11 of the *Introd.* in Dr. Sarup's edition of *Skanda-Maheśvara's Commentary on the Nirukta*, Vol. I, and note how, on many occasions, the title is given differently in the colophon at the end of the same pāda or adhyāya in the different manuscripts.

The commentary on the RV, on the other hand, does not mention the name of any anterior commentator. A comparison, however, of the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Skandasvāmin on the mantras given below¹ shows that Skandasvāmin has borrowed from Uvaṭa, that is, that Uvaṭa is one of the commentators whose works were utilised by Skandasvāmin:

(१) युक्त्वा हि केशिना हरी वृषणा कक्ष्यप्रा ।

अथा न इन्द्र सोमपा गिरामुपश्रुतिं चर ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 8,34: युक्त्वा हि । युजिरयोगे । युङ्ग्धि । हि यस्मात् केशिना प्रलम्बकेशरौ हरी हरितवर्णावश्चौ वृषणा वर्षितारौ सेक्तारौ तरुणौ । कक्ष्यप्रा । कक्ष्या अश्वस्य सन्नाहरज्जुः । प्रा पूरणे । कक्ष्या या वा पूरयतः तावेवमुच्येते । तौ युक्त्वा रथे तमास्थाय अथ समनन्तरमेव नः अस्माकं हे इन्द्र सोमपाः सोमपानशील । गिरामुपश्रुतिं चर । स्तुतिलक्षणां गिरं वाचम् उपश्रुत्य चर आगच्छास्मद्गृहम् ॥

Skanda^o on RV. I, 10, 3: युक्त्वाहि नियुङ्क्व स्वरथे केशिना केशवन्तौ प्रलम्बकेशरौ हरी आत्मीयावश्चौ । वृषणा । 'वृषुमृषुसेचने' । रेतस्सेचन-समर्थौ तरुणावित्यर्थः । कक्ष्यप्रा । कक्ष्यारज्जुरश्वस्य यया पर्याणमुरसि बध्यते । प्रा पूरणे । कक्ष्यायाः पूरयितारौ मांसपूर्णशरीरावित्यर्थः । अथ अनन्तरं च नः अस्माकं स्वभूतानां हे इन्द्र सोमपाः सोमानां पातः गिरां स्तुतीनाम् उपश्रुतिं श्रुतेः समीपं चर गच्छ । यत्रास्मदीयाः स्तुतीः शृणोषि तत्रागच्छेत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on *ibid.*: हे सोमपाः सोमपानयुक्तेन्द्र हरी त्वदीयावश्चौ युक्त्वा हि । सर्वथा संयोजय । अथानन्तरं नोऽस्मदीयानां गिरां स्तुतीनां उपश्रुतिं समीपे श्रवणमुद्दिश्य चर तत्प्रदेशं गच्छ । कीदृशौ हरी । केशिना । स्कन्धप्रदेशे लम्बमानकेशयुक्तौ । वृषणा सेचनसमर्थौ युवानौ । कक्ष्यप्रा । अश्वस्यो-दरबन्धनरज्जुः कक्ष्यः । तस्य पूरकौ । पुष्टाङ्गावित्यर्थः ॥

1. Lest it should be thought that the meaning of these mantras is very plain and that the commentators cannot therefore help explaining them in the same way or using the same words in their explanations, I have added the explanations of Sāyaṇa and Mādhavārya (son of Venkaṭārya) also on each mantra, and in the case of two mantras, those of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara in addition. These explanations throw up in relief the similarity existing between the explanations of Skandasvāmin and Uvaṭa.

Mādhavārya on *ibid.*: युक्त्वा हि योजय प्रशस्तकेशावश्चौ तरुणौ मेदुरतया कक्ष्यायाः पूरयितारौ । अथास्माकमिन्द्र सोमस्य पातः स्तुतीनामुपश्रुतिं चर ॥

(२) सोमानं स्वरणं कृणुहि ब्रह्मणस्पते ।
कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 3, 28: हे ब्रह्मणस्पते । सोमानम् । पुञ् अभिषवे । ‘आतो मनिन्कनिब्वनिपः’ ‘अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते’ इति मनिन् । सोमानं सोतारं पाता इति पर्यायः । केषां सोतारम् । सामर्थ्यात् सोमानाम् । स्वरणम् । स्तु शब्दोपतापयोः । शब्दयितारम् । सोतारं च सोमानाम्, स्तोतारं च देवानाम् । कृणुहि कुरु धनप्रदानैः ब्रह्मणस्पते । कमिव ? कक्षीवन्तमिव ; लुप्तोपममेतत् । कक्षीवन्तमिव ऋषिर् दीर्घतमसः पुत्रम् । य औशिजः । उशिजः पुत्रः, उशिकू माता अस्यासीत् ॥

Skanda° on RV. 1, 18, 1: सोमानम् । पुञ् अभिषवे । अभिषोतारम् । कस्य । सामर्थ्यात् सोमस्य नः । स्वरणम् ‘स्तु शब्दोपतापयोः’ शब्दयितारम् अर्चयितारं च । कस्य । सामर्थ्यात् स्तुतीनाम् । यष्टारं स्तोतारं चेत्यर्थः । कृणुहि कुरु मां धनप्रदानेन । अथवा सर्वत्र यः शब्दयते स स्वरणः प्रकाश इत्यर्थः । अभिषोतारं मां स्वरणं देवमनुष्येषु प्रकाशं कुरु हे ब्रह्मणस्पते । कमिव । उच्यते । कक्षीवन्तम् । लुप्तोपममेतद् द्रष्टव्यम् । कक्षीवन्तमिव ऋषिम् । कतमोऽयं कक्षीवान् । उच्यते । य औशिजः उशिकूपुत्रः ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 18, 1: हे ब्रह्मणस्पते एतन्नामकदेव सोमानमभिषवस्य कर्तारं मामनुष्ठातारं स्वरणं देवेषु प्रकाशनवन्तं कृणुहि कुरु । अत्र दृष्टान्तः । कक्षीवन्तमेतन्नामकमृषिम् । इवशब्दोऽत्राध्याहर्तव्यः । कक्षीवान् यथा देवेषु प्रसिद्धस्तद्वदित्यर्थः । यः कक्षीवानृषिः औशिजः, उशिजः पुत्रः । तमिवेति पूर्वयोजना । कक्षीवतोऽनुष्ठातृषु मुनिषु प्रसिद्धिस्तैत्तिरीयैराम्नायते । ‘एवं वै पर आट्णारः कक्षीवानौशिजो वीतहव्यः श्रायसस्त्रसदस्युः पौरुकुत्स्यः प्रजाकामा अचिन्वत’ इति । ऋगन्तरेऽप्यृषित्वकथनेनानुष्ठातृत्वप्रसिद्धिः सूच्यते । अहं कक्षीवाँ ऋषिरस्मि विप्र इति । तस्मादस्य अनुष्ठातारं प्रति दृष्टान्तत्वं युक्तम् ॥

Mādhavārya on R.V. 1, 18, 1: सोमानं प्रकाशवन्तं कुरु मां
ब्रह्मणस्पते कक्षीवन्तं यस्तथा कृतवानसि । यः कक्षीवानुशिक्षसूतः । स्वरतिः
शब्दकमेति ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on TS. 1, 5, 6, 4: सोमानं सोतारं सोमाना-
मभिषोतारं मां कृणुहि । ‘अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते’ इति मनिन् । उञ्छादित्वादन्तो-
दात्तत्वम् । औणादिको वा मनिन्प्रत्ययः । अन्य आहुः । सोमानामिति
वक्तव्ये छान्दसं ह्रस्वत्वम् । सोमानां सप्तविधानां सम्बन्धिनं मां कुर्विति । तत्राप्य-
न्तोदात्तत्वं मृग्यम्, सोमशब्दस्य आयुदात्तत्वात् । स्वरणं शब्दितं सोमत्वेन
प्रकाशितम् । ‘स्वृ शब्दोपतापयोः’, कर्मणि ल्युट् । ईदृशं च मां कुरु । हे
ब्रह्मणः परिवृढस्यान्नस्य वा पते स्वामिन् । ‘षष्ठ्याः पतिपुत्रे’ इति सत्वम् ।
‘सुग्रामन्त्रिते’ इति पराङ्गवद्भावात् षष्ठ्यामन्त्रितसमुदायो निहन्यते । कक्षी-
वन्तम् । तादृर्म्यात्ताच्छब्दम् । कक्षीवान्नाम ऋषिः तमिव । य औशिजम् ।
स्वार्थिकोऽण् वचनव्यत्ययः । यद्वा—कक्षीवन्तं हस्त्यादिकक्ष्यावन्तम् ईश्वरं
मा कुरु । ‘आसन्दीवदष्टीवत्’ इत्यादिना निपात्यते । य ईश्वर औशिजो भवति
तं मा कुरु । उशिक्ष् कान्तः सर्वलोकप्रियः स औशिजः । स्वार्थिकोऽण् ॥

(३) यो रेवान्यो अमीवहा वसुवित्पुष्टिवर्धनः ।

सः सिषक्तु यस्तुरः ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 3, 29: रै इति धननाम । यो रेवान् ब्रह्मणस्पतिः
रेवान् धनवान् । यश्च अमीवहा । अमीवा व्याधिः, व्याधेर्हन्ता । वसुवित् ।
वसु धनं तस्य सारासारतां वेत्ति, विदित्वा च यथायोगं स्तोतृभ्यो ददाति ।
पुष्टिवर्धनः । पुष पुष्टौ । पुष्टेः पोषस्य वर्धयिता । सः न सिषक्तु । सिषक्ति
सचत इति सेवानाम । सोऽस्मान् सेवताम् । यस्तुरः त्वरणः अविलम्बितकारी ।
यद्वा पुत्रः प्रार्थ्यते । हे ब्रह्मणस्पते यः पुत्रः धनवान् यश्च व्याधिहर्ता । ज्योतिः-
शास्त्राभिप्रायमेतत् । धनस्य च लब्धा पुष्टेश्च वर्धयिता सोऽस्मान् पुत्रः सेवताम् ।
यस्तुरः शीघ्रकारी । कालातिक्रमो हि प्रत्यग्रं कार्यरसं पिबतीत्याहुः ॥

Skanda° on R.V. 1, 18, 2: यो ब्रह्मणस्पती रेवान् धनवान् यश्च
अमीवहा हिंसितृणां हन्ता वसुवित् ‘विदिर्लभे’ अपूर्वाणामपि धनानां
लब्धा । अथवा विन्दतिरत्र सामर्थ्यादन्तर्णीतण्यर्थः । धनानां लम्भयिता
स्तोतृभ्यो दातेत्यर्थः । पुष्टिवर्धनः सर्वप्रकारायाः पुष्टेर्वर्धयिता । सः नः

सिषक्तु सेवतां यस्तुरः त्वरिता क्षिप्रकारीत्यर्थः । अथवा योरेवानित्यादिभिः पुत्रं प्रति निर्दिश्यते । ब्रह्मणस्पतिप्रसादात् धनवत्त्वादिगुणः पुत्रोऽस्मान् सचताम् अस्माकं जायतामित्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on R.V. 1, 18, 2: यो ब्रह्मणस्पतिः रेवान् धनवान् यश्च अमीवहा रोगाणां हन्ता वसुविद्वनलब्धा पुष्टिवर्धनः पुष्टेर्वर्धयिता यश्च तुरस्त्वरोपेतः शीघ्रफलदः स ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्नोऽस्मान् सिषक्तु सेवताम् । परिगृह्य अनुगृह्णात्वित्यर्थः ॥

Mādhavārya on R.V. 1, 18, 2: यो धनवान् यश्च रक्षसां हन्ता धनं लम्भयति पुष्टेर्वर्धयिता स भजतामस्मान् यः सर्वदा त्वरते कर्मसु ॥

(४) इन्द्रवायू इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतम् ।

इन्द्रवो वामुशन्ति हि ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 7, 8: हे इन्द्रवायू इमे अभिषुताः सोमाः । अतः कारणात् उपप्रयोभिरागतम् । उपेत्यमुपसर्गः आगतमित्यनेन सम्बध्यते । उपागतम् उपागच्छतं प्रयोभिः । प्रयःशब्दः इण् गतावित्यस्य धातोः शतृप्रत्ययान्तस्य रूपम् । 'इणो यण्' इति यणादेशो भिसि तकारस्य छान्दसः सकारः । ततो रुत्वादि । ततः प्रपूर्वस्य प्रयोभिरिति सिध्यति । प्रयद्विरश्चैः शीघ्रैरागच्छतम् । किं च । इन्द्रवो वामुशन्ति हि । हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थे । यस्मादिन्द्रवः सोमाः वां युवाम् उशन्ति । वश कान्तौ । कामयन्ते । तस्मादिन्द्रवायू पिबतम् ॥

Skanda° on R.V. 1, 2, 4: हे इन्द्रवायू इमे सुता अभिषुताः सोमाः । एतत् ज्ञात्वा । उप प्रयोभिरागतम् । उपेत्युपसर्ग आगतमित्याख्यातेन सम्बध्यते । प्रयश्शब्दो यातेर्धातोर्गन्तृवचनः । प्रकर्षेण गन्तृभिरत्यन्तशीघ्रैश्चैरागच्छतम् । प्रयश्शब्दोऽपठितोऽप्यन्ननाम । सहयोगलक्षणा चात्र तृतीया । इमे अभिषुताः सोमाः न च केवलाः । किं तर्हि, सवनीयपुरोडाशादिभिरनैः सह । एतत् ज्ञात्वोपागच्छतमिति । अथवा उपागच्छतमित्येतदपेक्ष एव सहयोगः । अन्नैः सहोपागच्छतम् । मह्यं यानि दातव्यान्यन्नानि तानि गृहीत्वोपागच्छतमित्यर्थः । कस्मात् । इन्द्रवो वामुशन्ति हि । हिशब्दो यस्मादर्थे । यस्मादिन्द्रव एते सोमा वां युवाम् उशन्ति कामयन्ते वयमिन्द्रवायुभ्यां पीयेमहीत्येवम् । तस्मादुपागच्छतमिति ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 2, 4: हे इन्द्रवायू भवदर्थमिमे सोमाः सुताः अभिषुताः । तस्माद्युवां प्रयोभिरनैरस्मभ्यं दातव्यैः सहोपागतम् । अस्मत्समीपं प्रत्यागच्छतम् । हि यस्मादिन्द्रवः सोमाः वां युवाम् उशन्ति कामयन्ते । तस्मादागमनमुचितम् ॥

Mādhavārya on RV. 1, 2, 4: इमे सोमाः सुता अस्माकं प्रदित्सितैरनैः सहोपागच्छतम् । एते सोमा वां कामयन्ते हि ॥

Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara on TS. 1, 4, 4, 1: हे इन्द्रवायू इमे सोमाः सुताः अभिषुताः युष्मदर्थं सम्यक् संस्कृताः । अतः उपागतम् उपागच्छतम् । 'बहुलं छन्दसि' इति शपो लुक् । प्रयोभिरनैः सह यान्यस्मभ्यं दास्यसे तान्यप्यादायागच्छतमिति । प्रीणातेरसुनूप्रत्ययः । हि यस्मादर्थे, यस्मादेते इन्द्रवः सोमा वां युवाम् उशन्ति कामयन्ते युवयोरागमनं प्रतीक्षन्ते । तस्मादुपागच्छतमिति ॥

(५) इन्द्राऽऽयाहि चित्रभानो सुता इमे त्वायवः ।

अण्वीभिस्तना पूतासः ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 20, 87: इन्द्र आयाहि आगच्छ चित्रभानो चित्रदीप्ते । किं कारणम् । सुता अभिषुता इमे सोमाः त्वायवः त्वां कामयमानाः । यदि नामेन्द्रोऽस्मान् पिबेदित्येवं कामयमाना इत्यर्थः । न चाभिषुता एव केवलम्, किं तर्हि अण्वीभिस्तना पूतासः । अण्वी इत्यङ्गुलिनाम् । अङ्गुलिभिः तना च धनदानेन च पूताः पवित्रीकृताः । यद्वा तनाशब्देन दशापवित्रमभिधीयते । अङ्गुलिभिर्दशापवित्रेण च पूता इत्यर्थः ॥

Skanda^o on RV. 1, 3, 4: हे इन्द्र आयाहि आगच्छ । चित्रभानो । भानुदीप्तिः । विचित्रदीप्ते पूजनीयदीप्ते वा । किं कारणम् । सुता अभिषुता इमे सोमाः । त्वायवः त्वत्कामाः । अभिषुतानपि नामेन्द्रोऽस्मान् पिबेदित्येवं कामा इत्यर्थः । न चाभिषुता एव केवलम्, किं तर्हि, अण्वीभिस्तना पूतासः । अण्व्य इत्यङ्गुलीनाम् । वारेण शश्वता तना, तना पुनान आयुषु इत्यादिदर्शनात् तनाशब्दो दशापवित्रवचनः । अण्वीभिर्दशापवित्रेण च पूताः । हस्तेन दशापवित्रमादाय पूता अपील्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 3, 4: चित्रभानो चित्रदीप्ते हे इन्द्र अस्मिन् कर्मण्यायाहि । आगच्छ । सुता अभिषुता इमे सोमाः त्वायवः त्वां कामयमाना वर्तन्ते । अण्वीभिः । अणुव इत्यादिषु द्वाविंशतिसंख्याकेषु अङ्गुलि-

नामसु अण्व्य इति पठितम् । ऋत्विजामङ्गुलिभिः सुता इत्यन्वयः । किं च । एते सोमाः तना नित्यं पूतासः पूताः शुद्धाः दशापवित्रेण शोधितत्वात् ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: इन्द्रोपागच्छ कर्मणा चित्रदीप्ते । सुता इमे सोमास्त्वत्कामा भवन्ति । अङ्गुलीभिर्दशापवित्रेण च पूताः ॥

(६) इन्द्राऽऽयाहि तूतुजान उप ब्रह्माणि हरिवः ।

सुते दधिष्व नश्चनः ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 20, 89: हे इन्द्र आगच्छ तूतुजान । तूतुजान इति क्षिप्रनाम । क्षिप्रं त्वरमाणः । उप ब्रह्माणि उप हवींषि प्रति हे हरिवः । हरी अश्वौ तद्वानिन्द्रः । 'मतुवसोरु सम्बुद्धौ' इति रुत्वम् । एत्य च सुते अभिषुते सोमे दधिष्व उदरेण धारयस्व । नः अस्माकं स्वभूतं चनः अन्नं हविः सोमलक्षणम् ॥

Skanda° on R.V. 1, 3, 6: हे इन्द्र आयाहि । तूतुजानः । क्षिप्रनामैतत् । क्षिप्रं त्वरमाण इत्यर्थः । उप ब्रह्माणि । हे हरिवः । हरी अश्वौ तद्वन् । आगत्य च । सुते इति द्वितीयार्थे सप्तम्येषा । सुतम् अभिषुतम् । दधिष्व धारयस्वोदरेपिवेत्यर्थः । नः अस्माकं स्वभूतं चनः सोमलक्षणमन्नम् ॥

Sāyaṇa on *ibid*: हरिशब्द इन्द्रसम्बन्धिनोरश्वयोर्नामधेयम् । हरी इन्द्रस्य रोहितोऽग्नेरिति तदीयाश्वनामत्वेन पठितत्वात् । हे हरिवः अश्वयुक्तेन्द्र । त्वं ब्रह्माणि उपैतुमायाहि । कीदृशस्त्वम् । तूतुजानः त्वरमाणः । आगत्य च अस्मिन् सुते सोमाभिषवयुक्ते कर्मणि नोऽस्मदीयं चनोऽन्नं हविर्लक्षणं दधिष्व धारय स्वीकुर्वित्यर्थः ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: इन्द्रोपागच्छ त्वरमाणः स्तोत्राणि गमनसाधनभूताश्ववन् । आगत्य चास्मिन् सुते सोमेऽस्मभ्यमन्नं देहि ॥

(७) अषाढं युत्सु पृतनासु पप्रि

स्वर्षामप्सां वृजनस्य गोपाम् ।

भरेषुजां सुक्षितिं सुश्रवसं

जयन्तं त्वामनु मदेम सोम ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 34, 20: अषाढमसोढम् असहनम् अनभिभूतं युत्सु युद्धेषु पृतनासु सैन्येषु । पप्रिम् । पृ पालन इत्यस्यैतद्रूपम्, न तु प्रा पूरण इत्यस्य ।

पप्रिं पालनशीलम् । स्वर्षां स्वः दिवं सनोति सम्भजते । अपः सनोति सम्भजत इति तथा तम् । वृजनस्य बलस्य गोपां गोप्तारम् । भरेषुजाम् । जयते-
रेतद्रूपम्, न जिनतेः । संग्रामेषु जेतारम् । सुक्षितिं सुनिवासम् । सुश्रवसं
कल्याण-कर्म-कर्तृत्वेन प्रसिद्धम् । जयन्तं त्वामनु मदेम । मदेर्मोदनार्थस्य
ग्रहणम् । परसैन्यानि जयन्तं त्वा दृष्ट्वा उत्साहवन्तो दृष्टाः स्याम हे सोम ॥

Skanda^o on R.V. 1, 91, 21: अषाढहमन्यैः अनभिभूतपूर्वम् । युत्सु
युद्धेषु । पृतनासु पप्रिम् । पृ पालनपूरणयोरित्यस्य एतद्रूपम्, न प्रा पूरणे
इत्यस्य । संग्रामेषु पालयितारं यष्टृणां स्तोतृणां च । स्वर्षाम् । स्वर्षीः ।
तां सनोतीति स्वर्षा । तं स्वर्षाम् । दिवः संभक्तारमित्यर्थः । अप्साम् अपां च
सेवितारम् । वृजनस्य गोपाम् । वृजनमिति बलनाम । बलस्य गोप्तारम् ।
भरेषुजाम् । जनिरत्र सामर्थ्याज्जयतेरर्थे । संग्रामेषु जेतारम् । सुक्षितिं
सुनिवासम् । सुश्रवसं सुकीर्तिं स्वनं सुधनं वा । जयन्तं त्वामनु । अनु-
शब्दोऽत्र 'अनुलक्षणे' इत्येवं कर्मप्रवचनीयः आक्षिप्तनिशमयत्यर्थः । शाकल्य-
संहितामनुप्रावर्षादिति यथा । जयन्तं त्वामनुनिशम्य । श्रुत्वेत्यर्थः । मदेम
मोदेम प्रदृष्टाः स्यामेत्यर्थः । हे सोम ॥

Sāyana on *ibid*: युत्सु युद्धेषु अषाढहं शत्रुभिरनभिभवनीयम् । तथा
पृतनासु सेनासु पप्रिं जयस्य पूरयितारम् । स्वर्षां स्वर्गस्य सनितारं
दातारम् । अप्साम् अपां वृष्टिलक्षणानामुदकानां दातारम् । यद्वा अप्साम्
अनतृकं भक्षकरहितम् । सर्वेषामनुग्राहकमित्यर्थः । वृजनस्य गोपाम् ।
वृज्यतेऽनेनेति वृजनं बलम् । तस्य गोपां गोपायितारं रक्षितारम् । भरेषुजाम् ।
भ्रियत्त एषु हवींषीति भरा यागाः । तेषु प्रादुर्भवन्तम् । सुक्षितिं शोभन-
निवासस्थानम् । सुश्रवसं शोभनयशस्कम् । जयन्तं शत्रूनभिभवन्तम् ।
हे सोम ईदृग्भूतं त्वामनुलक्ष्य मदेम हर्षयुक्ता भवेम ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: अषाढहं शत्रुभिरसोढं युद्धेषु पृतनासु पाल-
यितारं बलस्य गोपयितारं संग्रामेषु प्रादुर्भवन्तं सुनिवासं सुकीर्तिं जयन्तं त्वा-
मनुमदेम स्तोत्रैः सोम ॥

(८) सोमो धेनुं सोमो अर्वन्तमाशुं

सोमो वीरं कर्मण्यं ददाति ।

सादन्यं विदथ्यं सभेयं

पितृश्रवणं यो ददाशदस्मै ॥

Uvāta on VS. 34, 21: सोमो धेनुं ददाति । सोम एव अर्वन्तमश्वमाशुं शीघ्रं ददाति । सोम एव वीरं पुत्रम् । कर्मण्यं कर्मणि साधुं ददाति । तं विशिनष्टि । सादन्यं सदने गृहे साधुम् । विदथ्यम् । यज्ञे साधुम् । सभागर्हति सभेयस्तम् । पितृश्रवणम् । पितुरनुशासने च स्थितं विनीतमित्यर्थः । यो यजमानः ददाशत् ददाति अस्मै सोमाय हविः तस्मै सोमो धेन्वादीन् ददातीत्यभिसम्बन्धः ॥

Skanda° on R.V. 1, 91, 20: सोमो धेनुं सोम एव अर्वन्तमाशुं शीघ्रं सोम एव वीरं पुत्रं कर्मण्यं कर्मसु साधुं सर्वकर्मसु योग्यं ददाति । न च सर्वकर्मयोग्यमेव केवलम् । किं तर्हि । सादन्यम् । सदनं गृहम् तत्र च साधुम् । विदथ्यं सभेयम् । विद्वत्सभाजः सभा । तत्र च साधुम् । पितृश्रवणम् । पितृणां च श्रोतारम् । विनीतमित्यर्थः । कस्मै ददाति । यो ददाशत् यो ददाति अस्मै सोमाय । किम् । सामर्थ्यात् हवींषि ॥

Sāyaṇa on *ibid*: यो यजमानो ददाशत् । सोमाय हविर्लक्षणान्यन्नानि दद्यात् । तस्मै यजमानाय सोमो धेनुं सवत्सां दोग्ध्रीं गां ददाति । तथा आशुं शीघ्रगामिनम् अर्वन्तमश्वं ददाति । प्रयच्छति । तथा वीरं पुत्रम् अस्मै यजमानाय ददाति । कीदृशं पुत्रम् । कर्मण्यं लौकिककर्मसु कुशलम् । सादन्यम् । सदनं गृहम् । तदर्हम् । गृहकार्यकुशलमित्यर्थः । विदथ्यम् । विदन्त्येषु देवानिति विदथा यज्ञाः । तदर्हम् । दर्शपूर्णमासादियागानुष्ठानपरमित्यर्थः । सभेयम् । सभायां साधुं सकलशास्त्राभिज्ञमित्यर्थः । पितृश्रवणम् । पिता श्रूयते प्रख्यायते येन पुत्रेण तादृशम् ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: सोमो धेनुं सोमोऽश्वानामाशुगन्तारं सोमः पुत्रं कर्मणि समर्थं ददाति गृहे शूरं यज्ञसहायं यश्च स्वकीर्त्या आत्मीयं पितरम् 'अस्य पितायम्' इति श्रावयति तं ददाति यो अस्मै हविः सोमाय ददाति तस्मै यजमानाय ॥

(९) देवेन नो मनसा देव सोम

रायो भागं सहसावन्नभि युध्य ।

मा त्वा तनदीशिषे वीर्य-

स्योभयेभ्यः प्रचिकित्सा गविष्ठौ ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 34, 23: देवेन नः । दैवेनेति प्राप्ते तद्धितलोप-
श्छान्दसः । दैवेन मनसा सह नः अस्मभ्यं हे देव सोम [रायो] भागं धनस्य
भागं हे सहसावन् । सह इति बलनाम । अत्राकारस्यागमः छान्दसः । हे
सहस्विन् । अभियुध्य । अभियुध्यतिर्गल्यर्थानां मध्ये वर्तते । अन्तर्भावितण्यर्थो
गृह्यते । अभिगमय देहीत्यर्थः । एवं दानप्रवृत्तं त्वां कश्चित् प्रतिबध्नीयात्
इत्यत आह । मा च त्वां आतनत् । तनोतिः प्रतिबन्धनार्थः । प्रतिबध्नातु ।
कुतस्त्वमेवमुच्यस इति चेत् । ईशिषे वीर्यस्य । यतस्त्वं स्वकीयस्य वीरकर्मण
ईशिषे ईश्वरो यस्त्वम् इत्यभिप्रायः । किञ्च उभयेभ्यः प्रचिकित्स । उभयलोक-
प्राप्त्यर्थं व्याध्यपगमनं कुर्वित्यभिप्रायः । गविष्ठौ गोशब्देनात्र बुलौकोऽभिप्रेतः ।
स्वर्गैषणायां विषयभूतायाम् अस्मान् चिकित्स । दैवं मनः प्राप्य लब्धधना
अरोगाश्च यथा स्वर्गं यास्यामः तथा कुर्विति वाक्यार्थः ॥

Skanda° on RV. 1, 91, 23: देवेनेत्यत्र समर्थ्यादीव्यतिः दानार्थः ।
देवेन दानाभिमुखेन मनसा नः अस्मान् प्रति हे देव सोम रायो धनस्य
भागम् एकदेशम् । हे सहसावन् बलवन् । अभियुध्य । अभियुध्यतिर्गतिकर्मा
सामर्थ्याच्चात्र अन्तर्णीतण्यर्थः । अभिगमय देहि अस्मभ्यमित्यर्थः । मा च त्वां
ददतम् आतनत् । आतनिरत्र सामर्थ्यात् प्रतिबन्धार्थः । प्रतिभात्सीत् ।
भवतो ददतः प्रतिबन्धं मा कश्चित् कार्षीदित्यर्थः । कस्मात् । उच्यते ।
यस्मात्त्वमीशिषे वीर्यस्य स्वाम्यसि । यस्मादत्यन्तशूरोऽसि । अत्यन्तशूरत्वाच्च
प्रतिबन्धकारिणो हन्तुं समर्थ इत्यर्थः । यतश्चैतदेवं ततो ब्रूमः । उभयशब्दः
शत्रुविषयः । अपादानपञ्चमीश्रुतेश्च योग्यक्रियाध्याहारः । आत्मीयेभ्योऽस्मदीये-
भ्यश्च उभयेभ्योऽपि शत्रुभ्यो धनान्यपहृत्य । अथवा उभयशब्दः प्रयोजन-
वचनः । सामर्थ्याच्चतुर्थी चैषा द्वितीयार्थे । यानि चास्माकमिह लोके
प्रयोजनानि यानि च परत्र तेभ्यः उभयेभ्यः । ऐहलौकिकपारलौकिककार्य-
मित्यर्थः । प्रचिकित्सा । कित ज्ञाने । ज्ञानेन चात्र तत्पूर्वकं दानं लक्ष्यते ।
प्रकर्षेण देहीत्यर्थः । गविष्ठौ । गाव इष्यन्ते यत्र प्राप्तुं सा गविष्ठिरिष्टिः ।
तत्र । यज्ञे इत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on *ibid*: हे देव द्योतमान सहसावन् बलवन् सोम देवेन मनसा
द्योतमानया त्वदीयया बुद्ध्या रायो भागं धनस्यांशं नोऽस्मान् अभिलक्ष्य युध्य ।

प्रेरय । यद्वा नोऽस्माकं रायो धनस्य भागं भक्तारमपहर्तारं शत्रुमभियुध्य । आभि-
मुख्येन सम्यक् प्रहर । त्वा तादृशं त्वां कश्चिदपि शत्रुर्मा तनत् । क्लेशेनाततं
मा कार्षीत् । मा हिंसीदित्यर्थः । उभयेभ्यः उभयेषां युध्यमानानां सम्बन्धिनो वीर्यस्य
बलस्य त्वमीशिषे ईश्वरो भवसि । स त्वं गविष्टौ संग्रामे प्रचिकित्स । अस्मदीय-
मुपद्रवं परिहर ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: दीप्तेनास्माकं मनसा देव सोम धनस्य भागं
बलवन्नभियुध्य मा न त्वा पर्येति कश्चित् त्वं हि बलस्येशिष उभयेभ्यः परभर-
स्यास्मदीयेभ्यश्च गवामन्वेषणेऽस्मान् प्रकर्षेण जानीहि जेतव्यमस्मदर्थमिति ॥

(१०) अष्टौ व्यख्यत् ककुभः पृथिव्या-

त्रीधन्व योजना सप्त सिन्धून् ।

हिरण्याक्षः सविता देव आगाद्

दधत् रत्नानि दाशुषे वार्याणि ॥

Uvaṭa on VS. 34, 24: यः अष्टौ व्यख्यत् प्रकाशितवान् ककुभो
दिशः । अष्टाविति चतस्रो दिशश्चतस्रोऽवान्तरदिशः पृथिव्याः सम्बन्धिनीः ।
त्रीधन्व त्रीणि धन्वानीति शब्दसमाधिः । धन्व इत्यन्तरिक्षनाम । तेन तदुप-
लक्षितावितरावपि लोकौ गृह्येते । च्छत्रिणो गच्छन्तीति यथा । यश्च त्रीन् लोकान्
व्यख्यत् । यश्च योजना योजनगव्यूतिक्रोशादीन् परिमाणविशेषान् । व्यख्यत् ।
यश्च सप्त सिन्धून् समुद्रान् । व्यख्यत् । सोऽयं हिरण्याक्षः हिरण्यसदृशाक्षः
अमृतवृष्टिर्वा सविता देवता देव आगात् आगच्छतु । किं कुर्वन्नित्यत आह ।
दधत् स्थापयन् रत्नानि रमणीयानि धनानि दाशुषे हवींषि दत्तवते यजमानाय ।
वार्याणि वरणीयानि ॥

Skanda^o on RV. 1, 35, 8: अष्टौ चतस्रो दिशः चतस्रोऽवान्तर-
दिशः । ता एता अष्टौ व्यख्यत् ककुभः । दिङ्नामैतत् । दिशः । पृथिव्याः
सम्बन्धिनीः । न च केवलाः । किं तर्हि । त्रीणि च धन्वानि । धन्वेत्यन्तरिक्ष-
नाम । अत एव च दर्शनादन्तरिक्षाणां त्रित्वं प्रतिवक्तव्यम् । तदवयवेषु
आद्यमध्यान्तेषु धन्वशब्दो वर्तते । साहचर्याद्वा त्रयो लोकास्त्रीणि धन्वान्युच्यन्ते ।
योजना सप्त सिन्धून् । नदीनामैतत् । शोणाद्यान्महतः प्रभूतान्दीन् । अथवा
सप्तसंख्यायोगात् सिन्धवोऽत्र रश्मय उच्यन्ते । तृतीयार्ये द्वितीया । सप्तभिः

रश्मिभिः व्यख्यदित्यर्थः । परोऽर्धर्चोऽभिन्नमेव वाक्यम् । यत्तच्छब्दावध्याह्वयैक-
वाक्यतां नेयः । यो व्यख्यत् ककुभः स हिरण्याक्षः हिरण्यये एव हिरण्यसदृशे
वा अक्षिणी यस्य स हिरण्याक्षः । सविता देव आगात् । उदित इत्यर्थः ।
दधत् रत्ना धनानि दाशुषे यजमानाय वार्याणि वरणीयानि उत्कृष्टानि ॥

Sāyaṇa on *ibid*: पृथिव्याः सम्बन्धिनीरष्टौ ककुभः प्राच्याद्याश्चतस्रो
दिश आग्नेय्याद्याश्चतस्रो विदिश इत्येवमष्टौ दिशो व्यख्यत् । सविता प्रकाशित-
वान् । तथा योजना प्राणिनः स्वस्वभोगेन योजयितृन् धन्व अन्तरिक्षोप-
लक्षितान् त्री त्रिसंख्याकान् पृथिव्यादिलोकान् । सप्त सिन्धून् गङ्गादिनदीः
समुद्रान् वा सविता व्यख्यत् । हिरण्याक्षः हितरमणीयचक्षुर्युक्तो हिरण्यमयाक्षो
वा सविता देव आगात् । इहागच्छतु । किं कुर्वन् । दाशुषे हविर्दत्तवते
यजमानाय वार्याणि वरणीयानि रत्नानि दधत् प्रयच्छन् ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: अष्टौ दिशो व्यख्यत् पृथिवीसम्बन्धीनि त्री
चान्तरिक्षाणि कार्येष्ववकाशप्रदानेन योजनानि सप्त सिन्धून् हिरण्यमयाक्षः सविता
देव आगात् प्रयच्छन् रत्नानि वरणीयानि यजमानाय ॥

(११) हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणि-

रुमे द्यावापृथिवी अन्तरीयते ।

अपामीवां बाधते वेति सूर्य-

मभि कृष्णेन रजसा द्यामृणोति ॥

Uvāṭa on VS. 34, 25: हिरण्यपाणिः सुवर्णपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिः
विविधं द्रष्टा कृताकृतप्रत्यवेक्षणः उमे द्यावापृथिवी अन्तः । अधिकरणश्रुते-
र्योग्यक्रियाध्याहारः । मध्येस्थित ईयते एतियदा अथ तथा अपबाधते । अमीवां
व्याधिम् । वेति सूर्यम् । वेतिर्गतिकर्मा । गच्छति सूर्यरूपमवस्थाय ।
ततोऽस्तमनकाले । अभिकृष्णेन रजसाद्यामृणोति । अभिकृणोति अभिव्याप्नोति
कृष्णेन रजसा तमोलक्षणेन द्युलोकम् ॥

Skanda° on RV. 1, 35, 9: हिरण्यमयौ पाणी यस्य सः हिरण्यपाणिः ।
अत्र च शांखायना इतिहासमाचक्षते । अथ यत्र ह तदेवा अयनमतन्वत
तत्सवित्रे प्राशित्रे प्राशितुं परिजहुः । तस्य पाणी प्रचिच्छेद । तस्माद्धिरण्य-
पाणिरिति स्तुतः । इति । स हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिः कृताकृतस्य

विदष्टा । उभे द्यावापृथिवी अन्तः । अधिकरणश्रुतेश्च योग्यक्रियाध्याहारः । मध्ये अवस्थितः । ईयते गच्छति । मध्ये स्थितः उभे अपि द्यावापृथिव्यौ ज्योतिषा व्याप्नोतीत्यर्थः । किं च अपामीवां बाधते । अमीवा हिंसिता शत्रुर्यजमानस्य । तमो वा प्रकाशस्य हिंसितृत्वात् । तं अपबाधते । वेतिर्गतिकर्मा अयम् । गच्छति च सूर्यम् । प्रथमार्थे द्वितीया । सूर्यः सर्ता सविता । कं प्रति । सामर्थ्यादस्तपर्वतम् । अथवा सर्तव्यत्वात् सूर्यसम्बन्धाय सूर्यः अस्तपर्वत इहोच्यते । तं प्रति । अस्तं च गच्छतीत्यर्थः । ततश्चोत्तरकालं कृष्णेन रजसा तमसा द्यामृणोति । ऋणोतिर्गतिकर्मा । सामर्थ्याच्चात्र अन्तर्णीतण्यर्थः । अभिगमयति व्यापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

Sāyaṇa on *ibid*: हिरण्यपाणिः सुवर्णमयहस्तयुक्तः । यद्वा यजमानेभ्यो दातुं हिरण्यं हस्ते धृतवान् । विचर्षणिः । विविधदर्शनयुक्तः विचर्षणिः पश्यदित्यर्थः । विचर्षणिर्विश्वचर्षणिरिति तन्नामसु पाठात् । सविता देव उभे द्यावापृथिवी अन्तः । उभयोर्लोकयोर्मध्ये । ईयते गच्छति । अमीवां रोगादिबाधां अपबाधते । सम्यक् निराकरोति । तथा सूर्यं वेति गच्छति । यद्यपि सवितु-सूर्ययोरेकदेवतात्वं तथापि मूर्तिभेदेन गन्तुगन्तव्यभावः । कृष्णेन तमसः कर्षकेण निर्वर्तकेन रजसा तेजसा द्याम् आकाशम् अभ्यृणोति सर्वतो व्याप्नोति ॥

Mādhavārya on *ibid*: हिरण्यपाणिः सविता जगतोऽपि द्रष्टा द्यावापृथिव्योरुभयोर्मध्येन गच्छति अवबाधतेरक्षः सूर्यं च अस्तपर्वतं च प्राप्नोति कृष्णेन तेजसा द्युलोकं सूच्येव विध्यति ॥

It can be readily seen that there is a pronounced similarity between the expositions of Uvaṭa and Skandasvāmin given above,¹ and that this similarity is not fortuitous. This can

1. The explanations reproduced above are those printed in the Trivandrum edition (for Adhyāya 1) and Madras edition (Adhy. 3-8) of Skandasvāmin's RV. commentary and the Benares edition of Uvaṭa's commentary on the VS. The text of the commentaries printed in these editions can hardly be said to be satisfactory; and it is very probable that, if good critical editions, based on a sufficient number of Mss., were to be brought out of these two commentaries, the similarity in the explanations of the mantras given above would be still more pronounced.

It should also be noted here that the work of Uvaṭa from which Skandasvāmin borrowed his explanations is, in all probability, not his commentary on the VS, but his commentary on the

be explained in three ways; either (1) Uvaṭa and Skandasvāmin have both borrowed their expositions from a common source, or (2) Uvaṭa has borrowed from Skandasvāmin, or (3) Skandasvāmin has borrowed from Uvaṭa. The first two of these explanations are inapplicable here; for the wording of Uvaṭa, when compared with that of Skandasvāmin, seems to be original (compare in this connection the explanations of these two commentators of VS. 23, 5 and RV. 1, 6, 1.) Skandasvāmin, moreover, has explicitly said that his commentary is an epitome of the commentaries of earlier writers; and we are justified therefore in concluding that it is Skandasvāmin who has borrowed his expositions from Uvaṭa.

Uvaṭa has said, in the colophon at the end of his commentary on the VS. (*see also* Prof. Bhagavad Datta's observations on p. 87 of *op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii), that he wrote the work when King Bhoja was ruling over Malwa. This king, who was a well-known patron of literature, is believed to have ruled over that country in A. D. 1018-1060, and c. 1060 A. D. is thus the upper limit for the date of Skandasvāmin.

II

(a) In Skanda-Maheśvara's commentary on the Nirukta, Maheśvara is mentioned in the colophons as the author of the

RV. That Uvaṭa was the author of such a work has been established by Dr. Kunhan Raja (*Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 261) on the basis of a passage cited by Devarāja (on p. 309 of the printed edition) from a work of Uvaṭa. The explanations of the above mantras given by Uvaṭa in his commentary on the RV. must naturally be identical or almost identical with those given by him in his commentary on the VS.

Prof. Bhagavad Datta's contention (*op. cit.* Vol. I, part ii, p. 71) that the passage quoted on p. 309 by Devarāja is found in Uvaṭa's explanation of VS. 3, 32 is not right. The passage quoted by Devarāja reads as follows: *amātyam ity atra Uvaṭaḥ | amā gr̥ha-vacanaḥ saha-vacano vā | avyayāt tyap̄ tatra bhava ity arthe | gr̥he satyāhvā bhavati amātyaḥ iti*; and this passage does not occur in Uvaṭa's explanation of VS. 3, 32.

The mantras given above are all from the first Aṣṭaka of the RV. as it is on this Aṣṭaka only that Skandasvāmin's commentary has been published. There is no doubt that there are some mantras in the remaining Aṣṭakas also in whose case too the explanations of Skandasvāmin and Uvaṭa are pronouncedly similar.

commentary on pāda 1 of Adhyāya 1, on pādas 1, 2, 3, and khaṇḍa. 22 (mistake for 'pāda 4' ?) in Adhyāya 3, on pāda 1 in Adhyāya 6, on pādas 1, 3 in Adhyāya 7, on Adhyāya 2 (mistake for 'pāda 7 of Adhyāya 2,)' ? Adhyāya 5 (mistake for 'pāda 4 of Adhyāya 5' ?), Adhyāya 7, and on the work as a whole; Skandasvāmin is mentioned as the author of the commentary of pādas 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 of Adhyāya 1, on pādas 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 of Adhyāya 2, on pādas 1, 2, 3 of Adhyāya 4, on pādas 1, 2 of Adhyāya 5, and on Adhyāya 6 (no name is mentioned in the colophons at the end of the other pādas and Adhyāyas). It thus becomes evident that the commentary on the Nirukta was written by Skandasvāmin in collaboration with Maheśvara, and that Maheśvara was a contemporary of Śkandasvāmin. The upper limit for Maheśvara too is thus c. 1060 A. D. and the lower limit, c. 1350 A. D.

It is the belief of Dr. Sarup (ed. of *Skanda-Maheśvara's Commentary on the Nirukta*, Vol. III, Introd., p. 66 ff.) that Maheśvara was not a collaborator of Skandasvāmin, but that he was posterior to him and revised or edited the commentary originally written by Skandasvāmin. The reasons given by him for the above belief are the following¹:

(1) The colophons apply to the commentary many different titles,

निरुक्तभाष्यटीका, निरुक्तभाष्यविवरणसमुच्चय, निरुक्तटीका, निरुक्तवृत्ति, निरुक्तविवरणसमुच्चय, निरुक्तभाष्यविवरण, etc.

This multiplicity of titles shows that the commentary in question was not the joint work of two or more persons (in that case, it would have had, like the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya, only one title), but the result of the work of more than one person in succession. That is to say, since the colophons mention the names of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara only, the commentary is the original work of Skandasvāmin, and has been worked over or revised by Maheśvara.

(2) Devarāja, in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭu, has cited many passages not only from the R̥V. commentary of

1. In *op. cit.*, Vol. I (Introd. p. 11 ff.) published earlier, Dr. Sarup put forward other arguments in support of such belief. These have been already refuted by Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 4 ff.), and there is no need to review them again.

Skandavāmin, but from his commentary on the Nirukta also. In some cases, his quotations from the latter work agree, word for word, with what we find in Skanda-Maheśvara's commentary. In some cases however his quotations contain a few words more than are found in the Nirukta commentary, and in other cases, they contain a few words less. That is to say, the quotations in Devarāja's work are sometimes expanded forms, and sometimes abridgments, of what we find in the Nirukta commentary. It is not probable that Devarāja has expanded or abridged passages when quoting from the Nirukta commentary (in fact, he writes *Skandavāmi-grantho yathādr̥ṣṭam likhyate* when quoting a passage which is found in an expanded form in the Nirukta commentary). This expansion and abridgment must have been done by someone who worked over Skandavāmin's commentary after it was written; and this someone is shown by the colophons to be Maheśvara.

(3) Skandavāmin is shown (ante, p. 54 ff.) to have flourished in about 500 A. D.; he could not therefore quote in his work passages from the works of Bhāmaha (c. 650 A.D.), Bharṭṛhari (died c. 651 A. D.) or Kumārila-bhaṭṭa (c. 700 A. D.). Since quotations from these authors are, as a matter of fact, found in the Nirukta commentary in question, it follows that they must have been introduced by a later writer. This later writer is, as shown by the colophons, Maheśvara.

These reasons cannot bear scrutiny. (1) As regards the multiplicity of titles, it has already been pointed out above that many of them are due to the copyists of the different manuscripts, and that the commentary bore two titles only, *Nirukta-bhāṣya-ṭīkā* and *Nirukta-bhāṣya-vivaraṇa-samuccaya*. Now, though books bearing two titles are rare in Sanskrit literature, they are not totally unknown (compare for instance the *Dvisandhāna-kāvya* of Dhanañjaya which also bears the name *Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya*, and the *Rāghava-pāṇḍava-yādavīya* of Cidambara-kavi which is also known as *Kathā-trayī*); and the fact that a work bears two titles does not necessarily indicate that it has been, after it was written by the original author, worked over by another person. (2) The second of the reasons mentioned above would have some force if it could be shown that Maheśvara is later than Devarāja. But it is the opinion of Dr. Sarup himself that Devarāja lived in about 1320 A. D. and Maheśvara in the 12th century A. D. (*op. cit.*, Introd., p. 80.) The quotations in Devarāja's work were

made from the copy of Skanda-Maheśvara's work that was accessible to him; and it is wrong to look on the differences in reading between the two works as evidence showing that Maheśvara revised the work of Skandasvāmin. The only legitimate conclusion that can be drawn from them is that the Ms. used by Devarāja contained readings different from those contained in the Mss. used by Dr. Sarup. (3) It has been shown above that Dr. Sarup's opinion that Skandasvāmin flourished in c. 500 A. D. is erroneous, and that this commentator flourished in fact at some time between c. 1060 and c. 1350 A. D. Since Bhāmaha, Bhartrihari and Kumārila-bhaṭṭa all lived before 900 A. D., quotations from their works in the commentary on the Nirukta need not cause one any surprise.

I agree therefore with Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 16) that Dr. Sarup's above belief is unfounded, and that Maheśvara collaborated with Skandasvāmin in the writing of the commentary on the Nirukta.

We have already seen above that Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Nirukta resembles his commentary on the R.V. in having two titles, *Nirukta-bhāṣya-vivaraṇa-samuccaya* and *Nirukta-bhāṣya-ṭīkā* that correspond respectively to the titles *Ṛgarthāgama-saṁhṛti* and *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya* borne by the latter. Another feature of resemblance between the two works is furnished by the fact that both have been written by Skandasvāmin with the collaboration of others. The commentary on the Nirukta was, as we have just seen, written by him in collaboration with Maheśvara; that on the R.V. was written by him in collaboration with Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha as stated in the following verse (VIII. iv. 9) of Mādhavārya's *Ṛgarthadīpikā*:

Skandasvāmī Nārāyaṇa Udgītha iti te kramāt |

cakruḥ sahaikam ṛg-bhāṣyam pada-vākyaṛtha-gocaram ||

Dr. Kunhan Raja has pointed out (*Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 253 f.) three passages in the commentary on the Nirukta which refer to the views of an upādhyāya and shown that the views referred to are those that have been given expression to in Skandasvāmin's commentary on the R.V. by Skandasvāmin and Udgītha. All the three passages occur in that portion of the commentary on the Nirukta which is attributed by the colophons to Maheśvara; and it is hence believed by Dr. Raja and by Prof. Bhagavad Datta also (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 15) that Maheśvara looked upon Skandasvāmin

or Udgītha as his 'teacher'. This view is probably correct¹; and it accords with the fact that the commentary on the Nighaṇṭu, though the joint work of Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara, is known as 'Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Nirukta' in the same way as the commentary on the ṚV, though the joint work of Skandasvāmin, Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha, is known as 'Skandasvāmin's commentary on the ṚV.'²

The fact that Maheśvara attributes to the *Upādhyāya*, views expressed by Skandasvāmin and Udgītha in the respective portions of their commentary on the ṚV, seems to indicate that the ṚV commentary was generally thought of as being the work of a single person (to wit, Skandasvāmin) even in the life-time of their authors. Presumably, Skandasvāmin was the most reputed among the four mentioned above, and perhaps took the initiative in the writing of the two commentaries. This would explain why these commentaries became known as the 'works of Skandasvāmin'.

The title *Pūrva-vṛtti-samuccaya* which is applied to the commentary on the Nirukta in some colophons is interpreted by Dr. Sarup (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, Introd., p. 67) as 'conglomeration of previous commentaries'; and Dr. Sarup denies (1. c.) that the

1. The only thing that seems to militate against this view is the fact that the commentary on the first pāda of the Nirukta is attributed to Maheśvara in all the Mss. It is difficult to conceive that Maheśvara, in case he really looked upon Skandasvāmin as his 'teacher', would have taken it upon himself to write the commentary on the first pāda of the Nirukta, and left to Skandasvāmin the work of writing the commentary on the other pādas of the first Adhyāya. I am therefore inclined to think that the Mss. are all in error in this point, and that the commentary on the first pāda of the Nirukta too was, like that on the remaining pādas of the first Adhyāya, written by Skandasvāmin.

2. Devarāja, in his commentary on the Nighaṇṭu, mentions Skandasvāmin's *Nirukta-ṭīkā* and 'Skandasvāmin's *Rg-bhāṣya*', and attributes all the passages which he cites from these works to Skandasvāmin, though, in fact, some of the passages in question were written by Nārāyaṇa, Udgītha and Maheśvara. See in this connection the passages reproduced by Dr. Sarup in *op. cit.*, Vol. III, App. II. The names of Nārāyaṇa, Udgītha and Maheśvara are not mentioned at all by Devarāja; and this shows that in his time the commentaries in question on the ṚV, and the Nirukta were generally referred to as 'the commentaries of Skandasvāmin'.

work is of that character. As pointed out above, this expression is a paraphrase of the expression *Nirukta-bhāṣya-vivarāṇa-samuccaya* which is one of the two original titles of the work, and which signifies 'epitome of commentaries on the Nirukta'.¹ Barbarasvāmin and Durga are two of the commentators whose works have been epitomised by Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara, and App. I in the above-cited work of Dr. Sarup (Vol. III, pp. 163-311) shows to what extent these authors have exploited the commentary of Durga.

(b) Udgītha is, as mentioned above, one of the two authors who collaborated with Skandasvāmin in writing the commentary on the RV. Like Skandasvāmin, therefore, he too must have flourished at some time between the years 1060 and 1350 A. D.

In the RV commentary written by him, the colophons at the end of the Adhyāyas read *vanavāsi-vinirgatācāryasya udgīthasya kṛtāv ṛgveda-bhāṣye...adhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ*. Vanavāsi mentioned here is the well-known Banavāsi or Banavāse which is now a village in the North Kanara district, but was formerly the capital of the Kadamba kings. It is a place of considerable antiquity and is mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) under the name Banauasi. It had the name Vaijayantī also; see note 2 on p. 278 of Dr. Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. The expression *vanavāsi-vinirgata* denotes that Udgītha was a native of Banavāsi, that is, of the Kannaḍa country, and that he had gone and settled in Valabhī (in Gujerat) where he wrote his commentary on the RV.²

1. *Nirukta-bhāṣya* is the term used by Durga, Skandasvāmin and others to denote Yāska's work which is nowadays generally referred to as 'Nirukta'.

2. Prof. Bhagavad Datta is inclined to think (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 25), in connection with the expression *vanavāsi-vinirgata*, that the word *valabhī* is omitted before *vanavāsi* in the above colophon, and that the proper expression is *valabhī-vinivāsi-vinirgatācāryasya*. The term *vinirgata* denotes, according to him, that Udgītha had emigrated from some place, and the term *valabhī-vinivāsi* that he was a resident of Valabhī.

Dr. Raja, on the other hand, comparing (*Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 257) the expression *vanavāsi-vinirgata* in this colophon with the expression *valabhī-vinivāsi* found in the colophon (*valabhī-vinivāsy etām Ṛgarthāgama-samhṛtim*) at the end of some Adhyāyas in Skandasvāmin's com-

(c) Nārāyaṇa is the other of the two authors who collaborated with Skandasvāmin in writing the commentary on the ṚV; he too was therefore a contemporary of Skandasvāmin and lived at some time in the period c. 1060-1350 A. D.

Mādhava, author of a commentary on the Sāmasaṃhitā known as *Vivaraṇa*, has said of himself that he was the son of Nārāyaṇa. This Nārāyaṇa is identified with the ṚV. commentator Nārāyaṇa by Pandit Sambasiva Sastri (*op. cit.*, Introd., p. 4) who also points out that the sentence

एते सर्वे प्रयोगकाले स्वार्थं प्रतिपादयन्तः कर्मणोऽङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यन्ते and the stanza

रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्त्ववृत्तये स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमःस्पृशे ।

अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे त्रयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः ॥

contained in Mādhava's *Vivaraṇa* are found in Skandasvāmin's commentary on the ṚV and in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* respectively.

The identification of the ṚV. commentator Nārāyaṇa, with Nārāyaṇa father of the above Mādhava, has no solid basis; but the quotation from Skandasvāmin's commentary contained (as pointed out above) in the *Vivaraṇa*, shows that Mādhava is posterior to Skandasvāmin, or, in other words, that he could not have lived before c. 1060 A. D.

It has been argued by Pandit Sambasiva Sastri (l. c.) and by Prof. Bhagavad Datta (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 133) that the above-cited stanza (*rajojuṣe janmani...*) which is common to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and Mādhava's *Vivaraṇa* must have been borrowed by Bāṇa from Mādhava. Pandit Sambasiva Sastri writes in this connection: "It is quite in the fitness of things to say that an erudite commentator like Mādhava-pañḍita quoted from Skandasvāmī, the famous commentator of Ṛgbhāṣya, and we actually find him quoting Skandasvāmī's Bhāṣya thus: *ete sarve prayoga-kāle svārthaṃ pratipādayantaḥ karmaṇo'ṅga-tvam pratipadyante*. But it is not proper to say that the Vedic commentator borrowed the Maṅgalaśloka of a poet like Bāṇabhaṭṭa and inserted it in his Sāmavedabhāṣya, as such a course would be deemed to detract from the gravity of his work" on p. 4, 2. c., and

mentary on the ṚV, is inclined to think that *vinivāsī* is a mistake for *vanavāsī*. That is to say, he seems to think that Skandasvāmin lived not in Valabhī, but in Valabhivana.

महाकविबाणभट्टस्यानुग्रहीता तत्परमाचार्यो वा सोऽयं माधवपण्डितः प्रत्ये-
तव्यः । सति चैवमदसीयमेव सामवेदव्याख्याग्रन्थगतं मङ्गलपद्यं स्वकीय-
कादम्बर्यामपि तदनुग्रहस्मरणकृते बाणभट्टेन तथैवानूदितं शक्यमभ्यूहितुम् ।
सामवेदव्याख्याता प्रौढो माधवपण्डितः सर्वमान्यश्रीस्कन्दस्वामीय-ऋग्भाष्य-
गताम् “एते सर्वे प्रयोगकाले स्वार्थं प्रतिपादयन्तः कर्मणोऽङ्गत्वं प्रतिपद्यन्ते”
इत्यादिवाक्यपद्धतिमिव कस्यापि कवेः काव्यगतम् ‘रजोजुषे’ इत्यादि-
मङ्गलपद्यं स्वग्रन्थेऽनूदितवानिति कल्पना तु न क्षोदक्षमा ग्रन्थस्यापकर्षापत्तेः ॥
on p. 5, of the *upodghāta*, *op. cit.*

This seems to be a topsy-turvy sort of argument. What the readers expect of a Vedic commentator is that he should know well the meaning of the Vedic text he is expounding; they do not expect that he should be a good poet, able to compose fine stanzas,¹ and do not therefore take it amiss if the benedictory stanza is borrowed from another work or is not a fine piece of composition. On the other hand, it is expected of a poet that he should be able to compose fine stanzas; and a poet who borrowed benedictory stanzas from another's work would justly be looked upon with contempt. It is therefore inconceivable that a *mahākavi* like Bāṇa would have borrowed the stanza *rajojuṣe*..from Mādhava's commentary; on the other hand, it is very probable that the Vedic commentator Mādhava borrowed the stanza from Bāṇa and that the stanza was written by Bāṇa.

III

In the introduction (p. viii ff.) to his edition of Skandasvāmin's *Rksamhitā-bhāṣya*, Dr. Kunhan Raja has pointed out that there are two recensions of this *bhāṣya*, that one of them (I shall hereafter refer to it as the M recension) has, so far, been found on Adhyāyas 1, 2 only of the RV, and that one of the traits that distinguish it from the other recension (I shall call this the T

1. See in this connection p. 257 of the *Proceedings of the Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*. Dr. Raja has there observed, with respect to the stanza *valabhī-vinivāsy etām Rgarthāgama-samhrtim | Bharṭṛ-dhruva-sutaścakre Skandasvāmī yathā-smṛti ||* that is found at the end of some Adhyāyas in Skandasvāmin's RV commentary, “*vinivāsi* is not a good expression. *Vāsi* or *nivāsi* is quite enough. The *upāsarga vi* is out of place in that form.”

recension) are the frequent quotations from some metrical works including a *Nāmānukramaṇī*. This *Nāmānukramaṇī* is identical with that printed by Dr. Raja, along with an *Ākhyātānukramaṇī* as App. IV (p. cxxxii ff.) in his edition of *The Ṛgvedānukramaṇī* of *Mādhavabhaṭṭa*. The name of the author of these two *Anukramaṇīs* is not known; but he has said in a short *upodghāta* which precedes the *Ākhyātānukramaṇī* that he has written ten other *Anukramaṇīs* dealing respectively with *nipāta*, *gūḍhārtha*, *vibhakti*, *svara*, *samaya*, *ṛṣi*, *chandas*, *devatā*, *itihāsa*, and *mantrārtha*.

On p. 316 ff. in Vol. V *ante*, Dr. Raja has published an article entitled "Mādhava: an unknown bhāṣyakāra for the Ṛgveda", in which he gives a brief description of a commentary on the first Aṣṭaka of the ṚV contained in a Ms. of the Adyar Library (no. XIX. L 52). This commentary purports to be written by Mādhava; and Dr. Raja shows, from a comparison of the explanations found in this bhāṣya with those given by Veṅkaṭa-mādhava in his *Ṛgarthadīpikā*, that the former is different from Veṅkaṭa-mādhava. Now, in the ṚV. commentary in question, Mādhava refers frequently to the *Svarānukramaṇī*, *Vibhaktyanukramaṇī*, *Itihāsānukramaṇī* and other *Anukramaṇīs* written by himself; and as the titles of these *Anukramaṇīs* are identical with those mentioned by the unknown author of the printed *Nāmānukramaṇī*, Dr. Raja has concluded that the two printed *Anukramaṇīs* are the work of this Mādhava. He is also inclined to believe that, since quotations from this Mādhava's *Nāmānukramaṇī* are found in Skandasvāmin's commentary on the ṚV. (it seems to be Dr. Raja's view that the M recension of Skandasvāmin's ṚV. commentary is the original commentary of Skandasvāmin), this Mādhava is earlier than Skandasvāmin, and that he is, in fact, the earliest commentator on the ṚV. known to us.

In the opinion of Prof. Bhagavad Datta, on the other hand, the above Mādhava is identical with Veṅkaṭa-mādhava (see *op. cit.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 36 ff.). He points out that not only does this Mādhava mention, like Veṅkaṭa-mādhava, that he lived in the village Gomat but that Devarāja has (1) distinctly said (on p. 4) that Veṅkaṭa-mādhava is the author of a *Nāmānukramaṇī*, *Ākhyātānukramaṇī*, *Svarānukramaṇī*, etc., and (2) referred explicitly, on p. 150, to the 'first bhāṣya of Mādhava' indicating thereby that he wrote a second bhāṣya also on the ṚV.

In the article published on pp. 139, 140 above, I have pointed out that the Anukramaṇī quotations found in Mādhava's commentary on the ṚV are, like the commentary itself, in prose while the two Anukramaṇīs of the unknown author published by Dr. Raja are in verse. There seem therefore to have been in existence two sets of Anukramaṇīs, one written in prose and the other in verse. The prose Anukramaṇīs were written by Mādhava; the quotations in Skandasvāmin's ṚV. commentary however are from the Anukramaṇīs written in verse, and hence Dr. Raja's conjecture that Mādhava was anterior to Skandasvāmin seems to have no solid basis.

Devarāja, in his commentary on the *Nighaṇṭu* has quoted four times from Mādhava's *Nirvacanānukramaṇī*; see pp. 13 (lepanād repaṇād api), 108 (adattadānam udakaiḥ; dhvasmanvat syād dhvaṃsanavat) and 137 (sindhavaḥ syur nabhānavaḥ). These passages are manifestly metrical; and if we give credence to Devarāja's statement on page 4, the author of this Anukramaṇī and of the others mentioned on that page is Veṅkaṭa-mādhava, who is, admittedly, posterior to Skandasvāmin. It follows hence that the M recension of Skandasvāmin's ṚV. commentary which quotes from the metrical *Nāmānukramaṇī* could not have been written by Skandasvāmin, and that the T recension is the original commentary of that author. This becomes clear from the following considerations also:

(i) The style in which Skandasvāmin's commentary on Adh. 3-8 (of the first Aṣṭaka) of the ṚV is written is identical with that in which the T recension of the commentary on Adh. 1, 2 is written. As no suspicion has been raised about the originality or genuineness of the commentary on Adh. 3-8, it follows that the T recension which resembles it in style is genuine and original, and that the M recension is not.

(ii) We have seen above that the commentary on the Nirukta was written by Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara conjointly. In this commentary are found explanations of many mantras from the ṚV. and these explanations are, mostly, identical with those given in the ṚV. commentary by Skandasvāmin and Udgītha; see Bhagavad Datta's above-cited work, Vol. I, part ii, p. 14 and App. III in Dr. Sarup's above-cited work, Vol. III, and particularly the passages from the Nirukta commentary that are reproduced on pp. 344 ff. and that correspond to Skandasvāmin's explanations of some mantras in the 1st

Adhyāya of the RV. It is the T recension of the RV. commentary that has been reproduced by the Nirukta commentators, and not the M recension; and this shows that the M recension is not the work of Skandasvāmin.

(iii) As observed above, one of the characteristics that distinguish the M recension are the frequent quotations from the *Nāmānukramaṇī*, a work which contains more than twice the number of words found in the Nighaṇṭu. Passages from this work are cited by the redactor of the M recension, not only when explaining the meaning of words (like आध्र, आपि) that are not mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu,¹ but also in the explanation of words that are mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu. Thus, for instance, the redactor explains:

सुपेशसा in 1, 13, 7 as सुरूपे and cites in support of this interpretation the passage रूपं वर्षो मतिः पेशः from the *Nāmānukramaṇī* (line 659) ; he explains वहयः as अश्वाः in 1, 14, 6 and cites in support line 172: दधिका वह्निवाघतौ ; in 1, 15, 3, he explains ग्रावः as पत्नीयुक्त and cites स्त्रियो योषा योषणाग्राः (line 200) ; in 1, 15, 7, he explains द्रविणसः as धनकामाः and cites in support line 135: इन्द्रियं द्रविणं श्वात्रम् ; and in 1, 18, 6, he explains अद्भुतम् as महान्तम् and cites यद्दोमात्रोद्भुतो ब्रध्नः (line 611)². This procedure is very unusual; for, in the explanation of Vedic words, the standard authority that is cited by the commentators is the Nighaṇṭu (and the Nirukta); compare for instance the Vedic commentaries of Uvaṭa and Udgītha (see in this connection pp. 345-360 in Sarup's *Indices and App. to the Nirukta*), of

1. I give here some examples. In 1, 31, 14, the redactor explains आध्र as दरिद्र and cites in support of this interpretation आध्रः कृशो प्रसुश्चाहुः from the *Nāmānukramaṇī* (line 438) ; in 1, 31, 15, he explains वसतौ as गृहे and cites पाथोज्मा वसतिर्वास्तु (line 14) ; in 1, 31, 16, he explains आपिः as ज्ञातिः and cites line 481: युगापिः प्रष्टिः ; in 1, 32, 4, he explains तादीन्ना as तावन्तं and cites the passage तादीन्ना स्यात्तदा समः (line 609) ; and in 1, 22, 10, he explains भरत as आदित्य and cites नक्षत्रो भरतो ज्योतिः (line 782).

2. The meanings of these words are given in the Nighaṇṭu in 3, 7 ; 1, 14 ; 3, 29 ; 2, 10 and 3, 3.

Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara. The setting up as authority of an unknown work like the *Nāmānukramaṇī* in the place of the well-known *Nighaṇṭu* is plainly an innovation, and indicates that the M recension of Skandasvāmin's RV. commentary has been redacted at a very late date and is not original. The T recension of the commentary, on the other hand, follows the usual practice and cites the *Nighaṇṭu* in the explanation of the above and other similar words: it is thus, clearly, the original commentary of Skandasvāmin.

In the case of words that are not explained in the *Nighaṇṭu*, it is the custom of Skandasvāmin to give their derivation or cite other passages from the RV in which they occur, in support of his interpretation. Thus, in 1, 33, 6, he explains नवग्वाः as अङ्गिरसः and writes 'अङ्गिरसो नः पितरो नवग्वाः' (RV. 10, 14, 6) इति सामानाधिकरण्य-दर्शनात् अङ्गिरसो नवग्वा इत्युच्यन्ते ; in 1, 33, 12, he explains इलीविश as मेघ and writes इलीविशो मेघः । कथम् । इळेत्यन्ननाम । विशशब्दो विस्यते । विस्यतिश्च भेदनकर्मा वृद्धिकर्मा वा । एवं ह्याह—विसं विस्यते-भेदनकर्मणो वृद्धिकर्मणो वा (Nirukta, 2, 34) इति । अथवा पिस्यति विस्यति मिस्यति (Nighaṇṭu 2, 14) इति गतिकर्मसु पाठात् विस्यतिर्गतिकर्मा । बीजरूपमन्नमुद्भिन्नति वर्धयति उदकरूपो वा गच्छतीति इळाविसः । इळाविस-स्सन् इळीविश उच्यते । छान्दस ईकारः शकारश्च । अथवा इळाशब्दोऽत्र अन्नहेतुत्वादुदके वर्तते । विशशब्दोऽपि एकदेशलोपेन विलशयशब्दस्यार्थे । अन्नहेतोरुदकस्य विलेषु शेते तानि अपावृत्य तिष्ठतीति इळीविशो मेघः ; in 1, 34, 1, he explains याम as रथ and writes in justification यान्येतेनेति यामो रथ इहोच्यते । 'अक्षवीळो वीळित वीळ्यस्व' (RV. 3, 53, 11) इति यथा ; *ibidem*, he explains वासः as अहः and writes वास इत्यपठितमप्यहर्नाम । 'आद्रात्रीवासः' (RV. 1, 115, 4) इति यथा ; in 1, 36, 16, he explains जम्भ as दंष्ट्रा and writes तपुर्जम्भ । 'इमं जम्भसुतं पिब' (RV. 8, 91, 2) इति प्रयोगदर्शनात् जम्भशब्दोऽत्र दंष्ट्रा-वचनः ; and *ibidem*, he explains अक्तु as आयुध and writes अक्तुभिः । अक्तुशब्दोऽत्र सामर्थ्यादायुधवचनः । आयुधैः ॥ In 1, 48, 2, he writes सूत्रताः । अपठितमपि वाङ्-नामैतत् । स्तुतिलक्षणा वाचः ;

in 1, 54, 3, क्षत्रमित्यपठितमपीह बलनाम द्रष्टव्यम् ; in 1, 54, 7, चमूषदः । अधिषवणफलके अत्र चमूशब्देनोच्येते । ‘उच्छिष्टं चम्बोर्भर’ (RV. 1, 28, 9) इति यथा ; and in 1, 56, 1, चन्निषः । चम्यन्ते इति चन्निषः सोमा इहाभिप्रेताः ॥

All these words, which have been chosen at random from Adh. 3, 4 of the RV. are mentioned in the *Nāmānukramaṇī*.¹ Now, this *Nāmānukramaṇī* is known to the redactor of the M recension; and if this recension were genuine and original, that is, if the commentary on Adh. 3-8 too was written by the same person as wrote the M recension of the commentary on Adh. 1, 2, he would surely have cited passages from this work (as he has done in the commentary on Adh. 1, 2) in justification of the explanations given by him, and not have had recourse to the various devices noticed above. The very fact therefore that he has had recourse to such devices and not quoted passages from the *Nāmānukramaṇī* shows that the author of the commentary on Adh. 3-8 is different from the redactor of the M recension of the commentary on Adh. 1, 2. And since, as observed above, it is undisputed that the writer of the commentary on Adh. 3-8 is Skandasvāmin, it follows that the M recension of the commentary on Adh. 1, 2 was not written by him and is unoriginal.

1. See lines 768 (पितरोऽङ्घ्रिरसः सोम्या नवम्वा यज्ञियास्तथा), 721-2 (द्रोण्यश्चेलीविशौदनाः । अश्मावृषन्धिः पर्शानो मेधोऽश्वा), 43 (रथो गतो जयुर्यामः), 689-90 (अह्यौः स्वसरं प्रंसो...घृणं वास उषा इति), 265 (दंष्ट्रे जम्भे च तीक्ष्णाग्रौ दन्तौ पार्श्वगतौ मतौ), 587-8 (शर्या फलानसोऽक्तुश्च... सायकः), 309 and 322 (गान्धर्वी सूरुता धेना वाणीची भारती स्वरः and द्यौः कीर्तिस्तवथः प्रैषो वाक्कार्या सूरुता कथा), 230 (बलमोजः शवः क्षत्रम्), 49 (सावने फलके चमूः), and 69 f. (सोमो हरिः... चन्निषक्षमसो राजा).

THE TIRUKKAṬṬALAI TEMPLE
(A Cōla structure of the 9th century A. D.)

BY

S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, *Chidambaram.*

AND

K. VENKATARANGA RAJU, *Pudukotah.*

The modern town of Pudukotah (the 'new fort'), the capital of the State, is, as the name implies, a town of recent origin. There are, however, in its environs, three places of great antiquity. One of them is Kalaśamaṅgalam, the home of a great commercial community which flourished in the region to the east of the present capital. Another is Tirugokarṇam, famous for its rock-cut Śiva temple of Pallava times, whose goddess is the patron-deity of the modern ruling house of the Toṇḍaimāns; and the third is Tirukkaṭṭalai, a village nearly four miles to the east of the capital. The last two places are said to be in Kavirppāl-nāḍu, a sub-division of Valla-nāḍu, according to the earliest inscriptions found there.

The chief attraction of Tirukkaṭṭalai is its fine old Cōla temple in the midst of very unpromising surroundings with a few scattered houses and thatched huts of the humble agriculturists of the village.

The Inscriptions: Of the eight Cōla inscriptions found on the walls of the temple, one is of a certain Rājakesarivarman and two of a Parakesarivarman. If the Parakesarivarman mentioned in the two inscriptions¹ should refer to Vijayālaya who was the first king of his line and a Parakesarivarman, then we have here an old Cōla temple belonging to the time of the founder of the Cōlas of Tanjore. But a doubt arises as to whether Vijayālaya could have come into possession of this region so early as the second year of his accession. Further, there is the incontestable fact that the Pallava king Nṛpatuṅga, a contemporary of Vijayālaya, was recognised as lord of the neighbouring northern region as attested by an inscription at Nārttāmalai.²

1. Nos. 38 and 51 of Inscriptions of the Pudukotah State.

2. No. 19.

If these two inscriptions do not refer to Vijayālaya, and should, on probabilities of the case, be attributed to a later Parakesari—perhaps to Parāntaka I—then the temple must have come into existence before the third year of Āditya I (873-874 A. D.), and the Rājakesarivarman of inscription No. 21 should refer to Āditya I. It is well known to students of Cōla history that according to the Anbil plates, Āditya I built on both banks of the Kāverī from the Sahyādri mountains (the Western Ghats) to the sea rows of tall stone temples in honour of Śiva, as monuments of his success.¹

In its early inscriptions, the temple is called Kaṛkuṛucci Tirukkaṛṛali, and the modern name of the village Tirukkaṭṭalai is obviously a corrupt form of Tiru-kaṛṛali—which literally means ‘the sacred stone temple’—and the presiding deity is now called Sundareśvarar; while the early inscriptions call him *Kaṛkuṛucci Karṛali-ṭ-ṭerumānadiḡal*.

The earliest definitely ascertainable date is that contained in an inscription² of the 35th year of Madurai-koṇḍa Parakesari—C. 942 A. D. *i.e.*, Parāntaka I—and it records the deliberation of the Ūrōm of the Ūr, the local assembly of the village.

Two inscriptions³ begin with the historical introduction “*ṭuḡal-mādu virumba*” and so they belong to Kulōttuṅga I. Therein the temple of Kaṛkuṛicci is said to be situated in Tenkaviṛanāḍu, Kaḷappāl, a sub-division of Jayasiṅga. Kulakāla Vaḷanāḍu. One of them⁴ makes provision for the burning of half a lamp in the temple for the spiritual merit of a person who fell in a fight at Milaṭṭūr—“*Milaṭṭūr ṭūsalil ṭaṭṭamaiyāl*”. There is an inscription of the 48th year of a certain Kulōttuṅga⁵. From the high regnal year, it has to be assigned to Kuōttuṅga I.⁶

1. The editor of the Pudukotah Gazetteer remarks (p. 473) that “this temple was probably built before the 8th century, and belongs to the later Pallava or the early Cōla period”. It is difficult to accept this.

2. No. 81.

3. Nos. 118 and 119.

4. No. 118. For the significance of *ṭūsal* see *Śivakaśindāmanī* (Dr. Svaminatha Ayyar’s 2nd edition) p. 15 of *Viśēḍakkuriṭṭu*, *ṭūsal* = பெரும்பொருள்.

5. No. 232.

6. No. 125—begins with the “*ṭuḡal mādu viḷaṅga*” introduction of Kulōttuṅga I and bears dates 36 and 48. Nos. 126 and 127 also bear his 46th and 52nd regnal years; There is a Chidambaram

Even though the temple has no Pāṇḍya inscriptions on its walls, there is a stray slab lying in the village to the south of the temple and having an inscription, which is incomplete and contains the name of the village and the temple, as well as the regnal year of the king—the 3rd year of Tribhuvana-cakravartigaḷ Kulaśekhara Deva. It is probable that this region was ruled by the Cōlas almost down to the rise of the second empire of the Pāṇḍyas at the end of the 12th century; and this accords well with the fact that the southern Vellār formed the traditional boundary between the kingdoms of the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas. It should have been maintained except in the days of the Pāṇḍyan imperial expansion.

There are two inscriptions of Vijayanagar rulers which indicate the establishment of their sway over this part of the country. One of them¹ belongs to the time of Mallikārjuna, son of Virapratāpa Devarāya, and is dated Śaka 1384 (C. 1462 A. D.). It records a gift for a service named Pallavaṇ Śandi, after the Lord Śīraṅgaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇ, the *araśu* of Peruṅkoḷi ūr and the deity is here called Tirukkattālai-Īśvaram Uḍaiya Nāyaṇār. For the first time, we have the modern name of this village.

The other Vijayanagar record² dated Śaka 1403 (C. 1481 A. D.) belongs to the reign of Pratāpa Devarāya Mahārāja, son of Virapratāpa Mallikārjuna, and refers to a gift by another local chief called Viḷitturaṅgum Perumāḷ Pallavarāyaṇ, the *araśu* of the same Peruṅkoḷi ūr—perhaps the son and successor of the donor of the previous inscription.

Sometimes, there is a tendency to treat several of the Vijayanagar stone and copper-plate records as spurious. In the two records under notice, we have proof that the old local bodies were still functioning, and that the old practice of engraving on temple-walls, deeds of gifts, still obtained in the Tamil land. The gift was solemnised by the pouring of water by the donor on the palm of the hand of the donee, and the deed was engraved on the temple-wall. It is explicitly stated in the document that the stone-record itself was to be considered as good as a copper-plate deed. It may be that there were no facilities at the time for the

inscription of his 48th year, No. 611 of 1929-30—Madras Report. Also another of his 48th year from Tirukkōḍikāval, No. 40 of 1930-31—Madras Report.

1. No. 711.

2. No. 714.

more usual and elaborate process of engraving the original deed on copper-plates. The deed was written by the accountant of the temple in accordance with the commands of the Assembly of the nāḍu of Kaṛkuṛicci.¹ The other record² states that the deed was executed both on stone and on copper plates. Thus, clear evidence is available about the continuity in tradition of this time-honoured practice down to the end of Vijayanagar days.

THE TEMPLE—A DESCRIPTION.

The temple faces east and there is a tank in front. There are a central shrine, one for the Goddess to the north-east of the central shrine, and a number of sub-shrines of the *parivāra-devatās* inside of the walls of the enclosure.

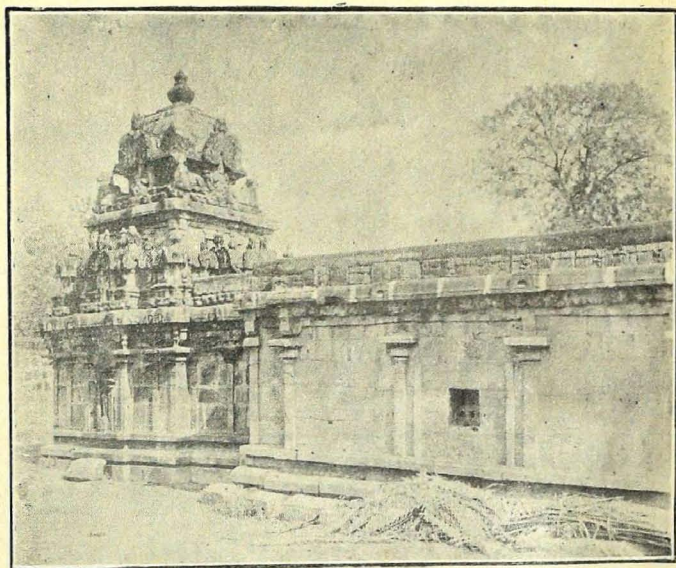
The central shrine consists of a *Garbhagr̥ha*, an *Ardhamanḍapa* and a *Mukhamanḍapa*. The *Garbhagr̥ha* is formed of massive walls and surmounted by an almost square *Vimāna* crowned by a stone finial. Below the *Stūpi* we have on each side a *siṃhalalāṭam*. In the next tier, four bulls, one facing each direction. Down below, in two rows one above the other on the *Vimāna*, are found in niches a seated Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Bhikṣāṭanamūrti on the south, Varāhamūrti and Viṣṇu in the west; and two Brahmās on the north; and on the main wall of the *Garbhagr̥ha*, there are a standing figure of (Viṇādhara) Dakṣiṇāmūrti (see illustration) on the south, Liṅgodbhava on the west, and Brahmā in the north. The pilasters have the usual fine and simple ornamentation met with in early Cōla structures, the corbels above are fluted and further up there runs a line of rampant *yālīs*. The hollow interior of the *Vimāna* is wide at the base and tapers gradually at the top, which is covered by a slab of stone.

The *ardhamanḍapa* connects the *garbhagr̥ha* and the *mukhamanḍapa* in front of it. Two *dvārapālakas* are found on either side of the outer entrance to the *ardhamanḍapa*. Both of them are standing figures with two arms, and they face east. Both have *Jaṭāmakutaś*, *yajñopavīta* in the form of a rolled cloth and wear *patrakuṇḍalas*.

The right hand of the figure on the southern side has the *tarjanī* pose and its left hand rests on the top. The face of

1. No. 711.

2. No. 714.



Tirukkattalai Central Shrine—Vimāna

the northern figure is slightly mutilated. Its trunk is turned towards the entrance. Its right hand rests on a thick club and its left is held in the *vismaya* pose. The two figures measure 5 feet 6 inches in height exclusive of the basement.

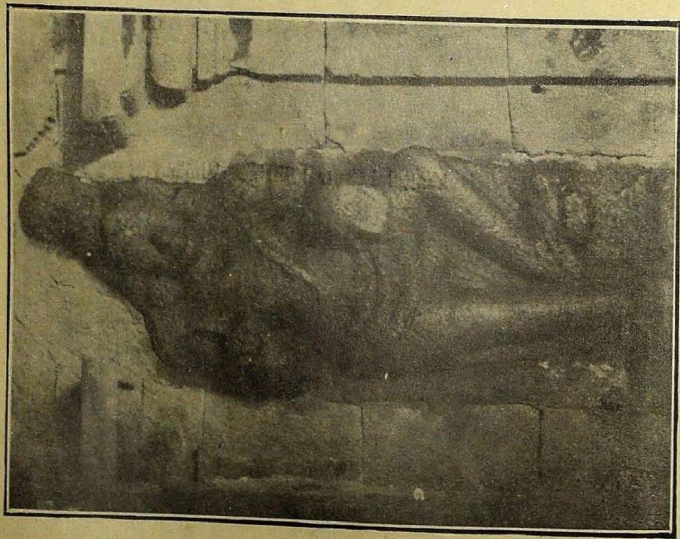
As will be clear from a perusal of the plan, the walls of the *garbhagrha* and the *ardhamanḍapa* are thick and massive, unlike those of the *mukhamanḍapa*. Both of them do not form an organic structure. The *mukhamanḍapa* seems to have been added later on to the original structure of Āditya's days. The pilasters with bracket capitals on the other sides of the *mukhamanḍapa* are crude and inelegant in style compared with the beautifully ornamented ones of the *garbhagrha*. From the style of structure, we are led to believe that the shrine of the Goddess to the north-east of the main shrine, and the *mukhamanḍapa* should belong to the same age. As the latest king mentioned in the inscriptions on the original main shrine is Kulottuṅga I, and the earliest in the *mukhamanḍapa* is Kulottuṅga III, it is likely that the *mukhamanḍapa* might have come into existence some time between the 48th regnal year of Kulottuṅga I and the second year of Kulottuṅga III.¹

All round the main shrine and close to the walls of the enclosure are the sub-shrines of Sūrya, the Saptamātṛkās, Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya, Jyeṣṭhā, Candra, and Caṇḍikeśvara. Among these deities, the figure of Sūrya is peculiar. It has two arms; the left hand rests on the hip and the right is in *abhaya* pose. No lotus-bud is shown in hand, as in the usual Sūrya images. From their style of execution, these figures seem to be later than the period of the figures of the *garbhagrha*.

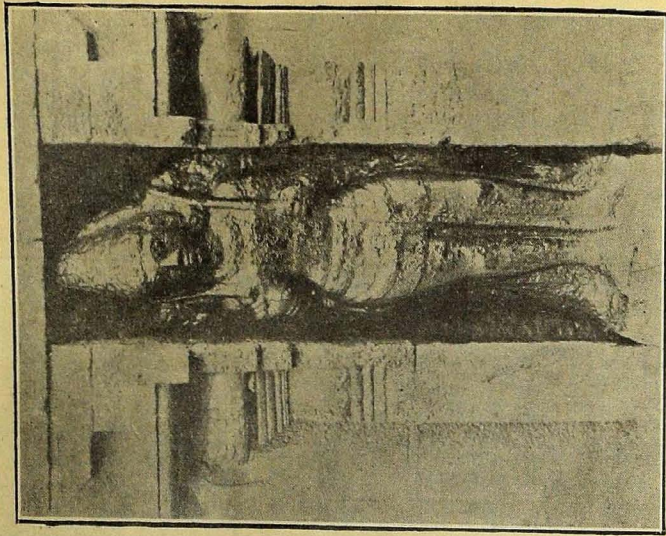
The cult of Jyeṣṭhādevī and the Saptamātṛkās has almost disappeared in modern times. But at one time, these deities enjoyed the prestige of parivāradevatās and also rights of worship in the temple itself.

Jyeṣṭhādevī was born before Lakṣmī when the ocean of milk was churned. The queen of Jaṭila Parāntaka, while excavating a shrine of Durgā on the rock at Tirupparaṅṅunram, got sculptured an image of Jyeṣṭhādevī near it. The denunciation by one of the Ālvārs—Toṇḍaraḍippodi—of the worship of this deity shows the first trace of the movement which led to the neglect of this deity

1. The only inscriptions found on the *mukhamanḍapa* are one of Kulottuṅga III and two of Vijayanagar days.



One of the Dvārapālakas



Vinādhara—Dakṣiṇāmūrti

and its ultimate disappearance from the Hindu pantheon¹. Next, as to the origin of the cult of the Saptamātrkās, it is said that Andhakāsura who ruled over the *Asuras*, gave annoyance to the *devas*, and even threatened to carry away Pārvatī. Śiva got ready to fight. The *Asurā* Nīla planned secretly to kill Śiva and for that purpose assumed the shape of a lion. Nandī, the sacred bull, came to know of this, and made Vīrabhadra assume a lion's shape and kill Nīla, in the fight. Clad with the skin of this lion, Nīla, Śiva waged war with the *Asura*, Andhakāsura. When wounded, every drop of blood of the *Asura* produced an *asura*. Thereupon Śiva thrust the *triśūla* into the body of the real Andhakāsura and began to dance. To stop the blood from falling down on the earth, Śiva created out of the flame of his mouth, a *Śakti* called Yōgeśvarī. The *devas* also sent their *Śaktis* to serve the same purpose. They were the Saptamātrkās.

1. Brahmāṇī	Śakti of	Brahmā
2. Māheśvarī	„ „	Maheśvara
3. Kaumārī	„ „	Kumāra
4. Vaiṣṇavī	„ „	Viṣṇu
5. Vārāhī	„ „	Varāha
6. Indrāṇī	„ „	Indra
7. Cāmuṇḍā	„ „	Yama

One of the Ellora caves has a group of the image of the Saptamātrkās. There is also another at Belūr. In the Śiva cave-temple at Malaiyaḍipatti (end of the 8th or early 9th Century A. D.), we have an excellent set of sculptures of Vīrabhadra, the Saptamātrkās and Gaṇeśa—a group very similar to those at Belūr and Ellora.

The great Advaita teacher Śaṅkara includes them among the spirits and demons² worshipped by people of *tāmasic* spirit.

1. “கேட்டரே நம்பியீர்காள்! கெருடவாகனனும் நிற்க கேடடைதன் மடியகத்துச் செல்வம் பார்த்திருக்கின்றீரே”. Oh listen! While there is the Lord who rides on the Garuḍa-vehicle, why expect grace from Jyeṣṭhā?

2. See his commentary on the Gītā, Stanza 4, 17th Adhyāya—

“प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः”

Comment “प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्च सप्तमातृकादींश्च अन्ये यजन्ते तामसाः जनाः ” ।

Both the *Kaliṅgattuṭṭarāṇi* and the *Takkayākapparaṇi*¹ contain verses in praise of these deities and thus testify to the prevalence of this cult in the 11th Century A. D. and early 12th.

The epigraphical evidence is no less interesting. We find that in the 10th year of Pārthivendravarman, the assembly of Veḷiccēri exempted taxes on land granted for service to the Saptamātrkās by a native of Malanāḍu in Cōlanāḍu. The priests were called *Mātr-Śivas*, and the document was engraved on the south wall of the Selliyaṁman Koil.²

Here are a few more references to the Saptamātrkās in the inscriptions of South India.

- (1) No. 705 of 1909—Ālambākkam—25th year of Rājakesarivarman.
(Madras)
- (2) „ 315 of 1917—Eṇṇāyiram —25th year of Rājendra I.
- (3) „ 706 of 1909—Ālambākkam—31st year of Rājādhirāja.

APPENDIX

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

(1) No. 21 of the Pudukotah List—on the north wall of the Central shrine—Cōla—3rd year of Rājakesari Paṇmar Incomplete—Mention Kavirpāl in Vallanāḍu and an officer Muḍiccōḷadaraiyaṇ—Contains boundaries of some lands.

(2) No. 38—South wall of the Central shrine—Cōla—2nd year of Parakesari Paṇmar—damaged—The deity is referred to as Ālvār of Karkurucci Tirukkarrāḷi—Gift of land for a festival—*tiruvilāḍṭṭuram*—made by the *nāḍu* of Kavirrāl and Kaḷapāl subdivisions in Vallanāḍu—The recipient of the gift agreed to supply 30 kalams of paddy by the standard measure of the Ūr (*Ur-kāl*).

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1. “மேதி புள்ளலகை தோகை யேறுவணம்
வேழுமென்ற கொடி யேழுடைச்
சோதி மென்கொடிக ளெழினேழிரு
துணைப்பதங்களை நினைத்துமே.” கலிங்கத்துப்பராணி—17.

“எறிபடை வல்லவிசயை யிசைகெழு தேய்வமகள்
ரேழுவரும் வெள்ளைமுளரி யினிதுறை செல்வமகளு
மறிகடல் வையமகளு மலர்கெழு செய்யதிருவும்
வரவிரு மெல்லவரகன் மணியணி பள்ளியருகே.”

தக்கயாகப்பராணி—168.

2. No. 316 of 1911—Madras Report.

(3) No. 51—South wall of the Central shrine—Cōla—9th year of Parakesari Paṇmar—Gift of one Kāśu for a lamp and 10 Kāśus made by three persons—Kaṇḍaṇ Kaṛraṇ, Kaṇḍaṇ, Nambaṇ, and Kaṇḍaṇ Śēmākki for the spiritual merit of Śiṅgaṇ Kaṛraṇ to the temple of Kaṛkuṛicci Kaṛraḷip-perumāṇaḍigaḷ in Kaviṛpāl in Valla-nāḍu.

(4) No. 81—South wall—Central shrine—Cōla—35th year of Maḍirai—Koṇḍa-Ko-Parakesari—Paṇmar—(i.e. Parāntaka I)—The Ur of Kaviṛpāl—Kaṛkuṛicci in Vallanāḍu, made a gift of land as a provision for a festival—*tiruvilāṭṭuppuram*—to Kaṛraḷip-perumāṇaḍigaḷ.

(5) No. 118—South wall—Central shrine—Cōla—9th year of Kulottuṅga (I)—*Pugaḷmādu virumba* introduction—Damaged. Two persons made a gift of 25 sheep for half-a-lamp to be burnt by the *Upāsakas* in the temple of Kaṛkuṛicci in Teṇ-kavir-nāṭṭu Kaḷappāl, a sub-division of Jayasiṅga—Kulakāla Vaḷanāḍu for the spiritual merit of [Pō] Kēndra Siṅgaṇ-pēraraiyaṇ who fell in a fight at Milaṭṭūr.

(6) No. 119—South wall—Central shrine—Damaged—Cōla—10th year of Kulottuṅga (I) *Pugaḷ mādu virumba* introduction—Gift of land to Vighneśvara in the temple (of Tirukkaṛraḷi) situated in Teṇ-Kavir-nāṭṭuk-Kaḷappāl in Jayasiṅga Kulakāla Vaḷanāḍu by Araiyaṇ Śēndaṇ alias Rājendra Cōla Maṅgala Nāḍālvaṇ.

(7) No. 143—East wall—South of the entrance to the Mukhaṇḍapa—Cōla—2nd year Kulottuṅga (III). It refers to the *Urōm* of Kaṛkuṛicci in Teṇ-Kavir-nā . . . a sub-division of Rājārāja Vaḷanāḍu. Refers to the 14th year of Periya Nāyaṇār Kulottuṅga Cōla dēvar and some provision for the king's welfare.

(8) 232—North wall of the main shrine—Cōla—48th year of Kulottuṅga (I ?). The *Upāsakas* of the temple of Mahā-dēva in Kaḷappāl-Kaṛkuṛicci in Teṇ-Kavir-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājārāja Vaḷanāḍu agreed to burn $\frac{1}{2}$ a lamp—(*arait-tiru-nundāvilakku*) on receiving a gift of 2 *Śey*'s of land.

(9) No. 557—On a slab in the village—Pāṇḍya—3rd year of Tribhuvana Cakravartigaḷ Kulaśēkhara dēva—incomplete—Refers to Kaḷappāl Kaṛkuṛicci Nāyaṇār Tirukkaṛraḷi.

(10) No. 711—South wall—Central shrine—Vijayanagar Mallikārjuna son of Viṛapratāpa Dēvarāya—Śaka 1384. Gift of certain incomes for service called after the donor—Pallavaṇ Śandi—*Cirukāla Śandi* and *Nitya niyamaṅgaḷe* by Śiraṅgaṇ

Pallavaraiyaṇ, the *arāṣu* of Peruṅkoḷi-Ūr in Teṇ-panaikāṭṭu-nāḍu of Jayaśiṅga Kulakāla Vaḷa-nāḍu to God Uḍaiyār Tirukkaṭṭalai Īśvaram-uḍaiya-nāyaṇār in Kaṅkuṛicippaṛru, a sub-division of Kavi-nāḍu padaippaṛru. The Pallavaṇ gave away $\frac{5}{10}$ of the income from *nañjai* and *puñjai* lands classified as “dēvadānam Tirunāmattukkāṇi” and fines for the crimes towards repairs (*tiruḥ-ḥaṇi*). The gift was solemnised by the pouring of water on the palm of the hand and the deed was engraved on the temple wall, and it was further laid down that it was to be considered as good as a copper plate deed. The deed was written by the accountant of the temple under instructions of the *nāṭṭār* of Kaṅkuṛicci-nāḍu.

(11) No. 714—South wall—Vijayanagar—Pratāpa Dēva-rāya Mahārāyar—son of Vīra-pratāpa Mallikārjuna—Śaka 1403. Gift of land as ‘*Kuḍi-niṅgā-dēvadāna*’ for service called *Pallavaṇ Śandi* to Tirukkaṭṭalai-āṇḍa Nāyaṇār in Tirukkaṭṭalai of Teṅkavir-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājarājaḷaṇāḍu, by Viḷitturaṅgum Perumāḷ Pallavaraiyaṇ, the *arāṣu* of Peruṅkoḷi-Ūr in Teṇ-panaikāṭṭunāḍu, a sub-division of Kāṭṭu-nāḍu *alias* Jayaśiṅga Kulakāla Vaḷa-nāḍu. The gift was made to the Ādi Caṇḍēśvara-dēvar of the temple and the deed was executed on stone and on copper-plates.

(12) No. 769—South wall—incomplete—Name of king lost—6th year of Uḍaiyār. Refers to the consecration of Gaṇapati in the temple of Tirukkarrāḷi Mahādevar by a Kaikkōḷaṇ.

THE NUMBER OF RASAS

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from Vol. X, Pt. II, p. 114)*

The Śānta is accepted by a majority of writers. The

* At the end of the previous instalment of this article I gave a list of dramas and poems having Śānta as their Rasa. The following is a further list of such Nāṭakas and Kāvyaś:

(a) No. 18 in the list in the previous instalment is Pūrṇapuruṣārthacandrodaya Nāṭaka. I mentioned there a commentary on it also. I desire to add now a metrical rēsumē of the theme of this allegorical drama, "Pūrṇapuruṣārthodayakathā-ṣaya", a ms. of which is described under MDSC. 14602a.

(b) In fn. 'c' on p. 102 of the previous instalment, mention was made of the Jain work on the practice of virtues of quietism, the Śāntarasabhāvanā (or Adhyātmakalpadrūma) of Munisundarasūri. There are some more Jain works of this nature with the name of Śāntarasa: the Śāntasudhārasakāvya (or Ś. S. R. bhāvanā) by Vinayavijayagaṇi and the Praśamarati of Umāsvāti. (See Śl. 106 in the latter.)

(c) There seems to be an abridged version of the Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇamiśra, — Laghu Prabodhacandrodaya Nāṭaka, Vishrambhag collection No. 239, p. 428, S. R. Bhandarkar's Deccan College Catalogue. There seems to be a Prabodhacandrodaya Kāvya also in four Ullāśas. A ms. of this work is noticed in the Private Diary of Mr. R. A. Sastri, now deposited in the Catalogus Catalogorum Office, Madras University, on p. 34 of Part I. as existing in the Pyāra Candra Jain Big Mandir, Sailanu State (Malwa, C.I.).

(d) No. 11 was mentioned as Nallādīkṣita's Cittavṛttikalyāṇa, as referred to by its author in his Jīvanmuktikalyāṇa. A ms. of it is noticed by Rice on p. 256 of his Mysore-Coorg Catalogue. Aufrecht I 207b and Rice 256 Mallā Somayājīn is only Naliā dīkṣita.

(e) Śānta rasa Kāvyaś:—

1. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa mentions Śānta as its Rasa. I. 23. No great history can escape the ultimate suggestion of the noble Rasa of Śānta but Dr. Keith considers, in his Skt. Litera-

earliest writer now known to mention it is Udbhaṭa. He simply

ture, that the Śānta in Kalhaṇa is a moral bias detracting from his merit as a historian.

2. Kaivalyavallī pariṇaya vilāsa, a philosophical Kāvya written perhaps by a Travancore prince or poet attached to him. Bhakti, Kaṭākṣalakṣmī (the saving grace of the Lord), Brahma-vidyā and Kaivalyavallī are some of the characters figuring in this poem.

IO. Keith. 8133.

3. Jñānamudrāpariṇaya Kāvya.

Oppert 5537. (Auf. I, 210a.)

In fn. 'b' on p. 114 of the previous instalment, a Śānta rasa imitation of the Meghadūta called the Siddhadūta, by Avadhūta Rāma, was mentioned. The following are some other Śānta imitations of the Meghasandēśa (—dūta) known:

4. Haṁsa sandēśa, anon. (different from Vedāntadeśika's H. S. and Rūpa's H. dūta). Vedānta. With a commentary in verses. JRAS. 1884. pp. 450-1. Granthapura Catalogue, Tri-vandrum, p. 94. Nos. 2024-6; p. 193. Nos. 3862-3.

5. Indudūta by Vinayavijayagaṇi. Kāvya-mālā, Gucch. 14. A pupil sends the moon to convey to his preceptor his own spiritual progress.

6. Cetodūta. No. 25. Ātmānanda granthamālā Series, Bhavanagar. Theme identical with that of the previous work.

7. Bhaktidūtī by Kālīprasāda (23 verses): a message to the beloved called Mukti, through the maid Bhakti. Rajendralal Mitra, Notices, III, p. 27.

8. Manodūta by Viṣṇudāsa: Bhakti. IO. Vol. VII. Nos. 3897-9. Mitra, Notices, II. 613. Alwar, 944.

9. Manodūta by Rāmarāma: Bhakti (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariśad MS.).

10. Manodūtīkā on Jīva-Ātman relations. Stein, pp. 70, 287. Intro. p. xxv. Cabaton, Bibliotheque Nationale Catalogue, I. 449c. [Same as Auf. I. p. 429a—Manodūtīkā, Vedānta, Paris (D. 253 III).]

11. Manodūta, Jain. Jain Granthāvali, p. 332.

12. Meghadūtasamasyālekha by Meghavijaya. This is a message to the author's Guru, like Nos. 4 and 5.

13. Śīladūta by Cāritrasundaragaṇi; not a regular Dūta-kāvya.

14. Manodūta by Indireśa: according to Puṣṭimārga. Br. Mu. Pt. Bks. Cat. 1906-28, 338.

mentions it in his K. A. S. S. but must have dealt with it at greater length, perhaps refuting the opposition to it also, in

(f) Śānta rasa Nāṭakas:

1. Antaryākaraṇa nāṭya pariśiṣṭa: a dramatic composition by Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī, published in 4 parts from Calcutta 1894(?)—1899. This achieves a Vyākaraṇa-Dharma Śleṣa *i.e.* inculcates at once rules of grammar and moral and philosophical teachings.

British Museum, Printed Books Catalogue, 1892-1906, Column 320.

2. In fn. I(a) on p. 113 of the previous instalment, I noticed the Bhartṛhari niveda nāṭaka by Harihara. On the identical theme, there is also the Bhartṛhari rājya tyāga nāṭaka by Kṛṣṇabaladeva varmā. Published, Lucknow, 1898. *ibid.* 315.

3. Citsūryāloka by Nṛsimha daivajña; allegorical drama in 5 acts. Vizianagaram, 1894. *ibid.* 437.

4. Ihāmṛgī or Sarvavinoda in 4 acts; dealing with Śṛṅgāra, Bibhatsa, Hāsyā and Vairāgya. By Kṛṣṇa avadhūta, a Ghaṭikā-śatamahākavi. Bellary, 1895. *ibid.* 315.

5. Pāṣaṇḍa dharma khaṇḍana by Dāmodarāśrama, in 3 acts showing up the heresy and immorality of the Puṣṭimārgins. Composed in Samvat 1683.

Br. Mu. Prt. Bks. Cat. 1906-28., Col. 234.

6. Svātmaprakāśa nāṭaka by Sundarāśāstrin of Polaham vilage (Tanjore Dt.) Advaita. Pub. Chidambaram, 1319. *ibid.* 1037-8.

7. Kṛṣṇbhakti candrikā nāṭaka by Anantadeva, son of Āpadeva. Numerous MSS. Edn. Bombay Grantharatnamālā, 1887-92.

[MDSC. 12548 and 12754: Prapanna sapiṇḍikaraṇanirāsa is a drama strange in its theme which is a controversy regarding the proper obsequial rites to be performed for a dead Prapanna. Author: Mansālkaṭṭi Vedāntācārya. Br. Mu. Prt. Bks. Cat. 1892-1906, Col. 525. Rājārājavarman's Gairvāṇivijaya is another strange play in one act on the foundation of Sanskrit Schools in Travancore.]

The following are doubtful instances of allegorical dramas: MDSC. Vol. XXI. p. 8389, Asuśemuṣī pariṇaya; *ibid.* pp. 8275, 8279, 8280, Kalyāṇavallikalyāṇa by Rāmānuja-dīkṣita; Pramāṇa-darśa, by Śukleśvara, mentioned by Hall in his introduction to the Daśarūpaka, Aufrecht I, 354b; Ānanda candrodaya Nāṭaka, written in 1849, in Baroda, by Raṅgilālā. Alwar 993.

his now lost commentary on the Nāṭya śāstra. Lollaṭa certainly recognised it, for as will be seen in a further section of this paper, Lollaṭa recognises numerous Rasas. If he had admitted many minor Bhāvas as Rasas, he must certainly have admitted Śānta, which his predecessor had accepted.

“तेन आनन्येऽपि रसानां पार्षदप्रसिद्ध्या एतावतामेव प्रयोज्यत्वमिति यत् भट्टलोल्लटेन निरूपितम्, तदवलेपना परामृश्य (?) इत्यलम् ।”

Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. Edn. I, p. 299 (also on p. 341). But Lollaṭa seems to have made a compromise with the no-changers in the number of Rasas by creating ‘Pārṣadaprasiddhi’ as certifying only a few as Rasas. This vogue in circles of connoisseurs, Lollaṭa says, speaks *only of these* as Rasas, as capable of portrayal on the stage (Prayojya). The ‘these only’ (Etāvatām eva) in Lollaṭa perhaps refer only to the old eight. That Śānta also is included and the ‘these’ refers to nine has to be confirmed by a more definite evidence. We have no clue to know Śaṅkuka’s attitude towards Śānta. From the number of views on the Sthāyin of Śānta which Abhinava reviews and which must have been the views of the previous commentators of Bharata, we can guess that Śaṅkuka also accepted Śānta. Rudraṭa recognises Śānta and gives Samyagjñāna or Tattvajñāna as its Prakṛti or Sthāyin Ch. VII. 3. He describes it in Śls. 15-16, in Ch. XV :

सम्यग्ज्ञानप्रकृतिः शान्तो विगतेच्छनायको भवति ।

सम्यग्ज्ञानं विषये तमसो रागस्य चापगमात् ॥

जन्मजरामरणादित्रासो वैराग्यवासना विषये ।

सुखदुःखयोरनिच्छाद्वेषाविति तत्र जायन्ते ॥

“सम्यग्ज्ञानं स्थायिभावः । विभावस्तु शब्दादिविषयस्वरूपम् ।

अनुभावो जन्मादित्रासादयः ।” Namisādhu, p. 166. K. M. No. 2.

Namisādhu adds that it is improper to deny the existence of Śānta as a Rasa.

“कैश्चिच्छान्तस्य रसत्वं नेष्टम् । तदयुक्तम् । भावादिकारणानामत्रापि विद्यमानत्वात् ।” *ibid.*

Ānanda recognises the Śānta, illustrates it with the Nāgānanda and gives तृष्णाक्षयसुख as its Sthāyin. Rājaśekhara’s Kāvya-mīmāṃsā must have recognised the Śānta in its lost chapter

called Rasādhikārika, since Rājaśekhara follows Rudraṭa to a large extent. Bhaṭṭa Tota accepts it and from a remark of Abhinava at the end of the Śānta section in the Locana, we see that Tota's Kāvya-kautuka contains an elaborate examination of the objections to Śānta and gives a brilliant exposition of it as the greatest Rasa.

‘मोक्षफलत्वेन चायं परमपुरुषार्थनिष्ठत्वात् सर्वरसेभ्यः प्रधानतमः ।
स चायमस्मदुपाध्यायभट्टतोतेन काव्यकौतुके, अस्माभिश्च तद्विवरणे बहुतरकृत-
निर्णयः पूर्वपक्षसिद्धान्त इत्यलं बहुना ।’ p. 178.

Abhinava accepts it as the greatest Rasa in his three works, his lost commentary on his teacher's Kāvya-kautuka, his Locana and his Abhinavabhāratī. Abhinava's predecessor and ancestor, the author of the Candrikā on the Dhvanyāloka, accepts the Śānta but gives the ruling that it can appear as an element in the subsidiary plot of the drama but never as the leading Rasa. (Locana. p. 178.) This has been pointed out already. The view of the Candrikā represents one stage in the history of Śānta. It grants that Śānta is a Rasa but holds it still unworthy of the honour of being the leading Rasa. The next stage is the recognition of it as an Ādhikārika Rasa, but permissible as an Ādhikārika Rasa only in a Kāvya; in Nāṭya, it should only be a Prāsaṅgika Rasa. The next stage is its complete acceptance, as Ādhikārika in Nāṭya also, and as the greatest of all Rasas, synthesising all the other Rasas in itself. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka accepts it and, like Abhinava, holds it as the greatest Rasa. Taking the very first verse of the Nāṭya śāstra—नाट्यशास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि ब्रह्मणा यदुदाहृतम्—Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka imaginatively interprets this as suggesting the Śānta Rasa.¹ ‘Brahmaṇā yad udāhṛtam’ does not mean the Śāstra which was delivered by Brahmā, but Drama which is compared to the Brahman or the Absolute of Vedānta. The Naṭa is like the Brahman; upon him is created the world of drama, as this world upon the substratum of the Brahman. Drama is Māyā and the nature of its reality is Anirvacanīya. Though fundamentally non-existent in the sense in which the Naṭa and the Brahman exist as realities, both this world and Drama do exist. Both help to the attainment of the Puruṣārthas. The essence of this view is given by him in his Maṅgalaśloka to his now lost

1. Vide J. O. R., M., Vol. VI, p. 211, my article, Writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī.

Hṛdayadarpaṇa. See pp. 4-5, Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. Edn. I. Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka seems to have accepted as genuine the Śānta text found in Bharata.

“—शान्तरसाक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति ‘स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्ता-
दुत्पद्यते रसः’ इति । तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम् ” इति व्याख्यानं
हृदयदर्पणे पर्यग्रहीत् । यदाह—

‘ नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः ।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥ ’ इति ।

Kṣemendra accepts it as can be seen from his Aucityavicāracarcā, pp. 130-1. Following Abhinava and Ānanda, he considers Śānta as the Rasa of the Bharata. See Śl. 3. at the end of his Bhārata-mañjarī. While Ānanda considers karuṇa as the Rasa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Kṣemendra considers that the karuṇa itself is the argument for Śānta being the ultimate Rasa. See Śl. 1 at the end of his Rāmāyaṇamañjarī. Śānta is the Rasa of Kṣemendra's Bauddhāvadāna kalpalatā and some of his minor works, Darpa-dalana etc.

Bhoja accepts it both in his S. K. Ā. and Śr. Pra. Most of the later writers accept it.

The writers who do not accept Śānta are mainly writers on Dramaturgy proper. They think they are loyal to Bharata by denying it. The attitude begins (as far as we know now) in the Daśarūpaka, the model and source for many a later work on Rūpaka. Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, both refute it and argue for its impossibility in drama.

शममपि केचित् प्राहुः पुष्टिर्नाट्येषु नैतस्य ।¹ D. R. IV. 35.

From this it would appear that Dhanañjaya denies Śānta only in drama but accepts it in Kāvya. But, as a matter of fact, Dhanañjaya, as interpreted by Dhanika, does not recognise it even in Kāvya. See p. 124. Mammaṭa first says that the Nāṭya Rasas are only the eight given by Bharata, but adds afterwards that there is also a ninth Rasa called Śānta with Nirveda as its Sthāyin,

1. D. T. Tātācārya, M.O.L., misunderstands this Śama, the Bhāva which is given here as the Sthāyin of Śānta, as something having nothing to do with Śānta and as something new and distinct from Śānta. He says incorrectly: “Dhanañjaya seems to accept Śama as distinct from Śānta rasa, which, he thinks, has no place in drama.” (J. O. R., Vol. V, p. 28.)

K. Pra. IV. Śls. 6 and 12. Śāradātanaya denies it in Nāṭya, following one set of writers who opine that Brahmā gave only eight Rasas but subsequently mentions the Śānta as accepted by Vāsuki. Śiṅgabhūpāla recognises only eight Rasas in drama and refutes Bhoja for holding Śānta also as a Rasa, R.A.S. II. p. 171, T.S.S.

Some of the writers on Nāṭya seem to be anxious to object to Śānta only in drama, since, in drama which requires the action of a Rasa through its Anubhāvas, there is no possibility of acting Śānta Rasa, which, according to them, is devoid of all activity. The Śravyakāvya however can describe the Śānta Rasa, for what cannot be acted can at least be described. The D. R. Avaloka proposes:

‘ननु शान्तरसस्य अनभिनेयत्वात् यद्यपि नाट्येऽनुप्रवेशो नास्ति, तथापि सूक्ष्मातीतादिवस्तूनां सर्वेषामपि शब्दप्रतिपाद्यताया विद्यमानत्वात् काव्यविषयत्वं न वार्यते ।’ p. 124.

And even this Dhanika does not grant. For he says that such a state as Śānta is the very negation of the possibility of affirming anything of it. For, whatever way in which we can describe it is incorrect in so far as we are always describing in worldly terms something which is not like anything of this world. The Upaniṣads themselves describe the Brahman by saying that It is not this, not this. Such a state can never be made the subject of Kāvya even.

“शान्तो हि तावत्—

‘न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न चिन्ता न द्वेषरागौ न च काचिदिच्छा ।

रसस्तु शान्तः कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः सर्वेषु भावेषु शमप्रधानः ॥’

इत्येवंलक्षणः, तदा तस्य मोक्षावस्थायामेव आत्मस्वरूपापत्तिलक्षणायां प्रादुर्भावात् तस्य च स्वरूपेण अनिर्वचनीयता । तथा हि श्रुतिरपि स एष नेति नेति अन्यापोहरूपेणाह ।” D. R. A. p. 124.

This objection of the indescribability of Śānta and the impossibility of enacting it has already been answered. See pp. 103-4 above. The Sukha and Duḥkha which are said to be absent in that state refer to worldly joy and sorrow. Viśvanātha thus replies to Dhanika:

1. This is evidently a verse from an old writer who accepted the Śānta and described it in these terms.

“युक्तवियुक्तदशायामवस्थितो यः शमः स एव यतः ।
रसतामेति तदस्मिन् सञ्चार्यदेः स्थितिश्च न त्रिरुद्धा ॥”

S.D. III. 250.

“यश्चास्मिन् सुखाभावोऽप्युक्तः, तस्य वैषयिकसुखपरत्वात् न विरोधः” ।

ibid. III. (under Kārikā 249.)

Vedāntadeśika also has answered this and other objections to the Śānta in the prologue to his Saṅkalpasūryodaya. See D. T. Tatacharya, J. O. R., Vol. V, pp. 32-3, where the passage from Vedāntadeśika is quoted in full.

To grant it in Kāvya and to deny it in Nāṭya is as clumsy a compromise as the one which grants it inherent Rasatva and denies it conventional vogue as a Rasa. Kāvya is, in essence, only drama and this Abhinava has emphasised in his Abhinavabhāratī.¹ If it is possible to develop it as the theme of a Kāvya, equally is it possible to handle it as the motif of a drama.

There are other writers who are not so antagonistic towards Śānta as to deny it totally. They are not Abhāvavādins but are Antarbhāvavādins. The aspect called the quietistic is no doubt available in Kāvya and Nāṭya but one need not recognise it as a special and separate Rasa with the name Śānta which Bharata does not speak of. We can have it and relish it as a variety of one of the Rasas already given by Bharata. Thus, for instance, some writers include Śānta in Vīra and say that Śānta is nothing but Dayāvīra. This view cannot however explain all cases of Śānta but it owes its origin to the fact that it was Nāgānanda that was at first kept in view by the sponsors and adversaries of Śānta. Others try to include it in Jugupsā. Inclusion in many other Bhāvas is possible as will be shown in the section on the Sthāyin of Śānta. But in all these cases the Antarbhāvavādins mistake a Sañcārīn, though an Ābhyanantara one, for the Sthāyin. Vīra, as emphasising Ego, as Ahaṅkārapradhāna, can go ill with Śānta which is the very negation of Ahaṅkāra. If there are certain varieties of selfless Vīra like Dayāvīra, Dharmavīra and Dānavīra, they must be brought under the Mahāviṣaya, viz., the Śānta and not *vice versa*. So

1. Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 292.

also Jugupsā etc.¹ These are at best very prominent and frequently appearing accessories. We can say:

कस्यचिच्छान्तभेदस्य स तु स्यादुपलक्षणम् ।

Dayāvīra etc. may be some cases of Śānta, not all cases of Śānta. Śānta comprehends all the forty-nine Bhāvas as its Vyabhi-cārins. It cannot be included in anything. शुद्धजुगुप्सा, दयावीर, विचित्ररत्यादिस्थाय्यष्टक—these are, each of them, a kind or case of Śānta; they cannot define Śānta. If in spite of the fundamental difference between Śama and Utsāha, some want to include Śānta in Vīra, because both have Utsāha of a Sāttvika form in them, all the Rasas can be included in Vīra, for there is hardly any activity without Utsāha. If because of the Sāttvika nature of the Utsāha in Śānta and Vīra, the two are made into one, well can Vīra and Raudra be made into one, because both carry out the destruction of the enemy. This Antarbhāvavāda is dealt with at greater length in the section on the Sthāyin of Śānta.

Śānta is the Rasa of Śama, or Tattvajñāna or realisation of Ātman. The whole world may be its Uddīpanavibhāva. Its Ālambanavibhāva is, in cases of Bhakti or devotion, a personal God, and in other cases, the Ātman or the Brahman. Those who have accepted Śānta give it all the Rasa-details which Bharata gives to other Rasas, viz., its Varṇa (colour), Devatā (presiding deity), its Vṛtti, its Guṇa etc. The original text of Bharata on the Rasa devatās reads ‘अद्भुतो ब्रह्मदैवतः’ VI. 50. Abhinava says that according to the Śānta-advocates, the text reads thus: “वीरो महेन्द्रदेवः स्यात् बुद्धः शान्तोऽब्जजोऽद्भुतः” इति शान्तवादिनः केचित् पठन्ति । बुद्धो जिनः परोपकारैकपरः, प्रबुद्धो वा ।” Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 300. Abhinava says that either the Buddha or the enlightened soul in general is the Devatā of Śānta. The mention of Buddha in the amended text is tell-tale and shows the hand of some writer like Rāhula. It confirms our surmise in an earlier section of this paper that the Buddhists might have ushered the Śānta in. It is natural that Viśvanātha clearly stated

1. See Sāhityadarpaṇa, III.

निरहङ्काररूपत्वाद्यावीरादिरेष नो ।

Again

सर्वाकारमहङ्काररहितत्वं व्रजन्ति चेत् ।

अत्रान्तर्भावमर्हन्ति दयावीरादयस्तदा ॥

Nārāyaṇa as the Devatā of Śānta—Śrī Nārāyaṇadaivaḥ. The Alaṅkārasarvasva of Harṣopādhyāya (?), written for one Gopāla-deva, makes the supreme spirit, Para Brahman, as the Devatā of Śānta.¹ Regarding the colour of Śānta, one naturally expects it to be pure white, to be in consonance with the purity and knowledge that characterise it. Viśvanātha says of it—Kundendu-sundaracchāyaḥ. So also did Abhinava say: according to him, advocates of Śānta changed the text ‘पीतश्रैवाद्भुतः स्मृतः’ into ‘स्वच्छपीतौ शमाद्भुतौ’. “स्वच्छपीतौ शमाद्भुतौ” इति शान्तवादिनां पाठः”. Gaek. Edn., I, p. 299. The Vṛtti of Śānta is given by Abhinava as the Sāttvatī, because the Sāttvatī vṛtti is described by him as full of Sattvagūṇa.² ‘शान्ते तु सात्त्वत्येव वृत्तिरिति—.’ Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 341. But, correctly speaking, the real Vṛtti of Śānta cannot be any of the four or can be any one of the four in the several situations according to the Vyabhicārins. Thus in the case of a drama involving Bhakti or devotion to a personal God, the Vṛtti is Kaiśikī.

The Saṅgītasudhākara of king Haripāla deva (Madras MS)³ which, as will be seen presently, accepts Śānta as an impermanent Rasa and introduces a permanent quietistic Rasa called Brāhma, which latter corresponds to the Śānta of others, postulates the Vṛtti of this permanent Brāhmarasa as the Brāhmī vṛtti. In the fight of Viṣṇu with the two demons, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, in which incident arose the four Vṛttis, Brahmā was a spectator and Haripāla makes this Taṭastha Brahmā the source of his Brāhmī vṛtti. This Vṛtti he ascribes not only to the Brāhma rasa, but to Śānta and Adbhuta also. Brahmā is the Devatā of Adbhuta in the old text of Bharata also.

1. Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, Triennial Catalogues, 1919-1922, R. No. 3325.

2. Regarding this false etymology, of Sāttvatī from Sattva, see my article on the Vṛttis, J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 38-44.

3. Triennial Catalogue, Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, R. Nos. 779 (Chs. 1-2) and 3082 (Chs. 3-6). See J. O. R., Vol. VII, pp. 102-4, my article on the Vṛttis. Also, pp. 21-3, Vol. IV, Journal of the Madras Music Academy, my article on Later Saṅgīta Literature. Mss. of Haripāla's Saṅgītasudhākara are available in the Adyar (Cat. II, p. 46b), Tanjore (PPS. 10804-6) and Mysore (Cat. I, 378, entry 7, where there is some mistake) Libraries.

Brahmā is thus the Devatā of Śānta and Brāhma Rasas according to Haripāla:

अधिष्ठाय रसानेतान् पञ्चाजायन्त वृत्तयः ।

कैशिक्यारभटी ब्राह्मी सात्त्वती भारती तथा ॥

*

*

*

ब्राह्मी नाम भवेद्वृत्तिः ब्राह्मशान्ताद्भुताश्रया ।

ब्राह्मी ब्रह्मोद्भवा तत्र शेषा नारायणोद्भवाः ॥ Mad. Ms., p. 19.

Regarding the Guṇa of Śānta: Ānanda says that Mādhurya is the Guṇa of Śṛṅgāra (Sambhoga), Vipralambha, and Karuṇa. This Guṇa is sweetness and the melting of the heart. Really speaking this Mādhurya applicable to worldly sweetness or Cittadruti of a worldly nature cannot apply to Śānta. Perhaps Prasāda may fit Śānta, for above all Śama is the tranquillity and transparence of the Cittavṛtti or Antaḥkaraṇa which has become tarnished with the dust of this world. Prasāda which shows the total absence of Rāga and Dveṣa is the nearest approach to the Taṭasthatā of Śānta. But Hemacandra considers that in Śānta, Mādhurya exists in a high degree.

‘द्रुतिहेतुर्माधुर्यं शृङ्गारे । शान्तकरुणविप्रलम्बेषु सातिशयम् ।’

K. A, IV, p. 201.

‘सातिशयमिति—अत्यन्तद्रुतिहेतुत्वात् । Com. *ibid*.

Jagannātha also views similarly. He gives the greatest amount of Mādhurya as present in Śānta.

“तत्र शृङ्गारे संयोगाख्ये यन्माधुर्यं ततोऽतिशयितं करुणे, ताभ्यां विप्रलम्बे, तेभ्योऽपि शान्ते ।” R. G., p. 53.

In this respect, both Hemacandra and Jagannātha only follow Mammaṭa who says:

आह्लादकत्वं माधुर्यं शृङ्गारे द्रुतिकारणम् ।

करुणे विप्रलम्बे तच्छान्ते चातिशयान्वितम् ॥ Kā. Pra., VIII, 3.

These writers have in their mind the state of Brahmāsvāda or the realisation of Ānanda, that being the end of Śānta rasa. Surely bliss unalloyed is sweetest.

(To be Continued)

TWO NOTES

BY

L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, M.A., B.L.,
Maharaja's College, Ernakulam.

1. MALAYĀLAM PAST STEM OF THE TYPE OF *vān*—

The Old Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam does not provide for any *Sandhi* change when the final *l* of a word meets the initial dental *n* of a word following. In Śaṅgam texts and in other early compositions, *l* and dental *n* remain unchanged in such contexts:—

vāl nāl [Padirūppattu, 89]

olitigal neḍu vēl [Pattuppāṭṭu, III, l. 102]

vīl nāl [Kural, 38].

tāl nīr [Cilappadigāram, xv]

It is the Middle Tam. grammar Viracōliyam [candippaḍalam, 18] that expressly envisages the change of *l* + dental *n* = *ṇ*. The sūtra states:—*navvariṇ munṇalindu piṇmikka ṇavvām*.

Illustrations for this change occur in the Middle Tam. period:—*vāṇāl* [= *vāl* + *nāl*] in the works of the Ālvārs and Śaivites; *kīṇōkkiya kīṇarum* [South Ind. Inscriptions, III, p. 51 ff.] where *kīṇōkkiya* = *kīl nōkkiya*.

This change, so far as it is followed in Tamil, occurs only in external *sandhi* contexts and never in internal contexts.

In Malayālam, however, the change is met with in internal *sandhi* also, as in the past stems of verbs like *āl*, *vāl*, *tāl* *vīl*, *pu-gal*, *kamil*, *umil*, *magil*, *nūl*, *kēl*.

The evolution of this Mal. past stem type could be distinctly illustrated with inscriptional and textual instances of the past stem forms of *vāl*.

(a) *Vāl-nd-*, as in Tamil, appears in early west coast inscriptions. [cf. Tr. Arch. Series, II, p. 33 ff.]

(b) *Vāl-nn-*, with the characteristic assimilative change of dental *nd* to dental *nn*, is the next stage of development represented in instances like *vāl_{nn}-aruḷiṇṇa* [ib.- III, p. 176], *vāl_{nn}-aruḷiya* [ib., V, p. 78] where *nn* is the dental group.

(c) *Vāṇṇ-arul-* [*ib.*, IV, p. 86] is the next stage showing the Middle Tam. sandhi change of *l*+dental *nn*=*ṇṇ*.

This *ṇṇ* appears in Old Mal. texts in other instances like *vīṇṇ-*, *tāṇṇ-*, *āṇṇ-*, *aminṇ-*, *ṇuganṇ-*, *kaminṇ-*, *maginṇ-*, *umiṇṇ-*, *kēṇṇ* [from *kēl*, a Mal. verb-base signifying 'to weep'].

Mulginēn ṇān-amṛtajaladhau mugdhacandraṅgal vīṇṇēn tāṇṇēn jyōtsnāsarasi paṇinīrtannil-āṇṇēn. [Lil. I, 2, citation.]

(d) This long *ṇṇ* was also simplified to short *ṇ* in some Old Mal. texts (e.g. *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*). After the sixteenth century, the forms with *ṇṇ* were gradually displaced by those with the short *ṇ* both in the literary and in the colloquial dialects. Certain Travancore dynastic documents of the 16th to the 18th centuries (recorded in Kēraḷa Society Papers I, p. 15 ff.) have past stems of *vāl* with *lṇn-*, dental *nn*, *ṇṇ* and *ṇ*.

Today, *vīṇ-*, *tāṇ-* (beside *tānn-*, with the dental *nn*, which is a representative of older *tālṇn-* in which the change to *ṇṇ* did not occur) are the stems commonly heard in the colloquials.¹

2. MAL. FOURTH CASE FORMS OF THE TYPE OF *avan-u* (*avan-n-u*), *maratt-in-u* (*maratt-in-n-u*).

The fourth case forms of Mal. nouns with final "person"-denoting *-n* and of nouns which embody the augment-*in-in* inflexions do not show the pan-Dravidian fourth case termination-*k* or *kk* at all. On the other hand, Mal. nouns belonging to these two categories have fourth case forms only like the following.

avan 'he'—fourth case form *avan-u* or *avan-n-u* [with the gemination of final post-dental-*n*],

maram 'tree'—fourth case form *maratt-in-u* or *maratt-in-n-u* [with the gemination of *n* of the augment-*in-*].

1. The old commentary on *Lilātilakam*, under sūtra 21 of the second śilpa of that work, records the existence in Old Mal. of forms like *pāṇīlam* [*pāl*+*ṇīlam*] and *vāṇāl* [*vāl*+*ṇāl*] with the change of *l*+dental *n*=*ṇ*. The commentary makes an attempt to justify the change on *prima facie* phonetic grounds; but since a rule providing for this change does not exist in the Tamil grammars with which the commentator was acquainted and by which apparently he was guided in laying down some rules of native sandhi change for Mal., he concludes thus:—*na khalu la-kārasya na-kārē paratō na-kārō vihitō bhāṣālakṣaṇē....ēvamapi syāt kēraḷabhāṣāvaśāt.*

Caldwell [*Comp. Gr.*, p. 282] suggested that the Mal. ending “*innu* seems to be euphonised and softened from *-in-ku*” and that the gemination of *n* “may only be an euphonic compensation for the loss of the *-k*.”

Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam [p. 177] also refers¹ to the possibility of *nk* having become changed to *nn* [alveolar] which afterwards may have been simplified to short *n*.

Now, this change of *nk* to alveolar *nn* is impossible in Mal. and in Tamil. The junction of alveolar *n* and velar- *k* may produce the consonant group *ṅg* (with the *varga* nasal *ṅ*), and (in some instances) this *ṅg* may become *ṅṅ* (according to characteristic Mal. assimilative rules):—

āṛṛuṅṅal < *āṛṛ-iṅgal* < *āṛṛ-in-kal*.

māḍatt-iṅṅal < *māḍatt-iṅgal* < *māḍatt-in-kal*.

vaḍakkuṅṅūru < *vaḍakk-in-kūru*.

nāṅgu < *nān-gu*.

eṅgil < *en-g-il*.

The explanation for the origin of the Mal. types *avan-u* (*avan-n-u*) and *maratt-in-u* (*marrattin-n-u*) has, I think, to be sought elsewhere.

(a) In Old Tamil, when the augment *-in-* met the fourth case ending *-k*, the alveolar *n* of the augment was always changed to *ṛ*² (according to Tol. Eḷuttu). Similarly, the person-denoting *-n* of *avan*, etc. also changed to *ṛ*, when followed by the fourth case *-k*.

1. Kēraḷa Pāṇinīyam refers to the alternative possibility of *-k* having been elided also [pages 45 and 177].

2. Though *ṛ* is evaluated to-day as a post-alveolar or cerebral *r*-sound, it was in the ancient past very probably an alveolar plosive or most closely allied to it. That this was so is indicated by (i) the numerous sandhi changes involving *ṛ* which I have discussed in my “History of the Tam.—Mal.—Alveolar plosive”; (ii) the fact that this *ṛ*-sound is described as always embodying an “enunciative” in final positions (like plosives); and (iii) the Tamil grammatical tradition (handed down from the time of Tolkāppiyam, Eḷ. downwards) that it is a *vallinam*.—In colloquial Middle Tam. (as illustrated by the “confusion” between this sound and post-dental *r*) in literary Telugu and in Old Kannaḍa, the sound *ṛ* appears to have been regarded as a variant of the *r*-sound with a “backward” point of articulation on the mouth-roof. For a full discussion, see my paper mentioned above.

In Śaṅgam texts, these rules are found invariably observed.

(b) In the Middle Tamil period, fourth case forms like the following¹ become very common:—

<i>maṇivaṇṇaṇ-u-kku</i>	<i>ā-v-in-u-kku</i>
<i>śivaṇ-u-kku</i>	<i>kō-vi-n-u-kku</i>
<i>aḍiyēṇ-u-kku</i>	<i>onṛ-in-u-kku</i>
<i>avaṇ-u-kku</i>	<i>ṣū-v-in-u-kku</i>

The 11th or the 12th century commentator of Viracōḷiyam expressly refers to the *-u-* appearing before the fourth case *-kk* in these forms as a *cāriyai* or augment [see commentary on sūtra 7 of Vēṛṛumai-p-paḍalam].

The 13th century Nannūḷ includes this *u* in the list of *cāriyais* in its sūtra 251; and early commentators of Nannūḷ refer to the *u-c-cāriyai* in forms like *adaṇ-u-kku*, *avaṇ-u-kku*, etc.

(c) In the earliest Mal. inscriptions of the 10th to the 12th centuries A. D., fourth case forms (as in Middle Tamil) with the *cāriyai -u-* followed by *-kk*, alternate with the special Mal. forms under reference, i.e. those that do not have *-kk*:—

<i>nāṭṭ-in-u-kku</i>	<i>tiruvilakk-in-u</i>
<i>paṭṭad-in-u-kku</i>	<i>triuvamird-in-u</i>
<i>id-in-u-kku</i>	<i>pon-n-in-u</i>
<i>cānti ceyvān-u-kku</i>	<i>avaṛṛ-in-u</i>
<i>vāḷumavaṇ-u-kku</i>	<i>aḍuvān -u 'to the cook'</i>
<i>kōvinnan-u-kku</i>	<i>ilaiyum viṛagum iduvān-n-u.</i>

It is probable that the Mal. forms were derived from the Middle Tam. forms with the *cāriyai -u-* followed by *-kk*.

But the question what phonetic and other factors led to the rejection of final *-kk* in the Mal. forms does not admit of an easy answer. Perhaps there was weakening of *-kk* on account of loss of accent; but very little is known about the accent of these forms. Further, if it was only weakening of this kind, how was it

1. Middle Tam. has the *cāriyai -u-* also alternatively in fourth case forms (of bases with final *!* and *r*), like *naṅgaḷ-u-kku*, *avar-u-kku*, *nimandaṅgaḷ-u-kku*; and in other fourth case forms like *pon-n-u-kku*, *kiṇaṛṛ-u-kku*, *kuḷatt-u-kku*, etc., in which the augment *-in-* was not embodied. The latter type has remained outside the pale of Mal.

that forms¹ like *avaḷ-u-kku* (which are not unrepresented in west coast inscriptions) were not affected? Again, there are no traces of an intermediate stage in the process of “weakening”, if weakening indeed it was.—Is it possible that the extension of the use of the termination *-in-* to other case meanings² than the fifth case (for which alone there is provision in Tol. Col. 77), together with the other fact that the *poruḷ* of *ellai* was expressed even in Old Tamil with the help of the fifth as well as the fourth case endings [cf. *karuvūriṇ-k-kilakku* according to Tol. Col. 77, and *karuvūrkkū-k-kilakku* according to Tol. Col. 110] might have had something to do with the popularisation in the west coast of forms like *nāṭṭ-in-u*, *maratt-in-u* with a fourth case meaning, on account of the “popular” feeling that *-in-* alone might be sufficient to convey the fourth case idea? This latter-mentioned use of both the fifth case ending *-in* and the fourth case termination for *ellaip-poruḷ*, as in *ciṛai-y-in-kilakku* and *ciṛaikku-k-kilakku* [both types are found in early west coast inscriptions] might perhaps have particularly helped forward the feeling that *-in-* by itself could convey the fourth case idea. Of course, this would explain only the Mal. type embodying the augment.

As for the long alveolar *nn* in Mal. forms like *avan-n-u* (beside *avan-u*), the gemination may at least partly have been due to the need for distinguishing collocations like *avan unḍu* ‘he remains’ from *avan-n-unḍu* ‘for him something exists’, when fourth case forms like the one in the latter were followed (within pauses) by words with initial vowels.

1. Fourth case forms like *ivagaḷ-u-kku*, *perumāḷ-u-kku* do occur in the early west coast inscriptions. In the modern Mal. colloquials, *ivaḷ-u-kku*, *avar-u-kku*, are sometimes heard. The type of *poṇ-n-u-kku*, *nel-l-u-kku*, *kuḷatt-u-kku*, *kinārṛ-u-kku*, without the augment *-in-* is not Mal.

2. Cf. the use of *-in-* in the following:—
nīraṇṇiḷaviṇum neḍundērvilaviṇum cāraṇar varūm tagudi unḍām [Cilapp., X, 1. 22]. *nāl-ēḷ-in-um nang-inid-uṛaig-eṇa* [Maṇimēgalai, I, 1. 8].

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE VEDABHĀṢYAKĀRAS.

BY

PROF. C. KUNHAN RAJA, M.A., D. PHIL. (OXON.),

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT,

University of Madras.

The names of Yāska and Sāyaṇa are very well known in the field of vedic exegesis and their dates are also fairly well settled. When Max Muller was publishing¹ his now famous edition of the Sāyaṇabhāṣya on the Ṛgveda, practically no other commentator on the Vedas was known², and even till very recently it was the accepted opinion of modern scholars that Sāyaṇa had no tradition of vedic interpretation to fall back upon when he wrote his voluminous commentaries on the vedic texts and that he was guided mostly by his mediæval erudition and fancy.

When Dr. L. Sarup published his translation of the Nirukta,³ he had made mention in the Introduction⁴ to it, of a commentary on the Ṛgveda by Skandasvāmin. The peripatetic party sent out by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, had collected the manuscripts of some commentaries on the Ṛgveda, namely the commentary by Skandasvāmin, the commentary by Udgītha and the commentary by Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya. A copy of the commentary on the Nirukta by Skandasvāmin was also secured by this party. Mention has been made of these manuscripts in the report of the party published in 1921.⁵ Skandasvāmin, Udgītha and Mādhava Bhaṭṭa are known as commentators on the Ṛgveda from Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda.⁶ Skandasvāmin and Mādhava (son of Veṅkaṭārya) as

1. from 1849 A. D. to 1874 A. D.

2. Cf. Max Muller's statements in Preface to Vol. VI, p. 27. 1st edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa.

3. Published by the Oxford University Press, 1920.

4. P. 49.

5. Nos. R. 3076, 3703; R. 4317; R. 3649.

6. Cf. Max Muller's Preface to Vol. VI of his edition of Ṛgveda with Sāyaṇa's commentary, 1st edition, pp. 27 and 28.

commentators on the Ṛgveda and Skandasvāmin as commentator on the Nirukta are also known from the commentary on the Nighaṇṭu by Devarāja.¹

As early as 1874, Max Muller had noticed² a passage in the Ṛgveda commentary of Sāyaṇa, which is a quotation from a Nighaṇṭubhāṣya, and the passage is seen in the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya of Devarāja. On the basis of this, Dr. Sarup came to the conclusion³ that Devarāja is earlier than Sāyaṇa. In a paper which I contributed to the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore in 1928,⁴ I pointed out that many of the passages assigned by Devarāja to Mādhava (son of Veṅkaṭārya), were really from the Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa (the commentary in the colophons is referred to as "mādhaviye vedārthaprakāśe").⁵ I have also shown in a paper which I published in a former volume of this journal,⁶ that besides the Sāyaṇīyavedārthaprakāśa, Devarāja is quoting from a Ṛgveda commentary by another Mādhava, of which there is only one manuscript now available,⁷ and that only for the first aṣṭaka, although in the prefatory portion of Devarāja's Nighaṇṭubhāṣya he jumbles all the three Mādhavas together and designates this mixture by the term Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya. As a matter of fact, not a single Anukramaṇī assigned by Devarāja to Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya can be traced among the works of this Mādhava now available, and many of them are traceable to the other Mādhava⁸ (whose Ākhyātānukramaṇī and Nāmānukramaṇī I have already published,⁹ and about whose Ṛgveda commentary I have given sufficient information in the paper already published in a former volume of this journal¹⁰).

1. Published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

2. P. 30 in his Preface to the Vol. VI of his edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, 1st edition.

3. Cf. Introduction to his edition of the text of the Nirukta, p. 25.

4. Article with the Title "The Commentaries on the Ṛgveda and the Nirukta". pp. 223 ff. in the Proceedings.

5. Proceedings, pp. 230 to 232.

6. Vol. V, pp. 316 ff.

7. In the Adyar Library, shelf No. XIX. 52.

8. Cf. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. V, pp. 319-320.

9. As Appendix to the Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I.

10. Vol. V, pp. 316-325.

In this paper I have also said something about the relation of this Mādhava to Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya.¹ In the Introduction to my edition of the commentary of Skandasvāmin on the Ṛgveda,² I have drawn attention³ to the difficulty of settling the relative chronology of the vedic commentators on account of the mention of Skandasvāmin by Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya and of passages from the Anukramaṇī of the other Mādhava appearing in a recension of Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Ṛgveda. If this fact is to be satisfactorily explained, the new Mādhava has to be accepted as earlier than Skandasvāmin or the quotations from him in Skandasvāmin have to be accepted as later interpolations. Both the alternatives are very difficult to be accepted. The new Mādhava appears to be a contemporary of Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, and as such later than Skandasvāmin; yet the quotations from his commentary in Skandasvāmin's commentary are so natural that the theory of later interpolation cannot be easily accepted.

Whether the new Mādhava is earlier than Skandasvāmin or whether he is a contemporary of Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, is a problem which cannot be easily settled. There is nothing definite to show that this Mādhava cannot be far earlier than Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya; but there is nothing to show definitely that the new Mādhava must be earlier than Skandasvāmin, since the quotations from his commentary in Skandasvāmin's commentary are found only in one recension, available only for the first two adhyāyas of the first aṣṭaka. All that we can definitely say is that before Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, there were two Mādhavas who commented on the Ṛgveda.

Sāyaṇa in his commentary on ṚV. X. 86.1, mentions a Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and quotes a few lines from his commentary on that portion of the Ṛgveda; this quotation practically corresponds to what is found in the commentary of Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya.⁴ Therefore, unless something substantial is brought forward as

1. See p. 321-3.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8.

3. P. xiii-xiv, in the Introduction.

4. Cf. Max Muller, Preface to Vol. VI, p. xxv, of his first edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, and Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the All India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, pp. 236 and 237.

evidence for Sāyaṇa being earlier than Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya, every critical scholar should accept that Sāyaṇa is quoting from Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya. Dr. A. Venkatasubbayya of Mysore, has contributed a paper to the previous issue of this journal¹ in which he brings in arguments to show that Sāyaṇa must be earlier than Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya. His arguments may be summed up in the following way. Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya mentions in his metrical introductions to his commentary on the Ṛgveda for each of the 64 adhyāyas (collected by me and published recently²) certain features of some of the earlier commentaries on the Ṛgveda. These features are seen in the commentary of Sāyaṇa. Therefore he must be later than Sāyaṇa. But the learned doctor himself admits that there is verbal similarity between the commentary of Sāyaṇa and that of Skandasvāmin.³ If this be so, there is no reason why there should not be similarity in content also between the commentary of Sāyaṇa and the commentary of other earlier commentators; and this leads us on to the possibility of the features mentioned by Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya existing in those commentaries that are earlier than Sāyaṇa.⁴ Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya may have such earlier commentaries in his mind when he made the remarks referred to by Dr. Venkatasubbayya. Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya does not mention the name of Sāyaṇa and no remark of his is such as must necessarily be a reference to Sāyaṇa. The reference may be to Sāyaṇa or it may be to earlier commentators whom Sāyaṇa followed. It is true that we do not know of any such commentary; but from the various references to "anye" and 'apare', it is certain that there were earlier commentaries, not available now. But the position is quite different in the case of Sāyaṇa's quotation from Mādhava Bhaṭṭa. He mentions Mādhava Bhaṭṭa and the passage is found in the commentary of Mā-

1. Pp. 115 ff. in Vol. X of this Journal.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I.

3. P. 121 in his article noted above.

4. Note the statement of Mādhava son of Venkaṭārya, "bhāṣyāṇi vaidikāṇy āhur āryāvartanivāsibhiḥ". Here the plural shows that he was aware of many commentaries known as Bhāṣyas; I do not know how Dr. Venkatasubbayya says that Mādhava confines the term Bhāṣya to Skandasvāmin's commentary. (See Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. X, p. 117, foot note 2, para 3.

dhava. Dr. Venkatasubbayya's argument that Sāyaṇa is quoting from Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, that Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya is Mādhavārya and not Madhava Bhaṭṭa and that as such the two Mādhavas must be different,¹ is extremely unhappy. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa has been referred to as "Vārtikakāra", "Vārtikakāramiśra" and "Vārtikakārapāda".² Both singular and plural numbers are used. This can by no stretch of imagination mean that the references are to different persons. Whether he is Bhaṭṭa or Ārya, he is Mādhava all the same, and the quotation is identical with what is found in the work of Mādhava. Some evidence better than what the learned doctor has adduced is wanted to show that Sāyaṇa is not quoting from Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, but from some unknown Mādhava. The learned doctor has to be reminded of the dictum "*dr̥ṣṭasya sambhave adṛṣṭakalpanā anyāyyā*." Dr. Venkatasubbayya, in spite of his anxiety to uphold the priority of Sāyaṇa over Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya, has also to admit that he is not able to explain the reference by Mādhava to the King of the Coḷa country called *jagatām ekavīra*.³ There is no such *jagatām ekavīra* after the time of Sāyaṇa who could be a king of the Coḷa country. As matters stand, Sāyaṇa is decidedly later than Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya (whose exact date is yet uncertain).

The same arguments are applicable in the case of the relative chronology of Sāyaṇa and Devarāja. Devarāja quotes passages from Mādhava;⁴ Sāyaṇa's commentary is termed "Mādhaviya";⁵ the passages are found in Sāyaṇa's commentary.⁶ If Devarāja is to be held as not quoting from Sāyaṇa, the only alternatives are (1) that there was a Mādhava earlier than Sāyaṇa from whom Sāyaṇa has copied these lines in his commentary or (2) that the passages are interpolations. No earlier Mādhava who can satisfy the requirement is forthcoming; if the passage is held to be an interpolation, it must be borne in mind that many manuscripts that were consulted¹ contain this passage as an integral part and no

1. Pp. 11 and 117 in his article noted above.

2. See Bṛhatī, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 3, Pt. II, Introduction, pp. 12-15.

3. P. 137 in the article noted above.

4. See instances quoted in the Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, pp. 230 to 232.

5. Note the colophon: Mādhaviye Vedārthaprakāśe.

6. Introduction to the Madras University Sanskrit Series, No 2, Pt. I, p. 19.

manuscript which does not contain the passage in question has been produced till now, though such a manuscript has been referred to.¹

In the case of the quotation of a passage by Sāyaṇa from a Nighaṇṭubhāṣya, which is found in the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya of Deva-rāja,² it must be observed that Sāyaṇa does not give the name of the author of the Nighaṇṭubhāṣya from which he is quoting. And Devarāja says that in many cases he is writing out the very words of previous works on the subject which he has utilised.³ Putting these things together the only conclusion possible is that Devarāja is quoting from the commentary of Sāyaṇa in the case of some passages but Sāyaṇa is quoting from a work which Deva-rāja had utilised for his commentary on the Nighaṇṭus and from which Devarāja too transcribed verbatim. Thus Sāyaṇa is earlier than Devarāja and Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya is earlier than Sāyaṇa. The other Mādhava spoken of earlier in this paper and about whom I have already contributed a paper to an earlier volume of this journal⁴ cannot at present be assigned to any definite period.

Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya mentions Skandasvāmin⁵ and as such the latter must be earlier than the former. The date of Skandasvāmin can easily be decided by the mention of a date of his disciple Harisvāmin.⁶ The date given by Harisvāmin for his commentary on the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa is 3740 of the Kali Era. This corresponds to 638 A.D. Dr. Sarup finds the date unacceptable to him and to avoid his imaginary difficulties, he first tried to push back the Kali Era by a century making it start in 3201 B.C.⁷ instead of the universally accepted 3101 B.C., thus making the date given by Harisvāmin correspond to 538 A.D. which is

1. Prof. Bhagavad Datta, History of Vedic Literature (in Hindi), Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 27 ff.

2. Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, p. 228.

3. Bibliotheca Indica Edition, p. 5.

4. Vol. V, pp. 316 ff.

5. Introductory stanzas to his Ṛgarthadīpikā, Aṣṭaka VIII, Adhyāya stanza 9: Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I.

6. Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, by Dr. L. Sarup, Introduction, p. 29.

7. *Ibid.* p. 29.

the only date that will satisfy his historical ingenuity; later he improved upon his original position by emending the Kārikā or rather correcting the Kārikā of Harisvāmin to make it mean 3640 instead of 3740.¹ Such tamperings with dates and facts do not much affect the position of Skandasvāmin; and he lived about the year 600 A. D. (or 500 A. D. according to Dr. Sarup). The problem about Skandasvāmin becomes complicated on other grounds than that of chronology.

Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya says that Skandasvāmin along with Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha wrote a commentary on the Ṛgveda.² Skandasvāmin's disciple Harisvāmin says nothing about the collaborators of Skandasvāmin, but simply says that his teacher Skandasvāmin had already written a commentary on the Ṛgveda before Harisvāmin received his education under him.³ Manuscripts of Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Ṛgveda are available for the first aṣṭaka (and for the first two adhyāyas in it, there is a manuscript which gives a different recension).⁴ Dr. Sarup gives copious quotations from some later portions of Skandasvāmin's commentary.⁵ He does not reveal the source of his quotation. Pandit Sambasiva Sastri mentions the existence of a manuscript for some later portions in Trivandrum.⁶ There is a transcript of the Trivandrum Manuscript in the Adyar Library.⁷

For the commentary of Nārāyaṇa, there is no information other than what Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya supplies. For Udgītha, there is a transcript from a Malabar Manuscript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library⁸ and also one in the Adyar Library.⁹ The original has been returned to the owner in

1. Introduction to the last Volume of his edition of the commentary in the Nirukta, p. 57.

2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Pt. I, VII-iv-1.

3. Passages quoted in the Introduction to the last Volume of Dr. Sarup's edition of the commentary on the Nirukta.

4. Edition in the Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8.

5. Introduction to Dr. L. Sarup's Indices etc. of the Nirukta, p. 29.

6. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 96, Introduction, p. 7.

7. Shelf No. 39. For further information on Skandasvāmin MSS. see Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 535.

8. No. R. 4317.

9. Shelf No. 39 B. 21.

Malabar. The portion has been printed from Lahore recently.¹ A few stray sheets within the portion contained in the manuscripts mentioned above are also available.² Haradatta in his commentary on the Mantras used in the Āśvalāyana gr̥hyasūtra speaks of Udgītha's commentary for the eighth Maṇḍala.³ Sāyaṇa too mentions Udgītha⁴ and the reference is to the 10th Maṇḍala. Ātmānanda too mentions the commentary.⁵

Whether Skandasvāmin, Nārāyaṇa and Udgītha wrote a single commentary on the Ṛgveda in collaboration or whether Skandasvāmin and Udgītha wrote independent commentaries, whether the report of Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya can be relied on—these are matters on which nothing definite can at present be said. What is interesting, so far as Skandasvāmin is concerned, is his association with the Nirukta. There is a commentary on the Nirukta assigned partly to Skandasvāmin and partly to Maheśvara.⁶ The entire work has been published by Dr. Sarup. There are colophons in prose at the end of every section and these colophons assign the commentary sometimes to Maheśvara and sometimes to Skandasvāmin (and to Śabarasvāmin too).⁷ But occasionally there is a colophon in verse and this colophon assigns the work to Maheśvara. The colophon reads:

niruktamantrabhāṣyārthapūrvavṛttisamuccayaḥ |
maheśvareṇa racitaḥ sūnunā piṭṛśarmaṇaḥ⁸ ||

1. D. A. V. College.

2. For the MSS. of Udgītha see Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, pp. 535—536.

3. Adyar Library, Shelf No. 38-H-14, p. 174. The passage is: anena krameṇa kila mantradvayam paṭhitvā vyākhyātam udgīthācāryaiḥ vyākhyānam kurvadbhiḥ. The reference is to R.V. VIII-58-1 and 2 (Vāḷakhilyas). For the work itself, see Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 536.

4. Max Muller's edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, 1st edition, Vol. VI, Preface, p. 28.

5. Ātmānanda's commentary on the Asya vāmasya Sūkta. Cat. of the India Office Library, by Eggilin, 59.

6. See for colophons, Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. II, p. 84, and Introduction to the edition by Dr. Sarup of the commentary, Pt. I, p. 5ff.

7. See Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, p. 251.

8. *Ibid.* p. 250.

The title of the commentary is given as "niruktabhāṣyaṭīkā". Dr. Sarup proposes to explain this title to mean that this is a ṭīkā (by Maheśvara) on the bhāṣya (by Skandasvāmin) on the nirukta (of Yāska).¹ This is a very plausible interpretation² and would have been a very happy one if only it had agreed with facts. The facts are that this is a commentary on the work of Yāska, that the work of Yāska is called niruktabhāṣya and that there is not a single evidence to show that both Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara could be associated with the work. There is scope only for one author; it must be either Skandasvāmin or Maheśvara. It may be that some portions were written by Skandasvāmin and other portions by Maheśvara. Certainly the work does not contain a commentary and another commentary on this first commentary on Yāska.

The matter has been made quite clear in the beginning of the commentary by the author (whether it is Skandasvāmin or Maheśvara or both in collaboration). The commentator says³ that the Nirukta is one of the Vedāṅgas, that in this Nirukta, there is the Nighaṇṭu portion in five chapters beginning with Gauḥ, gmā etc., that for explaining this portion, Yāska has begun his "bhāṣya" from the sixth chapter with the passage "samāmnāyaḥ samāmnātaḥ". On this there is a brief commentary begun. Dr. Sarup says that the commentary he has published is really a mixture of two works, namely the original commentary on Yāska by Skandasvāmin and its edition with notes by Maheśvara. Even Dr. Sarup has not been able to separate the portion written by Skandasvāmin from the portion which contains the notes by the editor, namely Maheśvara.

In the paper that I contributed to the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference⁴ I stated that Maheśvara (or rather the commentator on Yāska) referred to "Upādhyāya" in three places and in one of those cases I definitely traced the reference to the Ṛgvedabhāṣya of Skandasvāmin. In spite of this, in that very case, Dr. Sarup writes a footnote⁵ in his edition (or

1. Introduction to the First Volume of his edition of the commentary on the Nirukta, p. 13.

2. See the review of it in J.A.O.S., 1930, p. 175.

3. P. 4 in Dr. L. Sarup's edition of the commentary, Pt. I.

4. Proceedings, pp. 253—254.

5. Foot note 9 on p. 157 of the 2nd Volume of his edition of the commentary.

rather his modern edition of the ancient edition by Maheśvara) of Skandasvāmin's commentary, that the Upādhyāya referred to cannot be identified. This is nothing short of inexorable obstinacy.

Dr. Sarup assigns Skandasvāmin to about 500 A.D. (it ought to be 600 A.D.) and he assigns the editor of Skandasvāmin (Dr. Sarup's predecessor in the field) to a much later date¹. I had stated² that Maheśvara must have been the real author of the commentary, that he must have been a disciple of Skandasvāmin, that the name Skandasvāmin must have been associated with the commentary since he was the leader of a school of vedic interpretation, that Devarāja quotes only from Skandasvāmin and never from Maheśvara though the quotations are from Maheśvara's work and that even a quotation which is traceable to Udgītha is given by Devarāja as from Skandasvāmin.³ As things are, the best position will be to assume that Maheśvara, the disciple of Skandasvāmin, wrote the work (and Maheśvara's authorship is established by the colophon in verse). Since Skandasvāmin lived about 600 A.D. (or 500 A.D. to please Dr. Sarup), Maheśvara must have lived about the same time, as a contemporary of Harisvāmin.

There are reasons to believe that Skandasvāmin had another disciple besides Harisvāmin and Maheśvara, namely Mādhava, the commentator on Sāmaveda. This commentary is termed Vivaraṇa by Satyavrata Sāmaśramin⁴, the editor of Devarāja's Nighaṇṭubhāṣya in the Bibliotheca Indica series. But in the commentary itself, Mādhava says that it is a bhāṣya⁵. He begins the commentary with a maṅgala which is identical with the first stanza in Bāṇa's Kādambarī, namely, rajojuṣe janmani etc. Then he says that there are 36 kinds of mantras, of which five are explained in the Ṛgbhāṣya. In this introductory part, where the

1. Introduction to the last Volume of his edition of the commentary, p. 78 ff.

2. Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, p. 254.

3. *Ibid.* p. 256.

4. Edition of the Nirukta in 4 Vol. in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Vol. IV.

5. Introductory portion. Weber's catalogue of Berlin MSS. No. 1424.

points are common, the words are also common with the *Ṛg-bhāṣya* of Skandasvāmin¹. Mādhava does not say that he was the disciple of Skandasvāmin; but from the identity of words, not only in the introductory portion but also in the body of the commentary, it is reasonable to assume that Mādhava too was a disciple of Skandasvāmin along with Harisvāmin and Maheśvara.²

The father of this Mādhava is one Nārāyaṇa;³ perhaps this is the Nārāyaṇa mentioned by Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya as the collaborator of Skandasvāmin in his *Ṛgvedabhāṣya*. Nothing more is known of this Nārāyaṇa. Udgītha is also mentioned by Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya as a collaborator of Skandasvāmin along with Nārāyaṇa. All that we know about Udgītha is that he is mentioned by Sāyaṇa and Ātmānanda, that he is also mentioned by Haradatta the author of "*Āśvalāyanagr̥hya-mantra-bhāṣya*" and that a quotation from Skandasvāmin found in Deva-rāja's *Nighaṇṭubhāṣya* is traceable to the available portion of Udgītha's commentary on the *Ṛgveda*⁴. He may be a contemporary of Skandasvāmin; but nothing more is known of it.

As for Durga, the author of the commentary on the *Nirukta*, Dr. Sarup assigned him to a very late date⁵; but later he revised his original calculation and now he puts him to a *very* early date.⁶ All that we know is that he is earlier than Maheśvara who is a disciple of Skandasvāmin⁷; and as such Durga must be placed much earlier than 600 A. D., the date of Skandasvāmin. As for Maheśvara who lived in the beginning of the 7th century

1. Cf. the Introductory portion in the Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 8, and Weber's Catalogue of Berlin MSS. No. 1424.

2. For the points raised in this paragraph, see Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930—My paper on the Mādhava Problem (summary alone published), p. 539 ff.

3. The passage is: *pañcāgninā mādhavena śrīnārāyaṇa-sūnūnā*, in the Introductory portion. See Weber's Catalogue of Berlin MSS. No. 1424.

4. For points raised in this paragraph, see the Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference, Fifth Session, Lahore, 1928, p. 223 ff.

5. Preface to his edition of *Nirukta*, p. 28 ff.

6. Introduction to the last volume of the edition of *Skandamaheśvara*, p. 81 ff.

7. See Proceedings of the Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Lahore, 1928, p. 260.

quoting from Bhartṛhari¹, who is reported by I-tsing to have died in the middle of the same century, the fact is that Bhartṛhari is really much older and must be placed a few centuries before the 7th². As for the relative chronology of Durga and Bhartṛhari, I have not yet been able to find out any evidence.

There is a small work called the Vārarucanirukta samuccaya³ in four Kalpas, where about a hundred stanzas from the vedic texts are explained. Dr. Sarup mentioned the work in his Introduction to his edition of the commentary on the Nirukta⁴ and gives copious extracts from it at the end of the book.⁵ But, just as in the case of the later portions of Skandasvāmin's commentary on the Ṛgveda, he is equally silent about the source of his information regarding the manuscript of this work also. Dr. Sarup is inclined to regard it as earlier than Skandasvāmin.⁶ But there is no real evidence for such a conclusion. All that can be said at present is that this is also an early work.

To sum up the foregoing discussion, we have to place the various vedic commentators in the chronological order as follows:

1. Yāska: a few centuries before the beginning of the Christian Era.
2. Durga: long before 600 A. D., the date of Skandasvāmin.
3. Skandasvāmin: about 600 A. D.
4. Harisvāmin: wrote his commentary on the Śatapatha in 638 A. D. (he is the disciple of Skandasvāmin).
5. Maheśvara: a contemporary of Harisvāmin being a disciple of Skandasvāmin.
6. Mādhava: perhaps a disciple of Skandasvāmin (he is the commentator on Sāmaveda).

1. Edition by Dr. L. Sarup, Vol. I, p. 28.

2. See Liebich, Kṣīratarāṅgiṇī, Breslau. 1930 Anhang III and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar Commemoration Volume, 1935, p. 285 ff.

3. Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, 1930, p. 536.

4. Last Volume, Introduction, p. 26.

5. *Ibid.* Appendix vi,

6. *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 26.

7. Udgītha : perhaps a contemporary of Skandasvāmin; any way earlier than Haradatta (12th century).

8. Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya : about the 10th century, decidedly earlier than Sāyaṇa.

9. Mādhava (the author of the Anukramaṇīs) : no definite evidence for the date. If the quotations in one of the recensions of Skandasvāmin's bhāṣya are genuine and not interpolations, then earlier than even Skandasvāmin.

10. Sāyaṇa : 14th century.

11. Devarāja : later than Sāyaṇa.

MEGHADŪTA AND ITS IMITATIONS*

BY

E. P. RADHAKRISHNAN, M.A.,

Office of the Catalogus Catalogorum, University of Madras.

[It is an admitted fact that the dūtakāvyas occupy an important and unique position in Sanskrit literature. They make up for the most part much of Sanskrit lyric poetry. Their importance is due to the fact that they exhibit a very high poetic conception consisting in the feeling of sincere pathos which manifests itself in the exquisite and soul-animating description of the pangs of separation suffered by lovers. Their importance is further increased by the topographical information they supply, which will be very useful in reconstructing the geographical and social conditions of mediæval and ancient India.]

Several scholars have given before lists of dūtakāvyas known to them. His Highness The Mahārāja Ravivarmā of Travancore describes six of them,¹ all of which have their origin in Malabar. Dr. Aufrecht² gives a list of ten different ones. Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti, combining these two lists gives sixteen such poems.³ And Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, after patient search, traced as many as fifty such poems.⁴ I have succeeded in adding some more to this list which I shall subjoin.

1. *Uddhavadūta* by Rūpagosvāmin.⁵

2. *Uddhavacarita*, by one Raghunandanadāsa. (I. O. No. 3894.) This is a sandeśakāvya in which Uddhava goes between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs with love-messages from both.

* Part of a paper read on the Kālidāsa Day Celebration, 1936, before the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy.

1. J. R. A. S., 1884, p. 401 ff.

2. Z. D. M. G., Vol. 54, p. 616.

3. J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 42.

4. IHQ., Vol. III, p. 273.

5. See IHQ., Vol. III. An anonymous Uddhavasandeśa is mentioned in the catalogue of MSS. in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, p. 187. This may be identical with Rūpagosvāmin's work,

3. *Kākadūta*¹ a sandeśakāvya by one Gaura Gopāla Śiromaṇi, in 94 stanzas. The theme is Kṛṣṇa's love-message to the Gopīs. The author himself has written a commentary called Śabdārthadarśinī on it. It is not known why the author chose the crow, a bird much despised by poets, as messenger. As a matter of fact, a poet has employed it in a satirical piece, another *kākadūta* to be noticed presently. The crow might have been employed because of the common belief that the crowing of this bird is a harbinger of the arrival of some dear and near relative.

4. *Kākadūta*,² a travesty of the Meghadūta, by Cintāmaṇi Rāmacandra Sahasra Budhe.

5. *Kokasandeśa*, by Viṣṇutrāta Nambūdiri of Rambhā-vihārakṣetra (now called Vāḷapallimana) in Cochin state. (MTSC. 3043).³ A prince enjoying the company of his wife is the victim of a trick of a māntrika who gives him a yantra, which has the power to make one having it in his hand believe that he is really living in a place different and far away from his home; and suffering in this illusory separation the prince sends the message through a koka.

6. *Kokiladūta*⁴ by one Harimohana Prāmāṇika, in 100 stanzas treating of Rādhākṛṣṇa's love.

7. *Garuḍasandeśa*⁵ by Bellamkoṇḍa Rāma Rao, son of Mohanarāya of Pānidipāḍu, in 2 sargas (7th and 8th) forming part of his Samudramathanakāvya.

8. *Garuḍasandeśa*⁶ by Śrīnivāsa Varadācārya. Subject is Vaiṣṇavite devotion.

1. Edited in Calcutta. 1890. See Br. Mus. Printed Bk. Cat. 1892-1906, 182.

2. Edited in Dharwar, 1917. *Ibid.* 1906-28, 227.

3. MTSC=Triennial Catalogue of the Madras Manuscripts Library.

4. Edited with a Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Sudhāmaya prāmāṇika, Calcutta, 1905. See Br. Mus. Pr. Bk. Cat. 1906-28, 361. From the Adyar Library Mss. Catalogue Pt. II, p. 5a, Prof. C. Chakravarti gives 2 Mss. of Kokilasandeśa by Nṛsimhakavi. I examined the two Mss. and found that the first is by Nṛsimha and the second one is the Kokilasandeśa by Śrīśaila Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Tātārya, same as P.P.S. No. 3862.

5. Edited in Narasa Rowpet, 1912. See Br. Mus. Pr. Bk. Cat. 1906-28, 864.

6. Edited in Kumbhakonam, 1915. *Ibid.* 1906-28, 1012.

9. *Ghanavṛtta* by Rāmacandra koraḍa, a continuation of Kālidāsa's poem.¹

10. *Cakorasandeśa* by an anonymous author (MTSC. 3607 f.). A lady sends a message to her husband who is away from her on some business.

11. *Cakorasandeśa*. Another anonymous poem, different from the previous one. It was composed from Malabar (MTSC. 3711 b.). A lover sends his message to his beloved. It mentions Māṭakṣitipati (*i. e.* King of the Cochin state).

12. *Cakorasandeśa* by Peru Sūri of Śrīdharavaṁśa (PPS 386³). The author had the title Navīnapatañjali, which shows that he was a great grammarian. He is quite different from Perubhaṭṭa, the father of Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja. For the author's lineage see MDSC. 12659.

In the prologue to his Vasumaṅgalanāṭaka² (MDSC. 12659) the author mentions his other works. They are Rāmacandra-vijaya, Bharatābhyudaya and Veṅkaṭabhāṇa. (See also MDSC. XXI, p. 8498.) None of these is available.

13. *Candradūta*³ an anonymous kāvya in imitation of the Meghadūta. (K. 58.) Prof. Chintāharan Chakravartī⁴ does not give this reference. This Candradūta may or may not be identical with one or other of the Candradūtas mentioned by him.

14. *Candrasandeśa*⁵ by Veṅkaṭa Kavi.

15. *Nemidūtakāvya* by Jhañjhaṇa, son of Sāṅgaṇa. (Granthanāmāvali, p. 23; 375 śloka). Perhaps this is identical with the Nemidūta (Kāvyamālā, Guccha II), of Vikrama, son of Sāṅgaṇa. Paṇḍitaḡaṇavijaya has written a commentary on it. (See S. R. Bhandarkar's report on the search of mss. 1904—6, p. 43.)

16. *Bhṛṅgasandeśa*⁶. This is an anonymous poem, different from the Bhṛṅgasandeśa of Vāsudeva Nambūdiri.

1. Br. Mus. Pt. Bks. Cat. 19 6-28, 844.

2. MDSC=Descriptive Catalogue of the Madras Manuscripts Library. Dr. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum I, p. 184a gives one Carakasandeśa (Oppert I, 5968). This probably is a mistake for Cakorasandeśa.

3. K=Report on the search of Mss. in the Central Provinces, by Kielhorn.

4. IHQ. Vol. III. 'Dūtakāvyas in Sanskrit'.

5. Mysore, I, p. 246.

6. MTSC, 3395b.

The place to which the message is sent is Śivapura (Trichur) in the centre of the land of Jāmadagnya, *i.e.* Malabar.

17. *Bhṛṅgadūta*¹ by Gaṅgānanda Kavindra.

18. *Bhṛṅgadūta*, an imitation of Meghadūta by Śatāvadhāna Kavi. The real name of the author is not known². The subject is a Gopī's message to Kṛṣṇa.

19. *Bhramarasandeśa* by Trivenī³, a South Indian poetess (1817—1883 A. D.) who has written many works. She was the daughter of Udayendrapuram Anantācārya (author of Yādavarāghavapāṇḍaviya), and wife of Prativādibhayaṅkaram Veṅkaṭācārya of Śrīperumbūdūr. Her other works are Hārati-pañcaka, Lakṣmīsaahasra, Raṅganāthasaahasra, Śukasandeśa, Raṅgābhayudaya, Sampatkumāravijaya (two mahākāvyas) and two dramas, Raṅgarāṭsamudaya and Tattvamudrābhadrodaya, which is allegorical.

20. *Madhuroṣṭhasandeśa*⁴. Anonymous poem. Subject is a Gopī's message to Kṛṣṇa. This is said to be in the campū form, a unique feature in the imitations of Meghadūta.

21. *Manassandeśa*, by Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakṣmaṇa-Sūri, Sanskrit Paṇḍit, Pacciappa's College, Madras. Here owing to inability to pay his respects to H. H. the Śaṅkarācārya in person, the author sends his manas as the messenger instead. The poem is philosophical. It is printed, but copies are rare. Lakṣmaṇa Sūri wrote also one Viprasandeśa⁵ (mentioned by Prof. C. Chakravarti) which relates how Rukmiṇī sent an old Brahmin messenger to Kṛṣṇa, her chosen Lord, requesting him to take her away. The source for this is the story in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X. 52.).

22. *Manodūta*⁶ by Indireśa (Gokula Maṭheśa). This is a religious poem according to the Puṣṭimārga.

1. Rep. p. 19—Report for the search of Sanskrit Mss. 1895-1900, by Haraprasād Śāstrī. See Catalogus Catalogorum, III, p. 90a.

2. See S. P. Caturvedi's article on this Bhṛṅgadūta in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, pp. 623-632.

3. See 'Sanskrit poetesses' by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar in the Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee of the T. S. S., p. 63.

4. Mysore, I, p. 251.

5. Published from the Pūrṇacandrodaya Press, Tanjore, 1906.

6. Printed with Harihara Bhaṭṭa's Hṛdyadūta in Bombay,

23. *Mayūrasandeśa*¹. An anonymous dūtakāvya (MT SC. 2963). One Śrīkaṇṭhakṣitipati and Syānandūr (Trivandrum) are mentioned in it.

24. *Mayūrasandeśa*² with a commentary by one Śrīnivāsācārya.

25. *Mārutasandeśa*. Anonymous dūtakāvya. MTSC. 2964.

26. *Meghadūtasamsyā*³.

27. *Yakṣollāsa*⁴. Kāvya in imitation of the Meghadūta by one Kṛṣṇamūrti (styled Abhinavakālidāsa), son of Sarvaśāstrin of the Vasiṣṭhagotra. The subject is the reply message sent by the Yakṣa's wife, as in the Meghapratisandeśa of Maṇḍikal Rāmaśāstrin.

28. *Rāmasandeśa*⁵. A Mādhva work by Rājarājeśvara Tīrtha. Viśvapati Tīrtha has written a commentary called Padārathaprakāśa on it.

29. *Haṁsasandeśa*. Anonymous MTSC. 5291. The subject is a lover's message to his beloved. Consists of two khaṇḍas in 62 and 28 stanzas respectively. In the first stanza one Kālidāsa is mentioned.

“दिव्यः श्रीमान् सुरतरुलतामण्डपे सिद्धयूनो-

नर्मलापं किमपि कलयन् कर्णयोः कालिदासः ।”

One Kṛṣṇapāda is also mentioned in the descriptions of the second section.

There is also one Amarasandeśa⁶ not noticed by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti. This is likely to be a corruption of

1923, as Nos. 1 and 2 of Paṇḍita Guṭhīlālāji's Granthamālā. See Br. Mus. Pr. Bk. Cat. 1906-28, 338. Probably the Manodūtikā (Paris, D 253 III), mentioned by Aufrecht in Catalogus Catalogorum I, p. 429a, is identical with the Manodūtikā (Stein. 70.). See also Cabaton's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Part I, p. 73. No. 449 C.

1. One Mayūrasandeśa by Raṅgācārya is mentioned in Adyar II, p. 8b. This is a mistake. As a matter of fact this is the Sūryaśataka of Mayūra.

2. Granthapura, Trivandrum, p. 189. No. 3788. The work is published from Conjeevaram.

3. Stein 71 (incomplete).

4. MTSC. 1466b.

5. Edited by B. Śrīnivāsācārya, Udipi, 1917.

6. Oppert, II, 8805.

Bhramarasandeśa. One Kṛṣṇadūta¹ is noticed in the Adyar Mss. collection. This is not a Sandeśakāvya, but is a Prabandha called Dūtavākyaṃ or Bhagavaddūtam composed by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Kerala (author of Mānameyodaya, Prakriyāsarvasva, Nārāyaṇīya etc.) for the purpose of the Cākyārkūttu, very current in Malabar. Further, one Vāṭadūtakāvya² is mentioned by Paṇḍit R. A. Śāstri. As no further information regarding this is available, it cannot be safely concluded whether this is identical with the Vāṭadūta³ of Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya (latter half of the 19th century A. D.) or not. On p. 285 Prof. C. Chakravarti mentions a Haṁsadūta by a Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī (48). This is Rūpa's poem and Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī is the owner of the Ms. well known for his mss. collection.⁴

1. Adyar, II, p. 4a.

2. R. A. Śāstri Diary (deposited in the Catalogus Catalogorum Office, Madras University), Pt. III, p. 244.

3. IHQ., III, p. 286.

4. In Tamil there is a pretty big literature on the dūtakāvyas. In Malabar too, there were many dūtakāvyas. Six of them in Sanskrit which H. H. Mahārāja Ravivarmā describes all have their origin in Malabar. Many dūtas composed in vernacular also are known. The earliest and the best is the Uṇṇunilīsandeśa. The striking feature here is that, unlike in other sandeśas, Uṇṇunili is the lady-love and the messenger is Udayavarmarāja of Travancore. Other dūtakāvyas are Kākasandeśa by Uṇṇinambūdiri of Māthūr, Mayūrasandeśa by Kerala Varma Valia Koil Thampuram who is better known as Kerala Kālidāsa, Garuḍasandeśa, Kapotasandeśa, Maṇḍūkasandeśa, Dātyūhasandeśa etc.; the last two obviously being parodies. (*Vide* Malayāla Sahitya Caritram by K. N. Gopala Pillai, pp. 167-8).

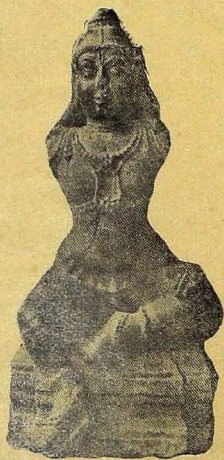
BĀLAKRṢṆA FROM HAMPI IN THE MADRAS MUSEUM

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A.

It was the sixteenth of February 1515. The capital of the great emperor of Vijayanagara was teeming with people assembled to witness the installation of a beautiful image of Bālakṛṣṇa. A special temple had been built for it. That a jewelled maṇḍapa was engaging the attention of all could easily be made out even at a great distance where an ocean of heads hid the pavilion from view, the history of its construction heard only in snatches being the main theme of the tumultuous babble of the crowd. There were whispers that described how tactfully the emperor brought away the image from Udayagiri. The conquest of the Gajapati had not been in vain, and now amidst universal rejoicings, holy chants of the Veda, musical notes that drowned all this but was itself almost lost in the din of the mammoth gathering, while the danseuse danced to the beat of the drum and the sound of the cymbals, while flywhisks and silk parasols appeared all-pervasive and a variety of flower garlands almost smothering the image seemed to have exhausted the renowned flower market of the city, there was announced the installation of Śrī Bālakṛṣṇa. Stone-masons had been at work recording the munificent gifts of the benevolent and pious sovereign Kṛṣṇadeva and had incised lengthy epigraphs for posterity to read and think of the days when religion was a force in the land.

“..... That famous king Kṛṣṇarāya conquered Udayādri and from there tactfully brought away to his city an image of the deity Kṛṣṇa and consecrated it in a jewelled maṇḍapa according to Sāstraic rules in the year Bhāva, (corresponding to) Śaka 1436. Hail Prosperity. In the prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka 1436, the year Bhāva, on Friday the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Phālguna Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Śrī Vīrapratāpa Śrī Vīra Kṛṣṇarāya Mahārāja brought victoriously from Udayagiri and consecrated the image of Śrī Bālakṛṣṇa. About the time of the consecration he presented it



Bālakṛṣṇa from Hampi

with a variety of jewels inlaid with the nine kinds of gems and other articles (vessels) in silver and gold. For the worship of the deity, for waving of lamps, offering of fruits, cakes and other daily offerings, Pañcaparva car-festival and offering for Brāhmaṇas, for aṅgaṅgavaibhoga, the following villages are given away as sarvamānya”¹ This extract from one of the inscriptions suffices to give an idea of the emperor’s munificence.

In 1916 Mr. Longhurst was rummaging the temple to discover traces of the famous image known through inscriptions but not by sight. In the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1916-17 Part I, is given the discovery of the image. “In September 1916, Mr. Longhurst had the good fortune to discover this historic image hidden among some debris in the sanctum of the Krishna temple at Vijayanagar which has recently been undergoing repairs. It is a stone image of Bālakrishna and represents the deity as a chubby boy seated on a pedestal with his right foot resting on a lotus flower. The arms are broken and missing, but probably the right hand held a butter ball in the manner peculiar to this particular representation of Krishna; while the left arm and hand rested on the left thigh. The figure, including the pedestal, is 3 ft. 2 in. in height, and is carved in the round out of a block of greenish black granite, similar to that found at Udayagiri in the Nellore district whence the image originally came. At Udayagiri also, Mr. Longhurst discovered an old ruined Krishna temple which appears to be the original building from which Krishnarāya removed the image in question.”

This lovely image must have been one of the victims of the crowbars and spikes of the conquerors of Tallikoṭa. The hands that have disappeared speak eloquently. Silent and sad, Bālakṛṣṇa has lain in the sanctum and allowed himself to be covered with rubbish and weedy growth. One knows not what sights of mirth and gaiety he had witnessed before Tallikoṭa and what desolation and gloom after it. At long last he was roused from his reverie and sent to the Madras Museum to keep company with other images of his ilk.

1. A. R. No. 25 and 26 of 1889; S. I. I., Vol. IV, Nos. 254, 255; Annual Report of the Arch. Survey of India, 1908-9. Second Vijayanagara Dynasty by Krishna Sastri, p. 176-7.

EDITORIAL

SEXCENTENARY OF THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE.

We are very glad that the sexcentenary of the foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire was celebrated at Hampi in the last week of December, 1936. Though the late Mr. Sewell called it "The forgotten Empire" it lives in its achievements in the domain of Hindu culture and in the memorable services rendered to Hindu religion and philosophy by the great men of that Empire which India cannot afford to forget. Further researches by scholars after the days of Mr. Sewell have revealed more and more the marks left by that Empire on the political, economic and religious life of the people of Southern India and its beneficent influences. We hope that modern research will continue its labours in this direction and the lessons that can be derived by a study of the history of this great Hindu revival in the 14th century will prove useful to those who are leaders of the modern Hindu renaissance. The great sense of unity and farsighted statesmanship displayed by them in welding together the various communities of Southern India, Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa, for the purpose of the achieving the great ideal of re-establishment of the Hindu polity are well worth imitation at the present day.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

TATTVABINDU WITH TATTVAVIBHAVANA (ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY SANSKRIT SERIES NO. 3), BY V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, M.A. (ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY. RS. 3).

The Tattvabindu is one of the classical standard works of that great master of learning, Vācaspati Miśra. It deals with a topic which, we must confess, is not of practical interest to our modern scholars. One of the problems which engaged the attention of the ancient Sanskrit interpretationists and grammarians was about how the meaning of sentences and words was conveyed to the hearer or reader. This was technically known as Śābdabodha. Various theories were developed and there were five traditional views on it, the chief being the theory developed by the grammarians known as the Sphoṭavāda. This was vigorously attacked by the school of Mīmāṃsakas, and among them, too, there was divergence of opinion between the two great teachers, Prabhākara and Kumārilabhaṭṭa. It is natural, therefore, to expect that a lead should be given in this matter about which there was such keen conflict, by the great philosopher, Vācaspati Miśra. He has thrown the weight of his learning and arguments on the side of Kumārilabhaṭṭa. He establishes the conclusion that words convey their meanings which in their turn (while mutually related) generate the cognition of the sentence-meaning. When the author deals with such an obscure subject bristling with technicalities and rendered more difficult by the differences of opinion, it is not surprising that the modern reader is unable to grasp the full import of the discussions contained in the work. The terse Śāstra style adopted usually by the writers of scientific works in Sanskrit, especially by Vācaspati, is also not a little responsible for the difficulty of understanding the subject. The using of technical words without giving any explanation of them so that they may be clearly understood by the reader and the references to the arguments of other schools of thought without clearly stating the sources and the context from which those arguments are taken, make it more difficult for the modern reader to follow the arguments. When even such a master as Parameśvara trips, as has been pointed out in the foreword by Prof. Kuppuswami

Śāstri, no wonder that the ordinary reader finds it difficult to wade through the text. Without the help of a teacher who is himself well qualified in the Śāstras, the full effect of the meaning cannot be followed and without a real grip of the idioms of the Sanskrit language and the Pūrvapakṣa-Siddhānta style, it cannot also be appreciated. Hence modern editions of the standard works of ancient Hindu philosophy really require the help of a useful historical introduction, an accurate translation and copious notes. The edition of Mr. V. A. Ramaswami Śāstri satisfies many of these requirements of the modern student. He has added a scholarly and critical history of the Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā Śāstra, giving a brief account of the various authors of that Śāstra and of all the schools of thought developed by them. In it he has tackled the problems of the identities of Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa, Uṇveka and Bhavabhūti, Viśvarūpa and Maṇḍana Miśra, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya, though nothing final can be said about his conclusions. The editor has also given an analysis of the contents of the work so that the reader who wants to skip over the pages may get a rough idea of the subject. All these render the edition very attractive and useful. It may be said without exaggeration that the present edition is a model as it were, of how a modern edition of an ancient classical work should be published. Mr. Ramaswami Śāstri is well qualified for the task he undertook. In him there is the unique combination of Pandit learning and the knowledge of the western methods of criticism, for he is both a Śiromaṇi and a M. A.

We have great pleasure in congratulating him on this scholarly edition of one of the standard works of one of the greatest philosophers of ancient India and his masterly survey of the history of the Mīmāṃsā Śāstra and in commending it to the public. The printing and get up are very neat and leave nothing to be desired.

K. B.

PRAVACANASARA BY ŚRĪ KUNDAKUNDACĀRYA, EDITED BY PROF. A. N. UPADHYE (RAYACANDRA JAINA SASTRAMALA, JAUHARI BAZAR, BOMBAY 2, Rs. 5.)

We are glad to receive a copy of the Pravacanasāra by Śrī Kundakundācārya edited by Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., and published by Sheth Manilal Revashankar Jhaveri. The Prava-

canasāra is an authoritative work of the Jaina religion and philosophy by one of the respected Ācāryas among the Jain hierarchy. It gives an account also of the religious duties of the Jain order of ascetics called Śramaṇas. As it is pointed out in the introduction, there is a good deal of conflict about the date of the author. The editor comes to the conclusion, after discussing the question fully, that he might have lived at the beginning of the Christian Era. The editor also suggests that the name of the author may be a Sanskritised form of a possible Dravidian name. It seems to be fairly certain that the author lived before the time when the great division between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects of the Jains arose. The contribution of Jain philosophy to the religious thought of ancient India is valuable, not to mention the valuable work of the Jains in literature, both Sanskrit and Tamil, and in rhetoric. In Southern India the Jain religion seems to have flourished greatly in the early centuries of the Christian Era until it received a set-back from the Tamil Saints of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava order. The religious practices obtaining among the Jaina ascetics mentioned in the last chapter of the Pravacanāsāra, such as going about naked, absence of daily baths, not cleansing the teeth, pulling out the hair in the head and the face, appear to have been viewed by the Tamil population then with great disgust. In the hymns of Saint Jñānasambandar especially, we find frequent denunciations of these habits of the Jaina Saints. They were looked upon as heretics by the Hindu population not so much because of their theories of philosophy as on account of their repudiation of the authority of the Vedas. The present edition is a valuable one in that it contains a useful introduction and a good translation with notes and it is therefore very helpful to the reader. It is noteworthy that the early Jain authors like the original Buddhistic writers adopted the Prākṛt language to write their treatises in. It is only later commentators that adopted the Sanskrit language.

We have great pleasure in commending this valuable edition to the scholars and students of Indian philosophy.

K. B.

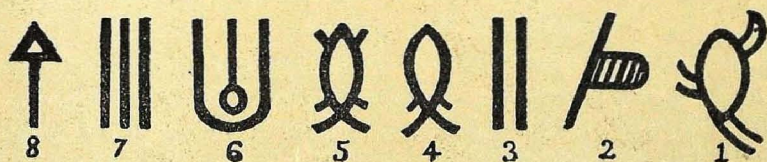
THE "MĪNAVAN" IN MOHENJO DARO

BY

REV. H. HERAS, S. J.,

*Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's
College, Bombay.*

There is an inscription on one of the steatite seals of Mohenjo Daro which is of extraordinary interest for all South Indian scholars.¹ The inscription is on seal No. 8 of Sir John Marshall's Plates. On the lower portion of the seal there is the figure of a unicorn. This animal, probably mythical, seems to have been the original *totem* of the tribe of the *Mīnas*, the *Matsyas* of Saṁskṛta literature. On the upper portion of the seal there is the inscription under study which runs as follows:



Commencing from the right, sign No. 1 is a "bird". It will therefore read *parava*. It is placed in a vertical position on account of lack of space; otherwise this sign is always found turned 90° to the left, in a standing position.

Sign No. 2 is the sign for the "moon", *nilā*. This sign was read *canda* (*candra*) when this script was used by the Saṁskṛta

1. The present writer has deciphered all the inscriptions published by Sir John Marshall in Vol. III of *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, plus a number of other seal inscriptions, photographs of which were kindly supplied by the Director-General of Archaeology, in all above one-thousand-eight-hundred. While he is preparing the publication of all these very interesting documents he thinks that the readers of the *Journal of Oriental Research* will take some interest in the absorbing problem aroused in this inscription.

writers. When the sign finally became alphabetic, it still retained one consonant sound of the word *canda*. In the Aśokan script the sign , evidently a development of the sign under study, still retained the sound *da*.

Sign No. 3 is the numeral "two" *ir*.

Sign No. 4 is a fish, *mīṇ*. This word though used in Saṁskṛta, is of Dravidian origin.¹

Sign No. 5 is another "fish". This form of fish either stands for "star"² or is a proper name. It reads *mīṇ*.

Sign No. 6 means "he" or "his", *avaṇ*.

Sign No. 7 is the numeral "three", *mūṇ*.

Sign No. 8 is the sign for "eye", *kaṇ*. Such is the value of this sign in Sumerian.

Signs Nos. 5 and 6 combine reading *Mīṇavaṇ*. Therefore the whole inscription will read as follows:

Parava nilā ir mīṇ Mīṇavaṇ mūṇ kaṇ.

which means:

The three-eyed of the *Mīṇavaṇ* of the two fishes of the moon of the Paravas.³

The inscription perhaps requires some explanation. The expression "the three-eyed" is only referable to God.⁴ Man may have fish eyes just as God,⁵ if he sees the things of the world from the point of view of God himself.⁶ But he is never said to have three eyes. Since God is *viḍukaṇ*⁷ he is supposed to see everything, and apparently, each of the three eyes was meant to

1. Cf. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 573 (London, 1913).

2. In Dravidian languages *mīṇ* may mean "fish" or "star".

3. I have published this inscription in an article on *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, contributed to the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. V, p. 9. Yet the reading of the inscription was not fully correct there.

4. Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXV, No. 16; *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 68; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6531.

5. Marshall, M.D., Nos. 254, 261 and 365; *Ibid.*, H., No. 257.

6. Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People*, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

7. Marshall, H., Nos. 328 and 329.

see a period of time, one the past, another the present and the third the future.

Mīnavan seems to be a proper noun, the name of a person—one devoted to Mīn, "the Fish", or "he of the Fish", as the faithful translation of the title would be. What Fish this was is a matter for speculation. The Fish is one of the constellations of the Zodiac¹ and consequently one of the forms of God.² Yet there is another Fish mentioned in the inscriptions that may also have some relation with this name; that is the *horn-fish* whose flag was said to have been hoisted at Ōrūr when this city was annexed to Mīnād³ after a war between the Mīnas and the Kāvāls. This was the horn-fish which led Manu's ship to the top of the northern mountains during the Flood.⁴ Now this tradition of the Flood being of purely Dravidian origin, as the geographical description of the country⁵ and the denomination of "King of Drāviḍa" attributed to Satyavrata⁶ prove, must have been known in Mohenjo Daro. The horn-fish of the flag of Ōrūr is the same horn-fish that was worshipped by the Pāṇḍyas on the sea-shore, according to ancient tradition. This title "Mīnavan" was besides the title of the Pāṇḍya King of Madura in historical times.⁷

The *Mīnavan* is said to be "of the two Fishes", so that the Mīnavan seems to belong to the two Fishes. The two Fishes are the symbol or heraldic device—the *lāñchana*, to use the Saṁskṛta word—of Mīnād.⁸ When the Mīnas settled a political union with the Bilavas, the flag of the two Fishes continued to be the flag of the union.⁹ The two Fishes of Mīnavan seem therefore to be the flag of the two Fishes.

The final expression "of the Moon of the Paravas" is most puzzling. The Paravas were a tribe often mentioned in the

1. Marshall, M.D., Nos. 87, 540, 551, etc.

2. *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 419 and 214; *A.S.I. Report*, 1928-29, Pl. XXVIII, No. g.

3. Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk. No. 8984.

4. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Khaṇḍa I, Ch. VIII.

5. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. I.

6. *Śrīmad Bhāgavata*, Khaṇḍa VIII, Ch. XXIV.

7. *Arunācala Purāṇa*, *Vacirāṅgadha Pāṇḍyan Charka*, v. 13 ff.

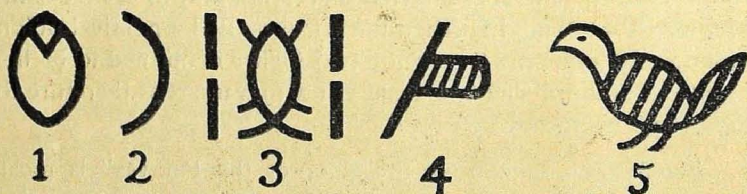
8. Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10893.

9. *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7093; *Ibid.*, H. Neg. 3053, No. 12.

Mohenjo Daro-Harappa inscriptions.¹ The remnants of this tribe are still on the Fishery Coast, in Manar and in Ceylon. Perhaps their original *totem* was a *bird*, a *parava*. Accordingly they were named after their *totem*. But what has the moon to do with the Paravas? In a very late period the Paravas claimed descent from the moon.²

Indeed the Indus Valley inscriptions show that there is some historical connection between the Paravas and the moon. When the tribe of the Paravas grew, two sub-sections of this tribe were eventually formed. Each section took a new device by which they were distinguished from each other. One of the sub-sections was called *Pagal Paravir*, "Sun Paravas"³; the other *Nilā Paravir*, "Moon Paravas".⁴ The latter seem to have been more important or perhaps more numerous, for they are often mentioned in the inscriptions. The meaning of the inscription therefore is that the two Fishes of the *Mīṇavaṇ* belonged to the Moon of one of the sub-sections of the Paravas. All this as regards the verbal interpretation of the inscription. But what is the formal meaning of it?

Another inscription of Mohenjo Daro will help us to understand the cryptic meaning of this inscription. The inscription to which I refer runs as follows:



This is one of the few inscriptions that read from left to right. Very likely it was the second line of another writing


1. Marshall, M.D., Nos. 228, 237, 338, etc.

2. Cf. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 143.




3. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6266. *Pagal* does not mean "sun" in Tamil, it means "day" only; but it has the meaning of *sun* in Kannada. Cf. Kittel, *Kannada Dictionary*, word *pagal*. The other section being the Moon Parava, we must fittingly translate *pagal* as "sun".

4. Marshall, M.D., No. 36.


from where it was copied on the stone and since the even lines always read from left to right, the direction of the script was not changed by the illiterate carver.

Sign No. 1 is a compound sign. The original sign  stands for "country", *ūr*, but the little angle in the interior, as found in the inscription, is the determinative of the locative case; the signs thus combined read *ūril*, "in the country".

Sign No. 2 means "one sixth" in Sumerian writing. In our writing it means "a quarter" and will read, *kāl*.

In sign No. 3 which is also a compound sign, there is a little mistake. The original  may mean a proper noun of a person or a "star". Both these meanings do not make any sense here. The sign should be  or even better  as is found

in almost all the cases. Very likely the carver placed the two portions of the little angle above the sign on each side of it, thus giving a different meaning to the sign without realizing his mistake. (Such mistakes are very rare in the Mohenjo Daro

inscriptions.) The original sign of this compound sign  reads *mīn*, "fish"; with the determinative of personality it reads *Mīnan*, "a Mīna"; with the other determinative of collectivity



reads *Mīnanir*, "the Mīnas". (In the Mohenjo Daro

inscriptions the plural is made by adding the suffix *-ir* (*ir*, two) to the singular in many cases, though in other cases, perhaps not as many, it is made by adding *-or*.)

Sign No. 4 reads *nilā*, "moon".

Sign No. 5 reads *parava*, "Parava".

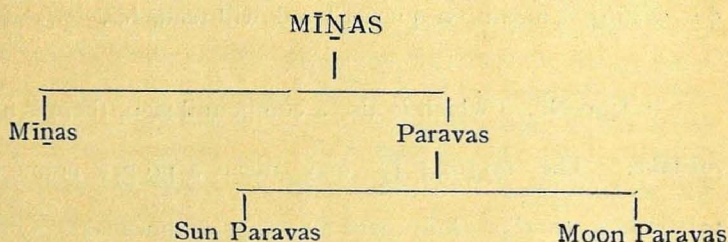
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The whole inscription therefore reads:

*Ūril kāl Mīnanir nilā parava*¹

which means:

"In the country a quarter of the Mīnas (are) Moon Paravas", viz. in the country of the Mīnas, in Mīnād (where Mohenjo Daro is situated), one fourth of the Mīnas were Moon Parava Mīnas. This inscription settles the relationship between the Mīnas and the Paravas in a very clear way. The Paravas were a section of the Mīnas. This relationship may be graphically expressed in the following genealogical tree:



What the percentage of Paravas in general was among the Mīnas is not said. The inscription only speaks of the Moon Paravas, who were said to be one fourth of the Mīnas. Granting that the Sun Paravas were perhaps less than the Moon Paravas we may propose the following equation:

Moon Paravas	25 %.
Sun Paravas	15 %.
Mīnas	60 %.

The importance of the Paravas among the Mīnas was so great that their country was styled Paravanād¹ as if it were an independent country. Where this country was located we cannot say. Yet, it is evident that the Mīnas and the Paravas remained always together.²

Now returning to the first inscription we may easily realize that the Mīnavan of the two Fishes was beyond doubt the King of the Mīnas. This King is said to be of the Moon of the Paravas,

1. Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 12688 and 12877.

2. *Ibid.*, H., Neg., No. 3012, No. 2.

i.e. hailing from the Moon of the Moon Paravas which is easily understood after ascertaining that all the Paravas were Mīnas.

Now before ending these notes, it will be of interest to study the parallelism we find between this information and some facts of South Indian History.

As said above, in the South also we have a Mīnavan, the Pāṇḍya king of Madura; his *lāñchana* was also the two Fishes as may be seen in the Ramnāḍ Plates of Abhirāma Ativirāma Pāṇḍya in the Madras Museum,¹ in the Pāṇḍya coins,² in all the temples built by the Pāṇḍyas in Southern India³ and even on the jambs of the gate of the Frederick Fort at Trincomalee in Ceylon.⁴ The Pāṇḍya kings were the natural lords of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, and were accordingly sometimes styled *Mīnavarkōṇ*, "the king of the Fishermen".⁵ Does this parallelism with the Mohenjo Daro inscription above commented upon mean more than a mere coincidence?

If we study this problem independently without any prejudice, and specially if we admit that many people from Northern India in course of time came down to the South in search for fertile lands and for peace, particularly after the Āryan invasion—a fact which is in accordance with the very old Pāṇḍya and Parava tradition⁶—, we shall feel inclined to admit that the *Mīna*-

1. Cf. Henderson, *Catalogue of Copper Plates of the Government Museum*, Madras, p. 33.

2. Cf. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, Pl. III, No. 133; Pl. IV, No. 141.

3. Cf. Heras, *Los Orìgenes de la Heraldica Indica*, p. 7. (Madrid, 1934).

4. These jambs had belonged to the main gate of a Hindu temple built in the same place by the Pāṇḍya king who had conquered the northern part of Ceylon. The temple seems to have been destroyed by the Portuguese.

5. Cf. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XIII, p. 3.

6. Cf. *Kalittogai*, 104.

van of the two fishes of Mohenjo Daro and *his Moon Parava* subjects very likely were the ancestors of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura and of their Parava subjects of the Fishery Coast.¹

1. This inscription shows how vain were the contentions of both the Pāṇḍyas and the Paravas about the origin of their race. In a period during which it was a fashion to call oneself Āryan, both claimed Āryan descent, and the latter even called themselves Bharatar, instead of Paravas. The Indus Valley inscriptions clearly show that their ancient name was *Parava*. They had nothing to be ashamed of in being Dravidians.

THE DATE OF KĀLIKĀPURĀṆA—BEFORE 1000 A.D.

BY

P. K. GODE, M.A.,

Curator, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

Mr. Payne in his work on the *Śāktas*¹ makes the following references to the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*²:—

Page 9—"a fourteenth century document".

Page 46—"seems to have been written about the 14th century".

Page 86—(*Kālikātantra*)—"14th century".

Whatever be the evidence on which Mr. Payne has based his date—"14th century" for the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, it does not affect my evidence for an earlier date for this work, which I intend

1. *The Śāktas* (Oxford University Press, 1933).

2. Aufrecht (*Cata. Catalogorum*), records the following MSS of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*:—Part I, p. 98 (b)—*Kālikāpurāṇa* or *Kālīpurāṇa* or *Caṇḍīpurāṇa*—Jones 406. Mack 49, 1.0.1515, W. p. 127, Oxf. 78. Paris (B. 2, 3). L. 149, 173. K. 22. Kh. 64. B. 2, 4. Bén. 56. Bik. 200. Tub 13. Kāṭm 2, Pheh. 4. Oudh V, 2, VIII, 4. Burnell 187a. D 2.

—Part III, p. 22—AK. 118. AS p. 41 (3 MSS) BC 388. CS 4, 13, 14, I.O., 919, 952, 1515, 2563 (fr) 2943, Tb 50, 51 Lz 1290, 8, AK 212.

The following printed editions of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* have so far been published:—

(1) By Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, 1907 in Poṭhi form.

(2) "*Kālikāpurāṇa*—An *uṇa-purāṇa* in 90 chapters on the cult of Durgā, ascribed to the Sage Mārkaṇḍeya. With Bengali translation by Pañchānan Tarkaratna (Ch. 1—26, 80-83, 90) and Hṛṣikeśa Śāstrī and others (Ch. 27-79, 84-89). Edited by the former p. i, i, ii, 587 Calcutta, 1910" (see *Brit. Museum Cata. of Sans., Pāli and Prākṛta books* (1906-1928) by Barnett, pub. 1928, London).

to record in this note. Śivānanda Sarasvatī in his work, called the *Yogacintāmaṇi*,¹ which is a compilation of texts on yoga, quotes many times from the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, but as he is a late author² this evidence is not of much value in the present inquiry. The late character of the *Yogacintāmaṇi*³ is proved by its reference to Vidyāraṇya, which only proves that Śivānanda flourished after 1400 A. D. or so.

Better evidence for pushing back Mr. Payne's date for the *Kālikāpurāṇa* by at least 200 years, if not more, is furnished by the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, a work on *Dharmaśāstra* compiled by Hemādri, the minister of the Yādava Kings of Devagiri,⁴ viz., (1) Mahādeva (1260-1270) and his successor (Rāmacandra (1271-1309). Hemādri includes in this work many extracts from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* in the *Vratakhanda*.⁵ These extracts are ushered in as from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* as follows:—

Page 151—“इति कालिकापुराणोक्तं चतुर्दशीशागरणव्रतम्”

„ 180—“ इति कालिकापुराणोक्तं ईशानव्रतम् ”

„ 332—“कालिकापुराणोक्तं कालरात्रिव्रतम्”

„ 381—“कालिकापुराणोक्तं महाव्रतम्”

„ 972—“कालिकापुराणात् ”

„ 992—“कालिकापुराणात्”

1. *Yogacintāmaṇi*, Calcutta Edition, pp. 165, 176, 186, 195 etc.

2. Vide my article on the *Date of Yogacintāmaṇi*. (*Yoga* monthly, Bombay, 1936).

3. A work *Yogacintāmaṇi* is quoted in *Hathasaṅketacandrikā*, which also quotes the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (See Hall's *Bibliography of Indian Philosophical Systems*, Calcutta, 1859, p. 17-18, No. XXXIV). Hall states that *Hathasaṅketacandrikā* is a work by Sundaradeva, son of Viśvanāthadeva. They were of the Kāśyapagotra and were Marahaṭṭas of Benares. Sundaradeva's spiritual guide was one Pūrṇānanda, if this be a human designation.

4. Kane: *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 354-359.

5. *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (Bib. Ind.) Calcutta, 1879, Vol. II, pp. 151, 180, 332, 381, 972, 992.

Hemādri has drawn his extracts from numerous *purāṇas*¹, old and new, to make up his *Vratakhanda* of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and we have nothing in the nature of these extracts to challenge their genuine character. Hemādri's references to and quotations from the *Kālikāpurāṇa*² in the 2nd half of the 13th century disestablish Mr. Payne's date "14th century" for it and establish at the same time an earlier limit for it, viz., the 12th century. At any rate the work is older than A.D. 1200.

Other evidence in support of the above limit fixed by me for the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* is furnished by a work on *Dharmaśāstra*. The *Ācārādarśa* of Śrīdatta Upādhyāya, a manual of daily religious duties of the followers of the White Yajurveda (Vājasaneyins), names among other works the *Kālikāpurāṇa*³. According to Mr. Kane⁴, Śrīdatta "composed

1. These *purāṇas* are:—(1) *Ādipurāṇa* (2) *Ādityapurāṇa* (3) *Kālikāpurāṇa* (4) *Kālotarapurāṇa* (5) *Kūrmapurāṇa* (6) *Gargapurāṇa* (7) *Gāruḍapurāṇa* (8) *Devīpurāṇa* (9) *Narasimhapurāṇa* (10) *Nāradyapurāṇa* (11) *Nṛsimhapurāṇa* (12) *Padma P.* (13) *Brahmāṇḍa P.* (14) *Brahmavaivarta P.* (15) *Bhaviṣya P.* (16) *Brahma P.* (17) *Bhaviṣyottara P.* (18) *Bhaviṣot P.* (19) *Bhaviṣyat P.* (20) *Bhaviṣyottara P.* (21) *Matsya P.* (22) *Mahābhārata P.* (23) *Yājñavalkya P.* (24) *Varāha P.* (25) *Vāyu P.* (26) *Liṅga P.* (27) *Viṣṇudharma P.* (28) *Viṣṇudharmottara P.* (29) *Viṣṇudharma P.* (30) *Viṣṇu P.* (31) *Viṣṇurahasya* (32) *Śivadharmā* (33) *Śivadharmottara* (34) *Sauradharmā* (35) *Saura P.* (36) *Skandha P.* (37) *Skandhamahākāla Khanda* (See K.A. Padhye's *Life of Hemādri*, Bombay 1931 (in Marāṭhī) pp. 47-51, where a complete list of the *Vratas* from the above works included by Hemādri in his *Vratakhanda* has been recorded).

A very useful list of *Purāṇa* works (printed editions) will be found in the *Union List of Indic Texts etc. in American Libraries* (Ame. Ori. Society) 1935. pp. 76-86 (Nos. 749-875).

2. See Kane: *Hist. of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 163 ff.—Mr. Kane states that the eighteen principal *purāṇas* are rich in *dharmaśāstra* material, so also the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Saurapurāṇa*. *Kālikāpurāṇa* (88) contains material pertaining to *ācāra*. "Some of the extant *purāṇas*, if not all, are much earlier than the 6th century A. D."

3. Kane: *Hist. of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. I, p. 363.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

his works between 1275 and 1310 A. D." It is clear, therefore, that he was a contemporary of Hemādri and hence we have two references to the *Kālikāpurāṇa*: one in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* and the other in the *Ācārādarśa*, both the works being treatises on *Dharmaśāstra*, composed by two different authors who were contemporaries.

A third writer on *Dharmaśāstra*, viz. Anantadeva (1675-1700),¹ refers to some verses in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*² and the *Vyavahāramayūkha* of Nilakaṇṭha (1610-1645 A. D.)³ contains some remarks on them. Kamalākaraḥṭṭa⁴ (1612 A. D.) regards these verses as genuine.⁵ These references collected by Mr. Kane show clearly how the *Kālikāpurāṇa* came to be looked upon as an authority on certain points of *Dharmaśāstra* in centuries subsequent to the date of its composition, though primarily it was looked upon as a *tantra* work by the Śāktas.

Alberuni (11th century) gives us a list⁶ of the 18 *purāṇas* which of course does not contain the *Kālikāpurāṇa*. A writer of Alberuni's historical sense and regard for accuracy of detail would not have failed to note the *Kālikāpurāṇa* had it been very popular in his time in India. This view is also consistent with the view expressed by Farquhar⁷ that the Śākta philosophy attained recognition about the 10th century. Mr. Farquhar, however, makes the following remarks about the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*⁸ :—

1. Kane: *History of Dharma Śāstra*, Vol. I, p. 453.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 448—"एषां वचसां बहुषु कालिकापुराणपुस्तकेषु अदर्शनात्" etc.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 440.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 574.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 448, f.n. 1118.

6. *Alberuni's India*, ed. by Dr. E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, (1914) pp. 130-131—"The Purāṇas are of human origin composed by the so-called Rishis". The names of purāṇas were heard by Alberuni and committed to writing by dictation. He had only "seen portions of the *Matsya*-, *Āditya*- and *Vāyu-Purāṇas*".

7. *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 266-7. The Śākta systems began to appear from about the 6th cent. A. D. (pp. 167 ff.). The Śākta Upaniṣads began to appear not much earlier than the 10th century A. D.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 354, See also pp. 372, and 389 where *Kālikāpurāṇa* has been included among the *Later Tantras* written in

"The *Kālikāpurāṇa* or *Tantra*, which has long been well known, is clearly a manual of the Śāktism of Bengal¹ and probably comes from a date near the beginning of the period." The period to which the *Kālikāpurāṇa* has been assigned by Mr. Farquhar is the period of "*Muslim Influence*, A. D. 1350-1800" and the beginning of this period means the 14th century (2nd half). Consequently the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* would, according to Mr. Farquhar, be roughly the 14th century. Our evidence as recorded above proves, however, that the work was composed before A. D. 1200, if not earlier.

Since the foregoing evidence regarding the limits for the date of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* was recorded by me, my friend Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras has favoured me with an earlier reference to this purāṇa occurring in the *Bharatabhāṣya* of King Nānyadeva. The Govt. MSS. Library at the B. O. R. Institute possesses a rare MS. of this work, viz. No. 111 of 1869-70. The reference to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* appears as under on folio 132a of this MS:—"इति गो(रो)विंदकं समाप्तं ॥ छ ॥ कालिकाख्यपुराणे । यत्पुराणे पुरुषेरितं ॥ रोविंदकामिधं गीतं नान्यमहीभुजा । इति रोविंदकं प्रोक्तं स्यादुत्तरमतः परम्" ॥

King Nānyadeva, the author of the *Bharatabhāṣya*, has been identified by Mr. M. R. Kavi² with King Nānyadeva of Mithilā who flourished between A. D. 1097 and 1133. Prof. R. C. Mujumdar³ who has utilised Mr. Kavi's findings regarding Nānyadeva's *Bharatabhāṣya* states that "M. Sylvain Levi was the first to establish on a satisfactory basis that the accession of the

Bengal. See *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*, ii, 134, 491 and English Translation of the *Rudhirādhyāya* or Blood Chapter by Blaquiére in *Asiatic Researches*, V.

1. As regards *Kālī Cult* in South India and especially in Malabar, vide article on "*Kālī cult in Kerala*" by H. H. Kerala Varma Thampuran (p. 75 ff.) in the *Bulletin No. 4 of Shri Rama Varma Research Institute*, 1936—"There is not a single town, nay not even a single village, locality or even a residential unit, where there is not a temple dedicated to Goddess Kālī" (p. 75).

2. *Jour. Andhra His. Res. Society*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 55-63.

3. *Ind. His. Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 679-689—article on "*King Nānyadeva of Mithilā*".

king falls in 1097 A. D."¹ Prof. Mujumdar also states that the question of Nānyadeva's date may be regarded as finally settled.

In view of Nānyadeva's reference to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* towards the close of the 11th century we can safely fix 1000 A. D. as the limit before which this purāṇa must have been composed and await earlier references to this work from scholars interested in the chronology of the purāṇas.

1. *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 197, f. n. 3.

THE KALIṄGA WARS OF THE REIGN OF KULÖTTUṄGA

BY

PROF. K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI,
University of Madras.

In the numerous inscriptions of the long reign of Kulōttuṅga I there are two sets of references to expeditions against Kaliṅga. First, we have a number of them in inscriptions of the 26th year¹ and later, in which we are told that Kulōttuṅga subdued the Kaliṅgamaṇḍalam. Then we have a longer account in inscriptions from the 42nd year² according to which the Cōḷa army crossed the Vēṅgī territory, destroyed the elephant corps that was set by the enemy to oppose its march, spread fire across the enemy country of Kaliṅgam, killed in the fight many powerful leaders of the Kaliṅga army, whose heads rolled on the battlefield, pecked by kites, and in the end subdued the seven Kaliṅgas.

We have in the *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi* a whole poem devoted to the war against Kaliṅga waged on behalf of Kulōttuṅga against Anantavarman of Kaliṅga by the valiant Pallava chieftain Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ. Of this Toṇḍamāṇ and his achievements we get many interesting details in an inscription from Drākṣārāma to which Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has drawn pointed attention recently by editing it in *Epigraphia Indica*.³

It is a moot question how many Kaliṅga wars were waged in Kulōttuṅga's reign, and which one of these formed the subject of the *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi*. After a careful consideration of all

1. S.I.I., 372, 304 of 1907, 463 of 1911, etc.

2. S.I.I., 608 of 1904, 44 of 1891, 363 of 1899, etc.

3. E.I.I., Vol. XXII, p. 130 ff.

The inscription is No. 349 of 1893.

The Bhīmēśvara temple of Drākṣārāma from which the inscription comes is situated, not in Ganjam District as Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has stated, but in Godavari as correctly mentioned in S.I.I., Vol. IV.

the evidence available, I have reached the conclusion¹ that the brief references in the inscriptions of the 26th and subsequent years of his reign relate to a war in which the chief part was taken by Vikramacōḷa, then still a young man, as may be gathered from the inscriptions of Vikramacōḷa's reign (*aimbaḍaiṭ-ṭaruvam*); and that the longer account of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga dating from the 42nd regnal year relates to the invasion which is celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, and in which Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ covered himself with glory.

In his edition of the Drākṣārāma inscription, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar attempts to show that the war in which the Toṇḍamāṇ played a prominent part and which is celebrated by Jayaṅgoṇḍār in the Paraṇi was waged very early in the reign of Kulōttuṅga, somewhere about 1075-1078, and that the enemy against whom Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ waged war was primarily the Eastern Gaṅga king, Rājarāja, though it is possible that he was assisted by his son, the crown prince Anantavarmaṇ Cōḍa Gaṅga.

Before proceeding to set forth the arguments on which Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar bases his conclusion, it would be useful to furnish a detailed analysis of the Drākṣārāma inscription. It opens with a verse in praise of Kulōttuṅga Cōḍa (very fragmentary and ill-preserved); (*ll.* 1 to 3). Then it gives the usual Eastern Cālukya titles of Kulōttuṅga I and his regnal year 33 (*ll.* 3 to 4). After a short gap we get a passage celebrating the Cōḍamaṇḍalam, Tirunaṛaiyūr-nāḍu in it, and the village Maṇḍalañjēri in that nāḍu (*ll.* 4 to 6). Then we have one verse in praise of Śīriḷaṅgō (*l.* 6). His son was Tiruvaraṅga, a good Vaiṣṇava, who made his fortune in the service of Rājendra Cōḍa (*ll.* 6 to 7). Then occur four verses in praise of the heroism of this chieftain in war (*ll.* 7 to 11). Of these four verses three are quite general and give no information of historical value, except the fact that he had also the name Vaṇḍuvarāja. The last verse, however, is important, and deserves to be reproduced here.

Bhasmikṛtya KALIṅGA-deśam akhilaṁ nirjjitya
GĀṆGA(M) raṇe

Bhaṇ(k)tvā Kosala-khaṇḍavāla-nivahair (DĒ)VENDRA-
VARM-ādikān|

1. I have set forth the evidence and stated my arguments for these conclusions in the Second Volume of my work on the Cōḷas (to be soon published), and these need not be repeated here.

Virah PALLAVARĀJA ity-abhihitō Rājendra-Cōḍa-prabhōḥ

kīrtty-uttambham iv ŌḌRA-sandhiṣu jayastambham śubha(rī) nyakṣipat ||¹

The inscription concludes by mentioning the construction of a stone temple to Viṣṇu in the village Ālavely, and the endowments made by the Pallava-rāja to that temple.

We may turn now to the arguments of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar. He seeks to show that the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the Drākṣārāma inscription refer to one and the same Kaliṅga war, before he takes up the question regarding the date of the war; but a careful perusal of his demonstration will show that all that is established by him amounts to this—that the chieftain mentioned in the Drākṣārāma inscription is also the chieftain who led the expedition against Kaliṅga according to the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. But this is a self-evident proposition which needs no proof. There is only one sentence in the whole of the argument which refers directly to the question at issue, *viz.*, whether the *Paraṇi* and the inscription refer to one and the same war against Kaliṅga; and this sentence unfortunately begs the question. It runs as follows: "Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded Kaliṅga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kāñcī while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kaliṅga country, defeated the Gaṅga in battle and destroyed Dēvēndravarmaṇ and others with the help of Kōsala".² But what proof is there that the expedition sent by the king from Kāñcī was the one in which Dēvēndravarmaṇ was destroyed?

In discussing the date of the war, Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar casts a doubt on the chronological value of the order in which historical events are mentioned in the *praśastis* of Kulōttuṅga I, and then says, "If the capture of Kaliṅga mentioned in the 26th year record (A.D. 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kaliṅga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A.D. 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and referred to in the Drākṣārāma inscription has to be assigned to a

1. E. I., Vol. XXII, pp. 143-44.

2. *Ibid*, p. 140.

much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel".¹ This statement is valuable as admitting the possibility of several expeditions against Kāliṅga in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. It seeks to distinguish the expedition led by the king himself from that led by his general Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar emphasises the fact that the *Paraṇi* is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñcī when Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ led his expedition; and as the inscriptions of the later years of Kulōttuṅga describe the war as a direct achievement of the king himself, he argues that the war must have been different from the one waged by the general. This argument is, to say the least, highly doubtful; for it implies that the *praśastis* do not include any historical events in which the king had no personal part, a position obviously untenable. Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar himself doubts the historical value of the *praśastis* in the matter of chronological sequence. Will he not consider the possibility that the court poets who composed the *praśastis* gave their patrons credit, and rightly too, for all the achievements by whomsoever effected in the course of the king's reign? It is not the way of royal *praśastis* to divide the credit of particular achievements between the king and his subjects in the exact measure of truth.

The real argument of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar is this: that the Drākṣārāma inscription mentions Dēvēndravarmaṇ as the Kāliṅga opponent of the Toṇḍamāṇ. Dēvēndravarmaṇ was the surname of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja who ruled from 1070 to 1078. A war against Dēvēndravarmaṇ could not have been waged after 1078. So far this argument appears perfectly sound, and it seems to furnish sufficient proof that there was a campaign against the Gaṅga Rājarāja, in which the Toṇḍamāṇ played a prominent part.

But Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar's conclusion is much more than this. He says that the war against Rājarāja was the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. Here he comes across a textual difficulty in the poem. The most recent edition of the poem by Pandit Gopala Aiyar gives the name of Aṇantavarmaṇ in verse 64 of canto 11 of the *Paraṇi*, showing thus that the war waged by Toṇḍamāṇ was not against Rājarāja, but his son Aṇantavarmaṇ Cōḍa Gaṅga. The way in which Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar deals with this difficulty is somewhat surprising. He attacks

1. E.I. Vol. XXII, p. 141.

the reading, questions its correctness, and says that it has no manuscript authority, two earlier editions reading here *adipaṇ vīram* ; but being perhaps not quite sure of his position here, he proceeds to offer an explanation on the basis that the name *Aṇantavarmaṇ* does occur in this verse. He suggests "that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of *Dēvēndravarmaṇ*, his son *Aṇantavarmaṇ* took an active part in it as we do find in many instances ;" that, in fact, *Aṇantavarmaṇ* was recognised as heir apparent in 1074-5 A. D. and assisted his father in resisting the invasion of *Toṇḍamāṇ*. But why on this hypothesis the *Paraṇi* makes no mention of *Rājarāja Dēvēndravarmaṇ* but puts his son in his place is left unexplained.

It is a little unfortunate that Pandit Gopala Aiyar has omitted to give the variant readings for the important verse in which the name *Aṇantavarmaṇ* occurs. The verse runs as follows :—

Antaram-onṛariyāda vaḍa kaliṅgar
Kulavēndaṇ-Aṇantapaṇmaṇ
Vendarukaṇ veguḷiyiṇāl veyduyirttuk
Kaipuḍaittu viyarttu nōkki.

The manuscripts give here three readings for the latter part of the second line : *adipaṇ vīram* as noticed by Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar ; *alanṛu neṇjam*, and *Aṇantapaṇmaṇ*.¹ It seems to me that in a case like this the chances are that a proper name in the original, not correctly understood by the copyist, gave place to general epithets rather than that general epithets gave way to a proper name in course of time. Thus, *Aṇantapaṇmaṇ* was perhaps misread as *adipaṇ vīram*, and as this gave no satisfactory meaning in the context, it was further amended to *alanṛu neṇjam*. It seems to me that Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar is right in having accepted *Aṇantapaṇmaṇ* as a possible reading, though *he* does not seem to have come across any manuscript giving that reading. The *Kaliṅga* war of the *Paraṇi* was against *Aṇantavarmaṇ*, and not his father.

Turning now to the verse in the *Drākṣārāma* inscription, reproduced above, regarding the achievements of the *Toṇḍamāṇ*, what do we find? It comes at the end of a general statement, in three verses, of the heroism of *Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ*, and it

1. Tanjore (208) p. 50 (a) ; Mackenzie Mss. 17-4-10.
Tanjore (210) p. 43 (b).

says that he destroyed the Kalinga country, conquered the Gaṅga king, and subjugated Dēvēndravarman and others, with the aid of a Kōsala army, before he erected a pillar of victory on the Odra frontier. In fact this seems to be the only concrete achievement to be placed to his credit at the time of the inscription. Now, these references to Dēvēndravarman and the Kōsala forces are perhaps best explained by referring them to the campaigns which Kulōttuṅga waged in the north as a Crown Prince in his *Ilāṅgōp-paruvam*, as the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga put it. I have pointed out elsewhere that Kulōttuṅga made himself master of a part of the modern Central Provinces, the region corresponding to Southern Kōsala.¹ This will account for the presence of Kōsala soldiers in the army of the Toṇḍamān. It is well known that Kulōttuṅga had differences with Vijayāditya VII, and that the Gaṅga king Rājarāja took up the cause of Vijayāditya in the early years of Kulōttuṅga's reign, when Kulōttuṅga was himself busy in the south engaged in wars with Cālukya Vikrama VI and the Pāṇḍyas. That there was some fighting between the Cōḷa monarch and the Eastern Gaṅga ruler Rājarāja, at the end of which an amicable settlement was reached by which Kulōttuṅga married Rājasundarī, the daughter of Rājarāja, and Vijayāditya was left in more or less peaceful possession of the Vēṅgī kingdom, becomes clear from the Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja. The Toṇḍamān's campaign in which Kōsala soldiers played a part is best ascribed to these initial years of Kulōttuṅga's reign when Rājarāja was ruler of Kalinga. The war against Anantapaṇman, Rājarāja's son, in which the Toṇḍamān distinguished himself again, was still in the future when the Drākṣārāma inscription was engraved in A. D. 1103.

So far we have assumed with Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyar that Dēvēndravarman was identical with the Eastern Gaṅga ruler Rājarāja. But an inscription discovered recently² in the village of Gāra in the Chicacole taluq of the Ganjam district raises a doubt on this point. The inscription is dated in the seventh year of Dēvēndravarman and in a Śaka year indicated by the phrase *Śarasūrraraśmi*, this phrase is taken to mean Ś. 1005 or Ś. 1125. In either case, the Dēvēndravarman of this inscription cannot be the Eastern Gaṅga Rājarāja who came to the throne

1. *The Cōḷas*. Vol. I, Chap. 12.

2. 391 of 1933 ARE, 1933, II 9.

in Ś. 992. Either we must assume that Aṇantavarman Cōḍa-
gaṅga also had the surname Dēvēndravarmaṇ, or, what is more
probable, that Dēvēndravarmaṇ was a feudatory of the Gaṅgas
who was so called after the surname of Rājarāja. The way in
which 'Dēvēndravarma and others' are mentioned in the verse
from the Drākṣārāma inscription (cited above) lends support to
the latter assumption. If this view is correct, the Drākṣārāma
inscription may mean no more than that Karuṇākara Toṇḍamāṇ
was for a time the Cōḷa viceroy in Kaliṅga, and that he kept the
peace of the Cōḷa king in that part of the Cōḷa empire by under-
taking punitive expeditions whenever there was need to do so.
Even this conclusion does not affect the chronological position
of the Kaliṅga war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparāṇi*.

VESTIGES OF THE DRAMA IN EARLY TAMIL LITERATURE.

BY

V. NARAYANAN, M.A., M.L.,

Asst. Editor, The Tamil Lexicon, University of Madras.

By Early Tamil Literature is meant all the Tamil works which the medieval commentators have quoted from. They include, among other works, *Irāma-caritam*, *Pāṇḍava-caritam*, *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*, *Eṭṭu-t-tokai*, *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu*, *Patiṇ-eṇ-kīl-k-kaṇakkū*, *Cintāmaṇi*, *Maṇimēkalai* and *Cilappatikāram*.

Drama, in the modern sense of the term, probably never existed in the Tamil country during this period. But from the earliest days, the Tamil land has been noted for its *muttu* (pearl) and *mu-t-tamiḷ* (the three Tamils). The pearls probably suggested the *muttakam* verses (separate gems of verse) and the stringing of them in garlands of *antāti* and *kōvai*. And the *Mu-t-tamiḷ* classification of *Iyal*, *Icai* and *Nāṭakam* presupposes the existence of dramatic literature. The commentators refer to several works on the grammar of the Drama or *Nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ*, none of them now extant. One of these commentators, *Aṭiyārkkū-nallār* considers *Cilappatikāram* as an example of a work on *Mu-t-tamiḷ*. This statement supports the view that *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ* or passages in the language of the drama may occur in narrative poems and epics. There is a class of works called *tonmai*, defined in *Tolkāppiyam* as consisting of verse passages largely intermixed with prose passages and dealing with old stories. The commentaries on the *Sūtra* of *Tolkāppiyam* defining *tonmai* refer to *Irāma-caritam* (the Life of Rāma), *Pāṇḍava-caritam* (the Life of the Pāṇḍavas) and *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* (the expedition against *Takaṭūr*) as examples of *tonmai* works. The verse passages in these works were, in all probability, in *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ* (the language of the drama). Apparently, in those early days, the drama had not developed into a distinct literary form; and in *Nāṭaka-k-kūttu* (dramatic performances), the speeches of the characters were extracted from narrative poems or epics and recited by the actors, who assumed the garbs of those characters, to the accompani-

ment of music and dance. And the poets wrote narrative poems probably with an eye to the dialogues being used for such dramatic representation. In these dramatic performances, the story was told by a character or by a chorus, (the fore-runner of the *kaṭṭiya-k-kūran* of the later day *teru-k-kūttū*) who spoke in prose for the benefit of the audience. In some of these play-poems perhaps, this character was part of the story.¹ The reference to *Kamṣa-nāṭakam* in the commentaries on the *Vaiṣṇava Divya Prabandhas* and the practice of the *Cākkiyar*² giving dramatic representations of *Kamṣa-Rāmāyaṇam*³ are valuable evidences in support of the statement that narrative poems or *toṭar-nilai-c-ceyyuḷ* were considered as furnishing examples of *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ* in portions capable of being extracted for dramatic representation.

Reference may also be made, in this connection, to the following lines of a *Puram* song (*Pura-nānūru*, 29):

விழவிற்

கோடியர் நீர்மை போல முறைமுறை

யாடுநர் கழியுமில் வலகத்துக் கூடிய

நகைப்புற னுகநின் சுற்ற

மிசைப்புற னாக நீ யோம்பிய பொருளே.

The commentary on these lines runs as follows: விழவின் கண் ஆடுந்குத்தரது வேறுபட்ட கோலம்போல அடைவடைவே தோன்றி இயங்கி இறந்துபோகின்ற இவ்வலகத்தின்கண் பொருந்திய மகிழ்ச்சியிடத் தாக நின்னுடைய கிளை; புகழிடத்தாக, நீ பாதுகாத்த பொருள்.

This may be rendered as,

“ In this world of things which appear, move about and pass away in due order, like the characters assumed by the dancers at a festival, may your kith and kin have lasting joy; and may the treasures under your care and protection attain lasting fame.”

1. The passages in the *Puram* anthology relating to *Kō-p-peruñcōlan*'s renunciation are, in all probability, extracts from a narrative poem on the subject, the *cāṇṇōr* playing a definite part in the narrative, besides serving as chorus.

2. MS of a *Cākkiyar* play on the *Sūrpaṇakhā* episode based on Kampan's poem is with Mr. P. N. Appuswami Iyer, Advocate, Mylapore, Madras.

3. It appears that the *Kamparāmāyaṇam* forms the recitation accompanying the shadow-play in some places in Trivandrum.

We have, in this passage, a reference to all the several elements of a drama—characters, costume, make-up, gesture and action, appearance upon and disappearance from the stage, of the characters of a play.

These *nāṭaka-k-kūttū* or dramatic performances did not however attempt any realistic representation. They were, on the contrary, definitely idealistic and were solely intent on bringing out the several *mey-p-pāṭu* and elucidating the different *rasas* or emotions; costume and make-up, gesture, music and dance were all intended to serve this main purpose. As narrative poems and plays alike could achieve this purpose of delineation of the *rasas*, there was no need for clear-cut sub-divisions of the Poetic Art into two different types—narrative poetry and dramatic poetry. Narrative poems and epics, (*Toṭar-nilai-c-ceyyu!*) and Campū-Kāvya dealing with tales of long ago (*Ṭonmai*) could alike be in large portions in *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ*, furnishing passages for being extracted and used as texts for dramatic representations at festivals or on memorial occasions before kings, chieftains or other patrons. Therefore we have not only to examine the *Cilappatikāram* for examples of *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ* and to extend our investigations to possible or probable extracts from *ṭonmai* works whose names are handed down to us, viz., *Irāma-caritam*, *Pāṇḍava-caritam* and *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*, but also to examine the poetic pieces of the eight anthologies *Eṭṭu-t-tokai* and the colophons thereto and the commentaries, if any, thereon, with a view to ascertaining whether or not they are extracts from *toṭar-nilai-c-ceyyu!* or long continuous poems, made for the purpose of dramatic representation.

Before doing so, a few extracts from the commentaries on *Tolkāppiyam* pertinent to the subject may be considered.

(1) நாடகவழக்காவது, சவைபட வருவன வெல்லாம் ஓரிடத்து வந்தனவாகத் தொகுத்துக் கூறுதல். அஃதாவது, செல்வத்தானும் குலத்தானும் ஒழுக்கத்தானும் அன்பினனும் ஒத்தார் இருவராய்த் தமரின் நீங்கித் தனியிடத்து எதிர்ப்பட்டார் எனவும், அவ்வழிக் கொடுப்பாரும் அடுப்பாருமின்றி வேட்கை மிகுதியாற் புணர்ந்தார் எனவும், பின்னும் அவர் களவொழுக்கம் நடத்தி இலக்கணவகையான் வரைந்து எய்தினார் எனவும் பிறவும் இந் நிகரனவாகிச் சவைபட வருவன வெல்லாம் ஒருங்கு வந்தனவாகக் கூறுதல். (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 56, இளம். உரை.)

This passage may be rendered thus:—

Dramatic usage (*nāṭaka-valakkū*) means bringing together, in one context, all delectable features such as that a

lover and his beloved were equal in wealth, status, virtue, nobility of birth, and love, that they were both accidentally separated from their companions and met alone in a lonely place, that they came together because of their excessive love, that later on they continued in their *kaḷavu* or secret love in accordance with the rules of literary convention and that they ultimately married—these and other features being narrated as happening to the couple in question by the grouping together (by the poet) of all the delectable details (of the progress of love) in one episode.

(2) இவ்வதிகாரத்து 'நாடக வழக்கு' என்பன, புணர்ச்சி உலகிற்குப் பொதுவாயினும் மலைசார்ந்து நிகழுமென்றும் காலம் வரைந்தும் உயர்ந்தோர் காமத்துக்குரியன வரைந்தும் மெய்ப்பாடு தோன்றப் பிறவாறுங் கூறுஞ்செய்யுள் வழக்காம். (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 53, நச். உரை.)

This passage means:—

Dramatic usage (*nūṭaka-valakkū*) means, in this chapter, the poetic usage which states that, though sexual union is a common feature of all the tracts of the land, yet it takes place only in the hilly tracts, and which fixes appropriate seasons therefor and sets up the progress of love among the noble-minded as the standard, such poetic usage serving to bring out the *mey-p-pāṭu* or expression of emotion.

(3) இச்செய்யுள் வழக்கினை நாடகவழக்கென மேற்கூறினார், எவ்விடத்தும் எக்காலத்தும் ஒப்ப நிகழும் உலகியல்போலாது, உள்ளேன் தலைவனாக இல்லது புணர்த்தன்முதலாகப் புணந்துரைவகையாற்கூறும் நாடக விலக்கணம்போல யாதானு மொரோவழி ஒருசாரார்மாட்டு உலகியலான் நிகழும் ஒழுக்கத்தினை எல்லார்க்கும் பொதுவாக்கி இடமுங்காலமும் நியமித்துச் செய்யுள் செய்தலை ஒப்புமை நோக்கி. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 3, நச். உரை.)

This passage shows that *Tolkāppiyam* calls this poetic usage *nūṭaka-valakkū* or 'dramatic usage', because of the similarity of 'poetic usage' to 'dramatic usage' in the following details, (1) the description of fictitious details with embellishments (2) the attribution of the special excellences and characteristics of a select few and their noble conduct and behaviour to all and sundry and (3) the limiting of the activities of individual characters to the (conventionally) appropriate places, times and situations.

These passages show, incidentally, the true nature of the *tiṇai* conventions and their non-relation to facts of actual life. They state that the object of the *tiṇai* classification, as of other poetic conventions, is solely the elucidation of emotion or

mey-p-pāṭu and that consequently *ceyyuḷ-valakku* (the rules of Poetry) and *nāṭaka-valakku* (the rules of Drama) are synonymous terms.

From these passages, one understands why, in Tamil, 'Drama' did not develop as a distinct literary form. We have in consequence to look for the elements of Drama in the poems and anthologies of early Tamil literature.

Before referring to the elements of the drama in the *Eṭṭu-t-tokai* or 'the Eight Anthologies', the complete narrative poems or epics now extant may be first considered.

Cintāmaṇi does not contain many passages which can with modification be used for dramatic purposes.

The dramatic form of many passages in *Cilappatikāram* is emphasised by its commentator *Aṭiyārkkū-nallār*, who says that passages in the poem justify their being cited as examples of *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ*. The *Kōvalaṇ* story has in consequence been a favourite play from the early days of the Tamil drama.

In *Maṇimēkalai* also, there are a few passages of dramatic value. The reference to this poem as *Maṇi-mēkalai-tuṟavu* has some significance in this connection.

But a detailed examination of these three poems with a view to determining which portions of them are *nāṭaka-t-tamiḷ* is beyond the scope of this paper.

The three *tonmai* works whose names are known to us (*Irāma-caritam*, *Pāṇṭava-caritam* and *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*) may be considered next. The available extracts from these works in *Pura-t-tirattu*¹ (portions of which anthology have been published by Pandit S. Somasundara Desikar of the Tamil Lexicon Office, University of Madras) and in the commentaries² are sufficient evidence of the dramatic quality of several of these passages.

A few passages from *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* cited in the commentary on *Tolkāppiyam* may be cited as examples, with the notes thereon by the commentator *Nacciṇārkkiniyar*:—

நாளும் புள்ளுந் கேளா ளுக்கமொ
டெங்கோ னேயினன் ஆதலின் யாமத்துச்
செங்கால் வெட்சியுந் தினையுந் தூஉய்

1. The entire anthology is being published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, University of Madras.

2. There is a passage, for example, from *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* cited in the commentary on *Takka-yāka-p-parai*.

மறிக்குரற் குருதி மன்றுதுக ளவிப்ப

விரிச்சி யோர்த்தல் வேண்டா

வெயிற்புறந் தருதும்யாம் பகைப்புல நிரையே.

இது விரிச்சி விலக்கிய வீரக் குறிப்பு. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 58, ௩௪. உரை.)

This passage may be rendered thus:—

‘Our chief has gone (in advance) with an enthusiasm which will not consider the auspicious hours or consult the omens; therefore, there is no need to consult the omens by spilling the blood of goats and thereby allaying the dust of the public place and by scattering (in ceremonial rite) the *tiṇai* grain and the red-footed *veṭci* flowers. We shall anon bring, to the esplanade outside our fort, the herds of cattle grazing in the pastures of the enemy country.’

And the note runs: “This is an expression of heroism which disregards omens.”

This passage is stated to be an extract from *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*. Other extracts from *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* have such notes as:—
இது கண்டார் கூற்று. (This is the speech of the spectators.) இது
மறவர் கூற்று. (This is the speech of the soldiers). One of these
extracts, with the note of the commentator thereon, is very
significant. The note is as follows:—

இது சேரமான் பொன்முடியாரையும் அரிசில்கிழாரையும் நோக்கித்
தன் படை பட்ட தன்மை கூறக் கேட்டோற்கு அவர் கூறியது. (தொல்.
பொருள். சூ. 67, ௩௪. உரை.)

‘This is the speech, in answer, of *Poṇ-muṭiyār* and *Aricil-kilār*,¹ when they were asked by *Cēramāṇ* to describe to him how his army suffered a defeat.’

Poṇ-muṭiyār and *Aricil-kilār* in this passage are characters in *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*. These names occur in the colophons to some of the poems of the anthology *Pura-nāṇūṟu*. An examination of

1. A speech by two persons at once is uncommon in actual life, but quite common in play and in narrative poems—a fact which can be safely utilised for determining whether a speech in verse is to be attributed to an individual of that name or to a character in a poem or drama. This criterion is specially valuable, as the anthologists and the commentators seldom indicate whether they are extracting the illustrative passages from longer poems, the distinction between poets and characters in poems being immaterial for their purposes.

the pieces extracted in that anthology under these two names¹ shows that they are relatable to the story of *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* and are therefore probably extracts of speeches of those two characters of that work. A scrutiny of the several pieces attributed to *Auvaīyār* in the *Purāṇa* anthology leads to a strong inference that they are also extracts of speeches by *Auvaīyār*, a character in *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*.²

The following are examples of references to *Irāma-caritam* and *Pāṇṭava-caritam* in the commentaries.

(1) இவை தனித்து வாராது தொடர்நிலைச்செய்யுட்கண் வரும்; அவை தகடூர்யாத்திரையினும் பாரதத்தினும் காண்க. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 72, நச். உரை.)

Such passages as these do not occur as separate poems but occur in long narrative poems. They are to be seen in *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* and *Pāratam* (another name, apparently, for *Pāṇṭava-caritam*).

(2) அரசன் தூதுசேறல் பாரதத்து வாசுதேவன் தூது சென்றவாற்றால் உணர்க. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 26, நச். உரை.)

That a king could be an ambassador is seen in of *Vāsudēva* going as an ambassador in *Bhārata*. (The reference is to Kṛṣṇa going to Dhuryodhana's court as *dūta* in the Tamil *Bhārata* also.)

(3) இராமன் இலங்கை கொள்வதன் முன் வீடணற்குக் கொடுத்த துறையும் அது. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 67, நச். உரை.)

The theme of the giving of *Laṅkā* to *Vibhīṣaṇa* by *Rāma* before taking possession of it is also an example of the same theme.

(4) அது குருகுல வேந்தனைக் குறக்கறுத்த ஞான்று இரவு ஊரெறிந்து பாஞ்சாலரையும் பஞ்சவர் மக்களவரையுங் கொன்று வென்றி கொண்ட அச்சுவத்தாமாவின் போர்த்தொழில் போல்வன.....இப்பாரதப் பாட்டினுள் அவ்வாறாதல் காண்க. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 72, நச். உரை.)

This theme is illustrated by the acts of war of *Accuva-tāmā* when he triumphed over the enemies, on the night when the

1. The song *Pura-nānūru* 146 seems to be an apparent exception. *Aricil-kilār* intercedes with *Pēkaṇ* on behalf of *Pēkaṇ*'s wife *Kaṇṇaki*; but the *Pēkaṇ-Kaṇṇaki* story may, after all, be an episode in *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*, in which case there is no need to postulate an *Aricil-kilār* other than the character in *Takaṭūr-yāttirai*.

2. The author of this paper is attempting a reconstruction of the work *Takaṭūr-yāttirai* by finding the extracts therefrom in the anthologies and the commentaries and collating them.

king of the *Kuru* race was felled in the thigh, by destroying the city and killing the Pāñcālas and the five children of the Pāṇḍavas. (Then the illustrative passage is extracted.) Note that the theme is illustrated by this *Pārata-p-pāttu* (poetical passage from *Bhārata*).

Another extract, apparently from the Tamil Rāmāyaṇa, is preceded by this remark:—

அது பாதனும் பார்த்தனும்போல்வார் அரசுதறந்த வென்றி. (தொல். பொருள். சூ. 76, நச். உரை.) (This theme is illustrated by the heroic renunciation of kingship by persons like *Bharata* and *Pārtha*.)

And to the excerpt which describes the renunciation of kingship by *Bharata* is appended this note.—இஃது அரசுகட்டி னீத்தபால். (This is the theme of renunciation of the throne.)

There are two songs in the *Pura-nāṇūru* collection which can be assigned to *Pāṇṭava-caritam*. One of them (*Puram*, 366) is addressed to *Taruma-puttiraṇ*, according to the colophon; he is addressed as *aṟavōṇ-makaṇ* in the song; and the colophon says that the song is the speech of *Kautamaṇār*. It is ridiculous to postulate a Tamil King *Taruma-puttiraṇ* with an *Aṟavōṇ* as his father; and if the poem is addressed to *Yudhiṣṭhira*, then *Gautama* who addresses him in Tamil verse is also a character in a Tamil poem along with *Taruma-puttiraṇ*. The other piece of the *Puram* anthology has the colophon: சேரமான் பெருஞ்சேற்று உதியன் சேரலாதனை முரஞ்சியூர் முடிநாகராயர் பாடியது: Sung by *Murañciyūr-muṭi nāka-rāyar* about *cēramāṇ-ṭeruṇ-cōṟru-Utiyan Cēralātaṇ*. The theme according to the colophon is either *cevi-y-arivurū*¹ or *vāḷṭṭiyal*. The author of the colophon apparently is not certain whether this song is an example of 'advice given by a great man' or 'blessing'. There is a significant passage in the commentary of *Naccinārkkinīyar* on *Tolkāppiyam* relating to the colophonist of *Pura-nāṇūru* who indicated the themes illustrated:

தத்தம் புது நூல் வழிகளாற் புறநானூற்றிற்குத் துறை கூறினானும் அகத்தியமுந் தொல்காப்பியமுமே தொகைகளுக்கு நூலாகலின் அவர் சூத்திரப் பொருளாகத் துறை கூறவேண்டு மென்றுணர்க.²

Although they indicated the themes to the *Pura-nāṇūru* songs according to their new grammars, yet the grammars for the

1. These terms are defined in *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷ. Sūtra*. 424-6.

2. *Tol. Poruḷ*, 90, *Nacci*.

Tokai works or anthologies being only *Akattiyam* and *Tolkāppiyam*, it must be remembered that themes must be in accordance with their *Sūtras* (i.e., the *Sūtras* of *Akattiyam* and *Tolkāppiyam*).

Naccinārkkiniyar accordingly differs from this colophon and cites this song as an example of *ōmpatai* in these words:—

பகை நிலத்தரசற்குப் பயந்தவாறு கூறிப் பின்னர்த் 'திரியாச்சுற்ற மொடு விளங்கி நடுக்கின்றி நிற்பாய்' என அச்சந் தோன்றக் கூறி ஒம்படுத்த வின் ஒம்படைவாழ்த்தாயிற்று.

After stating how the king was afraid of the kings of the enemy countries and after expressing his own concern for the welfare of that king, as blessings are invoked in these words "May you remain with your kith and kin unshaken and unaffected", this (poem) is *Ōmpatai-vāltti*.

From this note¹, it is apparent that Naccinārkkiniyar thinks that *Muṭi-nāka-rāyar* is afraid that evil will befall the Cēra King, as he, afraid of war, had not joined either side in the Great Bhārata War and that *Muṭi-nāka-rāyar* makes this speech to avert the impending evil.

The colophons of the anthologies remain to be examined with a view to finding out whether the passages they relate to are excerpts from longer poems of a dramatic nature.

The following colophons in *Pura-nānūri* indicate that the passages they relate to are extracts.

(1) அவன் (சோழன் குளமுற்றத்துத் துஞ்சிய கிள்ளிவளவன்) 'எம் முள்ளீர், எந் நாட்டீர்' என்றற்கு ஆவூர் மூலங்கிழார் பாடியது. (புறம். 38.)

This is sung by *Āvūr Mūlaṅkilār* to him (*Cōlaṅ-kulamur-rattu-t-tuñciya Kīlī Valavan*) when he asked "wherefrom are you? To which land do you belong?"

(2) சோழன் நலங்கிள்ளி தம்பிமாவளத்தானும் தாமப்பல்கண்ணனும் வட்டுப்பொருவுழிக் கைகரப்ப வெருண்டு வட்டுக்கொண்டெறிந்தானைச் 'சோழன் மகன் அல்ல' என நாணியிருந்தானைத் தாமப்பல்கண்ணனார் பாடியது. (புறம். 43.)

This song by *Tāma-p-pal-kannanār* was addressed to *Māvalattān*, younger brother of *Cōlaṅ-Nalaṅkiḷi*. They were playing dice. *Māvalattān* was angry on seeing the other person hide with his hand the throw which was unfavourable to him; and the

1. This note of *Naccinārkkiniyar* might have been influenced also by his knowledge of the context of this song in the *Tamil Bhāratam*.

Prince threw the peices at him. Thereupon Tāma-p-pal-kāṇṇa-nār remarked 'you are not the son of a Cōla'; and Māvaḷattāṇ was ashamed. That was the occasion for this song.

(3) அவன் (பாரி) மகளிரைப் பார்ப்பார்ப்படுக்கக் கொண்டுபோவான் பறம்பு விடுத்த கபிலர் பாடியது. (புறம். 113.)

This song is by *Kapilar* when he left the *Paṇampu*, taking the daughters of Pāri to be left in the custody of Pārppār (Brahmins).

(4) வேள்பாரி தஞ்சியவழி அவன் மகளிரைப் பார்ப்பார்ப்படுத்து வடக்கிருந்த கபிலர் பாடியது. (புறம். 236.)

This is sung by *Kapilar* when he decided to starve himself to death (by *vaṭakkiruttal*) after leaving the daughters of *Vēḷ Pāri* with Pārppār (Brahmins) on Pāri's death.

(5) இளங்கண்டரக்கோவும் இளவிச்சிக்கோவும் ஒருங்கிருந்தவழிச் சென்ற பெருந்தலைச்சாத்தனார் இளங்கண்டரக்கோவைப் புல்லி இள விச்சிக்கோவைப் புல்லாராக, 'என்னை என்செயப் புல்லீராயினீர்' என அவர் பாடியது. (புறம். 151.)

Peruntalai-c-cāttanār went to where *Iḷaṅkaṇṭira-k-kō* and *Iḷaviccī-k-kō* were together. He embraced *Iḷaṅkaṇṭira-k-kō* and did not embrace *Iḷaviccī-k-kō*; whereupon the latter asked him "why do you not embrace me" and he sang this in reply.

(6) கோப்பெருஞ் சோழன் வடக்கிருந்தானுழைச் சென்ற பிசிராந்தையாரை "கேட்குங் காலம் பலவாலோ? நரை நுமக்கில்லையாலோ?" என்ற சான்றோர்க்கு அவர் சொற்றது. (புறம். 191.)

This is the reply of *Picirāntaiyār* who went to see *Kō-p-peruñcōḷaṇ* when the latter was dying (by *vaṭakkiruttal*), on being asked by *Cāṇṇṇōr* (who were near the dying king): "we hear that you are very old and yet you have no grey hairs. How is that?"

We have another type of colophons which make it clear that the passage are spoken by and addressed to characters in poems and not individuals.

A few examples are:—

(1) சோழன் கலங்கிள்ளி உறையூர் முற்றி யிருந்தானையும் அடைந்திருந்த நெடுங்கிள்ளியையும் கோவூர்கிழார் பாடியது. (புறம். 45.)

This is sung by *Kōvūrkiḷār* and addressed to *Cōḷaṇ Nalaṅkiḷli* who besieged *Uṇṇaiyūr* and *Neṭuṅkiḷli* who was inside the fort. In life, one cannot address at the same time two persons one inside and the other outside a fort.

(2) அவரை (சோமான்ருடக்கோ நெடுஞ்சேரலாதனையும் சோழன் வேற்பிழைக்கைப்பெருவிறற் கிள்ளியையும்) அக்களத்திற் பரணர் பாடியது. (புறம். 63.)

This is sung by *Paraṇar* in that battle-field and addressed to *Cēramāṇ-kūḷa-k-kō Neṭuñcēralāṭaṇ* and *Cōlaṇ Vērpaḱṛaṭakkai-p-peruvirarkilli*.

(சேரமான் கணைக்காலிரும் பொறை சோழன் செங்கணானேடு போர்ப்புறத்துப் பொருது பற்றுக் கோட்பட்டுக்குடவாயிற் கோட்டத்துச் சிறையிற் கிடந்து, 'தண்ணீர் தா' என்று பெருது பெயர்த்துப் பெற்றுக் கைக் கொண்டிருந்து உண்ணன் சொல்லித் துஞ்சிய பாட்டு. (புறம். 74.)

This song is by *Cēramāṇ Kaṇai-k-kāl-irumporai* when he died without drinking the cup of water which he held in his hand after asking for it and not obtaining it at first and obtaining it later; he was then a prisoner immured in *Kuṭa-vāyir-kōṭṭam* being taken captive when fighting with *Cōlaṇ Ceṇkaṇāṇ* at *Pōr-p-puṛam*. If the poem is actually *Cēraṇ's*, on what he did he write it? or who heard it sung? and how was it preserved? A host of absurdities must be believed in, if the passage is not taken as a speech imagined by a poet. And the details of the colophon obviously indicate the context in the narrative poem from which the speech is extracted.

(4) கல்லாகியும் இடங்கொடுத்த கோப்பெருஞ்சோழனை வடக்கிருந்த பொத்தியார் பாடியது. (புறம். 223.)

This song is by *Pottiyār* who sat in the North starving himself to death (did *prāyōḥaveśana*); and it is addressed to *Kō-p-peruñcōlaṇ* who gave room for him even after he became a (memorial) stone. The miraculous nature of the incident set out in the colophon is sufficient proof that the passage is an extract from a poem in which *Pottiyār* and *Kō-p-peruñcōlaṇ* are characters.

(5) 'சேரமான் கருஞ்ரேறிய ஒள்வாட்கோப் பெருஞ்சேரலிரும் பொறையைக் கண்ட ஞான்று, நின் உடம்பு பெறுவாயாக' என அவனைச் கண்டு தம்முடம்பு பெற்று நின்ற கரிவெருஉத்தலையார் பாடியது. (புறம். 5.)

This song is by *Nari-verū-t-talaiyār* who, being told "you will get your body again when you see *Cēramāṇ Karuvūr-ēriya Oḷ-vāṭ-kō-p-peruñcēral-irumporai*", went and saw that king and regained his body.

On an examination of the *Pūram* anthology made in this manner, it is found that most of the peices of the collection are extracts from one long poem or another dealing with the following among other topics:—

(1) An internecine struggle between *Kō-p-peruñ-cōlaṇ* and his sons culminating in the king's *Vaṭakkiruttal* along with his friends and supporters.

(2) Another internecine struggle between *Neṭuñ-killi*¹ on one side and *Nalañkilli* and his brother *Māvaḷattāṇ* on the other.

(3) The war which ended with the battle of *Talaiyāṇāñ-kāṇam*.²

(4) *Cōlaṇ Ceñkaṇāṇ's* war with the *Cēra* king.³

(5) *Pāri* and his daughters and *Kapilar*.

(6) *Perunarkilli's* wars and the successful performance by him of the *Rājasūya*.⁴

(7) *Kumaṇaṇ*.

An analysis of the other anthologies is beyond the scope of this paper. But sufficient emphasis has been laid on this new viewpoint to make it clear that an analytical study in this new light of the early Tamil Literature now extant is of fundamental importance not only to the students of the development of the Tamil Drama but also to the students of the early history of the Tamil country, its literature, culture and civilization.

One quotation more, in conclusion:

वैदिकं धर्मद्वयम् अर्जुनाय....उपदिदेश गुणाधिकैर्हि गृहीतोऽनुष्ठीय-
मानश्च धर्मः प्रचयं गमिष्यतीति । तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यासः
सर्वज्ञो भगवान् गीताख्यैः सप्तभिः श्लोकशतैरुपनिबन्ध (शाङ्करभाष्ये) ।

Śrī Kṛṣṇa taught *Arjuna* the two-fold Dharma of the Vedas, as the Dharma accepted by the most virtuous persons and acted upon by them would become popular. That Dharma according

1. It is possible that *Neṭuñkilli* is the same as *Kō-p-peruñcōlaṇ* and there was only one internecine struggle and not two, though the evidence available is inconclusive either way.

2. *Puṇam*, 72. The commentary says that the Pāṇḍya king who won the battle was contemptuously referred to by the enemy kings as a 'mere stripling' when they were in their respective cities and that he was taunted by them flushed with the strength of their armies when he faced them in battle. The words are உளையக்கூறியதனைத் தம்மிடத்திருந்து கூறியதாகவும் and செறுசொற் சொல்லியதனைப் போர்க்களத்து எதிர்பட்டுக் கூறியதாகவும் கொள்க. This comment makes it clear that the speech of the Pāṇḍya king is made on the battlefield.

3. *Poykaiyār* was probably a character in this poem and his *Kaḷavali* an inset song.

4. *Auvai* (of *Pura-nānūru* 367) is probably a character who speaks the 'Bharata-vākya', blessing the three Tamil kings.

to the teaching of the Bhagavān, the all-knowing Bhagavān Veda Vyāsa embodied in the seven hundred verses known as the *Gītā* (Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Gītā*).

Vyāsa, then, is the author of the *Gītā*; and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Sañjaya are all characters in that poem. Still everyone who quotes from the *Gītā*, including Śrī Śaṅkara himself, says "The Bhagavān said", "Arjuna said" etc. It is no wonder then that the same practice has obtained among the anthologists and annotators of early Tamil Literature.

ACCENTUAL VARIATION IN RELATION TO SEMANTIC VARIATION.

BY

C. R. SANKARAN, M.A.,

Dip. in German and French, Madras.

(Continued from J. O. R., M., Vol. X, Pt. I, page 72.)

As George Kingsley Zipf¹ says, "morphological accent is as integral a part of the word as any of the constituent phonemes. Thus, an arbitrary shift in the position of accent (from prefix or suffix to the root) may change the meaning of a word quite as much as an arbitrary alteration in the position of the phonemes; just as English *tab* and *bat* are different words, so German 'übersetzen' 'to ferry across' is different from 'übersetzen' 'to translate'. Even in English *produce* and *produce* are by no means identical, nor are *perfume* and *perfume*, *permit*, and *permit*, *rebel*, and *rebel*, *project* and *project*."

प्रकृतौ प्रत्यये चापि स्वरो यत्र व्यवस्थितः ।

तात्पर्यं तत्र शब्दस्य स्थापयेदिति निर्णयः ॥

(R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, IV, 10.)

In the pada text certain compounds are not analysed, as for instance *damūnāḥ* and *śavīrayā* in the following two R̥g-vedic passages.

जुष्टो दमूना अतिथिः (R̥v. V, 4, 8.)

नरा शवीरया धिया (R̥v. I, 3, 2.)

Here because the accent is on the first member, according to Mādhavabhaṭṭa, the 'important' element is the first member and the compounds are *Bahuvrīhis*.

But in भराम्याङ्गूषमास्येन (R̥v. I, 61, 3.),

since in the unanalysed compound *āṅgūṣam* the accent is on the last syllable, the compound is to be taken as a *taṭpuruṣa*.

1. 'The Psycho-Biology of Language', 1935, p. 132-3.

Here incidentally it has to be noted that phoneme *ga* replaces the phoneme *gha* in this compound. Or rather, it would be more correct to say that *ga* appears as the phonemic variation of *gha* in certain places in the old vedic texts. Mādhavabhaṭṭa points out to us another instance from the Yajurveda to illustrate this phenomenon.

यज्ञस्य घोषदसि (T.S., 1. 1. 2. 1.)

[The following are the interesting comments of Bhaṭṭabhāskara Miśra¹ on this passage.

घुषेर्णन्ताच्छतरि 'छन्दस्युभयथा' इति शप आर्धधातुक्त्वाणि लोपः ।
'अदुपदेशात्' इति शतुरनुदात्तत्वम् । उदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वरेण शप उदात्तत्वम् ।
असिदाश्चपञ्चोः वस्तुत्वेन विवक्षितत्वान्नपुंसकत्वम् । लिङ्गव्यत्ययो वा ।
बर्हिर्लवनद्वारेण मयैव शीघ्रं यज्ञं संपादयस्वेति यज्ञार्थमाघोषयत् असीति
स्तुतिः । घोषदिति धननामेति केचित् ॥

गोषदसि (Kāthaka Samhitā, 1, 2.)

Compare also Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, 1, 1, 2.]

Mādhavabhaṭṭa gives us two more instances of the unanalysed compounds, one being a *taṭpuruṣa* and another a *bahuvrīhi*.

तद्विप्रासो विपन्यवः (Rv. I, 22, 21.)

वामं देवः कर्लळती (Rv. IV, 30, 24.)

पदकाराः पदानीह नावगृह्णन्ति कानिचित् ।

तेषामपि स्वरेणैव कुर्यादर्थविनिर्णयम् ॥

निर्विवक्षेद्बहुव्रीहेर्यमादौ स्वरो यदि ।

अथ तत्पुरुषस्यार्थमन्ते तिष्ठति चेत् स्वरः ॥

जुष्टो दमूना अतिथिर्दमेमन इतीष्यते ।

नरा शवीरया धियाशु यस्याः प्रेरणं तथा (या) । २भराम्याङ्गूषमास्येन
स्वरात्तत्पुरुषो भवेत् । पर्याप्तो घोष आङ्गूषो वस्थाने गश्च दृश्यते ॥

1. Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 4, Mysore Government Oriental Library series, p. 10.

2. I adopt the reading suggested by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. (Rgvedānukramaṇī, Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. II, Part 1, 1932. P. Xli.)

यज्ञस्य घोषदसीति यजुः केचिदधीयते ।

कठा गोषदसीत्येवङ्गकारादिमधीयते ॥

विशेषेण पनायन्तस्तद्विप्रासो विपन्यवः ।

करुळती कृत्तदन्ते वामं देवः करुळती ॥¹

The next Kārikā in this section has been already referred to.²

In all these discussions, we see Mādhavabhaṭṭa recognising the principle that the "accented element is more difficult to pronounce since it consumes more energy, and is more audible because of the greater amplitude of vibrations".

"The accent of words of sentences is the least difficult type of accent to understand : by giving additional stress to a given word in a sentence the intensity of that word in the sentence increases.

In the sentence 'he saw her', one may emphasize *he* or *saw* or *her*, selecting the element to which the speaker wishes to call the auditors' special attention."

"It would seem that the effect of any deliberate appreciable deviation from the customary norm of amplitude, pitch or duration in the utterance of a speech element would be one of accent, since this deviation would tend to attract the auditors' attention to it."³

Again, "the position of accent changes to effect greater vividness often increasing the magnitude of what is stressed and diminishing or deleting the magnitude of what is left unaccented."⁴

How Mādhavabhaṭṭa recognised the social nature of language has been already indicated.⁵ In that connection the following from George Kingsley Zipf's thought-stimulating book⁶ is worth well remembering.

"The phenomena of speech which we wish to measure are not those represented by an extensive list of alphabetized words in a dictionary, nor those represented by pages of paradigms and

1. Ṛgvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. V. Verses 1-6.

2. *Vide* the first instalment of this paper. J. O. R., M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV, p. 304.

3. George Kingsley Zipf, 'The Psycho-Biology of Language', 1935, pp. 130-1 and 323.

4. *Ibid.* p. 128.

5. *See* J. O. R., M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV, p. 308.

6. 'The Psycho-Biology of Language', 1935. pp. 13 and 16.

syntactical rules in a grammar. They are rather the phenomena of speech in the process of being uttered; they represent the stream of speech that may appropriately be viewed as a succession or a continuum of communicative gestures, produced by the vocal organs occurring in arrangements that are essentially permutations".

"The reason why speech is comparatively free from the necessity of concomitant acts of other tools of behavior is possible because of the social nature of language. For, language is a medium for the young and the old, the halt and the blind, and one which must be serviceable in darkness as well as in daylight, in immediate proximity and over a considerable distance, its social utility would clearly be diminished were it encumbered with many other obligatory gestures."

We have examined Marty's teleological explanation of linguistic creation in the light of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's theory.¹ For an interesting and illuminating discussion on the problem of teleology and linguistics, E. Otto's article, "Grundfragen der Linguistic"² deserves mention, as well as Wilhelm Havers' excellent article "Lautgesetz and Teleologie" (*Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische philologie*, January, 1936, pp. 20-32.). Mādhavabhaṭṭa's explanation of the accentuation of the verb in the periphrastic future has been seen in great detail.³ It is not a bit surprising that what was infrequent, as the periphrastic formation was, during even the later vedic period should have been deemed worthy of a special accentual distinction. The lower the relative frequency of occurrence of a word or formation, the higher is its magnitude of complexity.⁴

In this connection, it is good also to remember that the periphrastic future forms are simply agent nouns, with वृच् in the 3rd person and they are joined to the present tense 2nd person and 1st person forms of अस् in the 2nd and 1st person respectively.⁵

1. See J. O. R., M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV, p. 309.

2. *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. 52, (1934) pp. 177-95.

3. *Vide* J.O.R., M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV, p. 316-17.

4. Not necessarily proportionate, but possibly a non-linear mathematical function, *Vide* George Kingsley Zipf, 'The Psychology of Language', 1935.

5. See J.O.R., M., Vol. X, Pt. I.

कर्ता + असि = कर्तासि

कर्ता + अस्मि = कर्तास्मि

Dual and plural forms are simply based upon analogy (*vide* S. P. Chaturvedi, 'Need for rewriting Pāṇini's Grammar', Nagpur University Journal, December, 1935, pp. 6-7).

At great length has the compound formation with suffixes *-mant* and *-vant* been discussed in the previous instalment of this paper.¹ It becomes imperative to observe at this stage that Brugmann² says that the suffix *-went* appears in old Indian, Greek and Latin in denominative adjectives.

Greek: 'O'pō-eis; old Indian *apa-vant*;

Latin: *vīrōsus*; old Indian *viśā-vant*;

Greek: *doloeis*; Latin: *dolōsus*.

The following compounds also can be noticed in this connection.

dyāvā-prthivīvantam (Av. 19, 18, 5.)

taviṣīmāntam (Rv. 5, 58, 1a.)

kakṣīvantah (Rv. 1, 126, 4.)

kakṣīvantam (Rv. I, 18, 1; 112, 11; X, 61, 16; 143, 1.)

(See J. Wackernagel, *Indoiranica* I. suffix *-mant*, pp. 277-88 esp. p. 286. Kuhn's *zeitschrift*. Band 43, 1910.)³ It is of interest to note, in this connection, that corresponding to the lengthening of the final stem vowel in the feminine form of words *-mant* and *-vant*, the *a* in *idhma* is lengthened in the double-accented *dvandva* compound *idhmābarhiḥ*. (T.S. II, 6, 5, 24.) [cf. Benveniste (Paris), *sur Quelques dvandvas avestiques*, p. 405. Indian and Iranian studies presented to Sir George Grierson, 1936. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies (University of London). Vol. VIII, Pts. 2 and 3.]⁴

1. See J.O.R., M., Vol. X, Pt. I.

2. Brugmann, Gr. 2, 1, 461. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*. Teil III, Das Nomen. Heidelberg 1927, Section 119. p. 200.

3. See also H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatik*, Teil I. Heidelberg 1927, Section 351, p. 305.

4. The following observations of Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala (Sir Aśutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes. Vol. III, *Orientalia*,

Mādhavabhaṭṭa's refreshing explanation of the problematic

Pt. 2, 1925, Calcutta, pp. 449-50, 452. "A Note on Sanskrit compounds") at this stage should be drawn attention to.

"The meaning of a true compound is the resultant of the syntactical relations existing between its components; these relations are not merely those between the possessor and the thing possessed" [cf. "The purpose of a compound is to express a shade of meaning not expressible by the simplex, indeed we can observe in daily speech that such differentiation in meaning is the very purpose of compounding" *Vide*, George Kingsley Zipf's 'The Psycho-Biology of Language', 1935, p. 163. Cf. also C. R. Sankaran, "A Note on the Name Dvigu" in Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Vol., 1936, p. 326]. The restriction to two members is a special characteristic of the vedic language, and the same is the characteristic feature of compounds in the Avesta. But in the Avesta the compounds are much looser in formation than in Sanskrit."

"In Sanskrit, too, the compounds began as mere juxtaposition of two words. [In verbal compounds with prefixes, "one commonly infers from the nature of early Sanskrit and Greek, that in late Indo-European times the prefixes were separable, but at some period, albeit before historical times, these same prefixes gradually became non-separable", *vide*, 'The Psycho-Biology of Language', p. 163. Cf. also "The Double Accented Vedic compounds" Journal of the Madras University, Vol. VIII, No. I, (January, 1936), p. 82. For the enclisis of the verb in such compounds, see also the following instance -ē-lik^wes > Greek. *elipes* Skt. *aricas*, *Vide*, George S. Lane, "The labio-velars before *ō* in Germanic" in the Journal of English and Germanic Philology, p. 19. Vol. XXXV, No. I, January, 1936.]

We have relics of this in the so called *aluk* compounds where the first member retains its ending, e.g., वनेचर, युधिष्ठिर, etc. The only way in which such *aluk* compounds can be distinguished from two words in juxtaposition is the accent: the compound has one accent, whereas two words in juxtaposition will have, of course, two accents. The accentuation of compounds throws considerable light on their history. Every word should bear one accent or, to be more accurate, one idea should have one accent. This in fact constitutes the main difference between two words in juxtaposition and a true compound. The compound represents one idea and hence though made up of several members

accent of *prānak* in Rv. I, 18, 3 has been already pointed out.¹ An interesting parallel to this is found in verse 6 of the hymn Rv. VI, 59, addressed to a pair of deities, to Indra and Agni.

इन्द्राग्नी अपादियं पूर्वगात्पद्वतीभ्यः हित्वी शिरो जिह्वया वावदचरत्
त्रिंशत्पदा न्यक्रमीत् । (Rv. V, 59, 6.)

“She who is without feet advances before those who have feet; she comes out from the head; with the tongue, she speaks, she walks etc.” Here the accent of the verb वावदत् may be explained as due to a sort of subordination to that verb which follows (अक्रमीत्)².

it should bear only one accent. But there are some remarkable exceptions. The *devatā-dvandva*, as is well known, bears two accents. The reason is not far to seek; the *devatā-dvandva* implies two ideas; the two gods; and therefore it bears two accents. There is also the formation known as *āmredita* (Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar. Section 1260.) where the word is repeated twice for the sake of emphasis, but the two words bear only one accent between them, e.g., जह्येषां वरं वरम् (Slay of them each best men), वयं वयम् (our very selves), अङ्गादङ्गाहोमो लोमः पर्वणि पर्वणि (from every limb, from every hair, in every joint). In a few cases, however, the two words bear two accents, where probably the feeling was lost that this formation was originally a loose type of compound.”

“When Sanskrit was a living, growing language, the primary function of the compound seems to have been the formation of a fresh idea by combining two or more words.”

1. See J.O.R., M., Vol. IX, Pt. IV, pp. 314-16.

2. Vide Abel Bergaigne's article “Quelques observations sur les figures de rhetorique dans le Rgveda” in *Memoires de la Societe de Linguistique*, Tome IV, fascicule 2, pp. 1-42. Translated by A. Venkatasubbiah into English. “Some observations on the figures of speech in the Rgveda”. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, 1935-36, p. 78, f.n. 1.

In the veda, on account of the large relative frequency of occurrence of pronominal forms, the law of abbreviation¹ must have operated as a result of which we have the substituted forms, *vām*, *nau*, *vah*, *nah*, *te* and *me* in the middle of many sentences which are all unaccented.² Similarly so many words like *ca* are

1. *Vide* George Kingsley Zipf, 'The Psycho-Biology of Language'.

Cf. "The pronominal forms *mām* and *vām* contain really the partical *am* and are results of contraction."

Vide H. Hirt. Idg. Gramm. Teil V, Der Akzent Heidelberg 1929, Sec. 128, p. 186.

2. The personal pronouns can in all the languages be partly accented and partly unaccented from ancient times till now. It is due to this that different forms arise in course of time. Those which arise in unaccented position, may again be used in accented position. So has the Indogermanic **tu* (Nom.) as against **twe* (Acc., gr. *se*) arisen in an unaccented position. When it was used in an accented position, then there appeared **tū*, for instance, English *thou*, low German *dou*, or it remained also as *du* which in unaccented position became *de*. The enclitic forms in the old Greek and Indian are made out from the fact that they do not bear any accent mark in the writing. Compare Greek *teknōn moi*, old Indian *sā nah pitā* (Rv. I, 1, 9.) 'our father'. In the other modern languages, the enclisis can be recognised by its position, because the word with a weak tone strives after the second position in the sentence; anyway it does not stand in the beginning. (cp. H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, Teil VI, Syntax I, Heidelberg 1934, Sec. 112, pp. 153-5). Since with the loss of accent a truncation or substitution follows in the case of pronouns, the accented forms are used which through a following or preceding particle become less comprehensive. Thus we find the following growing stronger.

i. The particle *-om* comes in after the old Indian *aham*, Old Bulgarian *yazū* (transformed into Greek and Latin *egō*) as against Lithuanian *aš* Germanic *ik* (?), old Indian *tvaṃ* as against Greek *-su*, old Indian *tubhy-am* as against Latin *tibi*.

ii. On account of the appearance after *-smed* in old Indian *as-mad*, Greek *hēmed-* (*apos*), Homeric *-amme* < *asmed*.

iii. On account of the appearance after *ge* in Greek, *eme-ge* Germanic *mik*.

iv. Appearance before *e* in Greek *eme*, Latin. *enos*.

unaccented in the Veda.¹ These instances are large in number. In *ṛcām tvaḥ poṣam* Rv. X, 71, 11 *tvaḥ* is not accented.

भवन्ति सर्वानुदात्ता आदेशा युष्मदस्मदोः ।

भवन्ति चेद्वाक्यमध्ये वास्त्रौ वो नश्च तेमयौ ॥

ऋचान्त्वः पोषमित्यादौ त्वशब्दश्च निहन्यते ।

v. Undoubtedly the reduplication which does not infrequently figure also produces a strengthening. In the individual languages, numerous other elements come in. On the other hand, a part of the numerous forms is continued. Thus is it explained that in Indian we have the enclitic *vām* and *vas*, but fully accented *yuvām*. Grassmann has already regarded *vas* as the shortening of **yuvas*. Further, the Gothic stem *inq* for the 2nd person dual phonetically corresponds to the old Indian *aṅga* which coming after a pronoun calls forth this. Cp. *yuvamaṅga* [vide H. Hirt. Idg. Gr. Teil VI Heidelberg, 1934, Sec. 114, pp. 156-7.]

1. "So far as sentence-accent is concerned, the enclitic use of certain words and categories of words in Sanskrit, Greek etc. was doubtless inherited from the period of the primitive community.

Thus enclitic were :

Certain particles, as **qe* 'and'; Skr. *ca*. Gr. *te* Lat. *que*; **uē* 'or', Skr. *va vā*. Lat. *ve*.

The interrogative pronouns (st. **qo*-and **qi*-, Skr. *ka*- and *ci*-, Gr. *po*- and *ti*-, Lat. *quo*- and *qui*-), if they had an indefinite meaning, cp. e.g. Gr. *ti-s* 'who'? and *anēr tis*.

The personal pronouns, if no contrast of meaning prevailed, as between *I* and *thou* etc., cp. e.g. the enclitic Skr. *mē* Gr. *moi*, old Bulgarian *mi* 'to me'. It is assumed that this enclitic use had occasioned the weakening of a form **tuoi* to **toi* 'to thee' (Skr. *tē* Gr. *toi*. Old Bulgarian *tī*).

To the form **tuoi* corresponds Sanskrit *tvē*. It is not improbable that the *u* in the enclitic forms first disappeared after certain consonants."

See Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, XXIV, 592 ff.

Vide Brugmann, Grundriss, English Translation by Joseph Wright, Vol. I, New York, 1888, Sections 669 and 187, pp. 534 and 162.

[See also H. Hirt, Der Akzent, Indog. Grammatik Teil V. Heidelberg 1929, Chapter XXVII, Enclisis and proclisis, Sections 213 and 214, 215, pp. 330, 333, 334-5,

चादीनां वाक्यमध्यस्थाश्च बाहस्मादयस्तथा ॥

उदाहरणमेतेषां बाहुल्यान् प्रदर्श्यते ।

(R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i. vi, verses, 1-3.)

In Rv. I, 122, 14, we read *hiraṇyakarṇam maṇigrīvam*.

Sāyaṇa does not give us any explanation for the accentlessness of the word *maṇigrīvam* in this passage.

What Wackernagel says regarding this passage is as follows:—
“That the accentlessness of *maṇigrīvam* is a monstrosity attributable to tradition, one will not at all doubt, especially when one can not discover the origin of the mistake. It is impossible to say that the two words are to be taken as vocatives, for then they should have ended in *-a*.

(See Lanman, A statistical account of the Noun-inflection in the veda. The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. X, 1880, P. 339).¹

Mādhavabhaṭṭa's comments on this passage are as follows:—

हिरण्यलङ्कारयुक्तकर्णं मण्यलंकृतग्रीवम् ।

शिरःकण्ठयोः क्रमेण वर्णनेनात्र सर्वनिघातः ।²

On account of the ‘importance’ in meaning, particles like *nūnam*, *kila* and *eva* are accented. It can be easily seen that these expressions indicate high emotional intensity and it is no wonder that they deserve an accentual distinction. Mādhavabhaṭṭa once again reiterates his firm belief in the social nature of language.

हिरण्यकर्णमित्यस्मान्मणिग्रीवं निहन्यते ।

लौकिकाः कथयन्त्यर्थान् म्लेच्छैः शब्दैश्च साधुभिः ।

1. “Dass die Akzentlosigkeit von *maṇigrīvam* eine nur auf Rechnung der Ueberlieferung zu setzende Monstrosität ist, wird man kaum bezweifeln, auch wenn man der Ursprung des Fehlers nicht entdecken kan. Hat die Diaskeuase an vocative gedacht? Dass solche wirklich vorliegen, scheint ausgeschlossen; sie wurden auf *-a* ausgehen (Lanman 339) Vermutlich *maṇigrīvam* zu betonen.” Wackernagel, Alt. ind. Gramn. II, i, 299.

2. Vide R̥gvedabhāṣya of Venkaṭamādhava, Dvitiyāṣṭakāḥ Dvitiyasamputaḥ. Adyar Library.

Paper Manuscript, Nāgarī script, p. 348.

उच्चैः प्रयुञ्जते कांश्चित् पदार्थानन्यथापरान् ॥
 यथा घटश्च रज्जुश्च चार्थो नीचैः प्रयुज्यते ।
 स्थाणुर्वा पुरुषो वेति वार्थश्चैव तथाविधः ॥
 अर्थस्वभावात् सर्वेषां शब्दानामुच्चनीचता ।
 स्वभावं तं विजानन्ति लौकिका न त्वलौकिकाः ॥
 य उदात्तानिपातेषु नूनं ह्येव किलादयः ।
 उच्चैः प्रदर्शनीयोऽर्थस्तेषामिति विनिश्चयः ॥
 उदात्तेषूपसर्गेषु तदर्थः प्रस्फुटो भवेत् ।
 समस्तेष्वनुदात्तानां नीचैरर्थं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥
 विस्पष्टमुक्तमेतच्च आख्यातार्थविनिर्णये ।
 हिरण्यकर्णमित्यत्र कारणं तत्र वक्ष्यते ॥¹

(To be continued.)

1. R̥gvedānukramaṇī, Part I, i, vi, verses 3-9.

THE NUMBER OF RASAS

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from Vol. X, pt. iii, p. 250.)

III

In this section I propose to speak of some peculiar and original views expressed by some writers on the Śānta Rasa.

The Rasakalikā of Rudrabhaṭṭa.

In the section on the Sthāyin of Śānta it will be seen that Nirveda, Tṛṣṇākṣayasukha, Vairāgya, Tattvajñāna etc. make their claim to be the Sthāyin of Śānta. Each of these helps the other and shades off into the other. All of them form aspects of the one Rasa of Śānta. So it seems to Rudrabhaṭṭa, the author of the Rasakalikā, an unpublished work on Rasa preserved in two parts in two MSS. in the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras (Nos. R. 2241 and 3274)¹. He says first that Śama is the Sthāyin of Śānta (R. 2241, p. 7) and then describes on p. 9 that

1. The two MSS. make the work almost complete; but there still seems to be some portion missing. On p. 32 of R. 2241, there is a Cāṭu on a king named Arjuna. This Rasakalikā is identical with the Rasakalikā which is quoted by Vāsudeva in his commentary on the Karpūramañjarī (K. M. Edn.). All the six verses cited by Vāsudeva are found in the Rasakalikā in these Madras MSS. There are two copies, an original and a transcript, of the Rasakalikā in the Mysore Oriental Library.

There is no indication of the author in the MSS. of this work. But we are able to know that one Rudrabhaṭṭa was its author from the external evidence of a Kanarese treatise on Rasa, the Rasaratnākara of Sālva (16th cent.). Sālva says that he draws upon Amṛtānanda, Hemacandra, Rudrabhaṭṭa and Vidyānātha. While dealing with the Uddīpana-Vibhāvas, Sālva says that Rudrabhaṭṭa mentions them as four in his Rasakalikā (p. 11, Rasaratnākara, Madras University Kanarese Series, No. 2, Ed. by A. Venkat Rao and Pandit H. Sesha Ayyangar). On pp. 188-9 of this edn., is found an appendix containing all the passages of the Rasakalikā quoted by Sālva.

Śama is the untinted, rippleless state of the mind which is acquired through Vairāgya etc.

“शमो वैराग्यादिना निर्विकारचित्तत्वम् । यथा—

‘अशीमहि वयं भिक्षाम् आशावासो वसीमहि ।

शयीमहि महीपृष्ठे कुर्वीमहि किमीश्वरैः ॥’ ” p. 9, R. 2241.

What other things does he mean besides Vairāgya when he says ‘Vairāgya-ādinā ?’ He explains on p. 47. He says that even as Vīra is of the forms of Dāna-, Dayā-, Yuddha- and Dharma-Vīra, Śānta also has four Prakāras or phases or forms: Vairāgya, Doṣanigraha, Santoṣa and Tattvasākṣātkāra.

“अथ शान्तः—

विषयेभ्यो विरक्तस्य तत्त्वज्ञस्य विवेकिनः ।

रागादिनिर्विकारत्वं शान्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥

सा चतुर्विधा—वैराग्यम्, दोषनिग्रहः, सन्तोषः, तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारिता चेति ।”

“विषयेभ्यो निवृत्तिर्वैराग्यम् । रागाद्यभावो दोषनिग्रहः । तृष्णोन्मूलनं सन्तोषः । तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारः ॥” p. 47.

Here Vairāgya and the other three are spoken of not as means to Śama but as forms of Śama or Śānta itself.

The Saṅgītasudhākara of Haripāladeva.

Unlike most of the later writers, King Haripāla boldly wrote on independent lines, creating new concepts. He accepts thirteen Rasas: the old eight of Bharata, Śānta, Vātsalya (which comes down from Rudraṭa's time), and three absolutely new Rasas, Sambhoga, Vipralambha and Brāhma. He expressly says that the last three are new and distinct Rasas according to his view.

शृङ्गारो हास्यनामा च बीभत्सः करुणस्तथा ।

वीरो भयानकाह्वानो रौद्राख्योऽद्भुतसंज्ञकः ॥

शान्तो ब्राह्माभिधः पश्चाद् वात्सल्याख्यस्ततः परम् ।

सम्भोगो विप्रलम्भः स्याद् रसास्त्वेते त्रयोदश ॥

P. 16. Madras Ms. R. 3082. (Ch. IV.)

What his new Rasas, Sambhoga and Vipralambha, are and how they differ from the first, viz., Śṛṅgāra—these questions will be taken up in another section. Now we shall restrict ourselves to Haripāla's views on the new Rasa named Brāhma

which he holds in addition to (and not in the place of) the Śānta. What are these two Rasas, Brāhma and Śānta and how do they differ? What are their respective and distinct Sthāyins? What is the necessity for recognising two such Rasas?

Haripāla gives the Sthāyins of his Rasas thus:—

आह्लादः प्रथमं नर्म¹ जुगुप्सा शोक एव च ॥

उत्साहदैव्य²क्रोधोऽथ विस्मयस्तदनन्तरम् ।

निर्वेदश्च तथानन्दः प्रीती रत्यरती तथा ॥

प्रत्येकं स्थायिनो भावाः क्रमात् प्रत्येकमीरिताः । P. 17, *ibid.*

He accepts the view that Nirveda is the Sthāyin of Śānta and in this acceptance, he seems to have a purpose which we shall see presently. Haripāla says further on these Rasas:—

सम्भोगो विप्रलम्भश्च ब्राह्मश्चेति त्रयो रसाः ।

अतिरिक्ता उदीर्यन्ते हरिपालमहीभुजा ॥ p. 17.

* * * *

ब्राह्मो नाम रसः सर्वप्रपञ्चोत्तीर्णरूपकः ।

नित्यः स्थिरोऽत एवायं पार्थक्येन प्रकीर्तितः ॥ p. 18.

From the latter verse we have to take that Haripāla distinguishes the Śānta and the Brāhma Rasas as differing in the degree of permanence. He calls the Brāhma, of which Ānanda is given as the Sthāyin, eternal (Nitya) and permanent (Sthira), and from this we have to understand that the Śānta of which Nirveda is the Sthāyin is impermanent (Anitya and Asthira). While discussing the claims of Nirveda born of Tattvajñāna to be the Sthāyin of Śānta, Abhinava quotes the verse वृथा दुग्धोऽनड्वान् etc. and points out that the resulting Bhāva is Kheda or Nirveda in ordinary things in the sphere of our mundane activities, which has no reference to the fourth Puruṣārtha, Mokṣa. This Nirveda can be developed into a Rasa which is a kind of quietude, Śānta. Perhaps, it is to distinguish such a Rasa as this Nirveda-Śānta involving a passive attitude towards mundane matters, that Haripāla postulated a Brāhma rasa to refer to a regular activity towards the attainment of Mokṣa. No such explanation is however offered by Haripāla. The above suggested explanation loses point when it is realised that a Nirveda in ordinary things must only be a

1. *Narma* means *Hāsa*.

2. *Bhaya* is the old Sthāyin of Bhayānaka.

is nourished into a Rasa, it cannot stop short without developing into a Rasa referring to Mokṣa. It is a pity that Haripāla has not explained himself more elaborately.

The Prapañcahṛdaya.

The Prapañcahṛdaya, an anonymous compendium, published as No. XLV of the Trivandrum Skt. Series, treats of the subject of Rasa under Nāṭya, in the section on the Gāndharva Veda, in the chapter on the Upavedas. The work approaches Śānta in a new manner. It says that there are only eight Sthāyins but opines that the Nāṭyaśāstra gives nine Rasas ! It thus gives eight Sthāyins and nine Rasas. It refutes those who hold Śānta as the negation of the other eight and holds it as the cessation of all the senses, Sarva-indriya-uparama. But what exactly is the Śānta, it does not say.

“तदेतत् (नाट्यम्) अष्टभावानां नवरसानाम् आश्रयभूतम् । ते च प्रदर्शिताः—

‘रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।

जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चैवेत्यष्टौ भावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणा वीररौद्रमयानकाः ।-

बीभत्सादूभुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्यरसाः स्मृताः ॥’

इति । तत्राष्टौ भावाः पूर्वरूपाः । तदुत्तररूपा नवरसाः । * * * *
तदष्टभावानामभावो नवम इति केचिदाहुः । तदसमञ्जसम् । नाट्यशास्त्रे
नवरसानामभ्युपगमात् । अतः सर्वेन्द्रियोपरमलक्षणः शान्तो नवमरसः ।”

pp. 55—56.

How can one speak of a Rasa without a Sthāyin ?¹

1. The Anuyogadvārasūtra with the Skt. gloss of Maladhārī Hemacandra (Āgamodaya Samiti Series) deals with the nine Rasas of Kāvya, p. 134 ff. The gloss first explains the Prāśānta Rasa thus:—

‘प्रशाम्यति क्रोधादिजनितौत्सुक्यरहितो भवत्यनेनेति प्रशान्तः । परमगुरु-
वचःश्रवणादिहेतुसमुल्लसित उपशमप्रकर्षात्मा प्रशान्तो रस इत्यलं विस्तरेण’ ।

The text describes and illustrates the Prāśānta thus:—

निद्रोसमणसमाहाणसंभवो जो पसंतभावेणम् ।

अविकारलक्षणो सो रसो पसंतो त्ति णायव्वो ॥

पसन्तो रसो जहा—

सम्भावनिर्विगारं उवसंतपसंतसोमदिद्धीअम् ।

ही जह मुणिणो सोहइ मुहकमल पीवरसिरीअम् ॥

IV

The Sthāyin of Śānta.

When it is said that Bharata did not speak of the Śānta Rasa, it follows that he did not mention any Sthāyin which developed into that Rasa. One of the chief arguments of those who do not accept Śānta is that Bharata did not give its Sthāyin. Says the Locana:—

“ ‘ननु नास्त्येव शान्तो रसः । तस्य तु स्थाय्येव नोपदिष्टो मुनिना ’
इत्याशङ्क्याह ॥ ” p. 176.

The reply to this objection to Śānta must show that not only is a Śānta Rasa possible from a Sthā-

1. *Śama.* yin like Śama, but also that the Sthāyin is available in Bharata's text itself. So

certain writers who held Śama as the Sthāyin of Śānta interfered with Bharata's text. The result of this interference is seen in three places. The first two are emendations of Bharata's Anuṣṭubhs enumerating the Rasas and the Sthāyins.

“ शृङ्गार + बीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ”
became “ शृङ्गार + बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाट्ये रसाः स्मृताः ” ।
And “ जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ” was read as
“ जुगुप्साविस्मयशमाः स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ”

छाया—

निर्दोषमनःसमाधानसम्भवो यः प्रशान्तभावेन ।

अविकारलक्षणः स रसः प्रशान्त इति शतव्यः ॥

प्रशान्तो रसो यथा—

सद्भावनिर्विकारम् उपशान्तप्रशान्तसौम्यदृष्टीकम् ।

पश्य यथा मुनेः शोभते सुखकमलं पीवरश्रीकम् ॥

Besides this Praśānta Rasa, the commentator explains that the Vīrarasa in the text has two sublime varieties called Tyāga-vīra and Tapovīra, both of which are superior to the third variety called Yuddhavīra. It further explains that Tyāgavīra, Tapovīra and the Praśānta are Rasas which are not brought into existence by any “Sūtradoṣas” like Anṛta, Parahimsā etc. Yuddhavīra involves Paropaghāta, destruction of others; Adbhuta is roused by ‘hyperbole’, Atiśayokti, which is a species of falsehood. More of this later.

Abhinava has these remarks on these two texts:—

“शान्तापलापिनस्तु अष्टाविति तत्र पठन्ति ।”

“तत्र शान्तस्य स्थायी ‘विस्मयशमाः’ इति कैश्चित् पठितः ।”

Gaek. Edn. Vol. I, p. 269.

The third case of interference is a complete interpolation of a section on Śānta in Ch. VI. (Gaek. Edn. I, p. 333.). The Kāvya-mālā and the Kāśī editions of the N. Ś. do not have the section on Śānta in Ch. VI. In this interpolated section, Śama is given as the Sthāyin of Śānta:—

“अथ शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मको मोक्षप्रवर्तकः ॥”

That this section was absent in certain MSS. and that certain recensions counted only eight Rasas is known from Abhinava's own remarks. Abhinava says:—

“तथा च चिरन्तनपुस्तकेषु स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्याम इत्यनन्तरम् ‘शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मकः’ इत्यादिशान्तलक्षणं पठ्यते ॥”

Gaek. Edn. I, p. 340.

This remark will make it clear that the section on Śānta Rasa is not exactly the end of Chapter VI as now found in the Gaek. edn., but the beginning of the section treating of all the Rasas, *i.e.* before the subsection on Śṛṅgāra. There is no doubt on this point that the section on Śānta opened the section on Rasas and appeared even before Śṛṅgāra, in some old MSS. which Abhinava consulted. For Abhinava makes an additional score out of this priority of Śānta in the treatment of Rasas. He says that it is because the Sthāyin of Śānta is Sthāyin *par excellence*, being the Ātman itself on which arise the comparatively less permanent Sthāyins Rati etc., and because all Rasāsvāda is of the form of Śānta, being Alaukika and free from worldly links, Śānta is the greatest Rasa and hence it is that it is dealt with at the very beginning.

“——इत्यस्य (शान्तस्य) सर्वप्रकृतित्वाभिधानाय पूर्वमभिधानम् ।”

Gaek. Edn. I, p. 340.

Who may be the author responsible for introducing the Śānta texts in the N. Ś.? It is not possible to say anything definite. All we know now is that Udbhaṭa, the earliest of the now known regular commentators on Bharata, accepts the Śānta as is seen from his K. A. S. S. which however mentions not its Sthāyin. Pratīhārendurāja gives the Sthāyins and he speaks of Śama as the Sthāyin of Śānta.

For those who believe in the genuineness of these texts on Śānta as Bharata's own, there is no difficulty in answering the objection that Śānta cannot be accepted for the reason that Bharata did not mention at all its Sthāyin. For according to them, Bharata gave nine Rasas, mentioned Śama as the Sthāyin of Śānta and described Śānta as the greatest Rasa.

One of the main objections against Śama being accepted as the Sthāyin of Śānta is that the texts which say so cannot be relied upon as genuine because of their absence in some recensions. Also because of the fact that the Śama here spoken of would make the number of Bhāvas fifty and Bharata gives only forty-nine. Therefore some advocates of Śānta put forward Nirveda as the Sthāyin, Nirveda being one of the forty-nine given by Bharata. These advocates of Nirveda did not however criticise Śama. Another objection, an imaginary one, is that Śama and Śānta are synonymous and the former cannot be the Sthāyin of the latter. Śama and Śānta differ even as Bhaya and Bhayānaka, Vismaya and Adbhuta and Hāsa and Hāsyā. The former is Laukika, the latter Alaukika. Says Abhinava:—

शमशान्तयोः पर्यायत्वं तु हासहास्याभ्यां व्याख्यातम् । सिद्धसाध्य-
तया यदलौकिकत्वेन (लौकिकालौकिकत्वेन) साधारणासाधारणतया च
वैलक्षण्यं शमशान्तयोरपि सुलभमेव । Gaek. Edn. I, p. 336.

Both the above-mentioned objections to Śama are thus set forth by Abhinava, earlier, as Pūrvapakṣa:—

“एतदपरे न सहन्ते, शमशान्तयोः पर्यायत्वात् (१), एकान्नपञ्चाशद्-
भावा इति संख्यात्यागात् (२) ।” p. 333, *ibid*.

Rudraṭa comes next to Udbhaṭa in the discussion on the Sthāyin of Śānta. He mentions Śānta as
2. *Samyagjñāna*. a Rasa and gives its Sthāyin as Samyagjñāna. Namisādhū clearly says that Rudraṭa gives Samyagjñāna as the Sthāyin.

सम्यग्ज्ञानप्रकृतिः शान्तो विगतेच्छनायको भवति ।

सम्यग्ज्ञानं विषये तमसो रागस्य चापगमात् ॥ Ch. xvi, 15.

सम्यग्ज्ञानं स्थायिभावः—Namisādhū.

Evidently Rudraṭa did not rely on the Śānta texts in Bharata's N. Ś. but was bold enough to hold Rasas not mentioned by Bharata. So he left out Śama and put forward Samyagjñāna as the Sthāyin of Śānta. If Samyagjñāna means

the realisation of the self, it becomes the causal antecedent of Śama. Samyagjñāna is Tattvajñāna and all writers following Bharata have given it as one of the Vibhāvas of Śama. But Namisādhū does not make any difference between Samyagjñāna and Śama. Under Rudraṭa's verse enumerating the Rasas, Namisādhū enumerates the Sthāyins, the Vyabhicārins etc. And here, he gives Śama as the Sthāyin of Śānta.

We are not able to know what Bhāva was held as Sthāyin by Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka. Some of the

3. *Trṣṇākṣayasukha*. views on the Sthāyin of Śānta mentioned in the Abhinavabhāratī may be the views of these two commentators. To those views we shall turn presently. Before that we shall examine the views of authors whose works are available to us. Ānandavardhana accepts Śānta Rasa, criticises the views of the opponents of Śānta and determines the character of this Rasa. He does not hold Śama or Nirveda as its Sthāyin but gives *Trṣṇākṣayasukha* as its Sthāyin. He says:

‘शान्तश्च तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्य यः परिपोषः तल्लक्षणो रसः प्रतीयत
एव । तथा चोक्तम्—

“यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत् सुखम् ।

तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतः षोडशीं कलाम् ॥”

III. Ud. p. 176, N. S. Edn.

The Locana:—

“तृष्णानां विषयाणां यः क्षयः सर्वतोनिवृत्तिरूपः निरोधः तदेव
सुखं तस्य यः स्थायीभूतस्य परिपोषः रस्यमानताकृतः तदेव लक्षणं यस्य स
शान्तो रसः ॥”

This non-acceptance of Śama shows that Ānandavardhana did not accept or follow the Śānta text in Bharata. His Sthāyin for Śānta is that happiness which is the cessation of all desires—*Trṣṇā-kṣaya-sukha*—and is inspired by Vyāsa, whose *Mahābhārata* Ānanda is going to expound as a Śānta-epic in the next Uddyota of his work. If however we take this *Trṣṇā* as an *Upalakṣaṇa* for all Bhāvas, this Sthāyin will become identical with the Śama or the *Praśama* of all *Cittavṛttis*. That this Sthāyin also will, in some way, become a form of Śama is accepted by Ānanda when he distinguishes the Śānta from the *Vīra* in which certain opponents include the Śānta. Ānanda says:—

“अस्य च शान्तस्य अहङ्कारप्रशमैकरूपतया स्थितेः ।” p. 177.

And the Locana here interprets Ahaṅkārapraśama as Nirīhatva. Hemacandra, a follower of Ānanda and Abhinava, equates Ānanda's Tṛṣṇākṣaya with Śama:—

“—तृष्णाक्षयरूपः शमः स्थायिभावः चर्वणां प्राप्तः शान्तो रसः ।”

K. A., p. 80.

The Locana informs us that there were some who, not

4. *Sarvacittavṛtti-praśama.*

satisfied with Tṛṣṇākṣayasukha, gave the complete death of all the Cittavṛttis, the modifications of the mind, as the Sthāyin.

Abhinava replies that if this is meant as a negative state, it can hardly be a Bhāva; for a negative state cannot be a state or Bhāva; if however it is meant as a positive state marked by the absence of all the Cittavṛttis, it comes to the same thing as that state of bliss which is marked by the annihilation of all desires.

‘अन्ये तु सर्वचित्तवृत्तिप्रशम एवास्य स्थायीति मन्यन्ते । तच्चासत् ; भावस्य प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधरूपत्वे चेतोवृत्तित्वाभावेन भावत्वायोगात् । पर्युदासे तु अस्मत्पक्ष एवायम् ॥’ Locana, p. 177. (Reconstructed)

There are others, the Locana continues, who quote a verse

5. *Nirviśeṣa-Cittavṛtti.*

from Bharata on Śānta as the one basic Rasa of which the other Bhāvas are transformations and hold that state of the mind

when it is itself and is free from any transforming condition, as the Sthāyin of Śānta. Abhinava says that this also differs only slightly from Tṛṣṇākṣaya. While Anupajātaviśeṣa-cittavṛtti is a state of Prāgabdhāva of Tṛṣṇā etc., Tṛṣṇākṣaya refers to a state of the Pradhvaṁsābhāva of Tṛṣṇā etc. The extermination of Tṛṣṇā is the natural process; we see in experience the polluted Citta gradually clearing.

इति भरतवाक्यं दृष्टवन्तः सर्वरससामान्यस्वभावं शान्तमाचक्षाणा अनुपजात-विशेषान्तरं चित्तवृत्तिरूपं शान्तस्य स्थायिभावं मन्यन्ते ।” p. 177.

6. *Dhṛti.*

Bhoja gives Dhṛti as the Sthāyin of Śānta in his Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharāṇa. pp. 514-515.

“——धृतिस्थायिभावः वस्तुतत्त्वलोचनादिभिः व्यभिचारिभावैः वागारम्भादिभिरनुषज्यमानः निष्पन्नः शान्त इत्यभिगीयते ।

अन्ये पुनरस्य शमं प्रकृतिमामनन्ति, स तु धृतेरेव विशेषो भवति ।”

What is this Dhṛti? Dhṛti means Firmness, Contentment and Joy. All the three are pertinent. But Bhoja means only contentment, Santuṣṭi, for, his illustration is:—

सर्वाः सम्पत्तयस्तस्य सन्तुष्टं यस्य मानसम् ।

उपानद्रूपपादस्य ननु चर्मास्तृतेव भूः ॥

This contentment again is not far off from Trṣṇākṣaya or Śama. Bhoja mentions Śama here as being held by others and he opines that it comes under Dhṛti. Perhaps the reason why Bhoja did not choose Śama is that it is not found in Bharata's list of 49 Bhāvas. Dhṛti is found there. Elsewhere Bhoja gives the same Śama as a variety of the Vyabhicārin called Mati.

(p. 523) मतिविशेषः शमो यथा । Mati has a variety called Tattvajñāna which is again not different from Śama.¹ In the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa Bhoja discards Dhṛti and holds Śama as the Sthāyin.

“अत्र च शमप्रकृतिः शान्तः etc.”

Śr. pra. Mad. Ms., Vol. II, pp. 377-8.

Dhṛti is mentioned by Bharata as a Vyabhicārin and in Ch. 7, Vijñāna, Śruti, Śauca, Ācāra and Gurubhakti are mentioned among its Vibhāvas. These would properly come within the scope of the Śānta Rasa. Earlier, in the first chapter itself, Bharata speaks of Dhṛti. While describing how variously Drama pleases persons of differing temperaments and moods, Bharata says that Drama gives Dhṛti to those whose minds are in anguish or are disturbed very much.

अर्थोपजीविनामर्थो धृतिरुद्विग्नचेतसाम् । Gaek. Edn. I, 112.

This Dhṛti may refer generally to the balm-like effect Drama has. Abhinava takes it as 'Dhairya', firmness of heart. This Dhṛti may refer in particular also to such dramas in which the production of Dhṛti in the audience is the special purpose of the drama. Such cases would be Śānta-plays.

Many other Bhāvas are held as the Sthāyin of Śānta by other writers. We come to know of these

7. Nirveda.

from the Abhinavabhāratī. We are not given in this work the names of the writers who held those views. The first Bhāva to claim our attention is Nirveda. The almost only reason why certain writers hold Nirveda as the Sthāyin of Śānta is their necessity to show the

1. This Mati-variety is not that which Bhoja holds as the Sthāyin for his new Udāta Rasa on p. 515, S. K. Ā.

opponents of Śānta Rasa that the Sthāyin of Śānta is surely found in Bharata. They are not for holding to Śāma, a Bhāva not to be found among Bharata's forty-nine Bhāvas. While Bhoja tried for some time to get over the difficulty by picking out Dhṛti from the 49, there were earlier writers who took the very first Vyabhicārin Nirveda and proposed to treat it as a Bhāva which was both Vyabhicārin and Sthāyin. The Abhinavabhāratī says:—

“तत्त्वज्ञानजो निर्वेदोऽस्य स्थायी । एतदर्थमेव उभयधर्मोपजीवित्व-
ख्यापनाय अमङ्गलभूतोऽप्यसौ पूर्वं निर्दिष्टः । Gaek. Edn., pp. 269-270.

“या चासौ तथाभूता (मोक्षाभिधानपरमपुरुषार्थोचिता) चित्तवृत्तिः
सैवात्र (शान्ते) स्थायिभावः । एतत्तु चिन्त्यम्, किन्नामासौ ? तत्त्वज्ञानोत्थितो
निर्वेद इति केचित् । तथा हि—दारिद्र्यादिप्रभवो यो निर्वेदः ततोऽन्य एव,
हेतोस्तत्त्वज्ञानस्य वैलक्षण्यात् । स्थायिसञ्चारिमध्ये च एतदर्थमेवायं पठितः,
अन्यथा माङ्गलिको मुनिः तथा न पठेत् ।” *ibid.* p. 334.

The problem that has to be faced first is the postulation of Śānta as a Rasa. The first objection against it is that Bharata has not given its Sthāyin. To answer this criticism, certain advocates of Śānta say that Bharata has given the Sthāyin of Śānta in his text; it is Nirveda. But how did these advocates of Śānta discover that it was Nirveda? Bharata does not say so; Bharata gives it as a Vyabhicāribhāva, the first among them. The reply is that Bharata's mention of Nirveda at the head of the Vyabhicārins and immediately after the Sthāyins, has a meaning. Nirveda is a dislike for objects and as such, is inauspicious, Amaṅgala. Sage Bharata is one who utters auspiciously and so his mention of Nirveda as the first asks us to explore a hidden meaning (अमङ्गलं सत् ज्ञापयति). It is to show to us that, though it is inauspicious, it is given as the first, since, while being a Vyabhicārin, it is also a Sthāyin; the Sthāyin of the Rasa called Śānta. If it is not for the suggestion of this Prayojana, Bharata would not have given the inauspicious Nirveda first. Then arises the question: Is Nirveda itself the Sthāyin? Nirveda is born of broken love, poverty or many more causes. What variety of it is exactly the Sthāyin of Śānta? Bharata describes Nirveda thus in Ch. 7:—

तत्र निर्वेदो नाम दारिद्र्यव्याध्यवमानाधिक्षेपाक्रुष्टक्रोधताडनइष्टजन-
वियोगतत्त्वज्ञानादिभिः विभावैः उत्पद्यते । Gaek. Edn. I, p. 357.

Bharata here gives many causes as producing Nirveda. One of these varieties of Nirveda is that born of Tattvajñāna. It is Nirveda for all mundane things. This Nirveda alone is relevant in a consideration of the Śānta Rasa. It is this Nirveda born of Tattvajñāna that is held as the Sthāyin of Śānta by those who are anxious to have the authority of Bharata. But how can a Vyabhicārin become a Sthāyin? It is said that only such Nirveda as is born of broken love, poverty etc. is Vyabhicārin. The same Nirveda when it is born of Tattvajñāna and shuns all mundane things becomes the permanent Sthāyin. Says Śārṅga-deva—

स्थायी स्याद्विषयेष्वेव तत्त्वज्ञानोद्भवो यदि ।

इष्टानिष्टवियोगात्तिकृतस्तु व्यभिचार्यसौ ॥ Saṅgīta-Ratnākara.

Such Nirveda becomes greater not only than other kinds of Nirveda but also than all the other Sthāyins and Vyabhicārins, all of which it subordinates. Says Abhinava while expounding the case of Nirveda:—

तत्त्वज्ञानजश्च निर्वेदः स्थाय्यन्तरोपमर्दकः । भाववैचित्र्यसहिष्णुभ्यो
रत्यादिभ्यः यः परमः स्थायिशीलः स एव हि स्थाय्यन्तराणामुपमर्दकः ।

Gaek. Edn. I, p. 334.

It is this 'Anyopamardaka' Sthāyin-type of Nirveda that is taken.

Mammaṭa accepts Nirveda as the Sthāyin.

“निर्वेदस्य अमङ्गलप्रायस्य प्रथममनुपादेयत्वेऽपि उपादानं व्यभिचारि-
त्वेऽपि स्थायित्वाभिधानार्थम् । तेन—

निर्वेदस्थाभिभावाख्यः शान्तोऽपि नवमो रसः ।”

Mammaṭa does not say that this Nirveda is Amaṅgala, but says it is 'Amaṅgalaprāya'. As a matter of fact, Nirveda born of Tattvajñāna is the greatest Maṅgala. Says Bhaṭṭa Gopāla in his gloss here:—

“तत्त्वचिन्तायां तु निर्वेदस्य न किञ्चिदमङ्गलप्रायत्वम्, प्रत्युत मङ्गल-
प्रायत्वमित्याह ।” T.S.S. Edn. K. Pra., p. 138.

This shows how trivial this argument for Śānta based on this Maṅgalavāda is. Another difficulty in this argument of 'Maṅgala-Amaṅgala' is the question why there should be any Maṅgala when the enumeration of the Vyabhicārins begins. No doubt, there is the habit of Madhya-maṅgala among writers, but why

should that Madhya-maṅgala be at the beginning of the Vyabhicārins? Another argument advanced by the advocates of Nirveda is that it is in the position of a lamp on the door-step, a Dehalīdīpa, shedding light on either side of the door. Being enumerated at the end of the eight Sthāyins and at the beginning of the Vyabhicārins, it has to be taken, according to the implied idea of Bharata, that Nirveda among the Vyabhicārins must once be taken with preceding items, the Sthāyins, and then with the succeeding items, the Vyabhicārins. This is also an argument without weight. For there are other Vyabhicārins which also are Sthāyins, as for instance, Amarṣa which as Krodha is the Sthāyin of Raudra, and Viṣāda which as Śoka is the Sthāyin of Karuṇa. These are not brought to the front and enumerated at the beginning along with Nirveda.

Another possible objection to having Nirveda as Sthāyin also besides a Vyabhicārin is that a Bhāva which Bharata has definitely mentioned as a Vyabhicārin cannot be taken as a Sthāyin also. But to this the reply comes out that Bharata himself gives a hint, taking which it can be proved that the status of Sthāyitva, Vyabhicāritva and Sāttvikatva of the forty-nine Bhāvas are not names belonging only to those given under those names but that any of the forty-nine may, according to the circumstance, become any of the three. This is the pre-Abhinavagupta view of the nature of the forty-nine Bhāvas and the names Sthāyin, Vyabhicārin and Sāttvika. As a consequence of this view, there grew a tendency which expressed itself from the times of Rudraṭa and Lolḷaṭa up to the time of Bhoja, that Rasas are not eight or nine only, but forty-nine. The hint mentioned above and referred to by these theorists is contained in Bharata's text on the Vyabhicārins of Rati where he mentions Jugupsā, a Sthāyin, as one of the prohibited.

व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य आलस्यौग्रयजुगुप्सावर्जाः ।

Gaek. Edn. I, p. 307.

This means that Bharata himself suggests that Sthāyins may become Vyabhicārins and Vyabhicārins, Sthāyins. This view is stated as follows by Abhinava, as Pūrvapakṣa:—

जुगुप्सां च व्यभिचारित्वेन शृङ्गारे निषेधन्मुनिः भावानां सर्वेषामेव स्थायित्वसञ्चारित्वचिन्तनात्तावत्त्व(चित्तजत्व)¹ अनुभावत्वानि योग्यतोपनिपतितानि शब्दार्थबलाकृष्टानि अनुजानाति । Abhi. Bhā., p. 334.

1. Means Sāttvikatva.

Abhinava criticises this view. He does not accept the Nirveda born of Tattvajñāna as the Sthāyin of Śānta. If such Nirveda as is born of Tattvajñāna is the Sthāyin, it means that Tattvajñāna is the Vibhāva. The other Vibhāvas given, namely Vairāgya, Samādhi etc., are not Vibhāvas strictly. If they are included as Vibhāvas because they are causes producing Tattvajñāna, they are really the causes of the cause. The cause of the cause is never called Vibhāva. Further, Nirveda itself is an aversion towards all objects and is not different from Vairāgya. Far from being the product of Tattvajñāna, Nirveda is one of the causes bringing about Tattvajñāna. For it is one having aversion to mundane things that strives after Mokṣa and attains Tattvajñāna. It is well-known that Mokṣa is directly attained through Tattvajñāna and it is not true to say that one attains Tattvajñāna first, then gets aversion and then attains Mokṣa. Īśvarakṛṣṇa also says that Vairāgya is not the final stage preceding Mokṣa, that Vairāgya at best results only in Prakṛtilaya in the absence of Tattvajñāna. Tattvajñāna alone results in Mokṣa.

‘वैराग्यात् प्रकृतिलयः ।’ Sām. Kārikā, 45.

Says the Vṛtti of Gauḍapāda here :—

यथा कस्यचिद् वैराग्यमस्ति, न तत्त्वज्ञानम्, तस्मादज्ञानपूर्वद्वैराग्यात् प्रकृतिलयः । मृतः अष्टासु प्रकृतिषु प्रधानबुद्ध्यहङ्कारतन्मात्रेषु लीयते, न मोक्षः ॥

It may be said that Tattvajñāna strengthens Vairāgya and increases it. Patañjali also says that Vairāgya towards Guṇas results from Tattvajñāna (Puruṣakhyāti). Yoga Sūtra I. 16: तत्परं पुरुषख्यातेर्गुणवैतृष्यम्. But Vyāsa, in his Bhāṣya on this Sūtra, says that such Vairāgya is really Jñāna: ज्ञानस्यैव परा काष्ठा वैराग्यम्. (Ānandāśrama Edn., p. 20.) Therefore it comes to Tattvajñāna strengthening and increasing itself from stage to stage. The result is there is no Nirveda as Sthāyin but only Tattvajñāna. It is the Sthāyin of Śānta.

Surely Bharata speaks in Ch. 7 (the Bhāvādhyāya), while describing Nirveda, of the Niveda that is born of Tattvajñāna. This Tattvajñāna or Samyagjñāna and the Nirveda born of it do not refer to Śānta Rasa and its Sthāyin but refer only to the ordinary and common Nirveda born on one realising that he has wasted his energies in a worthless cause through mistake, as in

serving a miser who would not pay. वृथा दुग्धोऽनड्वान् etc. Such Nirveda can be a Bhāva only.

The advocate of Nirveda quotes now Akṣapāda against Patañjali. Akṣapāda, he states, says in his Nyāya Sūtra 1.i.2. that the removal of Mithyājñāna, i.e. the appearance of Tattvajñāna, produces the destruction of Doṣa, i.e. produces Vairāgya. Thus Tattvajñāna-ja Nirveda or Tattvajñāna-ja Vairāgya is the Sthāyin. This Nirveda or Vairāgya is the final stage and not Tattvajñāna which is only one of the causes of Vairāgya. The reply to this is thus given in the Abhinavabhārati: Surely Akṣapāda speaks of Vairāgya but who said Vairāgya is Nirveda? Nirveda is an attitude of aversion and a continued sadness and as such, is hardly identical with Vairāgya. Mokṣa, for which we are now postulating the Rasa (the Śānta), is a state of Kaivalya in which there is neither the sorrow nor the joy of this earth. Vairāgya is the cessation of Rāga and Dveṣa and is not identical with Nirveda. Even if we accept that Nirveda is Vairāgya, it does not follow from Gautama's words that Vairāgya or Nirveda is the Sthāyin of Śānta. According to the Sūtra of Gautama,

दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानानामुत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः,

it is not the immediately preceding condition of Mukti. From Vairāgya, activity (Pravṛtti) must stop; from cessation of activity, birth must stop and when birth ends, misery flies away; when misery has fled, it is Mukti.

Lastly, there is no good reason why one should take so much trouble, qualify it as Nirveda born of Tattvajñāna and call it Vairāgya and stick to Nirveda. Such a cumbrous and elaborately described Nirveda is only another name for the simple Śānta which can be the Sthāyin of Śānta.

Other views on the Sthāyin of Śānta are also available in the Abhinavabhārati. Certain writers held

8. *Utsāha*.

Utsāha, the Sthāyin of Vīra, as the Sthāyin of Śānta also. Abhinava says:—

‘उत्साह एवास्य स्थायीत्यन्ये ।’ p. 269. 1

1. तत्र शान्तस्य स्थायी ‘विस्मयशमा’ इति कैश्चित् पठितः । उत्साह एवास्य स्थायीत्यन्ये । जुगुप्सेति केचित् । सर्व इत्येके । तत्त्वज्ञानजो निर्वेदोऽस्य स्थायी * * * इत्यपरे ।”

How did some writers come to hold Utsāha as the Sthāyin of Śānta? Utsāha, as given by Bharata, is the Sthāyin of Vīra. It is said that there are three or four varieties of Vīra, Dānavīra and Dayāvīra being two of them. The variety named Dayāvīra as exhibited in the acts of sacrifice of Bodhisattvas and as dramatised by Harṣa in his Nāgānanda is very much akin to Śānta. So much so that some antagonists of Śānta say that there is no need for a ninth Rasa named Śānta and that the situations in discussion come under Dayāvīra. Nāgānanda is a Dayāvīra play. The Sthāyin of Dayāvīra, as of other Vīras, is Utsāha.¹ Further, the path to attain Mokṣa is one of strenuous effort and the yogin's fights and victories in the realm of the spirit have always been described in the image of heroism. (Cf. the description of Aja and Raghu in Canto VIII of the Raghuvamśa (Śls. 19-23; from अनयत् प्रभुशक्तिसम्पदा to इति शत्रुषु चेन्द्रियेषु च.) Subrahmaṇya Sudhīḥ explains at length in his commentary, the Praudhaprakāśa, on the Prabodha Candrodaya (Madras MS), how Śāntarasa is portrayed in the play in the Samāsokti of Vīra. So it is perhaps that certain advocates of Śānta who were worried about finding a Sthāyin for Śānta from

जुगुप्सां स्थायिभावं तु शान्ते केचिद्भाषिरे । उत्साहमादुरन्येऽन्ये शमम्,
सर्वान् परे विदुः ॥ * * * निर्वेदस्तत्त्वबोधोत्थः स्थायी शान्ते भवेदसौ ॥
Śārngadeva, Saṅgitaratnākara.

1. In reply to these critics of Śānta who hold that there is no need for a new Rasa like Śānta when there is Dayāvīra, Abhinava says that Bharata gave only three varieties of Vīra, Dānavīra, Dharmavīra and Yuddhavīra and that one cannot create a new Vīra. Dayāvīra is only a new name for Śānta.

“नन्वेवं दयावीरो धर्मवीरो दानवीरो वा नासौ कश्चित् । शान्तस्यैवेदं
नामान्तरकरणम् । तथा च मुनिः —

‘दानवीरं धर्मवीरं युद्धवीरं तथैव च ।

रसं वीरमपि प्राह ब्रह्मा त्रिविधसंमितम् ॥’

इत्यागमपुरस्सरं त्रैविध्यमेवाभ्यधात् ।” Locana, pp. 117-8.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, in his Kāvya Prakāśa-vyākhyā: pp. 139-140, T.S.S:

“दयावीर इति शान्तस्यैव नामान्तरकरणम्, येन ‘दानवीरं युद्धवीरं
धर्मवीरं तथैव च । रसं वीरमपि प्राह ब्रह्मा त्रिविधसंमितम् ॥’ इति त्रैविध्यमेवावस्य
मुनिना वीरस्याभ्यधाति ॥”

among the Bhāvas mentioned by Bharata, chose Utsāha. They intended to improve upon the position of those who held to Nirveda, who made the mistake of voting a Vyabhicārin to a Sthāyin's place and hence felt their position beset with many difficulties. They had to resort to quibbling with auspiciousness-inauspiciousness, Dehalidīpanyāya etc. The sponsors of Utsāha, like those of Rati and Jugupsā to whom we shall come presently, had the advantage of fixing one of the eight Sthāyins themselves mentioned by Bharata as the Sthāyin of Śānta also. But then arose the problem: how could one Bhāva beget two Rasas? The difficulty was overcome by accepting varieties of the same Sthāyin. It was even as Nirveda being made into a special species called Tattvajñāna-ja Nirveda, Nirveda born of the knowledge of Truth. Hāsa also has many varieties. Rati is divided into Sambhoga and Vipralambha.

The writers who held Utsāha as the Sthāyin of Śānta built on sand. They knew not what they were doing. The opponents at once undermined them by suggesting the inclusion of Śānta in Vīra. One of the main Pūrvapakṣas to Śānta is the possibility of its inclusion in one of the eight Rasas mentioned by Bharata. Ānanda mentions this objection and replies:—

“न तस्य वीरेऽन्तर्भावः कर्तुं युक्तः । तस्य अभिमानमयत्वेन व्यवस्था-
पनात् । अस्य च अहङ्कारप्रशमैकरूपतया स्थितेः etc.”

“तयोश्च एवंविधविशेषसद्भावेऽपि यद्यैक्यं परिकल्प्यते, तद्वीरौद्रयोरपि
तथा प्रसङ्गः ।” Dhva. Ā. pp. 177-8.

The Daśarūpakāvaloka says:—

“अन्ये तु वीरबीभत्सादौ अन्तर्भावं वर्णयन्ति ।”

The real position of the Bhāva called Utsāha is this: Utsāha closely attends upon Ahaṅkāra without which there cannot be any activity. No Rasa is possible without these two elements. Bhoja pursues this line and discovers his Ahaṅkāra theory of Rasa. But according to the rule of predominance, Prādhānya-nyāya, it is Vīrarasa to which this Utsāha is connected most. This Vīra is held to have four varieties, Yuddha, Dharma, Dāna and Dayā Vīras. Of this Yuddhavīra is Vīra proper. Utsāha is however Sthāyin of the other three varieties also. This Utsāha is the very basis of all action and as such can be seen in some varieties of Śānta. Two such varieties are Dayāvīra and Dharma-vīra which are really names of two aspects of Śānta. Śānta is a

wider field; it includes Dayā and Dharma but is not included in or exhausted by these two. Numerous are the religions and paths of action towards spiritual realisation. Why these two Vīras of Dayā and Dharma only? Dānavīra can be a form of Śānta. Dāna may stand for Tyāga also. त्यागेनैके अमृतत्वमानशुः. Even Yuddhavīra can be a form of Śānta: there are those who fight religious crusades for the defence of their faith. Similarly there can be a variety of Śānta called Pāṇḍityavīra which Jagannātha humorously introduces.¹ Study of texts, learning their true import and propagation of their teachings form part of Śānta-activities. These produce Pāṇḍityavīra in the prophet who has to meet and win adversaries in debate. So also there is Kṣamāvīra which also Jagannātha points out. Kṣamā is a virtue of very great importance in Śānta. So Utsāha is not Śānta; Śānta comprehends many kinds of Utsāha. That is, several kinds of sublimating Utsāhas are Vyabhicārins in Śānta. Dayā-utsāha, Dāna-utsāha etc. are very frequent and are intimately

1. Rasagangādhara, K. M. edn., pp. 37-42. वस्तुतस्तु बहवो वीरसस्य शृङ्गारस्येव प्रकारा निरूपयितुं शक्यन्ते. (p. 51.) Jagannātha mentions besides the four old Vīras, Satyavīra, Pāṇḍityavīra, Kṣamāvīra and Balavīra. The Mahābhārata mentions numberless varieties of this Vīra, while describing Dāna. Bhīṣma says in the Dānadharmaparva in the Anuśāsana, Śls. 22-27.

शूरा बहुविधाः प्रोक्ताः तेषामर्थोस्तु मे शृणु ।

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यज्ञशूरा दमे शूराः सत्यशूरास्तथापरे ।

युद्धशूरास्तथैवोक्ता दानशूराश्च मानवाः ॥

बुद्धिशूरास्तथैवान्ये क्षमाशूरास्तथा परे ।

सांख्यशूराश्च बहवो योगशूरास्तथा परे ॥

अरण्ये गृहवासे च त्यागे शूरास्तथा परे ।

आर्जवे च तथा शूराः शमे वर्तन्ति मानवाः ॥

तैस्तैश्च नियमैश्शूरा बहवः सन्ति चापरे ।

वेदाध्ययनशूराश्च शूराश्चाध्यापने रताः ॥

गुरुशुश्रूषया शूराः पितृशुश्रूषया परे ।

मातृशुश्रूषया शूरा भैक्ष्यशूरास्तथा परे ॥

अरण्ये गृहवासे च शूराश्चातिथिपूजने ।

सर्वे यान्ति परान् लोकान् स्वकर्मफलनिर्जितान् ॥ Kumbakonam Edn.

related Vyabhicārins in Śānta. Even the yogin who has realised Truth and has become, like God, Kṛtakṛtya and Avāptasamastakāma, has yet embodied existence in this world as Jīvanmukta and naturally, like God, he also stops not from untainting action for the sake of the world. The Lord says:—

न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु किञ्चन ।

नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं वर्त एव च कर्मणि ॥ etc. Bha. Gītā, III, 22-24.

Thus Utsāha of such selfless activities as in Dānavīra, Dayāvīra, Dharamavīra etc. is an intimate accessory (and only an accessory) in Śānta. Says Abhinava:—

“स्वात्मनि च कृतकृत्यस्य परार्थघटनायामेव उद्यम इति उत्साहोऽस्य परोपकारविषयेच्छाप्रयत्नरूपो दयापरपर्यायः अभ्यधिकोऽन्तरङ्गः । अत एव तत् केचित् दयावीरत्वेन व्यपदिशन्ति, अन्ये धर्मवीरत्वेन ।”

Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 338.

There is a saying that for those who would have this world, there is no hope for the other. Only he

10. *Jugupsā.* who discards all mundane things can walk to salvation. For this, he must

cultivate the feeling of disgust or loathsomeness towards the things of this world. This is the Bhāva of Jugupsā. Some hold this to be most important in Śānta and propose it for the place of the Sthāyin.¹ ‘जुगुप्सेति केचित्’ Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 262.

Bhaṭṭa Tauta has made some contribution to this Jugupsā and its relation to Śānta. In Śls. 97-102, Ch. VI, Bharata speaks of the varieties in each of the eight Rasas and here he says of Bībhatsa:—

बीभत्सः क्षोभणः शुद्ध उद्वेगी स्यात् द्वितीयकः ।

विष्ठाकृमिरुद्वेगी क्षोभणो रुधिरादिजः ॥ 101.

Bībhatsa is of two kinds, Kṣobhaṇa and Udvegī. But in the first line, there is an additional word *Śuddha*. Commentators took it as qualifying Kṣobhaṇa and they distinguished the Udvegī variety as Aśuddha. But Bhaṭṭa Tauta said that Bībhatsa is of three kinds: Kṣobhaṇa, Śuddha and Udvegī. The Gaek. edn. gives a reading here which has ‘स्यात्तृतीयकः’ for ‘स्यात् द्वितीयकः’. Tauta explains Śuddha Jugupsā as the disgust at

1. Nirveda is very closely allied to this Jugupsā.

the so-called pleasures of the world'. Such Jugupsā is illustrated in poems of Vairāgya in which women and the like are denounced. This is a very powerful aid to Mokṣa.¹ When passions assail and evils tempt, Patañjali asks us to hate them by imagining and contemplating the other side of the pleasures, the attendant misery etc., and begin to loathe them.

“रुधिरान्त्रादिदर्शनाद्यो बीभत्सः (स) क्षोभणत्वाच्छुद्धः । यस्तु विष्ठा-
दिभ्यः स उद्वेगी हृदयं चलयति, सोऽशुद्धः, अशुद्धविभावकत्वात् ।

उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—बीभत्सस्तावत् विभावविशेषात् यत्र तु संसार-
नाट्यनायकरागप्रतिपक्षतया मोक्षसाधनत्वात् शुद्धः, यदाहुः—‘शौचात्
स्वाङ्गजुगुप्सा’ योगसू० II. 40.) इति । तथा ‘वितर्कबाधने प्रतिपक्ष-
भावनम्’ इति (योगसू० II. 33.) तेन सोऽपि (बीभत्सोऽपि) परमार्थत-
स्त्रिविध एव ।”

Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 332.

But Tauta did not have the reading ‘स्यात् तृतीयकः’ for he interprets the text ‘स्याद् द्वितीयकः’. He says that though there are really three kinds, Bharata speaks of two, because of the rarity of persons having the Śuddha Jugupsā.

“द्वितीयक इत्यनेन तस्य दुर्लभत्वेन अप्राचुर्यं सूचयति ।”

ibid. P. 332.

So it is that some critics who do not want a separate Śānta say that, even as it is possible to include it in Vīra, it is possible to include it in Bībhatsa. The D. R. Avaloka says:—

“अन्ये तु वीरबीभत्सादौ अन्तर्भावं वर्णयन्ति ।”

The reply to this is the same as to the argument which sought to include Śānta in Vīra. Just as Utsāha is a very prominent accessory of Śānta, Jugupsā also is. This Śuddha Jugupsā may be a prominent Vyabhicārin; but Śānta is not Jugupsātmaka. The Locana says:—

“आदिग्रहणेन विषयजुगुप्सारूपत्वात् बीभत्सेऽन्तर्भावः शक्यते । सा
त्वस्य व्यभिचारिणी भवति, न तु स्थायितामेति ।” P. 178.

The Abhinavabhāratī says:—

“केवलं यथा विप्रलम्भे औत्सुक्यम्, सम्भोगेऽपि वा ‘प्रेमासमाप्तो-
त्सवम्’ इति, यथा च रौद्रे औग्र्यम्, यथा च करुणवीरभयानकाद्भुतेशु

1. Just as Nirveda which is born of Tattvajñāna becomes Maṅgala, Jugupsā for worldly objects become Śuddha.

निर्वेदधृतित्रासहर्षाः व्यभिचारिणोऽपि प्राधान्येनावभासन्ते तथा शान्ते जुगुप्साद्याः, सर्वथैव रागप्रतिपक्षत्वात् ।' p. 338.

Another interesting view is that which holds the first

Sthāyin, Rati, itself as the Sthāyin of

10. *Rati*.

Śānta Rasa. This view also arose out of

the necessity to choose one of the Sthāyins

mentioned by Bharata himself as the Sthāyin of Śānta also.

This view also makes a fine approach to Śānta and is an

appreciation of an aspect of the fundamental nature of Śānta.

Truth whose realisation is salvation is of the nature of Self which

is Ātman. It has to be realised by piercing the veil of things

which are 'Anātman' and which shroud the Ātman. Things

Anātman must be loathed and this loathing of Anātman led to

the Jugupsā-view. The Rati-view is closely related to the Jugupsā-

view; for when 'Anātman' is *loathed*, Ātman has to be loved.

This love of Ātman, Ātmarati, is the Sthāyin of Śānta. When

one realises Ātman everywhere, his Love floods the universe;

Jugupsā then flies away; for there is none besides or beyond

Ātman to be shunned then.

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।

सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥

Like Śuddha Jugupsā, this is Śuddha Rati, a superior Love, distinct from the Rati of man for woman. Bhoja pursued this idea of Ātmarati and landed on the philosophical summit of the Śrīngāra theory of one Rasa.

ज्ञेयो रसः स रसनीयता आत्मरक्तेः । Śr. Pra.

The Abhinavabhārati records the Rati-view thus:—

तत्र अनाहतानन्दमयस्वात्मविषया रतिरेव मोक्षसाधनमिति सैव शान्ते स्थायिनीति । यथोक्तम्—

‘यश्चात्मरतिरेव स्यादात्मतृप्तश्च मानवः ।

आत्मन्येव च सन्तुष्टः तस्य कार्यं न विद्यते ॥’ इति (भ. गीता.)

Abhi. Bhā. Gaek. Edn., I., p. 335.

Further, Rati has this additional qualification for being the Sthāyin of Śānta, since the final state of Mokṣa is one of Ānanda and Self which is realised is itself of the form of Ānanda.

This Rati sails in the same boat as Utsāha and Jugupsā. Only it seems to be more intimate to Śānta, a Vyabhicārin of greater importance. Not only Ātma-rati, but Rati for a personal God, which is called Bhakti and is proposed as a separate Rasa, comes under Śānta. The Śānta has had a love-treatment at the hands of some poets and theorists.

‘अत एव ईश्वरप्रणिधानविषये भक्तिश्रद्धे स्मृतिमतिधृत्युत्साहानुप्रविष्टे अन्यथैवाङ्गमिति न तयोः पृथग्रसत्वेन गणनम् ।’

Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 340.

On the same grounds on which Utsāha, Jugupsā and Rati were proposed, the other Sthāyins can also be proposed as Sthāyins of Śānta. Only they have to be shorn of their ordinary Vibhāvas etc. and made a superior and extra-ordinary variety (*vicitra*) with Vibhāvas like Śrūta etc. Any one of these eight *Vicitra* Sthāyins can be called the Sthāyin of Śānta. Abhinava says:—

“अन्ये मन्यन्ते रत्यादय एवाष्टौ चित्तवृत्तिविशेषा उक्ताः । त एव कथितविभावविविक्त(तया) श्रुताद्यलौकिकविभावविशेषसंश्रयाः विचित्रा एव तावत् । ततश्च तन्मध्याद् एव अन्यतमोऽत्र स्थायी ।”

It is in accordance with this view that some hold a variety of Vira, Dayā or Dharma, Jugupsā for the world called Śuddha Jugupsā and Rati towards the Self called Ātmarati as the Sthāyins of Śānta. Abhinava elaborates in his *Pūrvapakṣa* that others among the eight Sthāyins have equal claim to be the Sthāyin.

“एवं समस्तविषयं वैकृतं¹ पश्यतः, विश्वं च शोच्यं² विलोकयतः, सांसारिकं च वृत्तम् अपकारित्वेन³ पश्यतः, सातिशयम् असंमोहप्रधानं वीर्यं⁴ माश्रितवतः, सर्वस्मात् विषयसार्थाद् बिभ्यतः⁵, सर्वलोकस्पृहणीयादपि प्रमदादेः जुगुप्समानस्य⁶, अपूर्वस्वात्मातिशयलाभात् विस्मयमानस्य⁷, मोक्षसिद्धिरिति हासादीनां विस्मयान्तानां स्थायित्वं निरूपणीयम् । न चैतन्मुनेः न संमतम् । यावदेव हि विशिष्टान् विभावान् परिगणयति रत्यादिशब्देन चशब्देन च

1. Hāsa.

3. Krodha.

5. Bhaya.

2. Śoka.

4. Utsāha.

6. Jugupsā.

7. Vismaya.

तत्प्रकारानेव अन्यान् गृह्णीते, तावदेव तद्व्यतिरिक्त-अलौकिकहेतूपनतानां रत्यादीनामनुजानात्येव अपवर्गविषयत्वम् ।

एवंवादिनां तु परस्परमेव विशारयताम् एकस्य स्थायित्वं विशीर्यत एव । तदुपायभेदात्तस्य तस्य स्थायित्वमित्यप्युच्यमानं प्रत्युक्तमेव । स्थायिभेदेन प्रतिपुरुषं रसस्याप्यानन्त्यापत्तेः । मोक्षैकफलत्वादेको रस इति चेत्, क्षयैक-फलत्वे वीररौद्रयोरप्येकत्वं स्यात् ।”

Gaek. Edn., I, pp. 336-7, (Corrected).

It is often said that for the thinking man, the world is a comedy. Man's pursuit after trifles, his अस्थाने महत्त्वसम्भावना, produces laughter in those who know the real value of the things of the world. To the Yogin, man's action and sentiment appear as Karma-ābhāsa and Bhāva-ābhāsa. Says Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa in a fine verse:—

एतत्तस्य मुखात् कियत् कमलिनीपत्रे कणं पाथसः

यन्मुक्तामणिरित्यमंस्त स जडः शृण्वेतदस्मादपि ।

अङ्गुल्यग्रनखक्रियाप्रविलयिन्यादीयमाने शनैः

कुत्रोड्डीय गतो हहेत्यनुदिनं निद्राति नान्तःशुचा ॥

So much on behalf of the importance of Hāsa in Śānta.

It is but a thin line that divides comedy from tragedy. To the feeling man, the same world is a tragedy. The Yogin pities the poor Samsārin, caught in the whirlpool of passion. Thus Śoka seems to dominate in Śānta. The seeking Yogin, the Yatamāna, who strives towards his goal, considers the world and its temptations as his enemy; he gets angry at them and desires to do away with them. This attitude is Krodha and Raudra. The same attitude begets fear of the temptations from which the seeker desires to fly. This is Bhaya. He reads of or listens to an exposition of the greatness, the omniscience, omnipresence, blissfulness and other aspects of the nature of the Self and when he contemplates on this wonderful truth about his own Self, he is thrilled and struck with the wonders of the world of the Spirit. This is Vismaya. As explained already, he loathes even the so-called pleasures of the world and then Jugupsā forms the prominent attitude. In this manner, these seven Sthāyins can claim to be the Sthāyins of Śānta.

The very possibility of each or all of the eight Sthāyins being the Sthāyin of Śānta prevents any one of them being the settled

Sthāyin of Śānta. It cannot also be held that, according to circumstances, the Sthāyin varies in Śānta. A multi-sthāyinned Rasa is foreign to the theory of Rasa and is an impossibility. Many Sthāyins can only mean many Rasas. If by virtue of the unity of the object, *viz.*, Mokṣa, a plurality of Sthāyins is accepted as resulting only in one Rasa, it can be pointed out that in view of both Vīra and Raudra resulting in the same end of the destruction of the enemy, Vīra and Raudra can be made into one Rasa. Therefore, neither any one nor all of the eight Sthāyins can be put forward as the Sthāyin of Śānta.

The real significance of this view however lies in another direction. It points to the fact that any or all of the other Sthāyins become, in their vicitra varieties, Vyabhicārins of Śānta and in their ordinary varieties the causes of Śānta. One may pass to Śama from Rati or Śoka; as a result of broken love, or the death of a beloved person, one may seek solace in Śama. Aśoka fought the Kalingas and passed from Vīra to Śānta. Therefore any of the eight Rasas or all of them can be the Uddīpaka of Śānta. Therefore it is that Śārṅgadeva says:—Śama is present in all the Rasas.

शमः सर्वरसेष्वस्ति स्थैर्यत्वेऽव्यभिचार्यसौ । Ś. R. VII. Śl. 3535.

and Kallinātha comments upon this:—

“अयमर्थः—लोके शृङ्गारादिषु अष्टसु मध्ये यं कञ्चन रसमनुभवत् एव पुंसो जन्मान्तरसुकृतविशेषवशात् शम उत्पद्यत इति तत्तद्रससम्बन्धात् शमस्य सर्वरसेषु अस्तित्वम् इति ।”

The next view is a reply to the criticism of the above-given view which proposed any one of the eight Sthāyins as the Sthāyin of Śānta. This view suggests that all the eight can be considered as constituting together the Sthāyin, taking Śānta as a peculiar case.

“सर्व इत्येके ।” Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 269.

“अन्ये तु पानकरसवत् अविभागं प्राप्ताः सर्वे एव रत्यादयोऽत्र स्थायिनः इत्याहुः । चित्तवृत्तीनामयुगपद्भावात्, अन्योन्यं च विरोधात् एतदपि न मनोज्ञम् ।” *ibid.* p. 332.

It is true that as Pūrvapakṣa, the whole of this complex world is involved in Śānta; but all these form only Vyabhicārins.

Says Abhinava:—

“तत्त्वज्ञानलक्षणस्य च स्थायिनः समस्तोऽयं लौकिकालौकिकचितवृत्ति-
कलापो व्यभिचारितामभ्येति ।” *ibid.* p. 338.

Rasa is developed from one and only one Sthāyin; if many Bhāvas appear, they can do so only as Vyābhicārins. The analogy of Pānakarasa must not be brought here. These Bhāvas contradict each other and cannot co-exist at the same time. How could they function together to produce a common Rasa?

So, what is the real Sthāyin of Śānta? Abhinava holds that

13. *Siddhānta*: Tattvajñāna or Ātmasvarūpa itself is the Ātman, Ātmajñāna Sthāyin of Śānta. He briefly states it or Tattvajñāna. thus in his Abhinavabhāratī:—

“कस्तर्ह्यत्र स्थायी ? उच्यते—इह तत्त्वज्ञानमेव तावन्मोक्षसा-
धनमिति तस्यैव मोक्षे स्थायिता युक्ता । तत्त्वज्ञानं च नाम आत्मज्ञानमेव ।”

“तेन आत्मैव ज्ञानानन्दादिविशुद्धधर्मयोगी परिकल्पितविषयोपभोग-
रहितोऽत्र स्थायी ।” Gaek. Edn., I, p. 337.

Earlier also he says:—

“ततः त्रिवर्गात्मकप्रवृत्तिधर्मविपरीतनिवृत्तिधर्मात्मको मोक्षफलः
शान्तः । तत्र स्वात्मावेशेन रसचरणेत्युक्तम् ।” *ibid.* p. 269.

Tattvajñāna or knowledge of Ātman is the direct cause or is itself Mokṣa. Therefore Ātmajñāna or the very nature of the Soul or Self which is itself of the form of Knowledge and Bliss—Jñāna and Ānanda—is the Sthāyin. This Ātman is Sthāyin not in the same sense in which Rati etc. are; it is Sthāyin *par excellence*. It is the basis and the root of all other Sthāyins. It is upon the substratum of this ultimate Sthāyin that, as a result of sense-con-
tacts with external objects of the world, the other eight Sthāyins are created. Behind Rati, Hāsa etc., is the eternal Ātman. Rati and the other Sthāyins rise and fall but Ātman is Sthāyitama; Rati and the other Sthāyins become its Vyābhicārins. (Abhi. Bhā., p. 337.)

Therefore it is, says Abhinava, that Bharata mentions not this Śāntarasa and its Sthāyin, Ātman. For, it belongs to a higher plane and it would have been improper if Bharata had given it among Rati and the rest. It is the very basis of Rati etc. which are not possible without it. Hence there is no need to specially mention what is undeniably implied.

अत एव पृथगस्य गणना न युक्ता । Abhi. Bhā., I, p. 337.

Bhaṭṭa Gopāla adds that Bharata abstained from indicating the Vibhāvas etc. of Śānta, not because he did not accept this Rasa, but because of its super-mundane nature.

“विभावाद्यप्रतिपादनं तस्य परमपुरुषार्थतया लोकयात्रातिक्रान्तत्वात् ।”

T. S. S., Edn. K. pra. vyā, p. 139.

This answers also the objection that one should not go beyond the total number of the Bhāvas which is given by Bharata as forty-nine. Abhinava says that the sanctity of the number ‘49’ is protected and that Bharata treats of Śānta by omission, by his eloquent silence.

“तेन अत्मैव ज्ञानानन्दादिविशुद्धधर्मयोगी परिकल्पितविषयोपभोग-
रहितोऽत्र स्थायी । न चास्य स्थायितया स्थायित्वं वचनीयम् । रत्यादयो हि
तत्तत्कारणान्तरोदयप्रलयोत्पद्यमाननिरुध्यमानवृत्तयः कश्चित्कालम् आपेक्षिकतया
स्थायिरूपात्मभित्तिसंश्रयाः स्थायिन उच्यन्ते । तत्त्वज्ञानं तु सकलभावान्तर-
भित्तिस्थानीयं सर्वस्थायिभ्यः स्थायितमं सर्वा रत्यादिकाः चित्तवृत्तीः
व्यभिचारीभावयन् निसर्गत एव सिद्धस्थायिभावमिति तन्न वचनीयम् । अत
एव पृथगस्य गणना न युक्ता । न हि खण्डमुण्डयोर्मध्ये गोत्वमिति गण्यते ।
तेन एकान्नपञ्चाशद्भावा इत्यव्याहतमेव ।”

Abhi. Bhā., Gaek. Edn., I, p. 337.

As the permanent wall upon which Rati etc. are formed, Ātman, as the supreme Sthāyin, is necessarily implied. This mention by silence means not only its acceptance but its acceptance as the greatest Rasa.

Another reason why Bharata has not mentioned Śānta along with Rati etc. is the difference between Ātmajñāna and other Sthāyins. Ātmajñāna is not relished by the same means or in the same manner as other Sthāyins. Since Ātmasvarūpa is usually seen as tinted by Rati etc., the ordinary means of comprehension which comprehend Rati etc. do not comprehend the Ātmasvarūpa. Further Bharata never attempted to give all the possible Sthāyins. He gave only those Sthāyins which are also Vyabhicārins; hence it is that he clubs them all together and speaks of them as the forty-nine Bhāvas. That Sthāyin, Ātmajñāna, which is never a Vyabhicārin anywhere, is not mentioned at all by him. How could he, knowing as he did, its real nature ?

All the above-given ingenuity and strain are the unavoidable corollary of the ancient method of commenting which never desired to go against the basic text and introduced new things only by securing for it the sanction of the basic text. The facts about the Rasa of Śānta itself which we gather from this discussion are:—

1. Tattvajñāna or Ātmajñāna or Ātmasvarūpa or briefly the Ātman itself is the Sthāyin of Śānta.

2. It is like the wall; upon it are formed Rati etc. which are 'Upādhis' of the pure self-illuminated Spirit. Nornishment of the permanent, unconditioned and untarnished Spirit by the appropriate Vibhāvas etc. will give the Śānta Rasa.

3. Though Rati etc. are Sthāyins compared to Nirveda etc., they are Vyābhicārins compared to the Ātmasthāyin, which is Sthāyitama.

“न चास्य आत्मस्वभावस्य व्यभिचारित्वम्, असंभवात्, अवैचित्र्या-
वहत्वात्, अनौचित्याच्च । शम आत्मस्वभावः ।

This Ātmasvabhāva is called Śama.¹

Abhinava advanced the above-given arguments for Śānta and its Sthāyin without resorting to the text of Bharata on Śānta found in some recensions. In this text, Śama is given as the Sthāyin of Śānta.

अथ शान्तो ताम शमस्थायिभावात्मकः etc.

1. Though Abhinava holds Śama which is identical with Ātmasvabhāva as a Sthāyin for all time, the anonymous commentary on the Vyaktiviveka holds Śama as appearing in the form of Vyābhicārin also in Śṛṅgāra.

“स्थायिनामपि व्यभिचारित्वं भवति । यथा रतेर्देवादिविषयायाः, हास्यस्य
शृङ्गारादौ, शोकस्य विप्रलम्भशृङ्गारादौ * * *
शमस्य कोपाभिहतस्य प्रसादोद्गमादौ । ” T.S.S., Edn. pp. 11-12.

Śārngadeva also, who closely follows Abhinava, considers Śama as a Vyābhicārin also. Perhaps Abhinava will reply to this that just as there are two different Nirvedas, two different Tattvajñānas, there are two Śamas. The Nirveda illustrated by the verse वृथा दुग्धोऽनङ्गान् etc. is only a Bhāva; it cannot be Tattvajñāna-ja Nirveda which alone is held by some as Sthāyin. See Abhi. Bhā., pp. 335-6 and 335. Similar in nature is the Vyābhicāri-Śama.

Abhinava has said that Śama is only another name for Ātmasvabhāva. When one speaks of Śama or Nirveda both of which are Cittavṛttis, one has to qualify them as a special and superior kind to make them the Sthāyin of Śānta. This qualification is unnecessary when Ātman itself is accepted as the Sthāyin. Rati etc. which contaminate the Ātman represent the disturbed or Vyutthita state of the Citta. The pure nature of the Spirit is like the white thread on which are hung coloured stones at intervals. By constant meditation and effort, the pure light within is seen. It is a state of bliss in a double degree, as Rasāsvāda and as the Āsvāda of the real Ātmasvarūpa which is Ānanda.

The text on Śānta found in some recensions describes Śānta as the Prakṛti and Rati and other Bhāvas as its Vikāras. The latter rise and fall, appear and disappear on the Ātman. They merge in it.

न यत्र दुःखं न सुखं न द्वेषो नापि मत्सरः ।

समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु स शान्तः प्रथितो रसः ॥

भावा विकारा रत्याद्याः शान्तस्तु प्रकृतिर्मतः ।

विकारः प्रकृतेर्जातः पुनस्तत्रैव लीयते ॥

स्वं स्वं निमित्तमासाद्य शान्ताद्भावः प्रवर्तते ।

पुनर्निमित्तापाये च शान्त एवोपलीयते ॥

Therefore it is that Bharata, says Abhinava, treated of Śānta at the head of all the Rasas. Further the relish of all Rasas is Alaukika, shorn of all mundane associations, and hence Śānta-prāya. The bliss realised is akin to Brahmāsvāda which is Ātmāsvāda. Jagannātha pursued this line and said that Rasa is the manifestation of the light of Ātman itself when the obscuring element falls away. Poetry and Drama remove the bars and Ātman manifests itself.

“वस्तुतस्तु वक्ष्यमाणश्रुतिस्वारस्येन भग्नावरणा चिदेव रसः ।”

Rasagaṅgādhara, p. 23.

(To be continued)

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A CRITIQUE OF DIFFERENCE: A FREE ENGLISH RENDERING OF THE BHEDA-DHIKKARA OF NARASIMHASRAMIN. (BULLETINS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: No. 2) BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI AND T. M. P. MAHADEVAN, UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS, 1936. pp. xiii + 52. Price Re. 1.

It is well known that advaitic thinkers of the post Śaṅkara period entertain divergent views in regard to many details of their doctrine. Appaya Dīkṣita, who has brought together in a convenient form some of these divergences in his *Siddhānta-leśa-saṅgraha*, observes that they do not matter so long as there is agreement among the thinkers in respect of the identity of the individual self with Brahman or, to be more accurate, the non-difference between the two. The status of *bheda* or 'difference', which forms the theme of the book under review, is one such detail. So far, however, as its final negation is concerned, there cannot be two opinions among advaitins; and all of them admit that the ultimate teaching of the Upaniṣads, like the intuitive first-hand experience of the knower or *jīvanmukta*, is against *bheda*. To differ in this respect would be to abandon the fundamental position of Advaita. But as regards its explanation from the standpoint of empirical knowledge, there is room for varying views. Broadly speaking, they are two: It may be held that *bheda* is given in common experience and is valid for all empirical purposes, although it is negated by the higher scriptural knowledge; or it may be maintained that it is not valid even empirically. Those who adopt the second view do not, of course, deny that we commonly discriminate between one thing and another. We certainly do so, but the 'difference' thus apprehended, whatever pragmatic justification it may have, has no logical support according to them. It is difficult to say which of these two views was accepted by Śaṅkara himself. But to judge from his statements about empirical things in general at the end of his commentary on what is known as the *samanvayādhikaraṇa* of the *Brahma-sūtra* (I, i, 4), the former seems to have been his view. It is the latter that is adopted in the present work; and it is, we may add by the way, essentially the same as that of

Maṇḍana Miśra who, though an advaitin like Śaṅkara, differs in certain important respects from him. Narasimhāśramin's aim is accordingly to make out that *bheda* is not only not warranted by *śruti*, but that it is not warranted even by perception and inference. There is thus no conflict between common experience and scripture in this matter. To quote from the *Brahma-siddhi* of Maṇḍana:—

आहुर्विधात् प्रत्यक्षं न निषेद्धु विपश्चितः ।

नैकत्वं आगमस्तेन प्रत्यक्षेण विरुध्यते ॥ (ii. 47)

One consequence of this view, as stated at the end of the present work (St. 12), is to place the Advaita doctrine on a rational, as distinct from a scriptural, basis. Its appeal thereby becomes much wider than that of the other view which is confined to those that accept the supremacy of Vedic teaching as well as the particular interpretation put upon it by the advaitin.

Narasimhāśramin develops the theme in two stages. He first takes up the several *pramāṇas* in succession and points out how none of them can yield a valid knowledge of *bheda*; and then, turning to the notion of *bheda*, he maintains that it is self-discrepant, since it cannot be defined in any satisfactory way. As presented in common experience, *bheda* has reference to two objects; but we cannot determine whether it is attributive to those objects (*dharma*) or is constitutive of them (*svarūpa*). We cannot even discover whether it is positive or negative in its character. Its nature being thus wholly unintelligible we should take it, he says, not as real but as only an appearance of the real. These arguments, as pointed out by the translators, resemble the arguments of the eminent British philosopher, Bradley. 'The conclusion to which an absolutist like Bradley and an Advaitin like Narasimhāśramin both want their dialectic to lead is "that a relational way of thought—any one that moves by the machinery of terms and relations—must give appearance and not truth. It is a makeshift, a device, a mere practical compromise, most necessary, but in the end most indefensible." (*Appearance and Reality*, p. 33.)

It will be seen from the nature of the inquiry with which the book is concerned that it is technical; and the author by adopting the style of *śāstraic* discussion that had come to prevail by his time—a style which secures brevity at the cost of easy intelligibility—has made it more difficult than it, perhaps, need

have been. There is a commentary by a disciple of the author, which throws considerable light on some of the obscure points in it; but even this commentary is over-concise. It is a great credit to the authors of the Bulletin to have undertaken the rendering of this difficult work into English and to have succeeded in it so well. Students who know English, if they have the necessary philosophic equipment, can now acquaint themselves with the contents of an important book, although their knowledge of Sanskrit may not be sufficient for studying it in the original. There are small points in the rendering to which exception may be taken: Thus it seems misleading to speak of Brahman as 'the material cause' (p. 50) and to employ the same term 'adjunct' in translating *upādhi* when it is used in two different senses as on pp. 44 and 46 of the text. But these can be easily reconsidered and, if necessary, altered in the next edition. The translation is preceded by a valuable introduction which includes an excellent summary of the whole argument of the book.

M. H.

THE HILL BHUIYAS OF ORISSA. BY SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A.,
MAN IN INDIA OFFICE, RANCHI, 1925. Price Rs. 8.

The publication of a new book by the Editor of *Man in India* on one of the many interesting tribes of his special area is an event of importance in the anthropological world. Readers of this journal are, no doubt, familiar with Roy's previous works, "The Muṇḍas", "The Oraons" and "The Birhors" which have already become anthropological classics.

The Bhuiyas are a tribe belonging to the Muṇḍa group, inhabiting a vast area in the central hill belt of India. The initial difficulty that the ethnographer experiences in the Bhuiya country is that the tribesmen have attained to various levels of culture according to the degree of impact with the population of the plains, and the author, therefore, confines his attention to the less heterogeneous section of the Bhuiyas, known as the "Pauri" or the "Pabri", leaving aside those Hinduised Bhuiyas who now resent the very name. Legends and history link them with backward tribes like Savaras and Hindu castes such as the Paiks, who have broken away from the main body of the tribe.

Physically (see the appendix by Mr. R. C. Roy) the Bhuiyas are dolicocephalic, not so broad-nosed as other aboriginal tribes of Chotanagpur, and lighter brown in skin colour than other Muṇḍa tribes. Strangely they are most of them prognathous.

Inhabiting a very infertile area, the Bhuiyas have not advanced much in material culture. Most of them are slowly emerging from the stage of food-gatherers, engaging themselves in shifting cultivation with the aid of digging sticks. Political adventurers from the plains have established themselves as chieftains in the Bhuiya country and the section describing their double installation ceremonies, one in the Hindu manner, and the other after the tribal fashion, is most interesting. In every village there is a headman appointed by the chieftain, and another social headman wielding well-defined authority in the traditional manner. The social unit of the next higher order after the village is the *bar* which is a federation of about ten or twelve neighbouring villages and has as its main function the re-admission of excommunicated persons and the admission of outsiders of equal status who marry into the Bhuiya tribe. The chief peculiarities in domestic life are the comparatively high status and freedom of women and the segregation of bachelors in dormitories which are also tribal schools in a way. The tribal animistic religion is rapidly being metamorphosed by contact with Hinduism. The reader will find interesting instances of Hindu deities taking over new functions. The rites de passage, omens, superstitions, folk-lore, magic, and folk-psychology of the tribe are also described with the narrative skill and insight which we are accustomed to find in Rai Bahadur Roy's writings.

The printing and illustrations of this excellent monograph leave much to be desired.

A. AIYAPPAN.

A BUDDHIST BIBLIOGRAPHY—COMPILED BY ARTHUR C. MARCH,
PUBLISHED BY THE BUDDHIST LODGE, LONDON. pp. xix +
257, 1935.

The value of an up-to-date bibliography of any subject for a serious student of that subject cannot be over-stated. Mr. Arthur C. March, himself a good student of Buddhism felt the need for such a bibliography for Buddhism in English and began working at it for the part five years and has produced the volume under notice. Bibliographies of Buddhism in German and French are already available, but students of Buddhism, who are not familiar with those languages have no such guide for them. We are grateful to Mr. A. C. March for publishing their useful bibliography.

T. R. C.

VÎṆĀVĀSAVADATTAM.

(Act IV)

EDITED BY

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA,

*Head of the Department of Sanskrit,
University of Madras.*

PREFACE.

The first three Acts of the drama, Vîṇāvāsavadatta were published as a supplement to the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, in the years 1928 to 1931 and again, in book-form, in Madras Oriental Series No. 2, in 1931—by the M. L. J. Press, Mylapore, Madras. That edition was based on a manuscript which is deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.¹ This is a transcript from a palm leaf Malayalam manuscript. It is found that in the Adyar Library there is a palm leaf manuscript of the work,² which too breaks off in the beginning of the fourth Act. There is not much difference in reading between the transcript in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and the manuscript in the Adyar Library.

In the year 1929, I came across another manuscript of the drama. It is a small palm leaf manuscript written in Malayalam characters. It is a very old one, considerably injured and worm-eaten; some leaves are missing and others are broken. From this manuscript it is found that the drama is in eight Acts. I took a copy of it; at this stage of publishing the work, I am not able to get at the original and I am publishing the drama from the copy that I had made about eight years ago.

I contributed a short paper to the Sixth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna in 1931, in which I had given some information about the drama.³ For various reasons I was not able to work up the subject. The material available

1. R. No. 2784.

2. Adyar Library, XXII—P.—24.

3. Proceedings of the Conference, p. 593.

for an edition is very meagre. But I feel that even the scanty material available is of importance and I am publishing the portions beginning with the fourth Act.

There is a manuscript called the Vatsarājaprabandha in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library¹; this is a collection of all the verses in the drama, with a short introductory portion and a short conclusion in verses, added to it. The manuscript is very corrupt and it is of little assistance in reconstructing the text; the readings are full of mistakes. I am giving the readings of this manuscript.² This manuscript is of real help only in portions where there are breaks in the manuscript of the drama now utilised for this edition.

If more manuscript material comes in, I will re-edit the entire matter. Till now my efforts to get at manuscripts have ended in disappointment, though I have often been told that complete manuscripts are available.

I know that this edition does not deserve the name of "edition". It is only a reprint from a manuscript. But since for this portion there is only a single decayed manuscript, I thought that even this fragment will be of some interest. With the material just now published one can have a general idea of the trend of the drama. In this matter, the collection of verses in the Vatsarājaprabandha is a great help, since all the verses are available in this work. The mistakes in the prākṛt portion are greater than in the Sanskrit portion, so far as this manuscript is concerned, and I have printed the matter exactly as I have found it in the manuscript. There are very few places where I was able to correct the mistakes and to reconstruct the proper text.

1. R. No. 4334.

2. They are printed separately at the end of each Act.

वीणावासवदत्तम्

॥ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ॥

(ततः प्रविशति डिण्डिकवेषो हंसकः)

.....ससुलासुलसिद्धणाअगंधव्वदण्डाघादेणाहं एको विणा सअ-
लेहिम् । अज्ज खु मए सअला उज्जयिणी परिब्भमिदा । ता मुहुत्तअं
इमस्सि सुन्नदेवउले विस्समिस्सम् । (परिक्रम्य) इदं देवउलम् । जाव
पविसामि । (विलोक्य) को णु खु एसो डिंडिओ जणेहिं परिवुदो णच्चन्तो
आअच्छदि । (निरूप्य) अय्य वसन्तओ एसो खु ।

(ततः प्रविशति डिण्डिकवेषो नृत्यन् वसन्तकः)

वसन्तकः (गच्छन्)—अय्या परिस्संतं हि दिट्ठिआ णिव्वुत्तो सव्व ।

(परिक्रामति)

हंसकः—भो आअच्छ । तुए सह णच्छामि ।

वस—(विलोक्य) अए हंसओ । भो जइ मए जिदं तदो तुवं किं देसि ।

हंस—इदं ^१भसुमापसेसिअं देमि ।

वस—साहु णच्चिस्सम् । (उपसर्पति)

हंस—सुण्णं इदं देवउलम् । को णु खु अम्माणं ^२सक्की भविस्सदि ।

वस—देवो ।

हंस—वन्दामि । अय्य कदा तुवं आअदो ।

वस—जदा तत्तभवं गहिदो त्ति सुदो तदो एव्व अहं णाअवणादो णिक्कमिअ
अणुपदं इह पविट्ठो म्मि ।

हंस—कहिं उण अज्जो भुज्जेदि ।

वस—मए उण अणेएहिं विलम्बेहिं पज्जोदो सुट्ठु आराहिदो । तहिं एव भुज्जामि ।

हंस—उदयण एव्व¹ दाणिं अय्यो² सव्वुत्तो ।

वस—भो हंसअ को तहिं वुत्तन्तो ।

हंस—गहिदा कोसम्बी पञ्चालेण । हदा जुद्धे भट्ठिणो भादरो ।

वस—भो सुदं मए अहिदम्³ । तदो ।

हंस—तदो गलिअकुमारो⁴ अंतरिक्खे....⁵मं उप्पादइदुकामो तहिं तहिं एव्व पविट्ठो ।

वस—साहु किदम् । तदो ।

हंस—अय्यो उण जोअंधराअणो ।

वस—सो मए दिट्ठो उम्मत्तवेसेण परिब्भमन्तो । रुमण्णो उण कहिम् ।

हंस—अय्यो उण रुमण्णो जुद्धे भट्ठो विअ (?) अपसरिअ इदो जाव कोसंबी (?) तहिं तहिं गामे किसिगोरिक्खवणज्जादिणा⁶ पुरुट्ठो (?) पिअलापाण अट्ठङ्गं अक्कमिअ सज्जन्तीए (?) विदूरे ट्ठिदो ।

वस—जुत्तम् । तदो ।

हंस—अय्यो उण तु⁷ सअलअडवीमगं रक्खन्तो भदरुक्खरे विदुक्खरे (?) ट्ठिदो ।

वस—तदो ।

हंस—अंहाणं जोअंधराअणेण ट्ठाणासणकबलादिनिगूडेहि लधहेहि (?) अणुऊलमारुदमुत्तेहि जोअधूमेहि नलागिरी मत्तो किदो ।

वस—किण्णिमित्तम् ।

हंस—जदा उद्दामो णअरं ओदिण्णो भवे भट्टारं विणा णत्थि अण्णो पज्जोदस्स गरं (?) तदो तं आरुहिअ सुहं भट्टा गमिस्सदि ।

1. इदयवेदणो

2. अद्वा

3. एहिदं

4. कुमरो

5. a few syllables missing.

6. वणज्जादिणेण

7. सहल

वस—भो जुत्तं एदम् । अत्थिणा¹ वच्चिदस्स अत्थिणा एव्व² पडिवच्चणम् ।
तदो ।

हंस—अज्ज अय्यजोअंधराअणो सरिसे पिआरं उपलभिअ भणिदं हि । सुवो
नलागिरी उद्दामो भविस्सिदि । तं गच्छ³ तुवं लिङ्गिविणिजसिं पिआर-
व्ववदेसेण इह वसंतादीणं⁴ विसिंहहप्पमुहाणं⁵ अंहाणं जोहाणं भणाहि
—सुवो⁶ सव्वे णिऊडा इह⁷ सज्जा भविअ रच्छाए⁸ चत्तरे तहिं तहिं
देवउले चिट्ठ । हदग्गाघरे बभमपहारपसवालअवो.....
.....अम्⁹ ।

हंस—अय्य तह ।

वस—कदि मत्ता दे ।

हंस—पच्चदसाणि ।

वस—भो गित्तिणं खु अम्मेहिं इमं दुःखकत्तारम् ।

हंस—एवं एव ।

वस—चारप्पहाणोपठज्जदो ना आअच्छ । दाणिं णच्चिस्सामो ।

हंस—तह (नृत्यतः)

वस—भो जिदं खु दाणिं मए ।

(भस्मावसेचिकामाक्षिप्य निष्क्रान्तः)

हंस—अविहा एसो डिण्डिओ सव्वस्सं¹⁰ मे आछिन्दिअ पलायदि । गह्वह अय्या ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तः)

प्रवेशकः¹¹

(ततः प्रविशति राजा भरतरोहकश्च)

राजा—सखे भरतरोहक अरिर्मित्रमिति¹² पुंसां अनियत एव नियमः । पश्य—

1. अहिण

2. अत्थिणें एव

3. गुच्छ

4. वसन्तन्दीणं

5. विसंहप्पमुहाणं

6. सुवे

7. इहा

8. रिच्छाए

9. many syllables missing.

10. सच्चस्सं

11. This word is not in the
Ms.

12. अरिमित्रमिति

यद्यप्यहं त्रिनयनानुमतं प्रविश्य तं पीडयाम्युदयनं गुणभावनार्थम् ।

चेतस्तथापि मम वेपत एव नित्यं स्नेहः क साम्प्रतममर्षविषः¹ क च प्राक् ॥१॥

भरत—स्वामिन् देवसम्पदां तस्याभिमुख्यम् ।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः)

राजा—सेनापते शालङ्कायनस्य का वार्ता ।

भरत—स्वस्थीभूतः शालङ्कायनो भर्तुर्वश्यं संदर्शनोत्सवेन आत्मानमनुग्राहयिष्यति ।

राजा—इच्छाम्यहं तस्यागमनम् ।

भरत—देव—

स्फुरदंशुसहस्रमालिना नवकालेयकपिण्डपाण्डुना ।

रविणा रचितोदयश्रियं वहतां काञ्चनमेतदासनम् ॥ २ ॥

राजा—यत् भवते रोचते (उपविशति)

(प्रविश्य)

प्रतीहारी—जेदु भट्टा । एसो सालङ्काअणो दुवारे ढिदो

राजा—विजये तं प्रवेशय² ।

प्रती—जं भट्टा आणवेदि (निष्क्रम्य शालङ्कायनेन सह प्रविशति³)

शाल—अद्य खलु मया—

अवसितनिजकार्यवत्तया सुखमिति राजकुलं प्रविश्यते ।

गुरुकुलमिव शास्त्रशालिना⁴ समितिषु लब्धजयेन वादिना ॥ ३ ॥

प्रती—एसो खु भट्टा । उपसप्पदु अय्यो ।

1. विष

2. विजयं प्रवेशय

3. शालङ्काय; after this the syllables are missing.

नेन सह प्रविशति is only a conjectural reading.

4. शास्त्रा सना

(निष्क्रान्ता¹)

शाल—(उपसृत्य) विजयतां देवः ।

राजा—आर्य ।

मयि दूरावगाढस्य स्नेहौदार्यस्य चाङ्गिकाः ।

तेजःशौर्यपदन्यासाः किं रूढास्ते² रणव्रणाः ॥ ४ ॥

शाल—स्वामिप्रसादप्रभवैरुदारैर्भाषामृतैस्तत्क्षणमेव पुंसाम् ।

वज्रप्रहारा अपि मर्मलब्धाः स्वस्थीभवेयुः किमु नाम शेषाः ॥ ५ ॥

भरत—सदृशमुक्तम् ।

राजा—अपि श्लोकगता गुणाः सिद्धा वैदेहीपुत्रे ।

शाल—उपसंख्यानगता अपि ।

राजा—कथमिव ।

शाल—नीलनागव्यपदेशेन समन्ततः शस्त्रप्रभाभासुरैरस्मद्यौघैः परीतेन महति भयस्थाने विगतसंभ्रमम्³—

तेन प्रोक्तं धैर्यगाम्भीर्यशौर्यप्रज्ञातेजोनीतिदाक्षिण्यगर्भम् ।

वाक्यं सामाद्यं सोर्जितं श्रोत्ररम्यं शास्त्रीकर्तव्यं तद्बुधैः स्वार्थकामैः ॥ ६ ॥

भरत—एष संक्षिप्तविस्तरो नाम ।

राजा—ततः ।

शाल—देव—

यस्तस्य युद्धे महति प्रवृत्ते पराक्रमः साहसलाञ्छनस्य ।

प्रद्युम्नरामार्जुनभीमकर्णसाम्बाभिमन्युष्वपि चिन्त्य एव ॥ ७ ॥

भरत—किं स मृत्योर्निर्भय इव दृश्यते ।

1. निष्क्रान्तः

2. रूढा ते

3. विगतसंभ्रमम्

शाल—सेनापते तत्रभवति वीरसेने प्रद्योतसैन्यजिघांसयैव¹ सरभसमभिपतति
तरौ बद्धस्य महात्मनः—

विमुक्तसंत्रासतया सकारणैः स्फुटैर्वचोभिश्च ममाभवन्मतिः ।

परैरवध्योऽहमिति स्वयंभुवः² परं वरं किं स्वयमाप्तवानिति³ ॥ ८ ॥

राजा—पुनर्वीरसेनेन किं कृतम् ।

शाल—पिशाचाविष्ट इव भूमौ न्यपतत् ।

राजा—हा । नानुरूपं कृतम् । ततः ।

शाल—ततो मया तदानीं दृष्टवता त्वरिततरमुपेत्य मद्भागधेयेन राजा न गत
इति बहु प्रियमुक्त्वा निर्मोच्य यानमारोप्य त्रिचुर्यानिर्गलवर्तव्यचरणः स
इहानीतः ।

राजा—साधु निश्छिद्रं सर्वं कृतम् ।

भरत—इह तु पुनः—

यथा यथानेकशतार्तिसङ्कटे निपीड्यते धैर्यविदारिमारके ।

तथा तथातिस्थिरतां प्रयात्यसौ घटो यथा पाकहुताशमध्यगः ॥ ९ ॥

राजा—हा कष्टम् । ततः ।

भरत—देव इदं पुनरत्याश्चर्यम् । उपेत्य⁴ यन्मया⁵ सकणमलवणमसूपद्वितीय-
मन्नं दास्यते तदिदमभिन्नमुखराग⁶ एव भुङ्क्ते ।

राजा—किमर्थं तथा क्रियते ।

भरत—तस्य विपदि विकारजिज्ञासया⁷ शीघ्रं व्रणानां आरोपणार्थं च ।

राजा—केदानीं व्रणानामवस्था ।

1. प्रद्योतसौजिघांसयैव

या; यन्मया is only a

2. स्वयंभुव

conjecture.

3. किं वयमाप्तभादिरि

6. तदिदन्नमुखराग

4. उपेद्य

7. विपदि निर्विकार जिज्ञासया

5. मया. four dots above

भरत—रूढाः सर्वे ।

राजा—सर्वमेतद्यथाचिन्तितं सिद्धम् । यौगन्धरायणस्य पुनरग्निप्रवेशो मां बाधते ।

भरत—सोऽपि तस्यानुक्तप्रकृतिसूचको विद्यते ननु रुमण्वान् नाम मनुष्यरूपी
बृहस्पतिः ।

शाल—सत्यमेतत् ।

राजा—अहो नु खलु स्वभावसिद्धानां गुणानां अप्यव्यभिचारिता । कुतः—

अविदिते इति नैकधा प्रयत्नाद्बहुदिवसं बहुधा परीक्ष्यमाणः ।

द्विगुणमभिविराजते गुणैः स्वैर्मणिरिव जातिविशेषवान् महार्हः ॥ १० ॥

शाल—अनुरूपमुक्तं देवेन ।

राजा—सेनापते अतिचिरं खलु संक्लिश्यते । को नु खलु तं मोक्तुमुपायः स्यात् ।

(प्रविश्य)

वसुवर्मा—जयतु स्वामी । नलागिरिरुद्धामो रथ्यामवतीर्णः ।

भरत—लब्ध इदानीं तं मोक्तुमुपायः ।

राजा—कथमिव ।

भरत—वत्सराजं विना कोऽन्यस्तं दुष्टवारणं गृहीयात् ।

वसु—साधु दृष्टं भवता ।

राजा—किं प्रतिपत्स्यते स इति मन्यते भवान् ।

भरत—स्वामिप्रसादादायत्तो हि तस्याभ्युदयः ।

शाल—सेनापते यद्यसौ हस्तिनमारुह्य तत एवापसरेत्¹ व्यर्थं नन्वस्माकं
परिश्रमः स्यात् ।

भरत—एकाकी मार्गानभिज्ञः शत्रुणाधिष्ठितं राज्यमानीतश्च कुशलः कासौ
यास्यति ।

शाल—अनवेक्ष्यापि तत्सर्वं यदि नामापसरेत् ततः किम् ।

भरत—रुध्यन्ते समन्ततः पुन्याना² दशभिः पुरुषसहस्रैरस्माकम् ।

1. पवावतरेत्

2. पुन्याना

राजा—सखे आर्येण सह तत्र गत्वा विनिगलीकृत्य शीघ्रं नलागिरिग्रहणे
यतस्व ।

भरत—देव तथा ।

(इति निष्क्रान्तः शालङ्कायनेन सह)

(ततः प्रविशति देवी वासवदत्ता काञ्चनमाला च)

देवी¹—जादे वासवदत्ते किं ण² सिक्खसि तुवं णासईए वीणम् ।

वास—अम्ब णत्थि मे इच्छाणुरूवा वीणा ।

देवी—एसा दे असिक्खिदुकामदा ।

वास—णहि । अत्थि मे अभिप्पाओ वीणं सिक्खिदुम् ।

देवी—कहं पुण ण सिक्खसि ।

वास—तादस्स भणिअ अणुरूवं वीणं गेह्विस्सम् ।

देवी—कञ्चणमाले । कहिं पुण महाराओ ।

काञ्च—भट्ठिणि । निसामुहप्पासादे³ ।

देदी—आअच्छ तहिं एव्व⁴ गच्छामो ।

(सर्वाः परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—वसुवर्मन्—

समर्थतां तस्य विजानतोऽपि गजं मदव्याळतमं ग्रहीतुम् ।

स्नेहेन कार्येण च कृष्यमाणं डोळायते सम्प्रति मानसं मे ॥ ११ ॥

वसु—स्वामिन् अपायशङ्कापुरःसरा हि स्नेहपरता नाम⁵ ।

राजा—वसुवर्मन् गच्छ त्वं यथाहं तस्य सत्कारो न किञ्चित् परिहर्तव्य इति
भरतरोहकं ब्रूहि ।

वसु—देव तथा ।

(निष्क्रान्तः)

1. दे

2. किण

3. दिसमुह

4. एव

5. हि नाम स्नेहपरता नाम

काञ्च—भट्टिणि एसो निसामुहप्पासादो¹ । आरोहदु ।

(सर्वा आरुह्य परिक्रामन्ति)

राजा—अये देवी चागता । एषा हि—

निसर्गसंसिद्धविशेषशोभया समन्विता वासवदत्तया प्रिया ।

विराजते हंसविलासगामिनी सचन्द्रलेखेव शरत्त्रियामिनी ॥ १२ ॥

देवी—(उपेत्य) जेदु महाराओ ।

राजा—अये देवि एतदासनम् । आस्यताम् ।

देवी—जं महाराओ आणवेदि ।

(उपविशति)

देवी—महाराअ अज्ज खु मए एकम् अच्छरिअं सुदम् ।

राजा—देवि किमिव ।

देवी—इमस्सि राअउलेऽपि इमाए अणुरूवा णत्थि वीणा ।

राजा—किम् उत्पन्नोऽस्या गान्धर्वेऽभिलाषः ।

देवी—आम ।

राजा—पतिरेव शिक्षापयिष्यति ।

देवी—अज्जहा मुद्धा भविस्सिदि ।

राजा—वत्से कीदृशी ते—

(वीणाहस्तः कान्चुकीयः)

कान्चु—जयतु महाराजः । इदं खलु शालङ्कायनेन प्रेषितं वत्सकुलसर्वस्वं वीणारत्नम् ।

राजा—(प्रतिगृह्य) आर्य—

किमियं घोषवती सा बध्यन्ते वारणा यया हृदये ।

मदमधुकलितालिकुलप्रलापकलिलायतकपोलाः ॥ १३ ॥

काञ्चु—देव सैवेयम् ।

राजा—वत्से वासवदत्ते किमियं तवानुरूपा वीणा ।

वास—ताद पेक्खिद एव्व¹ सिणेहो सव्वुत्तो ।

राजा—त्वदर्थमेव नन्विहानीता ।

वास—आणेदु उण तदो । (प्रगृह्य) अहो माळा विअ लहुआ ।
(तन्त्रीं विघाट्य) रूवादो विअ मद्धुरखा ।

काञ्चु—इदं खलु भरतरोहकेनोक्तं प्रतिपन्नं सर्वं वत्सराजेन इति ।

राजा—अनुरूपं कृतम् ।

काञ्चु—उत्तरं ये (?) वीणामानयस्वेति तत्रभवता भरतरोहकेनोक्तम् ।

राजा—आर्य नीयताम् ।

काञ्चु—तथा ।

(वासवदत्ताहस्ताद्वीणामादाय निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—किन्तु खलु वीणाप्रयोजनम् आं....²संमता घोषवती । तदिमां
वत्सराजाय प्रदाय नळागिरिं ग्राहयितुकामेन तत्रभवता भरतरोहकेण
न्याय्यं पर्येष्यति । अपि च—

तथा हि तस्य व्यतिगत्य यत्नं सेनापतेर्घोषवती गतेयम् ।

याताद्य वत्सेश्वरहस्तमेव भव्यं न शक्यं हि परैर्निरोद्धुम् ॥ १४ ॥

देवी—महाराज को एसो वच्छराओ णाम ।

राजा—अस्या वीणायाः पतिः ।

वास—(आत्मगतम्) एसा णाम एव्वं सुभआ । सो णाम कीरिसो भवे ।

काञ्चु³—भट्टिणि किं णु खु रच्छाए द्विजणो सहाहाकारं सद्दो पेक्खन्ति ।

राजा—(विलोक्य) अये नळागिरिरुद्धामो रथ्यामवतीर्णः । असौ हि—

1. पेक्खिदं एव्व

3. Missing.

2. A few syllables missing.

वेगोद्धृतैरावृतो वेणुजालैर्दानोदामो मन्द्रमन्द्रप्रणादः ।

मन्दं मन्दं दृश्यते वारणेन्द्रो नीहाराढ्यः शब्दवाहीव शैलः ॥ १५ ॥

देवी—महाराज को णु खु एसो पाआरहम्मरुक्खादिसमारूढेहि चोरजणेहि समन्तदो आलोअअमाणो¹ वीणादुतीओ रच्छं ओदिण्णो ।

राजा—देवि नन्वेष वत्सराजः । अयं हि—

द्विरदललितयानो यात्यसौ राजमार्गे प्रमुदितनरनारीदृष्टिभिः कीर्यमाणः ।

कुवलयदलवृष्ट्या सर्वतः पूज्यमानः प्रतिनव इव रम्यो जङ्गमो हेमयूपः ॥ १६ ॥

वास—(आत्मगतम्) से एव्व साणुरूवा वीणा ।

देवी—महाराज इमं दारं पेक्खिअ पुत्तसिणेहो विअ मे सव्वुत्तो ।

राजा—कथं न भविष्यति ।

देवी—किणिमित्तं पुण एसो दारओ इह आअदो ।

राजा—हस्तिव्याजेन इहानीतः ।

देवी—कीस महाराएण तादिशो रमणीओ दारओ परिपीडितो ।

राजा—सर्वत्र अतिप्रसङ्गः व्यसनमित्युच्यते² । एष च अतीव हस्तिबन्धन-
व्यसनी । ततस्तं निवारयितुम् ।

देवी—दिट्ठिआ महारा....³विअ अणुकम्पिदो ।

काञ्च—आम । अय्यो सूरदा अहिमुहं आअच्छन्तं इ.....⁴दअन्तो
ठिदो एव्व ।

राजा—देवि पश्य । एष हि—

किञ्चिद्व्योच्छितदीर्घपीवरकरः संकुञ्चितो बालधि-

र्निष्कम्पप्रविसारितश्रवणवान् रक्तो नृणां लोहितैः ।

आधावत्यतिरुष्टवानभिमुखं वत्सेश्वरस्य द्विपः

सान्ध्यो मेघ इव प्रचण्डपवनव्यालो रवेरन्तिकम् ॥ १७ ॥

1. ओलोलयमाणो

2. व्यसन इत्युच्यते

3. A few syllables missing.

4. A few syllables missing.

वास—ताद वरोहि हत्थिणम् । मे सहीयणा ह भवे ।

काञ्च—आकम्पदि मे हिअअम् ।

देवी—हद्धी संकुचिदहत्यो संपिड्डिअमागसरीर¹ ओदिण्णो हत्थी ।

(नेपथ्ये सर्वतो हाहाकारः संवर्तितः)

राजा—अलमलं संभ्रमेण । एष खलु गीतवादित्रश्रवणव्यपगतमदोद्धतामर्षः
शिष्य इव प्रणन्तुमुपगतो हस्ती । एष वत्सराजः भरतरोहकस्य हस्ते
वीणां दत्त्वा—

आकुञ्च्य पादेन विषाणकोट्यां सलीलमभ्युन्नतपूर्वकायः ।

आरूढवान् कूर्परमूर्जितश्रीः पूर्वाचलं पूर्ण इवोडुराजः ॥ १८ ॥

देवी—इदानीं² मे पाणा आअदा ।

वास—ताद सिण्णं विअ.....³वाताअणसमीवे चिट्ठिस्सम् ।

(उत्थाय तथा करोति)

काञ्च—भट्ठिदारि एसो भर.....⁴मा विअ पासादं ओलोअदि । किं⁵
आणेमि वीणम् ।

वास—आम ।

काञ्च—(निष्क्रम्य प्रविश्य) भट्ठिदारि ए आणीदा वीणा ।

⁶(वासवदत्ता वीणां गृह्णाति)

(ततः प्रविशति वारणाधिरूढो वत्सराजः)

वत्स—भोः—

शृणु वचनमिदं मे त्वं महापद्मसूनो

गजवर मुनिशापात् स्थानतोऽसि व्यपेतः ।

1. संपिड्डिआमाणसरीरं

2. इदानीम्

3. A few syllables miss-
ing.

4. A few syllables missing.

5. किं

6. वास—वीणां गृह्णाति

व्रजति यमपरत्वं मुञ्च दुर्वृत्तमेतत्
पुनरपि गतशापो¹ यास्यसि² स्थानमेव ॥ १९ ॥

काञ्च—(जनान्तिकम्) चन्दो उदिदो विअ ।

वास—चन्दसहस्सादो वि पियदरो ।

वत्स—(उपसृत्य) जयतु देवः³ ।

राजा—(उत्थाय वातायनमुपेत्य) वत्स वैदेहीमातः—

त्वया कृतं दृष्टवतोऽपि साक्षात् कर्मेदमन्यैर्मनसाप्यधृष्यम् ।

स्वप्नो नु माया न्विति⁴ साद्भुतत्वात् पुनः पुनर्मे समुदेति बुद्धिः ॥२०॥

वत्स—देव सुखपरितोष्यं गुरुद्वयं नाम ।

देवी—रूपाणुरूपं इमं सवअणम् ।

वास—अज्ज खु मए आदं पुरुस एव्व पिअदस्सण त्ति ।

(वासवदत्तां दृष्ट्वा आत्मगतम्)

वत्स—का नु खल्वियम् ।

सस्नेहं सविलासं सव्रीळं सेङ्गितं सविभ्रान्तम् ।

दृष्टिं निपातयन्ती मयि स्थिताग्रे मणिस्निग्धा ॥ २१ ॥

देवी—जादे वासवदत्ते इह आअञ्छ ।

वत्स—इयं सा वासवदत्ता । वासवेन विना⁵ कोऽन्य उह्यादेनाम्⁶ । इयं हि—

अमृतरसमयीव हृद्यभावादतिमदनीयतया सुरामयीव ।

शशिकिरणमयीव⁷ कान्तिलक्ष्म्या कुवलयरेणुमयीव सौकुमार्यात् ॥ २२ ॥

काच—भट्टिदारिए भट्टिणी संभावेदि ।

1. गतशापो

2. यास्यति

3. जयदुष्टवः

4. मायन्विति

5. विन

6. कोन्योद्यादेनाम्

7. शशिकिण

वास—अंब एसा आअच्छामि ।

राजा—वत्सराज शक्यमिव किमेनं विनये स्थापयितुम् ।

वत्स—अचिरादेवैनं सुविनीतं दर्शयिष्यामि ।

राजा—महान् खलु ममोपकारः कृतः स्यात् ।

वास—(आत्मगतम्) किण्णु खु परकेरअं विअ मे हिअअं सव्वुत्तम् ।

राजा—वत्स गच्छेदानीम् । महान् खलु ते परिश्रमः ।

वत्स—यदाज्ञापयति देवः ।

(परिक्रम्य तिष्ठति)

वास—(आत्मगतम्) पिअदूसओ विअ एसो पदेसो सव्वुत्तो ।

(प्रविश्य)

भरतरोहकः—जयतु स्वामी । किमिदानीं वत्सराजं प्रति कर्तव्यम् ।

राजा—अद्य प्रभृति गोलकपालकयोस्तृतीयो¹ वत्सराजः । अथवा प्रथम एव² ।

देवी—पिअं³

भरत—अत्यनुग्रहः कृतः ।

राजा—सखे वत्सराजं प्रति एवं कर्तव्यम् ।

(इति कर्णे कथयति)

भरत—यदाज्ञापयति स्वामी (निष्क्रान्तः)

राजा—चिरमिह निषण्णाः स्मः । तदागम्यताम् । उद्यानं प्रविशामः ।

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे⁴)

॥ इति चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ॥

1. पालयोस्तृतीयो

not in the Ms. According to the

2. प्रथममेव

Ms. of Vatsarājaprabandha, the

3. Two syllables missing.

fourth Act does not end here, but

4. This stage direction is

only a little further.

The following stanzas in Vināvāsavadattam are found in the Ms. of Vatsarājaprabandha belonging to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (R. No. 4334). The original Ms. belonged to one Ittīri Vāriyar in Malabar and it was returned to him after transcription. I have printed the stanzas exactly as they are found in the transcript.

p. 4. Stanza 1.

यद्यप्यहं त्रिनयनानुमतं प्रविश्य तं पीडयाम्युदयनं गुणभावनात्थम् ।
चेतस्तथापि मम वेरत एव नित्यं स्नेहः क साम्प्रतममर्षवि . . क च प्राक् ॥

p. 4. Stanza 2.

स्फुरदंशुसहस्रमालिना नवकरे . . पिण्डपाण्डुना ।
रविणा रचितोदयं श्रियं पृहतां काञ्चनमेतदासनम् ॥

p. 4. Stanza 3.

शाल—

अवसितनिजकार्यवर्तया खमिति राजकुलं प्रविश्यते ।
गुरुकुलमिव शास्त्रशालिना मितिषु लब्धजयेन वारिणा ॥

p. 5. Stanza 4.

राजा—

मयि दूरावगाढस्य स्नेहेनार्यस्य चाङ्किताः ।
तेजश्शौर्यपदन्यासा किं रूढास्तोरणव्रताः ॥

शाल—

अवसितनिजकार्यवा

p. 5. Stanza 5.

स्वामिप्रसादप्रभवैरुदारैर्भाषामृतैस्तं क्षणमेव पुंसाम् ।
वज्रप्रहारा अपि मर्मलब्धा स्वस्थीभवेयुः किम नाम शेषाः ॥

p. 5. Stanza 6.

तेन प्रोक्तं धैर्यगाम्भीर्यशौर्यप्रज्ञतेजोनीतदाक्षिण्यार्भवाक्यम् ।
सामान्यं सोज्जितं श्रोत्ररभ्यं शास्त्रीकर्तव्यं तं बुधैः स्वार्थकामैः ॥

p. 5. Stanza 7.

यस्तस्य युद्धे महति प्रवृत्ते पराक्रमः साहसलाञ्छनः सः ।
प्रद्युम्नरामाश्वभीमकर्णसाम्बाभिमन्युष्वविचिन्त्य एव ॥

p. 6. Stanza 8.

विमुक्त . . . तयता सकारणैः स्फुटैर्वचोभिश्च ममाभवन्मतिः ।
नरैरवध्योऽहमिति स्वयंभुवः परं परं कियत्माप्तवानि किम् ॥

p. 6. Stanza 9.

यथा यथा नैर्तिकशतार्तिसाकटे निपीड्यते धैर्यविदारिचार ।
तथा तथातिस्थिरतां प्रयात्यसौ घटो यथा पाकहुताशमध्यगः ॥

p. 7. Stanza 10.

राजा—

अविदित इति नैकधा प्रयत्नात् बहुदिवसं बहुधा परीक्ष्यमाणः ।
द्विगुणमभिविराजते गुणैस्त्वैर्मणिरिव जातिविशेषवान् महार्हः ॥

p. 8. Stanza 11.

समर्थतां तस्य विजानतोऽपि गजं मदव्यालतमं ग्रहीतुम् ।
स्नेहेन कार्येण च कृष्यमाणं डोलायते सम्प्रति मानसं मे ॥

p. 9. Stanza 12.

निसर्गसंसिद्धिविशेषशोभया सहिता वासवदत्तया प्रिया ।
विराजते हंसविलासगामिनी सचन्द्रलेखेव शरत्त्रियामिनी ॥

p. 10. Stanza 13.

किमियं घोषवती सा बध्यन्ते पराणा यया हृदये मद ।
कलितालिकुलप्रलाप कलिलायतकपोत तथा ॥

p. 10. Stanza 14.

एतस्य व्यतिगत्य यत्नां सेनापतेर्घोषवती . . . यम् ।
याताद्य वत्सेश्वरहस्तमेव भव्यं न शक्यं हि परैर्निरोद्धुः ॥

p. 11. Stanza 15.

वेगोद्धूतैरावृतो वेणुजालैर्दानोद्दामो मन्दमन्दप्रणादः ।
मन्दं मन्दं दृश्यते वारणेन्द्रः नीवाराढ्यः शब्दवाहीव शैलः ॥

p. 11. Stanza 16.

द्विहदललितयानो यात्यसौ राजमार्गे प्रमुदितनरनारीदृष्टिभिः कीर्यमाणम् ।
कुवलयदलदृष्ट्या सर्वतः पूज्यमानः प्रतिनव इव रम्यो जङ्गमो हेमयूपः ॥

p. 11. Stanza 17.

किंचित्प्रोज्झितदीर्घपीवरकरः संकुञ्चितो बालधिः
निष्कम्प्रप्रविसारितश्रवणवान् नृत्तो नृणां लोहितैः ।

आधावत्यतिदुष्टवानभिमुखं वत्सेश्वरस्य द्विपः

साध्यो मेघ इव प्रचण्डपवनव्यालो रवेरन्तिकम् ॥

p. 12. Stanza 18.

आम् । पादेन विषाणकोट्यां सलीलमभ्युन्नतपूर्व . . . यः ।

आढवान् कूर्जरमूर्जितश्रीः पूर्वचलं पूर्व . . . डुराजः ॥

p. 12. Stanza 19.

शृणु वाचनमिदं मे त्वं महापद्मसूनो वरमुनिशापात्स्थानकोपेतः ।

व्रजनं पदत्वं मुञ्च दुद्वृत्तमेतं पुनरपि गतशापो यास्यसि स्थानमेतत् ॥
म्

Stanza 20, on p. 13, is missing in the collection

p. 13. Stanza 21.

सस्नेहं सविलासं सव्रीलं सेङ्कितं सविभ्रान्तम् ।

दृष्टिं निपातयन्ती मयि स्विताग्रे मणिस्निग्धा ॥

p. 13. Stanza 22.

अमृतरसमयीव दृद्यभावादतिदवीयया सुरामयीव ।

शशिकिरणमयीव कान्तिलक्ष्या कुवलयरेणुमयीव सौकुमार्यात् ॥

Note—The Act does not end here according to the Ms. The colophon इति चतुर्थोऽङ्कः comes after three more stanzas. But I end the Act here, since the sense requires it.

श्रीः

॥ सर्वज्ञात्मयतिविरचितम् ॥

॥ प्रमाणलक्षणम् ॥

॥ अथ प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् ॥

प्रणम्य विष्णुं जगतः परायणं पुराणमाचार्यपरम्परागतम् [गतिम् ?] ।

शिशुप्रबोधाय मयाभिधीयते प्रमाणसामान्यविशेषलक्षणम् ॥

अस्योत्थानम् “तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः” इति सूत्रपाठे परिपठितं परीष्टिसूत्रम्,
“सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षम्” इति च प्रत्यक्षसूत्रम् ।
तयोर्वृत्तिकारमतेनावतरणप्रकारस्तावत् प्रदर्श्यते, तदर्थनिर्णयार्थत्वादस्य प्रकरण-
स्योत्थानं स्वयमेव दर्शितं भविष्यतीति । “चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः” इति निमित्त-
नैमित्तिकप्रतिज्ञा कृता ; निमित्तं प्रमाणम्, नैमित्तिकं प्रमेयम् ; तच्चैतद्रूपं [तत्रैतत्सूत्रं]
धर्मब्रह्मणोः प्रमेयभूतयोः, चोदनासमन्वययोश्च प्रमाणभूतयोः शास्त्रविशेषयोः
साधारणम् । चोदनालक्षणं [नाग्रहणं] तु धर्मग्रहणवत् प्रकृतार्थोपयोगात् । तत्र चोदना-
प्रामाण्यसिद्धयर्थं शास्त्रप्रामाण्यसमर्थने प्राप्ते—तस्य नैमित्तिकस्य प्रमेयस्य निमित्त-
परीष्टिः, प्रमाणपरीष्टिः, प्रमाणपरीच्छा [रीक्षा], प्रमाणपरीक्षा तु लक्षणया, सा
पुनर्न कर्तव्या, प्रसिद्धत्वात् सर्वप्रमाणानाम्, तदन्तर्भूतत्वाच्च शास्त्रस्य—इति
नञ्ध्याहारपूर्वकं वृत्तिकारमतेन परीष्टिसूत्रमवतीर्णम् ॥

ननु व्यभिचारात् प्रमाणमपि परीक्षितव्यमिति प्राप्ते—यत् प्रमाणं न तद्व्यभि-
चरति ; यच्च व्यभिचरति न तत् प्रमाणम् ; किं तर्हि प्रमाणमिति प्रमाणसामान्यविशेष-
लक्षणनिरूपणाय तत्सतोर्व्यत्ययेन ‘तत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म सत्प्रत्यक्षम्’
इति प्रत्यक्षसूत्रं प्रवर्तते । तच्च वचनवृत्त्या तत्संप्रयोगात् तद्विप्रयोगात् तद्विषयं
विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम्, अन्यसंप्रयोगादन्यविषयं विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षाभासमिति विशेषलक्षणे
समर्थम् । अर्थात् तत्रैव च प्रमाणसामान्यलक्षणमप्युन्नेयम् ; तत्तावदभिधीयते
सामान्यलक्षणाभिधानपूर्वकत्वात् विशेषलक्षणाभिधानस्य ; विशेषलक्षणं तु पश्चादव-
सरप्राप्तमनन्तरमभिधास्यते ॥

प्रमासाधनं प्रमाणम् । प्रमाग्रहणं प्रमाभासनिरासार्थम् । संशयविपर्यय-
 तर्कानध्यवसायविकल्पानुवादस्मृतयः प्रमाभासाः । संशयादिषु भावव्युत्पत्तिः,
 इह फलस्य विवक्षितत्वात्, संशीतिः संशय इत्यादि । नानाकोट्यवलम्बी संविदाभासः
 संशयः । स चाज्ञानसमुत्थतथाविधप्रत्ययाभासफलम् । तत्रोदाहरणम्—यथा अधिगते
 पदार्थे तत्त्वापरिज्ञानात् ‘स्थाणुः पुरुषो वा’ इति । विपर्ययो मिथ्याध्यवसायः ; स
 चाज्ञानोपादानतथाविधप्रत्ययाभासफलं संविदाभासविशेषः—यथा स्फुरत्येव शुक्तिका-
 शकले तत्त्वापरिज्ञानात् ‘इदं रजतम्’ इति । प्रमाणानुग्राहकः सम्भवासम्भवेऽल्लेखी
 संविदाभासस्तर्कः ; स च तथाविधप्रत्ययाभासफलं पूर्ववत् ; यथा ‘महाजनमध्ययानया
 वेद्यया भवितव्यम्, ब्राह्मणपत्न्या च न भाव्यम्’ इति । आकुलितसंज्ञाविशेषपदार्थोल्लेखी
 संविदाभासोऽनध्यवसायः । स च तथाविधप्रत्ययाभासफलम्—यथा बाह्लीकस्य
 पनसादिषु ‘किंसंज्ञकोऽयं वृक्षः’ इति । शब्दज्ञानानुपाती वस्तुशून्यः संविदाभासो
 विकल्पः ; स च तथाविधप्रत्ययाभासफलम्—यथा ‘स्वरविषाणम्’ ‘खपुष्पम्’ इति । अधि-
 गतार्थाधिगतिरनुवादः । स च तथाविधप्रत्ययाभासफलम्—यथा “अग्निर्हिमस्य मेषजम्”
 इत्यादिवाक्यादर्थ्याधिगतिः । संस्कारमात्रनिमित्तं बाह्यार्थशून्यं मुद्रामुदित[समुदित]-
 प्रतिमुद्रान्यायेनान्तःकरणप्रविष्टपदार्थाकारस्फुरणं स्मृतिः ; सा च तथाविधप्रत्ययाभा-
 सफलम्, यथा ‘सा मे माता स मे पिता’ इति । एते संविदाभासाः प्रमाणाभासफलभूताः
 प्रमालक्षणरहिताः प्रमापदवद[प्रमावदा]भासन्ते कस्यचिन्मन्दबुद्धेरिति प्रमाभासाः
 कथ्यन्ते ; तन्निरासार्थमर्थवत्प्रमापदोपादानम् । कर्तृकर्मफलव्यवच्छेदार्थं साधनग्रहणम्—
 साधनमेव प्रमाणम्, न साधयिता सिद्धिः साध्यं च—इति अज्ञातार्थसंविद्धिः प्रमा,
 अर्थपरिच्छिन्तिः प्रमेत्यर्थः [प्रमाणमित्यर्थः] । प्रमाश्रयः प्रमाता, प्रमाविषयः प्रमेयमिति
 द्विविधं प्रमान्तत्वादेवक्रम[प्रमाणम्—तत्त्वावेदकम्,] अतत्त्वावेदकं च ।
 तत्राज्ञाननिवृत्तिमात्रफलं तत्त्वावेदकम् । एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रमात्रादिभेदोपादानोप-
 मर्देनोत्पद्यमानं प्रमाणं तत्त्वावेदकमिति, यथा तत्त्वमस्यादिमहावाक्यार्थज्ञानम् ।
 व्यवहारनिर्वाहकमतत्त्वावेदकम् । एतदुक्तं भवति—प्रमात्रादिप्रपञ्चकारणानुपमर्दकं
 प्रमाणमतत्त्वावेदकम् । पुनरपि संक्षेपत एतदुक्तं भवति—देशकालनरान्तरादिषु
 यन्न बाध्यते देशकालनरान्तरादिभिः सह तत्प्रमाणमतत्त्वावेदकमिति । जडार्थ-
 संविदवच्छेदमुखेन व्यवहारावस्थायामर्थात् तद्विषयाज्ञाननिवर्तकमिति व्यवहिय-
 माणमतत्त्वावेदकमित्यर्थः, यथा पृथिव्यादिप्रपञ्चविज्ञानम् । तत्त्वातत्त्वावेदकभावेन
 यथाविभागमवस्थितानि कति तर्हि प्रमाणानि ? षट् प्रमाणानि जैमिनेः ।
 कानि पुनस्तानि ? प्रत्यक्षम्, अनुमानम्, शास्त्रम्, उपमानम्, अर्थापत्तिः,
 अभावश्चेति षट् प्रमाणानि ॥

तत्र किलक्षणं प्रत्यक्षम् ? अर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगात् संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम् ।
शुक्तिसंप्रयोगात् रजतविषयज्ञानमपि प्रत्यक्षमुक्तं मा भूदिति संप्रयुक्त इति विशेषणम् ।
अर्थग्रहणं ज्ञातरि सत्यसति च निरालम्बनतानिरासार्थम् । तथा हि—ज्ञातरि सति
ज्ञेयमस्तीति नास्ति ज्ञानस्य निरालम्बनता ; ज्ञातरि तु नष्टे ज्ञानमपि नास्तीति कस्य
निरालम्बनता ? किं बहुना । ज्ञातृज्ञानयोर्यादृशी सत्ता तादृशी सत्ता सर्वत्र ज्ञेयस्या-
प्यस्तीत्यर्थग्रहणेन सर्वथा माहायानिकः पक्षः प्रत्युक्तः । संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे गुरुत्वादिज्ञानं
पतनादिलिङ्गनिमित्तमनुमानमपि संभवतीति तद्व्यवच्छेदार्थमर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगादिति
पदम् । तदेवमर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगात् संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमिति परिशुद्धं
प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् ॥

अत्राह—नन्वर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाद्विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमित्येतावदेवास्तु लक्षणम् ,
व्यभिचाराभावात् ; तथा हि—अर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाद्विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम् ; न च रजत-
भ्रमो विज्ञानम् ; अपि त्वज्ञानम् । उक्तं हि “अविद्या वेद्यैः सह भ्रमः” इति ।
तस्मादनर्थकम् ‘संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे’ इति विशेषणम् । नैतत् सारम्—एवमप्यर्थेन्द्रिय-
संप्रयोगाल्लिङ्गात् तत्कारणनुमानं विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमुक्तं मा भूदिति अर्थवदेव संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे
इति विशेषणम् । अतो यथान्यासमेवास्तु लक्षणम् ‘अर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगात् संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे
विज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम्’ इति । नन्वेवमपि ‘संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे’ इति विशेषणमनर्थकमेव ; कथम् ?
अर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाल्लिङ्गात् यदनुमानज्ञानम् , न तदर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाज्जातम् । किं तर्हि ?
लिङ्गात् तत् । अतोऽर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगाज्ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमित्युक्तेऽन्यत्र प्रसङ्गाभावात् ‘संप्र-
युक्तेऽर्थे’ इति विशेषणमनर्थकमेव । सत्यम् ; तथापि शुक्तिकारजतभ्रान्तिः शुक्तिकेन्द्रिय-
संप्रयोगादुत्पन्नम् ; ज्ञानं च तदापाततो ज्ञानमित्यनुभूयमानत्वात् , अतस्तद्व्यवच्छेदार्थ-
मर्थवदेव संप्रयुक्तेऽर्थे इति विशेषणम् । कः पुनरर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगो नाम ? तत्र
केचित्तावदाहुः—षोढा सम्बन्धः । तथा हि—चक्षुस्स्पर्शनसंयोगात् द्रव्यग्रहणम् ;
संयुक्तसमवायात् ताभ्यां गुणग्रहणम् ; संयुक्तसमवेतसमवायात् गुणगतसामान्यग्रहणम् ;
श्रोत्रसमवायात् शब्दग्रहणम् ; तथा हि—मेरीदण्डसंयोगात् निमित्तकारणात् भेर्याकाश-
संयोगादसमवायिकारणात् , कचिद्वंशदलविभागात् निमित्तकारणात् वंशदलाकाश-
विभागात् असमवायिकारणात् महत्याकाशप्रदेशे समवायिकारणे सर्वत्र तावदाद्यः
शब्द उत्पद्यते । तस्माच्च शब्दादसमवायिकारणात् अदृष्टादिनिमित्तकारणसहितात्
आद्यशब्दाश्रयाकाशप्रदेशानन्तराकाशप्रदेशेषु समवायिकारणेषु सर्वतोदिताः[दिशाः]
शब्दा उत्पद्यन्ते, तेभ्यश्चान्ये, तेभ्यश्चान्ये, इति वीचीसन्तानवत् शब्दसन्तानः ; ततश्च

कर्णशङ्कुत्यवच्छिन्ने नभोदेशे श्रोत्रशब्दवाच्ये शब्द उत्पद्यते । स च श्रोत्रसमवायात् श्रोत्रेण गृह्यत इत्यौलूक्यं दर्शनम् । तत्र च संयोगविभागशब्दानां शब्दारम्भे कार्यैकार्थ-समवायलक्षणा तन्तुसंयोगस्य प्रागारम्भ[पटारम्भ] इव, आत्ममनस्संयोगस्य बुद्ध्याद्यात्म-विशेषगुणारम्भ इव च लघ्वी प्रत्यासत्तिः । तथा हि—भेर्याकाशसंयोगवंशदलाकाश-विभागकारणभूतशब्दाश्चाकाशे वर्तन्ते, कार्यशब्दोऽप्याकाशे वर्तते इति कार्यै-कार्यसमवायलक्षणैवात्र लघ्वी प्रत्यासत्तिरसमवायिकारणस्य; न पुनस्तन्तुरूपाणां पटरूपोत्पत्ताविव कार्यकारणैकार्यसमवायलक्षणा बृहती, तद्वदिह व्यवधानाभावात् । तथा हि—तन्तुरूपाणि तन्तुषु वर्तन्ते ; कार्यस्य पटगत रूपस्य समवायिकारणभूतः पटोऽपि तन्तुषु वर्तते ; कार्यमपि पटरूपं पटे वर्तते इत्यस्ति तत्र व्यवधानम् ; नैवमिह, कार्यकारणयोरेकत्र वृत्तिदर्शनात् ; तस्मात् स्वात्मनि कार्यारम्भकत्वाद्यथाकाशं सम-वायिकारणम्, एवं प्रत्यासन्नत्वे सति कार्यजनकत्वात् भेर्याकाशसंयोगादीनाम् असम-वायिकारणत्वं समवाय्यसमवायिकारणलक्षणरहितत्वे सति कारणत्वात् भेरीदण्डसं-योगादीनां निमित्तकारणत्वमिति कारणत्रयात् शब्दोत्पत्तिः । स च श्रोत्रसमवायात् श्रोत्रेण गृह्यत इत्यलं प्रसङ्गेन । समवेतसमवायात् शब्दत्वादिसामान्यग्रहणम् । उक्तसम्बन्धसम्बन्धिविशेषणविशेष्यभावादभावसमवायग्रहणम् । तद्यथा [तत्राभावस्य यथा संयुक्तविशेषणत्वात् इयं शाखा फलशून्येति ;] संयुक्तविशेष्यत्वादिह शाखायां फलाभाव इति ; संयुक्तसमवेतविशेषणत्वात् पटगतशौक्यं रूपशून्यमिति ; संयुक्त-समवेतविशेष्यत्वादिह शौक्ये रूपाभाव इति ; संयुक्तसमवेतसमवेतविशेषणत्वात् गुणगत-सामान्यं सामान्यशून्यमिति ; संयुक्तसमवेतसमवेतसमवेतविशेष्यत्वादिह गुणगत-सामान्ये सामान्यान्तराभाव इति ; समवेतविशेषणत्वात् गुणशून्योऽयं शब्द इति ; समवेतविशेष्यत्वादिह शब्दे गुणान्तराभाव इति ; समवेतसमवेतविशेषणत्वात् शब्दत्वादिसामान्यं सामान्यान्तरशून्यमिति ; समवेतसमवेतविशेष्यत्वादिह शब्दत्वादि-सामान्ये सामान्यान्तराभाव इति । समवायस्य तु क्वचिदेवात्र पटे रूपसमवाय इति संयुक्त-विशेष्यत्वात् ; समवायग्रहणस्योदाहरणमेतत् [?] । संयुक्तविशेषणत्वात् रूपसमवायवानयं पट इति ; संयुक्तसमवेतविशेष्यत्वादिह गुणे जातिसमवाय इति ; संयुक्तसमवेतविशेष-णत्वात् जातिसमवायवानयं गुण इति ; संयुक्तसमवेतसमवेते गुणगतजातिविशेषे वस्त्वन्तर-समवायाभावात् इतः परमुदाहरणमत्र चक्षुस्पर्शनादीन्द्रियसम्बन्धे समवायस्य नास्ति ; समवेतविशेष्यत्वादिह शब्दे शब्दतादिजातिसमवाय इति ; समवेतविशेषणत्वात् शब्दत्वादिजातिसमवायवानयं शब्द इति ; समवेतसमवेते शब्दत्वादिसामान्ये वस्त्वन्तरसमवायस्याभावात् समवेतसमवेतविशेषणविशेष्यत्वनिवन्धनं समवायग्रहणं नास्ति । तस्मादितः परमिहापि श्रोत्रेन्द्रियसम्बन्धयोग [युग्मं] उदाहर्तुमशक्यम् । अतः

समवायस्य कचिदेवोदाहरणम्, नाभावस्येव पञ्चस्वपि सम्बन्धेऽपि सिद्धम्—
इति ; तदसत्, अत्र प्रमाणाभावात् ; कार्यमेव प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न ;
योग्यतालक्षणसम्बन्धादपि कार्योपपत्तेः । तथा हि—इदमिन्द्रियमस्यार्थस्य
योग्यम्, अयं पदार्थोऽस्य चक्षुरादेरिन्द्रियस्य योग्य इत्यनयोरस्ति परस्परं
योग्यतालक्षणः सम्बन्धः ; स एव कार्यं रूपादिविज्ञानमुपपादयिष्यति ;
तस्मादेतदुपपन्नं भविष्यतीति किमनया षड्विधसम्बन्धकल्पनया कल्पकशून्यया ।
अभावसमवाययोस्तु कार्यमेवासिद्धं समवायानभ्युपगमात्, अभावस्य षष्ठप्रमाण-
गोचरत्वस्य वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् ; तस्माद्योग्यतालक्षण एवार्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगः ॥

अपरं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम्—स्वार्थजन्यं प्रमासाधनं प्रत्यक्षम् । प्रमासाधनं
प्रत्यक्षमित्युक्तेऽनुमानादेरपि प्रत्यक्षत्वप्रसङ्ग इति स्वार्थजन्यग्रहणम् । अनुमानादीनां
स्वार्थजन्यत्वं नास्तीति वेदान्तस्थितिः । स्वार्थजन्यं प्रत्यक्षमित्युक्तेऽपि प्रत्यक्ष-
फलेन व्यभिचार इति तन्निराकरणार्थं प्रमासाधनग्रहणम् ॥

तद्विविधम्—निर्विकल्पकम्, सविकल्पकं च । तत्र प्रथमाक्षसन्निपातजं
वस्तुमात्रग्रहणं निर्विकल्पकम् ; यथा भेदविकल्पनाप्रागवस्थं भेदप्रतिभासशून्यं
वस्तुमात्रज्ञानम् । भिन्नवस्तुज्ञानं सविकल्पकम् ; विकल्पो भेदः ; सह विकल्पेन वर्तत
इति सविकल्पकम् ; यथा धर्मिप्रतियोगिग्रहणपूर्वकमर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगात् ग्रथिव्यादिभिन्न-
वस्तुज्ञानम् । अन्ये पुनराहुः—विकल्पः शब्दः ; तेन सह वर्तत इति सविकल्पकं
शब्दोल्लिखितं विज्ञानम् ; शब्दोल्लेखविकलं तु निर्विकल्पकमिति, तदसत् ; बालादि-
विज्ञानस्याप्यस्मदादिविज्ञानवत् शब्दोल्लेखानुमानात् । बालमूकादीनामपि हि
पूर्वजन्मानुभूतशब्दसंस्कारात् शब्दस्मरणे सति 'इत् तत्' इति केनचिच्छब्देनोल्लिखितं
विज्ञानम् । अन्यथा स्तनादिष्वन्यपरिहारेण प्रवृत्त्यसम्भवात् । अपरं द्वैविध्यम्—
योगिप्रत्यक्षम् अयोगिप्रत्यक्षं च—इति । तत्र योगिप्रत्यक्षं नाम पुरुषान्तरप्रत्ययान्तरनिर-
पेक्षस्वयम्भुव्रह्मशब्दवाच्याभिमतवेदशब्दप्रकाशितप्रकृष्टज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयानुष्ठानसामर्थ्य-
ण्डाणि [लब्धाणि] माद्यैश्वर्यकलापस्य नारायणप्रसादानुगृहीतस्य योगिनो बाह्येन्द्रिय-
मनोऽर्थसन्निकर्षात् केवलमनोऽर्थसन्निकर्षाद्वा अणिमाद्यैश्वर्यकलापसाच्चित्तसम-
न्वितात् अस्मदादिबाह्येन्द्रियमनोऽर्थसन्निकर्षागोचरवर्तमानकालस्थविविधविचित्ररूपा-
दिमत्पदार्थगोचरं वातीतानागतवर्तमानगोचरं वा यदुत्पद्यते तदुच्यते । तथा हि
बाह्येन्द्रियमनोऽर्थसन्निकर्षात् वासुदेवप्रसादानुगृहीतो धनंजयो विश्वरूपं ददर्शति
गीतासु स्मर्यते । तथा च वार्तिककारः—

“यत्राप्यतिशयो दृष्टः स स्वार्थानतिलङ्घनात् ।

दूरसूक्ष्मादिदृष्टौ स्यान्न रूपे श्रोत्रवृत्तिता ॥”

इति ब्रुवन् अर्जुनादिचक्षुषो विश्वरूपादिलक्षणे स्वगोचरेऽशोकवनिकावास्थितसीता-
वलोकने संपातिचक्षुष इव सामर्थ्यातिशयमङ्गीकरोतीति गम्यते । केवलमनोऽर्थ-
सन्निकर्षादपि भगवतो वेदव्यासस्य भविष्यद्भारतार्थविज्ञानमभूदिति स्मर्यते ।
तथा चाह—“योगिनां मन एव स्यादस्माकं सर्वमेव तु” इति ।
नन्वेवं सति मनोमात्रेण धर्माधर्मदर्शनमपि योगिनां स्यादिति वेदस्य पुरुषबुद्धि-
पूर्वताप्रसङ्गः । नैतत् सारम्, वेदस्वातन्त्र्यपूर्वकत्वात् योगिसामर्थ्यस्य । किं चान्यत्,
योगिनामपि यन्मानसं प्रत्यक्षं तत् कालसंस्पृष्टमेवार्थं भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तं वा
बोधयति न तु कार्यं कालास्पृष्टम् । अतो न धर्माद्यर्थौ योगिप्रत्यक्षगोचरः ।
वेदगोचरस्तु भवति ; तथा चाहुः—

“स्वसामर्थ्याद्यथा कार्यं कालास्पृष्टं प्रभाषते ।

लिङादिर्यागमप्येवं वक्ष्यतीत्यविशिष्टता ॥” इति ।

तस्माद्योगिनां मनोऽर्थसन्निकर्षमात्रेणातीतानागतवर्तमानार्थग्रहणेऽपि न धर्माधर्मग्रहण-
प्रसङ्गः ; नापि वेदस्य बुद्धिपूर्वताप्रसङ्गः । ननु योगिप्रत्यक्षस्यातीतानागताविषयत्वे
वर्तमानग्राहित्वविरोध इति चेत्, न ; अतीतानागतरूपेणातीतानागतवस्तुनोऽपि
वर्तमानत्वात्, धर्मादिवस्तुनस्तु न केनापि रूपेण वर्तमानता, कार्यैकरूपत्वात् ;
अतो न प्रत्यक्षगम्यत्वम् । अतश्चोपपन्नम् “सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां
बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षमनिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलम्भनत्वात्” इति भाष्यकारव्याख्यानम् ।
अस्यायमर्थः—सता वर्तमानेनार्थेनेन्द्रियाणां संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्य यद्बुद्धिजन्म
तत् प्रत्यक्षम् ; तच्चानिमित्तमप्रमाणं धर्मे विद्यमानोपलम्भनत्वात् वर्तमानग्राहित्वात्,
धर्मस्य च कार्यैकरूपस्य वर्तमानत्वाभावादिति । अतः “तस्य निमित्तपरीष्टिः”
कर्तव्येति भाष्यकारस्य परीष्टिसूत्रव्याख्यानानुगुणमेवेदं प्रत्यक्षसूत्रव्याख्यानम् । अतो
निमित्तपरीक्षाप्रस्थानमपि शोभनम् ॥

ननु कर्तृतन्त्रधात्वर्थगतश्रेयस्साधनतारूपं लिङाद्यर्थः । तच्च श्रेयस्साधनता-
रूपं यद्यपि कालास्पृष्टतया लिङादिप्रत्ययेनोच्यते, तथापि तु लोके प्रमाणान्त-
रावगम्यमेव ; तस्मात् कालास्पृष्टता न प्रमाणान्तरागोचरत्वे कारणम् । सत्यम् ;
यद्यपि कालासंस्पृष्टता प्रमाणान्तरागोचरत्वे न कारणम्, तथापि प्रत्यक्षागोचरत्वे

कारणमेव ; तथा हि—यथोक्तश्रेयस्साधनता लोके दृष्टान्वयव्यतिरेकसमधिगम्या ।
अन्वयव्यतिरेकौ च सामान्यतोदृष्टपरिशेषानुमानात्मकार्थपत्त्यात्मकौ वा । तत्रान्वय-
व्यतिरेकाभ्यां गवानयनादिधात्वर्थव्यक्तेस्तदनन्तरफलदर्शनात् फलसाधनतामवगम्यान्य-
स्यापि तज्जातीयस्य व्यक्त्यन्तरस्य तथाविधफलसाधनतामनुमाय स्वयं प्रवर्तते ;
तत्र व्याप्तिं गृहीत्वा पुरुषान्तरेऽपि तथाविधप्रत्यय[प्रवृत्ति]मुपलभ्य तथाविधश्रेयस्साधन-
ताज्ञानमनुमिनोति ; तस्माच्छ्रेयस्साधनता लोकेऽनुमेयैव सर्वत्र ; वेदे तु
स्वजात्युपसृष्टानुमानस्यापि न गोचरमिति वैषम्यम् । योगिप्रत्यक्षगोचरमिति चेत्
न ; त्रैकाल्यगोचरत्वात् तस्य ; तथा हि—त्रैकाल्यदर्शिनो हि योगिनो भवन्ति । तथा
प्रसिद्धो [प्रसिद्धदर्शिनो] न तु सर्वदर्शिनः, तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावात् । अतो योगिप्रत्यक्षमपि
त्रैकाल्यगोचरमेव, न तु त्रिकालातीतकार्याद्यर्थगोचरम् ; अतो विशेषतः
स्वर्गाद्युपसृष्टश्रेयस्साधनतालङ्घितयागादिधात्वर्थात्मकश्चोदनालक्षण एव, नेन्द्रियादि-
लक्षण इति सूक्तम् ; अतो योगिप्रत्यक्षस्यातीतानागतविषयत्वेऽपि सर्वे समञ्जसम् ॥

अन्ये पुनर्भूताद्यर्थभावनप्रकर्षपर्यन्तोद्भवं योगिप्रत्यक्षमाहुः ; तदसत् ; अन्यत्र
चोदनापरिप्रापणात् भावनाया भ्रान्तिहेतुत्वदर्शनात् ; तथा हि—व्याघ्राद्यर्थं भयादि-
वशेन भावयतः तत्रापरोक्षभ्रान्त्युत्पत्तिः दृश्यते, यथा—व्याघ्रोऽयं व्यालोऽय-
मिति ; न तु प्रमाणज्ञानोत्पत्तिः ; अतो यत्किंचिदेतत् ॥

अवसितं योगिप्रत्यक्षम् ; अयोगिप्रत्यक्षं ब्रूमः । प्रकृष्टज्ञानकर्मजनितसामर्थ्या-
तिशयरहितेन्द्रियमनोऽर्थसन्निकर्षजमयोगिप्रत्यक्षम्, यथा अस्मदादेरर्थेन्द्रियसंप्रयोगा-
द्रूपादिज्ञानम् । अत्राह—नन्वपरमपि प्रत्यक्षमैश्वरमस्ति ; तत् किमिति न लक्षयसीति, नैतत्
सारम् ; ईश्वरस्य बुद्ध्यभावात् ; बुद्धिविशेषो हि प्रत्यक्षम् ; न च ईश्वरस्य बुद्धिः,
कार्यकरणरहितत्वात् ; “ न तस्य कार्यं करणं च विद्यते ” इति श्रुतेः ; बुद्ध्यभावेऽपि
ब्रह्मण ईक्षणमस्तीति जगत्सर्गाविरोधः । ननु बुद्धिरेवेक्षणम् ; सत्यं संसारिणामीक्षणं
बुद्धिरेव, न तु ब्रह्मणः ; किं तर्हि ? अव्याकृतनामरूपविषयो विकारो बीजस्येवोच्छ्रूयता
चैतन्यव्याप्तो ब्रह्मण ईक्षणमुच्यते । ननु लोकप्रसिद्धेक्षणानभ्युपगमे ब्रह्मण एकाङ्गविकलं
गौणमीक्षणं स्यात् ; सत्यम्, बुद्ध्यंशविरहादेकाङ्गवैकल्यनिबन्धनं ब्रह्मण ईक्षणस्य
गौणत्वमिष्टमेव ; प्रधानादीक्षणवत् सर्वाङ्गवैकल्यनिबन्धनमेव तु गौणत्वं नेष्यते ;
तस्मात् ब्रह्मणो बुद्ध्यनभ्युपगमेऽपि न कश्चिद्विरोधः, इति नैश्वरं प्रत्यक्षमस्ति
बुद्ध्यभावादिति सूक्तम् । यत् पुनरीश्वरस्य स्वेच्छाविग्रहेष्वस्मदाद्यतीन्द्रियार्थ-
विषयमपरोक्षं बुद्धिविज्ञानं तदपि योगिप्रत्यक्षमेव ; अणिमाद्यैश्वर्यकलापबलोपबृंहितार्थे-

न्द्रियसंप्रयोगजन्यत्वाविशेषात्, इतरच्च सर्वप्राणिसाधारणं प्रत्यक्षमीश्वरस्यापि ; तन्न योगिप्रत्यक्षेऽन्तर्भूतमिति न किञ्चिदपि विशिष्टमस्तीति सिद्धम् । तस्मादुपपन्नम् ‘तत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म सत्प्रत्यक्षम्’ इति अव्यभिचारसिद्धये वृत्तिकारव्याख्यानम् । अत्र च बुद्धिजन्मेति जन्मग्रहणं बुद्धेर्जन्ममात्रेण व्यापारो न जातायाः फलाय व्यापारान्तरमस्तीति शापनार्थम् । तथा हि—

“व्यापारः कारकाणां हि दृष्टो जन्मातिरेकतः ।

ज्ञानेऽपि हि तथा मा भूदिति जन्माभ्युपेयते ॥” इति ।

उपलक्षणार्थं चैतत् सूत्रमुत्तरप्रमाणलक्षणानाम्, तत्र सूत्रान्तराभावात् । तस्मात् प्रत्यक्षं तावदेवंलक्षणत्वान्न व्यभिचरतीति सिद्धम् ॥

॥ प्रत्यक्षलक्षणं समाप्तम् ॥