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# VEDIC STUDIES: V. ŪRVĀ<sup>1</sup>

BY

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(Continued from Vol. XVIII, p. 15)

This word *ūrva*<sup>1</sup> occurs in twenty-two passages of the RV, and only very rarely in the other Vedic texts. It is not mentioned in the Nighaṇṭu; and in the Nirukta, it is mentioned but once, in 6, 7, where too, Yāska merely cites RV. 3, 30, 19c containing this word, without explaining it. Durga, however, in his commentary, explains *ūrva* as *vaḍavā-mukhe 'vasthitāḥ ūrvogñiḥ*; and a similar explanation is given by Skandasvāmin and Maheśvara also in their commentary.

In his commentary on the RV, Sāyaṇa explains *ūrva* diversely as (1) *mahat*, *vistṛta*, *bahula* or *uru* (in 7 verses); (2) *saṁūha*, *saṅgha* or *gosamūha* (in 8 verses); (3) *dhana* (= *gosamūha* or *godhana*; in 1 verse); (4) *baḍabānala* (in 3 vv.); (5) *deśa* (in 1 v.); (6) *samudra* (in 1 v.); (7) *parvata* (in 1 v.); and (8) *anna* (*urvī hīṃsārthaḥ ūrvati kṣudham hinastīty ūrvam annam* in 1, 72, 8). Similarly, Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara, in his commentary on TS. 2, 5, 12, 2 (=RV. 2, 35, 3) explains *ūrva* as *aurvasyāgner ādhāram mahāntam*; Uvvaṭa and Mahidhara, in their commentaries on VS. 33, 14 (=RV. 7, 16, 7) and 33, 28 (=RV. 10, 74, 4) as *anna*, and Skandasvāmin in his commentary on RV. 1, 72, 8 as *saṁūha*.

In the PW, Böhtlingk and Roth, guiding themselves by the derivation (from *vr* 'to enclose'), explained *ūrva* as '(1) reservoir, place where water collects, basin; hence, cloud; (2) hiding-place, cow-stall; (3) perhaps, prison, imprisonment'. Similar explanations are given by Grassmann in his *Wörterbuch*; but, in his RV. Über., he has explained the word as *Fass* ('cask, barrel'), *Ort* ('place'), and *Raum* ('space') also, while Ludwig and Bergaigne content themselves with the explanations of the PW.

As in the case of *gotram*, so in the case of this word also Geldner, in Ved. St. 2, 269 ff., expressed dissatisfaction with the explanations of the PW, and endeavoured to show that those given by Sāyaṇa are more satisfactory. He divided these explanations into two groups, (1) those based on the etymology,



or supposed etymology, contained in RV. 2, 13, 7: *urur ūrvāṇ* *abhitāḥ*, namely, *uru*, *vistṛta*, *mahat*, *bahula*, and (2) those based on *rūḍhi* or usage, namely, *samudra*, *baḍabānala*, *samūha*, *go-samūha*, *saṅgha*, *parvata*, *dhana*, *anra* and *deśa*; and he tried to show, on pp. 269-282, that the *rūḍhi* meanings 'ocean; submarine fire; herd; mountain' are enough to explain satisfactorily all the passages in which the word occurs. In the *RV. Glos.*, however, he dropped the meanings *baḍabānala* and *parvata*, and explained *ūrva* as (1) a cave, mountain-cave (in the myth of the Paṇis) (3, 32, 16; 6, 17, 6. b) the herd incarcerated in the cave 10, 108, 8; 7, 76, 5; 4, 50, 2. c) herd in general 7, 16, 7; 6, 17, 1. (2) darkness, hell 5, 45, 2; 4, 12, 5. (3) ocean 2, 35, 3; 3, 30, 19; 1, 14; and in the *RV. Über*, he has explained *ūrva* mostly as 'ocean; herd; cave of the cows', and as 'hell' and 'hiding-place' in one passage each, observing, in his note on 4, 50, 2, that *ūrva* is, originally, the place where the stolen cows were kept confined by the Paṇis, and secondarily, the herd itself.

Oldenberg too, in his note on this word in ZDMG. 55, 316 ff., observed, "*ūrva* is not simply 'stall for cattle' as given in the PW, but the rock-cave, the prison, in which the cows were hidden", and also put forth the conjecture that in 3, 1, 14 and 2, 13, 7, *ūrvāṇ* might perhaps denote 'the clouds which hold the celestial waters confined within themselves', while Neisser, in his *Zum Wörterbuch des RV.*, assigns to *ūrva* the meanings '(1) enclosed space, dungeon, namely the rock-cave in which were incarcerated, according to the myth, the cows stolen by the Paṇis (2) ocean, sea'.

That *ūrva* refers, in a majority of passages, to the prison of the mythical cows (Oldenberg, p. 316 l. c.; Geldner, *RV. Über.*, 1, 434; Neisser, p. 183 l. c.; and Sāyaṇa's observation *yatra paṇayo gā apahr̥tya sthāpitavantaḥ sa deśa ūrvaḥ* in his explanation of RV. 9, 87, 8), is a proposition that I do not in the least desire to gainsay. It does not, however, follow from this proposition that *ūrva* signifies 'prison, dungeon'; for, as pointed out above, this prison is referred to in the RV by five different classes of words denoting (1) 'cow-pen' like *vraja*; (2) 'fortress, stronghold, citadel' like *pur*, *vilu*; (3) 'earths'-like *kṣāma*; (4) 'mountain, rock' like *adri*, *parvata*; and (5) 'hole, cave, cavity' like *vala*, *vavra*. The last-mentioned words *vala* and *vavra* are derived from the root *vr̥* 'to enclose', of



which *ūrva* too is a derivative; and it hence becomes clear that *ūrva* belongs to the fifth of the above-mentioned classes and denotes, primarily, 'hole, pit, cave, cavity'. I shall now show that this meaning, with others derived from it, suits the context in all the passages in which *ūrva* occurs.

- (1) 5, 29, 12: *nāvagvāsaḥ sutāsomāsa indram*  
*daśagvāso abhy ārcanty arkaiḥ |*  
*gavyam cid ūrvam apidhānavantam*  
*taṁ cin naraḥ śāsamānā apa vran ||*

"The Navagvas, having pressed the Soma juice, and the Daśagvas, besing Indra with songs. Exerting themselves, the men opened that hole of the cows which was covered."

The Navagvas and Daśagvas are two classes of priests, who, like the Aṅgirasas, took part in the liberation of the imprisoned cows (see Macdonell's *Ved. Myth.*, p. 144). According to Sāyaṇa and Skandasyāmin (see their explanations of RV. 1, 62, 4), they are sub-groups of the group of Aṅgirasas.

- (2) 1, 72, 8: *svādhyo divā ā sapta yāhvī*  
*rāyo duro vy ṛtajñā ajānan |*  
*vidād gavyam saramā dṛḥam ūrvam*  
*yenā nu kaṁ mānuṣī bhōjate viḥ ||*

"The seven (sons) of Heaven, knowers of (spells of) truth, longing, found the strong doors of wealth. Saramā found the strong cave of the cows from which the clans of men derive enjoyment".

The seven sons of Heaven are, as already explained in § 1 above (see no. 18; p. 210), the Aṅgirasas.

- (3) 3, 32, 16: *nā tvā gabhīraḥ puruhūta sindhur*  
*nādrayaḥ pari śanto varanta |*  
*itthā sakhibhya iṣito yad indrā*  
*dṛḥam cid arujo gavyam ūrvam ||*

"When thou, impelled by the companions, didst thus break open the strong cave of the cows, O Indra, neither the deep sea, nor the high mountains, stopped thee, O thou that art invoked by many".

The companions referred to in pāda c are the Aṅgirases.

- (4) 4, 28, 5: evā<sup>1</sup> satyaṃ<sup>1</sup> maghavānā<sup>1</sup> yuvāṃ<sup>1</sup> tad<sup>1</sup>  
 indraś<sup>1</sup> ca somorvaṃ<sup>1</sup> aśvyāṃ<sup>1</sup> goḥ<sup>1</sup> |  
 ā dardṛtam<sup>1</sup> apihitāny<sup>1</sup> aśnā<sup>1</sup>  
 riricathuḥ<sup>1</sup> kṣāś<sup>1</sup> cit tatṛdānā<sup>1</sup> ||

“Thus was that act of truth, O ye two bountiful ones, when you, O Soma and Indra, shattered the hole of the horses and cows that had been closed with a stone, and emptied them, breaking up the earths”.

This verse has already been explained above in § 1 (see no. 44, p. 236). *kṣāḥ*, ‘earths’, in pāda d, refers to the holes in which the cows and horses were hidden, to the *ūrva* of pāda b. But while this word *ūrva* is in the singular, the word *kṣāḥ* is in the plural.

- (5) 5, 30, 4: sthiraṃ<sup>1</sup> manaś<sup>1</sup> cakṛṣe<sup>1</sup> jāta<sup>1</sup> indra<sup>1</sup>  
 veśid<sup>1</sup> eko yudhaye<sup>1</sup> bhūyasaś<sup>1</sup> cit<sup>1</sup> |  
 aśmānaṃ<sup>1</sup> cic chavasā<sup>1</sup> didyuto<sup>1</sup> vi<sup>1</sup>  
 vido<sup>1</sup> gavām<sup>1</sup> ūrvām<sup>1</sup> usriyāṇām<sup>1</sup> ||

“As soon as thou art born, O Indra, thou makest a firm resolve and goest, though alone, to fight with many. With force didst thou hurl the stone; thou foundest the hole of the bright cows”.

The ‘stone’ (*aśman*) mentioned in pāda c is the thunderbolt of Indra, or perhaps the stone that covered the entrance of the cave prison.

- (6) 5, 45, 1-2: vidā<sup>1</sup> divo<sup>1</sup> viṣyann<sup>1</sup> adrim<sup>1</sup> ukthair<sup>1</sup>  
 āyatyā<sup>1</sup> uśaso<sup>1</sup> arcino<sup>1</sup> guḥ<sup>1</sup> |  
 apāvṛta<sup>1</sup> vrajinī<sup>1</sup> ut svar<sup>1</sup> gād<sup>1</sup>  
 vi duro<sup>1</sup> mānuṣī<sup>1</sup> deva<sup>1</sup> āvaḥ<sup>1</sup> ||  
 vi sūryo<sup>1</sup> amatim<sup>1</sup> na śriyaṃ<sup>1</sup> sād<sup>1</sup>  
 ōrvād<sup>1</sup> gavām<sup>1</sup> mātā<sup>1</sup> jānati<sup>1</sup> gāt<sup>1</sup> |  
 dhanvarṇaso<sup>1</sup> nadyaḥ<sup>1</sup> khādo-arnāḥ<sup>1</sup>  
 sthūneva<sup>1</sup> sumitā<sup>1</sup> dṛmḥata<sup>1</sup> dyauḥ<sup>1</sup> ||

“Thou, the son of Dyaus, didst discover the mountain, unloosing it with hymns. The splendour of the approaching



Dawn came forth. He opened (i.e., set free) those that were in the cow-pen; the sun rose and the god opened the doors of men.

“The sun radiated splendour, like beauty; the mother of cows, knowing, came out from the hole; the rivers, with destroying currents overflowing the banks, (sped forth); the sky became stable like a post that is set up well”.

These verses describe (a) the breaking open, by means of spells (of truth), of the cave-prison by Indra, (b) the appearance of the Dawn, the sun, and of the rivers, and (c) the propping up of the sky. Regarding all these, see p. 229 ff. in § 1 above.

I follow Sāyaṇa in believing that the deity alluded to in v. 1 is Indra: this is the opinion of Grassmann also. According to Oldenberg (RV. Noten), however, it is the Aṅgirasas, or the Aṅgirasas and Bṛhaspati, that are spoken of in this verse.

In v. 1, Grassmann reads the first word as *vidā*<sup>1</sup> (instrumental singular) while the Padakāra reads it as *vidāḥ*; this word *vidāḥ* is regarded as nominative plural by Ludwig, and as a verb (third person singular, equivalent to *avedayat*) by Sāyaṇa. Oldenberg observes (1.c.) that both readings are possible, and points out in support of the former reading, that the instrumental *vidā*<sup>1</sup> is used in 1, 31, 8: *śāktī vā yāt te cakṛmā vidā vā*. Further, with respect to *viṣyaṇ*, he refers to ZDMG. 54, 170 (footnote 1); 55, 308 and observes that, in all probability, this word is an epithet of the plural word *arcinaḥ* in pāda b, although it is also possible to regard it as an epithet of *bṛhaspatiḥ* understood. Pādas a-b, therefore, denote, according to him, ‘Opening the rock with hymns, the knowers of heaven [*or*, Bṛhaspati, and the knowers of heaven], who are rich in flames, have gone at the approach of Dawn’, or ‘With knowledge of heaven, opening the rock with hymns, they [*or*, Bṛhaspati, opening the rock with hymns, and they], who are rich in flames, have gone at the approach of Dawn’. Grassmann translates the pādas as, ‘With sagacity, he opened with spells the rock of heaven; there came the rays of approaching Dawn’, and Ludwig as, ‘The knowers of heaven, in order to open the mountain, have come with hymns, the praisers of the coming Dawn’,



For my part, I construe *vidāḥ* as second person singular; and I also supply, after *divāḥ*, the word *putraḥ* (see in this connection the observations under no. 18 on p. 211 in § 1 above). The *anvaya* in the first pāda is thus, *divāḥ putraḥ tvam adrim ukthaiḥ viṣyan vidāḥ*.

*vrajinīḥ*, in pāda c, refers, not only to the cows, but also to the horses and other wealth, the Waters, the Dawn and the sun that were all confined in the hole; see pp. 223 ff. above in § 1 above.

The meaning of pāda d seems to be, 'The doors of men's houses open, and they set about their work'.

*gavāṃ mātā*, in pāda b of verse 2, refers to Uṣas; and the *ūrva* or hole mentioned in it is the same as the *adri* or mountain mentioned in verse 1, pāda a.

(7) 6, 17, 1: pibā somam abhi yam ugra tārda  
 ūrvam gavyam mahi gr̥ṇāna indra |  
 vi yō dhṛṣṇo vadhiṣo vajrahasta  
 viśvā vṛtram amitriyā śavobhiḥ ||

"Drink the Soma juice, O powerful Indra, desiring which thou didst break open the hole of the cows, singing loudly, O valiant one armed with the thunderbolt, who, by means of thy might didst destroy all inimical Vṛtra (—fortresses)".

*vṛtram*=fortress of Vṛtra (compare the analogous use of *śambarāṇi* to denote Śambara's forts in 2, 24, 2: *utādardar manyunā śambarāṇi vi* explained on p. 222 in § 1 above); and *viśvā vṛtram amitriyā*=all the forts of the inimical Vṛtra.

(8) 6, 17, 6: tava krātvā tava tad dāmsanābhir  
 āmāsu pakvaṃ śācyā nī dīdhaḥ |  
 aurnor dura usriyābhyo vi dṛḥhod  
 ūrvad ga asṛjo āṅgirasvān ||

"By thy might, greatness and wonderful powers, thou didst place the cooked (milk) in the raw (cows); thou didst open the strong doors for the cows; accompanied by the Aṅgirasas, thou didst release the cows from the hole".

This verse is addressed to Indra. Regarding his placing of milk in the cows, see the observations under no. 18 in § 1 above.



- (9) 7, 16, 7: tvē agne svāhuta  
 priyāsaḥ santu sūrayaḥ |  
 yantāro ye maghavāno janānām  
 ūrvān dayanta gonām ||

“O Agni to whom many oblations are offered, may the sacrificers be dear to thee, the liberal ones among men, the donors, who break open the holes of cows”.

The words in pāda d are reminiscent of the myth of the Paṇis; the meaning is ‘who give presents of cows to the priests’.

- (10) 7, 76, 5: samānā ūrvē adhi saṃgatāsaḥ  
 saṃ jānate nā yatante mithas te |  
 te devānām nā minanti vratāny  
 amardhanto vāsubhir yādamānāḥ ||

“Foregathered in the same hole, they come to an understanding and do not compete against each other. Coming out with wealth, not injuring, they do not transgress the ordinances of the gods”.

Hymn 7, 76, in which this verse occurs, is addressed to Uṣas; and in the verse preceding ours (*i.e.*, in v. 4, no. 13 in § 1 above), it is said that the Aṅgirasas, by means of spells of truth, caused the sun and the Dawn to appear. The word *te* in pāda b, refers not only to the sun and the Dawn, but also to the cows, Waters, etc., that had foregathered in the hole; and pādas bcd say that these did not contend against each other for precedence, but, obeying the ordinances of the gods, came out in due order, bringing with them the treasures hidden in the hole.

- (11) 7, 90, 4: ucchann uṣasaḥ sudinā ariprā  
 uru jyotir vividur didhyānāḥ |  
 gavyam cid ūrvam uśijo vi vavrus  
 teṣām ānu pradivāḥ sasrur āpaḥ ||

“The unblemished Dawns, that bring good days, dawned; uttering spells (of truth), they discovered the great light. The Uśijs opened the hole of the cows; there flowed forth for them the Waters of old”.

See no. 50 in § 1 above.

(12) 8, 66, 3: yaḥ śakro mṛkṣo aśvyo  
 yo vā kiḥ hiranyayaḥ |  
 sa ūrvāsyā rejayaty apāvṛtim  
 indro gavyasya vṛtrahā ||

“The mighty Indra, who, (as also) the currycomb or spur of his horse, is golden, who is the slayer of Vṛtra, removes the covering of the hole of cows”.

This verse is addressed to Indra who is described by the RV poets (see Macdonell's *Ved. Myth.*, p. 55) as golden (*hiranyaya*) in appearance with golden arms, golden hair and golden jaws, and having a golden thunder-bolt (*vajra*), golden arrows, a golden chariot and two bay (golden) horses with golden manes. This verse says that the currycomb with which Indra's horses are curried and the spurs are also golden.

(13) 9, 87, 8: eṣā yayau paramād antār adreḥ  
 kūcit satir ūrvē gā viveda |  
 divo na vidyut stanayanty abhraiḥ  
 somasya te pavata indra dhārā ||

“This came down from the highest (region), and discovered the cows that were somewhere in the hole, within the mountain. Thundering like the lightning of heaven with clouds, this stream of Soma, O Indra, is becoming clear for thee”.

The deity of this verse is Soma Pavamāna, and the discovery of the cows hidden in the cave-prison is here attributed to this deity. See in this connection no. 7 in § 3 (p. 172) above.

(14) 4, 2, 17: sukarmāṇaḥ suruco devayanto  
 ‘yo na devā janimā dhamantaḥ |  
 śucanto agniṃ vavṛdhanta indram  
 ūrvaṃ gavyaṃ pariśadanto agman ||

I construe pādas bcd together, and pāda a with pādas cd of the immediately preceding verse (i.e., verse 16 of 4, 2) which reads as adhā yathā naḥ pitaraḥ parāsaḥ pratnāso agna ṛtām aśuṣāṇaḥ | śucid ayan didhitim ukthaśāsaḥ kṣāmā bhindanto aruṇir āpa vran. This verse has already been explained above



(see no. 16 in § 1), and it has been pointed out there (1) that pādas ab are to be construed with pāda d of verse 15, and (2) that these verses contain the prayer of the ṛṣi that he (and his companions?) may, like the Aṅgirasas of old, become bards, utter spells of truth and rend the mountains imprisoning cows. Pādas cd of verse 16 and pāda a of our verse (v. 17) describe these feats of the Aṅgirasas; and pādas bcd state that the gods also were with the Aṅgirasas and participated with them in the performance of the feats.

The meaning of verse 16 cd and v. 17 is thus:

“They attained, indeed, to pure thoughts; chanting spells, (and) cleaving the earth, they disclosed the bright ones; they, who were efficient, effulgent and pious. The gods went (there) making a loud sound in the same way as (a smith) blows upon iron (in the furnace), kindling the fire, magnifying Indra (with hymns of praise) and beleaguering the hole containing the cows”.

The gods referred to in v. 17b are the Maruts. Compare 2, 34, 1: *dhārāvarā marūto dhr̥ṣṇvojaso mṛgā nā bhīmās taviṣibhir arcinaḥ | agnayo nā śusucānā ṛjīṣiṇo bhṛimīṃ dhamanto āpa gā avṛṇvata*. “The Maruts possessing torrents, of bold courage, impetuous, terrible like wild beasts, singing with might, and brilliant like fires, discovered (i.e., set free) the cows after blowing away the protector (i.e., the demon Vala)”. Compare also the following observations of Macdonell in *Ved. Myth.*, pp. 80-81, regarding the Maruts: “With them Indra gains the light (8, 76, 4), found the cows (1, 6, 5) and supported the sky (6, 47, 5). In fact, Indra accomplishes all his celestial exploits in their company (1. 100, 101, 105; 10. 65) .....they are even spoken of alone as having rent Vṛtra from joint to joint (8, 7, 23) or as having disclosed the cows (2, 34, 1)”. As already observed above (xiv. p. 282), the shattering of the cave imprisoning the cows, the delivery of the cows, Waters or rivers, and the Dawns, the winning of light (or causing the sun to appear in the sky), and the propping up of the earth and the sky, all form part of the same exploit performed by the Aṅgirasas, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Agni and others.

It is perhaps the Maruts that are referred to in pāda b: *tad eṣām anye abhito vī vocan*, ‘those that were around uttered it loudly’ of 4, 1, 14 explained above (§ 1, no. 15) and in pāda



a, *tā id devānām sadhamāda āsan* 'they were indeed boon-companions of the gods' of 7, 76, 4, likewise explained above (§ 1, no. 13). Similarly, the Daśagvas who form a sub-group of the Aṅgirasas are mentioned in verse 12: *tē daśagvāḥ prathamā yajñam ūhire tē no hinvantūśāso vyūṣṭiṣu | uṣā nā rāmīr arunair aporṇute maḥo jyotiṣā śucatā go-arṇasā* of hymn 2, 34 which is addressed to the Maruts. The meaning of this verse is not clear, but the second half seems to state that the sun and the herd of cows were revealed (i.e., set free) by the Daśagvas and the Maruts.

In pāda b (of v. 17), the Padapāṭha reads *devāḥ janima* which Gaedicke (Der Accusativ, p. 65) proposed to emend to *devāñ janima*, and Ludwig (V, 626 to *devā* (=devāni) *janima*. Ludwig's proposal was approved by Geldner (RV. Ueber., 1, 377), while Oldenberg (RV. Noten, 1, 266) expressed approval of the emendations of both Gaedicke and Ludwig, and observed in addition that it is possible to retain the reading of the Padapāṭha and to look upon *devāḥ* as referring to the Aṅgirasas.

The comparison in pāda b (of v. 17) is a *luptopamā*, and we have to supply the word *karmāraḥ* on the analogy of 10, 72, 2: *brahmaṇaspatir etā saṁ karmāra ivādhamaḥ*. The meaning of the pāda is, *ayaḥ dhaman karmāra iva dhamanto devajanāḥ* 'the gods making a loud sound as the smith blows upon iron (in the furnace)'. The comparison is a purely verbal one based on the fact that the root *dham* or *dhmā* (like the root *phūt* + *ḥ* mentioned on p. 3 in vol. xv. above) signifies (1) 'to blow' and (2) 'to make a loud sound'. The *sāmānyadharma dhamana* signifies 'making a loud sound' in the case of *devā janimā* (i.e., *devajanāḥ* or *devāḥ*) and 'blowing' in the case of the *karmāra*.

*agnim*, in pāda c (v. 17), seems to refer to the celestial fire, i.e., the sun; and the expression *śucanto agnim* signifies 'making the sun appear in the sky'. Compare the observations under No. 14 in § 1 above.

(15) 4, 50, 2: *dhunetayaḥ supraketaṁ madanto  
brhaspate abhi ye nas tatasre |  
prśantaṁ sṛpraṁ adabdhām ūrvam  
brhaspate rakṣatād asya yonim ||*



The relative pronoun *ye* in pāda b has for antecedent *pratnāsa ṛṣayaḥ* in pāda c of the preceding verse (i.e., of 4, 50, 1) which reads as *yās tastambha sahasā vījmo antān brhaspatīs triṣadhasṭho rāveṇa tam pratnāsa ṛṣayo didyānāḥ puro viprā dadhire mandrajihvam*. Similarly, *asya* in pāda d refers to *paramā parāvat* in pāda a of the verse that follows (i.e., of 4, 50, 3) and that reads as *brhaspate yā paramā parāvād ata ā ta ṛtasprśo nī śeduh tubhyaṁ khātā avatā adridugdhā madhvaḥ ścotanty abhito virapśam*. The meaning of these three verses is:

“Bṛhaspati, who has three abodes, who, by means of a shout, made fast, in a moment, the ends of the earth, him with the pleasing tongue, the ancient ṛṣis, the bards, uttering spells, placed in the front,

“they, who go singing, making a loud sound heard by all, who battered for us the long hole which is.....and uninjured. O Bṛhaspati, watch over this place,

“which is at the farthest distance, O Bṛhaspati. From this place did they, being in contact with ṛta (truth), sit round thee. For thee do the excavated wells, milked from the mountains, flow with honey in abundance in all directions”.

These verses refer to the freeing, by the Aṅgirasas, Bṛhaspati and others, of the cows and the rivers (or waters) imprisoned in the mountain cave, and the propping up of the earth. The first verse (this has already been explained above, see No. 34 in § 1) says that Bṛhaspati propped up the ends of the earth by means of a loudly-uttered spell (of truth), the second that the Aṅgirasas, with Bṛhaspati as leader, shattered the cave (imprisoning the cows and rivers), and the third, that Bṛhaspati caused the rivers to flow.

*madantaḥ* signifies making a loud sound', a sense which it has in 4, 33, 10: *ye hārī medhayokthā madanta indrāya cakruḥ suyujā ye āśvā* explained above (see No. 6 in § 1). *supraketaṁ*—easily perceptible; i.e., that can be heard by all. Compare the epithets *suṣṭubhā* and *ṛkvatā* applied to the Aṅgirasas in 4, 50, 5 explained above (on p. 2 in vol. xiv.), and the epithets *suṣṭubhā* and *stubhā* applied to them in 1, 62, 4 likewise explained there.



*pr̥ṣantam*, in pāda c of verse 2 is a hap. leg. and its meaning is obscure; *abhitatasre*, in pāda b of the same verse, seems to be equivalent to *ājaghnuḥ. asya yonim yā paramā pāravat*, in v. 2d and v. 3a = *yonim paramasyām parāvati* 'the abode in the furthest distance', that is, 'the third or highest heaven', which (see Macdonell's *Ved. Myth.*, p. 170) is the abode of the Āngirases, Bhṛguṣ, and other pitṛs. This highest heaven is the abode of ṛta also, and the epithet *ṛtaspr̥śaḥ* in v. 3b (which denotes the Āngirases) refers perhaps, not only to the spells of truth employed by them, but to this *ṛta* also.

*khātāḥ*, in pāda d of v. 3, is a synonym of *avatāḥ*; and both these words refer to the hole, *ūrva*, mentioned in v. 2c. *adridugdhāḥ* 'milked from the mountain' = that were contained in the mountain and have now been opened or revealed. The meaning of pādas cd. of v. 3 is: 'This is thy doing, Br̥haspati; from the caves that have now been revealed by the shattering of their rocky walls have come forth the Waters (or rivers) that flow with sweetness'. Compare 4, 3, 12: *ṛtena devir amṛtā amṛktā ar̥nobhir āpo madhumadbhir agne | vājī nā sargeṣu prastubhānāḥ prā sadam it sr̥avitave dadhanyuḥ* that has been explained above (no. 14, §1).

(16) 10, 74, 4: ā tat ta indrāyavaḥ panantā-

bhi ya ūrvam gomantaṁ tīrtśān |  
sakt̥svam ye puruputrāṁ mahim  
sahasradhārām br̥hatim dūduksan ||

'O Indra, for thee they sing this (praise), the Āyus who are desirous of breaking open the hole containing the cows, and of milking the great wide one that (though) bearing once, has many children, and flows with a thousand streams'.

The Āyus, are according to Sāyaṇa, the Āngirases, and *māhī br̥hatī*, the earth or the sky. In connection with the epithet *sakt̥svam*, Sāyaṇa also refers to 6, 48, 22: *sakṛd dha dyaur ajāyata sakṛd bhūmir ajāyata* 'once did heaven give birth to children, once the earth'.

(17) 10, 108, 8: eha gamann ṛśayaḥ somaśitā

ayāsyō āngiraso nāvagvāḥ |



ta etam ūrvam vi bhajanta gonām  
 athaitad vacaḥ paṇayo vāmann it ||

“There will come here the ṛṣis made keen by Soma, (namely), Ayāśya, the Aṅgīrases and the Navagvās. They will break open this hole of the cows: and then you Paṇis will vomit these words (of yours)”.

This verse is addressed by Saramā to the Paṇis who have imprisoned the cows in the mountain-cave and are holding watch over them. The *vacas* mentioned in pāda d refers to the preceding verse (v. 7 of 10, 108) in which the Paṇis say boastfully, ‘The cave containing the cows and other wealth is watched over by the Paṇis who are very good guards; you have come on a fruitless errand (*rakṣanti tam paṇayo ye sogopā reku padam alakam ā jagantha*)’.

In pāda d, the expression *etad vacaḥ paṇayo vāmann it* ‘you Paṇis will vomit these words of yours’=you will then reject or disown these (boastful) words of yours. Ludwig, however, interprets the expression as ‘then the Paṇis burst out with the (following) words’.

(18) 2, 13, 7: yaḥ puṣpiṇīś ca prasvaś ca dhārmaṇā-  
 dbi dāne vy āvanīr adhārayaḥ |  
 yaś cāsamā ajano didyuto diva  
 urur ūrvān abhitaḥ śāsy ukthyaḥ ||

“Thou art worthy of praise, O Indra, thou that didst support with thy support the flower-bearing and (fruit-) bearing (plants) and the rivers in the plains, thou, that, being large, didst engender the matchless missile of Dyaus against the holes”.

This verse is addressed to Indra. In pāda b, I follow Sāyaṇa (and Geldner) in interpreting *dāna* as *kṣetra* ‘field, plain’. *dhārmaṇā adhārayaḥ* ‘didst support with thy support’=didst place. The ‘missile of Dyaus’ is the thunderbolt, and *ajano didyuto divaḥ* ‘didst engender the thunderbolt’=didst bring out the thunderbolt. The holes, *ūrvāḥ*, mentioned in pāda d are the mountain-caves that held the cows, Waters, etc., in confinement. Compare in this connection 2, 15, 3: *vājreṇa khāny atrṇan nadīnām | vṛthāsrjat pathibhir dīrghayāthaiḥ*

*somasya tā māda indraś cakāra* "With the thunderbolt did he break open the holes of the rivers and release them on their long impetuous journey. In the intoxication caused by Soma did Indra perform these feats"; 1, 57, 6: *tvām tam indra parvataṁ mahām uruṁ vajreṇa vajrin parvaśaś cakartitha | avāsrjo nivṛtāḥ sartavā apah* "Thou, O Indra with the thunderbolt, didst, with the thunderbolt, cut up the great big mountain, joint by joint; thou didst release the Waters that had been confined, in order to flow", and 1, 52, 5: *indro yad vajri dhr̥ṣamāno andhasā bhinaḍ valāsyā paridhīṁ iva tritaḥ* "When Indra, carrying the thunderbolt and made bold by Soma, broke open, like Trita, the enclosing walls of the cave".

(19) 3, 30, 19: *a no bhara bhagam indra dyumantaṁ  
nīte deṣṇasya dhīmahi prarekē |  
ūrva iva paprathe kāmō asme  
tam ā pr̥ṇa vasupate vasūnām ||*

"Bring to us, O Indra, brilliant good fortune; may we receive valour from thee in battle. Our desire has become as widely expanded as the ocean; fulfil it, O lord of wealth".

*deṣṇam*, in pāda b, is equivalent to *dyumna*: *nidhīmahi* is to be construed in a passive sense, as pointed out by Grassmann (Wörterbuch, p. 670; see also his translation in *RV. Ueber.*), so that *deṣṇasya nidhīmahi* is thus almost equivalent to *asmāsu dyumnaṁ dhehi*. Compare in this connection 1, 9, 8: *asme dhehi śrāvo bṛhad dyumnaṁ sahasrasātamaṁ*; 1, 73, 4: *adhi dyumnaṁ ni dadhur bhūry asmin* and other similar passages in which *dyumna* occurs as object of *dhā*.

*prareka* is a hap. leg.: Durga, who explains this RV verse in his commentary on Nirukta 6, 7, paraphrases it by *atireka*, and this explanation has been accepted by Sāyaṇa, Ludwig, Geldner (*RV. Ueber.*) and others. It is based on the belief that *prareka* is derived from the root *ric*, and Oldenberg, in fact, mentions this word, and also the word *nireka*, as derivatives of that root (see *RV. Noten*, 1, p. 49). As has been shown elsewhere, however (VSt. 1, 227), the word *nireka* is



derived, not from the root *rac*, but from the root *ri* or *rī* 'to go, to run' (*rī* gatau; *rī* gati-reṣaṇayoḥ). It is very probable that this is the case with *prareka* also, and that this word, too, like *nīreka*, is a synonym of *vāja*.

*ūrva*, in pāda c, denotes not 'hole, pit' in general, but 'sea, ocean'. The sea is, plainly, a large pit filled with water; compare the Mahābhārata passage *hradānām udadhiḥ śreṣṭhaḥ* cited in the PW s.v. *hrada*. It is also related in Rāmāyaṇa I, 40 (and in the Purāṇas also) that the sixty thousand sons of King Sagara dug a large hole in the earth in order to reach the underworld (*rasātala*), which hole, later, became filled with water and came to be known as *sāgara* (sea, ocean). The term *ūrva* can hence be appropriately used to denote the sea or ocean. Compare the words *avaṭa* (*avata*), *avaṭu*, *andhu*, *kūpa*, *garta* and *hrada*<sup>1</sup> all which mean (see Apte) 'pit, hole' and are also applied to denote 'well'.

It must also be borne in mind in this connection that terms denoting 'sea, ocean' are often employed in the RV to denote the middle world or *antarikṣa*, and that this *antarikṣa* was regarded as a hole by the Aryans of India. See the observations under No. 21 below.

(20) 2, 35, 3: sāṁ anyā yanty ūpa yanty anyāḥ  
 samānam ūrvaṁ nadyaḥ prṇanti |  
 tam ū śucim śucayo didivāmsam  
 apām napātam pari tasthur āpaḥ ||

"Some unite themselves; some draw near (in order to do so in their turn); the rivers fill the ocean that is common. The

1. Compare *avaṭaḥ kūpa-gartayoḥ* (Śāśvata's Anekārtha-samuccaya, st. 664) and *gartadaṇḍānayoḥ kūpaḥ* (ibid. st. 260).

In the RV, *hrada* is used (see Grassmann, s.v.) to denote 'sea, ocean' also.

The word *udadhi*, meaning 'sea, ocean' occurs in 10, 65, 5: *vibhidya puram śayathem apācīm nis trīṇi sākam udadher ākr̥ntat* which has been explained in § 1 above (see no. 30). As the meaning 'sea, ocean' is not suited to the context, I have there translated *udadhi* as 'water reservoir'. Is it not, however, possible that this word, like *avaṭa*, *hrada*, etc., can denote 'hole, pit' also? This meaning would suit the context well in the above passage.



bright waters surrounded him, the bright and shining Apām Napāt (Son of Waters)".

This verse is addressed to Apām Napāt, the Son of Waters, which seem to be those in *antarikṣa* or the middle world. In v. 13 of this hymn, *sā im vṛṣājanayat tāsū gārbhaṃ sā im śīsur dhayati taṃ rihanti*, 'he, the bull, made them pregnant; he, the child, sucks them while they lick him', it is said that the Waters are not only his mothers, but his wives also. Compare likewise v. 9 of this hymn: *apām nāpād ā hy āsthād upasthaṃ jihmānām ūrdhvo vidyutam vāsānoḥ*, "The Son of Waters, upright, clad in lightning, mounted the *upastha* of the (Waters) that are prone". As already observed by Geldner (RV. Ueber., 1,290), the poet has here purposely employed ambiguous words (*upastha*=*bhaga*, and alternatively, *kroḍa* or lap) in order that the stanza may refer to both the relationships mentioned above, namely that of mothers and son, and of *nāyikās* and *nāyaka*.

As observed likewise by Geldner (l. c.), *pādas* cd of our verse too refer to both these relationships. This is the case with *pādas* ab also which form the *dr̥ṣṭānta* and which refer to the relationship between the rivers and the ocean. The verb *pr̥ṇanti*, in b, means not only *pūrayanti*, but, as explained by Sāyaṇa in his commentary, *pr̥ṇayanti* also; that is to say, it should be regarded as a verbal form, not only of the root *pr̥* *pālana-pūrayaṇoḥ*, but of the root *pr̥* *pr̥itau* (No. 1259; *svādi*), or, according to Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara,<sup>2</sup> of the root *pr̥ṇa pr̥ṇane* (No. 1330; *tudādi*).

The meanings which the poet intends to convey by this verse are thus (1) "Just as, while some rivers (i.e., masses of water carried by rivers) unite themselves with the ocean, others are approaching to do so in their turn, in the same way some waters unite themselves with Apām Napāt while others draw near to do so"; and (2) "Just as, while some rivers (i.e., masses of water carried by rivers) fill the ocean, others draw near to do so, some waters fill the belly of Apām Napāt by suckling him while others approach to do so". It seems to

2. The text of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara's commentary on this verse in TS. 2, 5, 12, 2, which is printed in the Mysore edition, is corrupt. *pr̥ṇanti* is there explained as *pūrayanti* but the root is given as *pr̥ṇa pr̥ṇane*.



be implied in the second meaning that the belly of Apām Napāt is as capacious as that of the ocean<sup>3</sup>, that is, that Apām Napāt is, like the ocean (or the *aurvāgni* mentioned in the epics and Purāṇas), insatiable; while, in the first interpretation, the RV poet, like the later classical poets, compares the ocean to a *nāyaka* dallying with many *nāyikās*<sup>4</sup>. See the observations of Geldner in Ved. St. 2, 272.

The union of a *nāyaka* with many *nāyikās*, such as is referred to in this verse (or of a *nāyikā* with many *nāyakas*) is known by the name of *gauyūthika*, while that of a *nāyaka* with two *nāyikās* (or of a *nāyikā* with two *nāyakas*) is known as *saṃghāṭaka* (see Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, 1, 6, 40-41). Such unions were familiar to the RV poets, and references to them in the RV are not infrequent. Compare, for instance, 1, 62, 11: *patiṃ nā patnīr uṣatīr uśāntaṃ sprśanti tvā śava-sāvan maṇiśāḥ*; 1, 71, 1: *ūpa prā ji vānn uṣatīr uśāntaṃ patiṃ nā nityaṃ jānayaḥ saṇlāḥ*; 1, 140, 6: *bhuṣan nā yo'dhi babhrūṣu namnate vṛṣeva patnīr abhy eti roruvat*; 1, 186, 7: *tam im giro jānayo nā patnīḥ surabhiṣṭamaṃ narāṃ nasanta*; 2, 16, 8: *sakṛt su te sumatibhiḥ śatakrato saṃ patnībhir nā vṛṣaṇo nasīmahi*; 7, 10, 1: *vṛṣā hariḥ śucir ā bhāti bhāsā dhiyo hinṛānā uṣatīr ajigaḥ*; 7, 26, 3: *jānīr iva patir ekaḥ samāno nī māmrje pura indraḥ su sārvaḥ*; 9, 86, 16: *mārya iva yuvatibhiḥ saṃ arṣati somaḥ kalāṣe śatayāmnā pathā*<sup>5</sup>; 10, 30, 6: *evēd yūne yuvatayo namanta yad im uśānn uṣatīr ety accha*; 1, 167, 4: *parā śubhrā ayāso yavyā sādharāṇyeva maruto mimiḥṣuḥ*; 10, 101, 11: *ubhe dhūrau vahnir āpibdamāno 'ntar*

3. Compare Geldner's observations in Ved. St. 2, 272 and the remark of Sāyaṇa, *bahvyo nadyaḥ sarvadodakena pūrayantyopi naikam api samudraṃ pūrayanti* cited by him there.

4. Compare Raghuvamśa 13, 9: *mukhārpaṇeṣu prakṛti-pragalbhāḥ svayaṃ taraṅgādhara-dāna-dakṣāḥ | ananya-sāmānya-kalatra-vṛttiḥ pibatya asau pāyayate ca sindhūḥ*||

5. The expression *śatayāmnā pathā* 'in a hundred paths' signifies, when construed with the words *mārya iva yuvatibhiḥ samarṣati* of the simile, 'in a hundred ways', that is, 'employing many *ratibandhas*'.



yōneva carati divjāniḥ; 4, 41, 5: indrā yuvam varuṇā bhūtām  
asyā dhiyaḥ pretārā vṛṣabheva dhenoh; and 8, 35, 5: stomam  
juṣethām yuvaseva kanyānām.

(21) 3, 1, 14: brhanta id bhanavo bhā-rjikam  
agnim sacanta vidyuto na śukrāḥ |  
guheva vṛddham sadasi sve antar  
apārā ūrvē amṛtam duhānāḥ ||

The import of this verse is obscure. Sāyaṇa explains it as: apāre agādhe ūrve samudre antaḥ madhye amṛtam udakam duhānāḥ kṣarantaḥ brhanta id bhānavāḥ mahāntaḥ sūryā eva śukrāḥ dīpyamānāḥ vidyuto na vidyuta iva sve svakīye sadasi sadane antarikṣe guheva guhāyām iva vṛddham pravṛddham bhā-rjikam prabhayā dīpyamānam agnim sacanta āśrayanti. Ludwig explains amṛtam duhānāḥ as 'milking the immortal one; that is, making the immortal one come out of themselves', while Grassmann explains bhānavāḥ as 'gods of light' and amṛtam duhānāḥ as 'milking the nectar out of Agni'. Geldner, in *RV. Ueber.* 1, 301, translated the verse as: 'Mighty rays accompany Agni, rich in splendour, as bright lightnings (the rain). (By the side of) him who had grown as it were in secret, in his home in the immeasurable ocean, (there stand cows<sup>6</sup>), milking nectar'. Very similar to this translation is the one given by him earlier in *Ved. St.* 1, 158 where (on p. 169) the opinion is expressed that the terrestrial Agni is compared with the celestial in this

6. No explanation, however is given of this word in the *RV. Ueber.*; and it is possible for one to think that, perhaps, it was Geldner's opinion that these cows belong to the same class as the milch-cow mentioned in 2, 35, 7: sva ā dame sudughā yasya dhenuḥ svadhām pīpāya which is addressed to Apām Napāt and which says that 'the milch-cow who is a good milker overflowed with nectar (sudhā) in the own abode' of Apām Napāt. svadhā here=sudhā (see *VVSt.* 1, 41) which is a synonym of amṛta; compare Amarakośa 1, 1, 48: pīyūṣam amṛtam sudhā. It is of interest to note that the word pīyūṣam too is used in connection with Apām Napāt in 2, 35, 5: sa pīyūṣam dhayati pūrvasūnām 'he sucks nectar from his former mothers' which is addressed to that deity.



verse, and that the term 'cows' denotes 'offerings of ghee' with reference to the former, and 'celestial waters' with reference to the latter.

For my part, I believe that, like verses 11-13 of hymn 3, 1 (that is, the three verses that immediately precede ours), our verse too is in praise of Agni, son of the Waters, that is, of Apām Napāt; and I therefore translate it as:

"Like the bright Waters, milking nectar, mighty flames accompanied Agni, adorned with splendour, who grew as it were in secret in his own abode in the boundless atmosphere (antarikṣa)".

*na*, in pāda b, has the force of *ca*; and the sense of the verse is: "Apām Napāt, resplendent with high flames, grew in his home in antarikṣa, imbibing sustenance from the Waters". Compare in this connection. 2, 35, 14: *asmin padē paramē tasthivāmsam adhvasmābhir viśvāhā dīdivāmsam | āpo nāptre ghr̥tam annam vahantīḥ svayam atkaiḥ pari dīyanti yāvīḥ* which has the same sense.

*bhū-ṛjīkam*, in a, signifies 'having splendour as ornament (prabhābhūṣaṇam)': *ṛjīka* 'ornament' is derived from the root *ṛj*, *ṛñj* which signifies (see Ved. St. 3, 29ff.) 'to adorn'. In b, I interpret *vidyutaḥ* as 'Waters'; compare 7, 69, 6: *narā gaureva vidyutam tṛṣṇāsmākam adya savanōpa yātam* 'O ye two heroes, come now to our libation as (swiftly as) thirsty antelopes go to water'.

*ūrva*, in d, denotes the atmosphere or *antarikṣa*. This meaning is a particularisation of the meaning 'hole, hollow, pit, cave, cavity' denoted by *ūrva*. The commonest terms used in Sanskrit to denote the atmosphere are *antarikṣa*, *kha* and *ākāśa*. Of these, *antarikṣa* means 'the room between', that is, 'the hollow room between earth and heaven',<sup>7</sup> *kha*

7. Compare in this connection Manusmṛti 1, 12-13:  
 tasminn aṇḍe sa bhagavān uṣitvā parivatsaram |  
 svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā ||  
 tābhyāṃ sa śakalābhyām ca divaṃ bhūmim ca nirmame |  
 madhye vyoma diśāś cāṣṭāv apām sthānam ca śāśvatam ||

Similarly, it is said in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (V. 21, 1-2: *etāvān va bhūvalayasya sanniveśaḥ pramāṇa-lakṣaṇato vyākhyātaḥ | etena hi divo maṇḍalamānam tadvida upadiśanti yathā dvidalayo nīṣpāvādnām | ta antarenāntarikṣam tadubhaya-sandhitam*) that the *antarikṣa* is a hollow space between earth and heaven.



means 'hole, hollow, cave, cavity'; and this is the meaning of *ākāśa* also. *Mahābila* 'the large hole' is another word used to denote the atmosphere. *Ūrva* thus resembles the words *kha* and *mahābila* (and *ākāśa* also?) in denoting primarily 'hole, hollow, cave, cavity', and secondarily, 'atmosphere'.

The atmosphere is the abode of Apām Napāt and of the waters that generate him; it is hence called *svām sadah* or 'own abode' of Apām Napāt in this verse. Regarding the epithet *apāre* applied to *ūrva* in pāda d, compare the words *urau* and *anibādhe* in 3, 1, 11: *urau mahān anibādhe vavardha* 'the great one grew in the wide unbounded (atmosphere)', which (as observed above) is also in praise of Apām Napāt. Compare also the many RV passages (see Grassmann s.v.) in which the epithet *uru* 'wide' is applied to the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*).

In the alternative, one can interpret *ūrva* as 'sea, ocean', and understand it as referring to the atmosphere.

The expression *amṛtaṁ dūhānāḥ*, in d, shows that the Waters (*śukrāḥ vidyutāḥ*) are here regarded as the mothers of Agni; the term *amṛta* refers to the food which Agni imbibes from them.

(22) 4, 12, 5: mahāś cid agna ēnaś abhika  
                   ūrvād devānām uta mātṛyānām |  
                   mā te sakhāyaḥ sadam id riṣāma  
                   yacchā tokāya tanayāya śam yoḥ ||

"O Agni, may we, thy friends, be at no time harmed by the besetment of great distress, by affliction caused by gods and by men. Confer good fortune and prosperity on our children and children's children".

*ūrva*, in pāda b, signifies 'hole' in a figurative sense, that is to say, 'trouble, difficulty, distress, affliction'. It resembles in this respect the words *vivara*, *randhra*, *nirvyathana*, *chidra*,



all which signify<sup>8</sup> primarily 'hole, cave, cavity, pit'<sup>9</sup> and secondarily, 'trouble, difficulty, distress, affliction, *bādhā*, *vyathā*'. Compare the English word 'hole' which signifies not only 'opening, hollow, cavity', but also 'trouble, difficulty'; compare also the word *gahana* which denotes 'hole, cave, cavity', and also 'trouble, difficulty, distress'.<sup>10</sup>

8. Or, is it possible that *niryathana* (which is obviously derived from the root *vyath*) denotes primarily 'trouble, difficulty, distress, affliction', and only secondarily 'cave, hole, pit, cavity'?

9. Compare *randhraṇi tu dūṣaṇe chidre* (Medinī); *chidraṃ randhre 'parādhe ca dūṣaṇe tv ajayo 'bravīt* (Keśava's *Nānārthāṇava-saṃkṣepa* 2, 5, 445); *chidraṃ dūṣaṇa-randhrayoḥ* (Medinī); *chidraṃ vivara-randhravat | garte doṣe* (Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṃgraha*); and *vivara-chidra-randhrādīn āhur dūṣaṇa-gartayoḥ* (Śāśvata's *Anekārthasaṃmuccaya*, 584).

It is thus plain, especially from the last-cited passage, that words like *vivara*, *chidra* and *randhra* (note also the use of the word *ādi* by Śāśvata to include other synonyms of *vivara* and *randhra*) signify (1) *garta* (that is, hole, pit, cave, cavity) and (2) *dūṣaṇa*. This word *dūṣaṇa* seems to have been interpreted by Böhlingk-Roth (in the PW) and Apte as 'weakness, blemish'. But one of the meanings of *dūṣaṇa* (and *doṣa* also) is 'harm, evil, injury'; and this sense too is to be given to these words in the passages cited above.

The meaning 'evil, harm, injury (*Uebel, Schaden*)' is given in the PW to *vivara* only (and not to *chidra* and *randhra*) by Böhlingk and Roth who cite, as example, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 126-14: *etan mahat te vivaraṃ kriyā-hānyā bhaviṣyati*. It is, however, evident from what has been said above that the words *chidra* and *randhra* too have this signification. Compare *randhropa-nipātino hy anarthāḥ* and *chidreṣv anarthā bahulī-bhavanti* (cited in the PW from the *Śākuntala* and *Mṛcchakatika* respectively) which mean 'evils multiply in distresses (i.e., when one is already in distress)'; *Mahābhārata* 3, 296, 7-8: *āsīt sālveṣu dharmātmā kṣatriyaḥ prthivīpatiḥ | Dyumatsena iti khyātaḥ paścāc cāndho babhūva ha | vinaṣṭa-cakṣuṣas tasya bāla-putrasya dhīmataḥ | sāmīpyena hṛtaṃ rājyam chidre 'smīn pūrva-vairiṇā ||* "In the Sālva country there was a Kṣatriya king known as Dyumatsena who later became blind. In this affliction, his former enemy who was near took the kingdom of that sagacious king whose son was young and who was blind"; and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 3, 31, 21: *bhūyo yathā vyasanam etad anekarandhraṃ mā me bhaviṣyati* 'so that this evil, causing much affliction, may not befall me again'.

10. Compare the passage *gahanam vana-duḥkḥhayoḥ | gahvare kalile cāpi* cited by Bhānu Dikṣita in his *Sudhā* commentary on *Amarakośa* 3, 1, 85.



The expression *devānām uta martyānām ūrvaḥ*, in pāda b, is exactly equivalent to the expression *devakṛtaṃ manuṣyakṛtaṃ amhaḥ* in 8, 19, 6: *nā tam amho devakṛtaṃ kṛtāś canā nā martyakṛtaṃ naśat*, "May not distress beset him from anywhere, neither distress caused by gods, nor distress caused by men"; and to the expression *devasya martyasya ca arātiḥ* in 2, 7, 2: *mā no arātīr īśata devasya martyasya ca | pārṣi tasyā uta dviṣaḥ*, "May not harm caused by god and by man overcome us. Mayst thou protect us from it and from the enmity (of god and man)".

Regarding the expression *mahaḥ enasaḥ*, compare 7, 20, 1: *trātā na indra enaso mahaś cit*, 'Indra is our protector from great affliction'; compare also, in respect of pāda c, *mā te sakhāyaḥ sadam id riṣāma*, 1, 94, 1: *agne sakhye mā riṣāmā vayan tava*, 'O Agni, in thy friendship (i.e., having thee as friend), may we not suffer from any harm'.

This closes the list of RV passages in which the word *ūrva* occurs and it can be seen that the meanings: 1. *hole, hollow, pit, cave, cavity* in general; particular hole—(a) *sea, ocean*; (b) *atmosphere* (antarikṣa), 2. *hole* in a figurative sense, that is to say, *trouble, difficulty, distress, bādhā, vyathā*, are enough to explain the word satisfactorily in all these passages.

(23) The word *ūrva* occurs further in TS. 5, 5, 10, 6:

imān stanam ūrjasvantam dhayāpām  
 prāpyātam agne sarirasya madhye |  
 utsam juṣasva madhumantam ūrva  
 samudriyaṇ sadanam ā viśasva ||

This stanza occurs in the VS also (17, 87), but with the reading *prāpītam* instead of *prāpyātam* in pāda b, and the reading *arvan* instead of *ūrva* in pāda c. In the opinion of Geldner (Ved. St. 2, 270, n. 4), the reading *ūrva* is 'undoubtedly more ancient' than the reading *arvan*; but there does not seem to be any solid basis for this opinion. In any case, it is plain that *ūrva* is a synonym of *arvan* as *prāpyātam* is of *prāpīna*, and that the stanza has the same meaning with either reading, namely, "O Agni, suck this breast of the Waters which contains refreshing food and which has developed in the



midst of water. Take pleasure in the spring containing honey, O horse; enter into the oceanic abode", *ūrva* here is thus equivalent to *arvan*; that is to say, it represents *aurva* ('born from the ocean'), the affix *an* that should have been added to *ūrva* in order to form *aurva* being lacking.<sup>11</sup> The epithet *aurva* is applied to the horse because it is born from the sea (compare Śata. Br. 13, 2, 2, 9: *apsuyonir vā aśvaḥ*); and Agni is called horse in this stanza in the same way as he is in, for instance, 1, 149, 3: *ā yaḥ pūraṃ nārminīm adided atyaḥ kavir nabhanyō nārva*; 3, 27, 8: *vājī vājeṣu dhīyate dhvareṣu prā nīyate* | *viṣro yajñasya sādhanah* and 4, 15, 1: *agnir hotā no adhvarē vājī san pari nīyate*.

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11. Similarly, the word *mudgala* is used in verse 5: *gavāṃ mudgalaḥ pradhane jigāya* and verse 9: *gavāṃ mudgalaḥ prtanājyeṣu* of hymn 10, 102 for *maudgalya*; that is to say, the suffix *yañ* is lacking in this instance. See in this connection the observations in VVST. 1, 66.

## PĀṆINI

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Pāṇini, author of the *Ashtādhyāyī*, is the most shining star in the intellectual horizon of ancient India. Seldom has the influence of a single person been of such a far-reaching character in moulding the language of a country as that of Pāṇini. He may be regarded as the starting point of the Sanskrit age, the literature of which is almost entirely dominated by the linguistic standards fixed by him. His methodology, logic and the very apparatus of thinking have disciplined for about twenty-five centuries Sanskrit authors of all classes.

Pāṇini's grammar is superior to all similar works of other countries by the thoroughness with which it investigates the roots of the language and the formation of its words, by its precision of expression and above all by its marvellous ingenuity in using a concise terminology and a style marked by profound concentration to cover the entire material of the language within the shortest possible compass. In the words of Professor McDonell, "The results attained by the Indians in the systematic analysis of language surpass those arrived at by any other nation, and the credit of this achievement entirely goes to Pāṇini". Pāṇini marks the climax of a succession of distinguished teachers, devoted to phonetical and grammatical enquiries, many of whom have been quoted by him. A date about 500 B.C. would seem to satisfy all available evidence bearing on his chronology.

PANINI'S TEXT.—Pāṇini has written in the *sūtra* style. The *sūtras* are grammatical rules framed with the utmost economy of words, to an interpretation of which the key is supplied by Pāṇini himself. The text of the *Ashtādhyāyī*, a book divided into eight *adhyāyas* of four sections each, consists of about 4,000, or to put more precisely 3,983 *sūtras*. Their extent as recorded by Yuan Chuang and in agreement with reality is equal to 1,000 verses of 32 syllables each. To this text are appended two supplements: (i) *Gaṇapāṭha* or a list of 261 groups of words (*gaṇas*), the arch-type of each being referred to in the *Ashtādhyāyī* itself, and (ii) *Dhātupāṭha* or a list of 1944 roots of the language comprehending both the classical Sanskrit and the Vedic language. Pāṇini must have taken great pains in collecting this material by tapp-



ing the two-fold sources of the current language and the literary texts. The task seems to have been performed with amazing thoroughness, displaying powers of minute observation to which tribute is paid by subsequent writers (*mahatī sūkshmeshikā vartate sūtrakāśya*). The linguistic material both in the Dhātupāṭha and in the Gaṇapāṭha is full of great interest and value for the linguist and the historian. In the former we come across a comprehensive list of the roots in the spoken language of Pāṇini's time including the northern and the eastern divisions of the country as well as the many dialectical regions corresponding to the areas of modern Indian languages which have inherited substantially the roots listed by Pāṇini. For example, the root *prasnu* (mod. *panhānā*) must have belonged to the eastern and *payasyati* (*payāsā*) to the western dialect, but both are noticed by Pāṇini. Similarly in the Gaṇapāṭha we find representative lists of: (i) towns, villages and *janapadas*, (ii) Vedic *śākhās* and *charaṇas*, and (iii) important family names (*gotras*) as prevailing in the wide area from Sind to the easternmost limits of India. This historical material gives to the *Ashtādhyāyī* a special value for the historian of ancient India, more so as the evidence in the *Ashtādhyāyī* is of the same authoritative nature as that from epigraphic or numismatic sources.

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS.—Patañjali and Yuan Chuang are our trustworthy sources for details of Pāṇini's life. A traditional legendary version is also available in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (c. 800 A.D.) and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (11th century A.D.). Yuan Chuang recorded his material about Pāṇini after a personal visit to Śālātura, the grammarian's birth-place. He states that *Rishi* Pāṇini who composed the *śabdavidyā* was born at Śālātura. In Sanskrit literature Pāṇini is called *Śālāturiya*. Śālātura is modern Lahur, a small town four miles north-west of Ohind, situated in the angle formed by the junction of river Kābul with the Indus. Śālātura continued as a celebrated centre of Pāṇinian studies: "The children of this town who are his (Pāṇini's) disciples revere his eminent qualities and a statue erected to his memory still exists". About Pāṇini himself Yuan Chuang proceeds to say: "In most ancient times letters were very numerous. In the process of ages.....the Devas descended spiritually to guide the people. Such was the origin of the ancient letters. From this time and after it the language spread and passed its (*former*) bounds...



.....Rishis belonging to different schools each drew up forms of letters.....students without ability were unable to make use (*of these characters*). And now men's lives were reduced to the length of a hundred years, when the Ṛishi Pāṇini was born; he was from his birth intensively informed about men and things. The times being dull and careless, he wished to reform the vague and false rules of writing and speaking....., to fix the rules and correct improprieties. As he wandered about asking for right ways (*wisdom and knowledge*) he encountered Īśvaradeva, and recounted to him the plan of his undertaking. Īśvaradeva said, 'Wonderful, I will assist you in this'. The Ṛishi having received instruction, retired. He then laboured incessantly and put forth all his power of mind. He collected a multitude of words and made a book on letters which contained *a thousand ślokas*...it contained everything from the first till then, without exception, respecting letters and words. He then closed it and sent it to the king (*supreme ruler of the land*), who exceedingly prized it and issued an edict that throughout the kingdom it should be used and taught to others.....and so from the time masters have received it and handed it down in its completeness for the good of the world" (*Siyuki*, pp. 114-115). This account about the origin of grammar, Pāṇini's eminent intellectual qualities and his literary method essentially agrees with that of Patañjali. He also refers to a period of thousand divine years during which time Bṛihaspati expounded letters to Indra. "In this wide world there is the rich literature of the four Vedas with their *aṅgas* and mystic portions and a host of *śākhās*, etc....all this constitutes the vast sources of language". In such a picture different schools of grammatical teaching including such illustrious names as Śākaṭyāyana, Gārgya, Śākalya, Bhāradvāja, Āpiśali, arose and composed their systems. Patañjali then says that there was a lessening of men's lives and a decline in their mental powers. It was to reform such dull and careless beings that Pāṇini wrote his system. About Pāṇini's method in chartering extensive sources for the collection of his material, we have already referred to the internal testimony of the Ashtādhyāyī demonstrating his extremely penetrating vision. Pāṇini's extensive peregrinations in search of fresh material and the method of personal discussion and interrogation which he followed to elicit facts were in the true tradition of the Takshaśilā University, to which Pāṇini



was indebted for his intellectual discipline and higher training. Pāṇini did not work haphazard but devised for himself a well-conceived plan of his undertaking. Both Yuan Chuang and Patañjali agree as to Pāṇini's intense labours marked with profound concentration and high mental powers: "the teacher of established authority, holding sacred grass in hand and seated in a holy spot facing east, composed the *sūtras* with deep endeavours".<sup>1</sup> According to Yuan Chuang Pāṇini's work was a complete digest of everything known from the first till then respecting letters and words. Patañjali also designates the *Asṭādhyāyī* as a *mahat-śāstraugha* (an extensive ocean of treatise), hails it as 'the great system of Pāṇini perfectly accomplished (*mahat suvihitam pāṇinīyam*) and records that Pāṇini had brought together in his treatise the phonetical and grammatical material relating to all the different Vedic schools (*sarva-veda-pāriśadām hīdam śāstram*), a position similar to that taken up by Yāska for the *Nirukta*.

Yuan Chuang's reference to Pāṇini's visit to the court of the king and to the latter's approval of the *Asṭādhyāyī*, is corroborated more explicitly in the account of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, *Somadeva* and *Tāranātha*, who relate the story of Pāṇini's friendship with the Nanda emperor arising out of the former's mission to the celebrated capital of Pāṭaliputra, where in the Great Synod (*rājasabhā*) Pāṇini's work was accorded universal recognition and approbation. Both *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* refer to Pāṇini in terms of the highest praise (*bhagavataḥ Pāṇinēḥ siddham* viii, 4, 68), and the latter specially styles him as an *Āchārya* who was auspicious (*māṅgalika*), authoritative (*pramāṇabhūta*), highly intellectual (*anālpamati*) and conversant with the grammatical operations of words (*vyūttajña*).

COMMENTARIES.—Pāṇini himself seems to have taught his pupils the treatise he had promulgated, as is evident from *Patañjali*'s reference to two alternative explanations, both having the sanction of Pāṇini's own instruction.<sup>2</sup> The earliest commentaries (*vyākhyānas*) were of a simple character comprising *charchā* (*pada-vigraha*), *udāharāṇa*, *pratyaudāharāṇa*, and

1. *Pramāṇabhūta āchāryo darbha-pavitra-pāṇiḥ śuchāvavakāṣe prāṇmukha upaviśya mahatā yatnena sūtram prañayati sma*—*Bhāṣya*.

2. *Sūtra*, I, 4, 1; *ubhayathā hyāchāryeṇa śiṣhyāḥ sūtram prati-pāditāḥ*; cf. also *Kāśikā* V. 1, 50; V. 1, 94; V. 4, 21,



*anuvṛitti*. In course of time the literature based on Pāṇini underwent great expansion and the following commentaries cover almost a period of 2000 years: *Kuṇi*, *Māthurī-vṛitti*, Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* or *Chūrṇi*, Bhartṛihari's *Tripādī*, *Bhāga-vṛitti*, *Kāśikā*, *Nyāsa*, *Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa*, *Padamañjarī* and Nageśa's *Uddyota*. All of these continued an older and uninterrupted tradition of Pāṇinian interpretation. Of these, the *Kāśikā* is the most exhaustive, lucid and authoritative commentary, a veritable mine of information, both historical and linguistic. In the domain of grammar, Pāṇini ousted all his predecessors by the excellence and comprehensiveness of his work, just as Yāska had supplanted them in the field of exegetics.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA.—We have already alluded to the geographical data in the *Ashtādhyāyī*, specially the *Gaṇapāṭha*. The place-names in the *Ashtādhyāyī* were the result of one of the following four factors: (i) this object is found there; (ii) the place was founded by such and such person; (iii) the place was the abode of such a person or a community; and (iv) the place is located in the proximity to known objects (*sūtras* IV, 2, 57-70). Added to these were some other factors, all of which together resulted in a voluminous quota of geographical names in the *Ashtādhyāyī*, exceeding in richness even the accounts of the Greek geographers and the *Bhuvanakośha* chapters of the Epic. Pāṇini's geographical horizon extends from Kamboja (Pāmīr) in the north to Sūramasa (Śūrma Valley of Assam) in the east, to Aśmaka on the Godāvarī in the south and to Sauvīra (Sind) in the west. His reference in the *sūtras* include such names as Prakāṇva (*Parikanioi*, Ferghana), Gāndhāra, Sindhu, (Sind-Sāgar-Doab), Sauvīra (Upper Sind) with Śārkara (Sukkur, an important town), Pāraskara (Parkar), Kachha, Kekaya (Jhelum, Shapur, Gujerat), Madra (capital of Sialkot), Uśīnara (a part of the Vāhika country), Ambaśṭha, Trigarta (Pathānkot, Kāngra), Kalakūṭa (region from the Upper Yamunā to the Sutlej), Kuru, Pratyagratha (Pañchāla), Bhāradvāja (upper Garhwal), Kosala, Kāśī, Vṛijī, Magadha, Kālīṅga, Avanti and Kuntī (Kontwar in Gwalior State). Pāṇini is acquainted with the *Uttarapatha*, the Northern route, which traversed as an artery of communication the whole of north India from the mouth of the Ganges to Bactria and of which a detailed account with stages is given by the classical geographers. Pāṇini also refers



to Varanā (the hill fortress of Aornos stormed by Alexander), Varṇu (Bannu), Suvāstu (Svāt), Saṅkala (Sāṅgalāwālā-Ṭibā), Sāṅkāśya (Śankissa), Hastināpura and Kūchavāra (Kūchā). An important reference is *kanthā*, a word of the Śaka language denoting town, which was used with the place-names in the Uśinara country and in the Varṇu valley. Sten Konow identifies *kanthā* with Sogdian 'kanda' "city" and Śaka *kantha* "city". Pāṇini's acquaintance with the Prāchya and Udīchya divisions of India seems to have been very thorough, specially of the latter.<sup>1</sup>

SOCIAL LIFE.—The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* also throws important light on the social life of the period including important details about food and drink, games and amusements, proper names, personal dress, etc. We learn that a special kind of wine known as *Kāpiśāyana madhu* was being imported into India from the ancient town of Kāpiśī or Begram in north Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Reference is made to *mahāvrihi* (VI, 2, 38), an excellent variety of rice grown in Magadha, "the grains of which were large and scented and of an exquisite taste, specially remarkable for its shining colour", with which Yuan Chuang was entertained during his stay at Nalandā. Another equally famous variety of rice was that grown on the banks of the Devikā river (VII, 3, 1; mod. Deg) flowing through the ancient Madra country (Sialkot, Gujranwala and Shekhupura districts) on the banks of which an excellent variety of rice is still grown. Reference is made to blankets called *pāṇḍukambala* used for upholstering chariots (IV, 2, 11) which were manufactured in ancient Swat or Uddiyāna country and from there imported into North India for the use of the army (Jāt. IV, 352; VI, 500). Other special chariots mounted with the skin of tigers and leopards known as *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra* were also in use during the period of the Jātakas and the Mahābhārata (VI, 2, 12; *Vessantara Jāt.* VI, 503; *Saṁhāparva*, 51.35, 61.4). Specially interesting is Pāṇini's mention of a kind of garden-sports peculiar to East India, the names of which are regulated by no less than three *sūtras* (II, 2, 17; III, 3, 109; VI, 2, 74). These sports like the *Sālabhañjikā*, *Uddālakapushpabhañjikā*, *Viranapushpaprachāyikā*, possess a long and wide-spread

1. Sten Konow, *Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 43.

2. Pāṇini, IV, 2, 99 as read with Kauṭilya, II, 25,



tradition both in art and literature. True to the conception of *śilpa* prevailing in the Jātaka period, Pāṇini regards music both vocal (III, 2, 146) and instrumental (IV, 4, 55-56) and also dance (III, 1, 145) as *śilpa*. Amongst the star names (enumerated in IV, 4, 34), the list begins with the name of the star Śravishṭhā which agrees with the system of Vedāṅga astronomy and must point to a time anterior to the revision of the *nakshatra* list. This period lies at the close of the fifth century B.C. in 405 B.C., which would thus give the lower limit of Pāṇini's date.

**ECONOMIC CONDITIONS:**—Of the economic condition in the Ashtādhyāyī, the data relating to the punch-marked coins is most important. The numismatic evidence in the Ashtādhyāyī, the Jātakas and the Arthaśāstra relates exclusively to the punch-marked series. Pāṇini knows the standard *Kārshāpaṇa*, *Half-Kārshāpaṇa* (*Ardha*, also *Bhāga*), *Pāda* and *Māsha* (one-sixteenth *Kārshāpaṇa* or *Raupya-māsha*). One of the most interesting facts of Indian numismatic history is Pāṇini's knowledge of two kinds of silver punch-marked coins: a standard weight coinage of 32 *rattis*, which seems to have been introduced by the Nandas and heavy weight coinage of 40 *rattis* weight standard, which is named *Viṃśatikā* in two *sūtras* (V, 1, 27. 32), from its weight being equal to 20 *māshas*. He also refers to *Śatamāna*, a very early coinage of 100 *ratti* weight identified with the bent-bar silver punch-marked pieces, and also another coin named *Sāna* (V, 1, 35; VII. 3, 17) which according to the *Āraṇyaparva* was one-eighth of a *Śatamāna* (Poona edition, 134, 14). A great mass of evidence relating to agriculture, flora, fauna, arts and crafts, labour and wages, trade and commerce, exchange and barter, banking and loan, measures and weights, is woven into the texture of the Ashtādhyāyī and lends great interest to the study of this treatise as a picture of ancient Indian life. The practice of branding cows, an ancient custom referred to in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* and other Vedic literature, with marks denoting ownership, and the special breeds of Kathiawari bulls (*Kāchha-gauḥ*) are two important points relating to fauna. In flora, Pāṇini incorporates a peculiarity of the Punjabi language in naming the fruit of the *Pilu* tree as *pīlukūṇa* (V, 2, 24) which even today is called *pīlāknā*.

**EDUCATIONAL DATA:**—In the field of education, learning and literature, the evidence of the Ashtādhyāyī is specially



rich in the mention of different kinds of teachers and students, methods of learning and rules of studentship, and of the Vedic schools known as the *charaṇas*. Ample light on the activities and constitution of the Vedic schools is forthcoming, *e. g.* the name of a *charaṇa* was also the name of the students and teachers who constituted it; a *charaṇa* was not a static institution but subject to the laws of growth and expansion; each school secured accession of its strength by fresh admission and branches (V, 1, 134, *Tadaveta*); the intellectual ideal and high reputation of the *charaṇas* conferred on its members a sense of self-edification (*ślāghā*, V, 1, 134). These Vedic schools were mostly organised on the basis of free and willing association of their members. Pāṇini fully reflects the ideal of learning prevailing in his time, leading to the freedom of mind as a result of the methods of disputation, conference and discourse. The art of book-making and the knowledge of writing were also known. The word *lipikara* and *libikara* denoted a writer and *Yavanānī* a form of Greek writing.

Four classes of literature are distinguished: (1) *drishṭa* or "revealed," to this class, belong the Sāman literature; (2) *Prokṭa* or "enounced" literature, comprising the Chhanda and Brāhmaṇa works, *e.g.* Śākhās of Tittiri, Varatantu, Khaṇḍika and Ukha; works of Ṛishis like Kāśyapa and Kauśika, of Kaṭha and Charaka, etc. These were developed under the auspices of the *charaṇas* which were also evolving special subjects of study like the *Bhikshu-sūtras* propounded by Pārāśarya as well as the *Naṭasūtras* (a treatise on dramaturgy) as propounded by Śilālin and Kṛiśāśva; (3) *Upajñāta* or "discovered" literature, *viz.*, works of such original authors as Pāṇini and Āpiśali; (4) *Kṛita* or ordinary compositions like the books of stories (*ākhyāyikās*). In IV, 3, 88, Pāṇini refers to poetical and dramatic literature like the *Śisukrandīya* and the *Yamasabhiya*. The growth of specialization before the time of Pāṇini is demonstrated by his reference to the literature of commentaries (*vyākhyāna*, IV, 3, 66), on a variety of subjects, as rituals and sacrifices, methods of preparing *puroḍāśa*, and sections of grammar like nouns, verbs and *kṛit* affixes.

GRAMMATICAL THEORIES:—Pāṇini's views on leading grammatical topics like the eternity of word, the meaning of prepositions and on onomatopoeia have been traced in the *Ashṭādhyāyī*. The keynote to Pāṇini's point of view



in relation to the practical side of his grammar is reflected in the oft neglected but highly important section known as the *Sūtrakāṇḍa* (I, 2, 51-58). Here Pāṇini rises up in defence of LOKA or current usage which alone determines the meaning and definitions of words. The authority of current usage (*saṃjñā*) is always superior to that of a grammarian's hypothetical derivation (*yoga*); e.g., Pāñchāla, the name of a *janapada* must be understood to refer to that part of the country, irrespective of the fact whether the Kshatriya tribe of that name still lived there or not. The reverence for current usage much widened the scope of Pāṇini's enquiry. Instead of restricting himself to the treatment of such traditional and strictly grammatical topics as accents (*nātānatika*), cerebralization (*shatva-ṇatva*), vocalization (*samprasāraṇa*), composition (*sandhi*, *samāsa*) and declension of nouns and verbs, Pāṇini extended the field of his investigation to the entire range of the language and the result of this approach is visible in his exhaustive treatment of the *taddhita* suffixes and in the rich harvest collected in Books IV and V of the *Ashtādhyāyī* comprising the manifold *vr̥ttis* or meanings in which secondary suffixes are added to form words. Yāska too noticed the *vr̥ttis*, but he informs us that the subtle distinctions in the meanings of words are not always free from doubt (*viśayavatyohi vr̥ttayo bhavanti, Nirukta*, ii, 1). In his laboratory, Pāṇini collected and classified all possible meanings in which words were formed and grouped them under suitable headings as *hita*, *kṛita*, *arha*, *rakta*, *vikāra*, and hundreds of others. The activities of all grades of persons and classes in society, viz., musicians, hunters, artists, shoemakers, cooks, salesmen, traders, ferrymen, authors, mendicants, farmers, cow-herds, princes and councillors, etc., were observed and recorded. Extraordinarily wide and liberal must have been the interests of Pāṇini in the lives of the people, to which the *Ashtādhyāyī* holds a mirror, as it were.

Pāṇini's genius was based on synthesis....; he shows a rare capacity to strike a balance between two extreme views, or controversies, which had torn his predecessors into fierce rival camps. He is always cautious and balanced, keeping his doors open for the views of differing schools. We are explicitly told by Patañjali that Pāṇini looked upon the *Uṇādis* as underived words (*avyutpanna-prātipadika*, VII, 1, 2, 5), a view different from that of Śākaṭāyana. At the same time he



has approvingly subscribed to the principle of verbal derivation of nouns and has therefore accorded a cursory approval to the *Uṇādis*.

RELIGION:—The *Ashtādhyāyī* also furnishes a host of details about the religious life of the people, throwing light on the gods and goddesses worshipped, the new cult of *bhakti* or devotion to deities, worship of images, performance of *yajñas* and the institution of ascetics. His reference to the *bhakti* cult of *Vāsudeva* and to *Maskarī parivrājaka*, a name of Mankhali Gośāla, the founder of the *Ājīvaka* order, are of historical interest. *Maskarī* was a determinist (*niyati-vādi*) who ascribed every cause to fate or destiny and ruled out the element of human action or effort. *Pāṇini* refers to the followers of this school as *Daishṭīkas* (IV, 4, 60). Of the other two kinds of philosophic beliefs mentioned by him, the *Āstika* philosophers correspond to those whom the Buddhist books call the *Issarakāraṇavādi* or the theists, who held that everything in the universe originated from the Supreme Being. His *Nāstika* philosophers correspond to those mentioned under *Natthikaditṭhi*, including the followers of the several materialistic schools like the Annihilationists or *Uchhedavādins*. *Pāṇini*'s reference to unmarried *Sramaṇa* nuns is clearly a Buddhist institution.

POLITY:—Of political and administrative data, *Pāṇini* mentions the institution of kingship with its council of ministers (*mantri-parishad*), king-makers (*rāja-kṛtṛvā*), chief minister (*ārya-brāhmaṇa*), secret counsel (*ashadākshīṇa mantra*), urgent business (*ātyayika*), king's council (*rāja-sabhā*), personal body-guards (*rāja-pratyenā*) and civil attendants of the king. Amongst administrative officers, we find reference to *adhyakṣha*, the mainstay of the steel-frame of the later Mauryan civil service, and *yukta* and *pāla* officers. There were two kinds of states in his time: (1) monarchies (*ekarāja*) and republics (*saṅgha*, *gaṇa*). The *saṅghas* were a special feature of the *Vāhika* country or north-west India, where in the Punjab there was a hegemony of *āyudhajīvi-saṅghas*, martial tribes following varying constitutions. The democratic traditions were in different stages of growth, ranging from full-fledged *gaṇas*, like the *Kshudrakas* and the *Mālavas* to the *pūgas* and the *vrātas* who were only bands of mercenaries living by violence and also the *grāmaṇīyas* settled on the banks of the Indus, each organized under and named after one



leader or *Grāmanī* to whom they owed personal loyalty. The more advanced republics on the other hand were organized with a developed party system, an inner executive body with rules of quorum and fixed coat of arms (*saṅghāṅka-lakṣhaṇa*). Pāṇini knows some of the *Kabāili* tribes like the Afridis (*āpṛitāḥ*), Mohmands (*ma'humantaḥ*) and Pavindas (*Pavindāyana*).

This picture of cultural and historical import portrayed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* enhances the depth and interest of that great book which is a compendium of ancient institutions. The lasting value of the work, however, consists in the grammatical laws it has formulated with a masterly grasp rarely equalled elsewhere. Pāṇini's grammar nourishes the tree of Sanskrit language like its taproot. Codification of the laws of that language has conferred upon it the boon of immortality. Whatever may be the passage of time, the Sanskrit language as fixed by Pāṇini remains intelligible for all ages.



## THE GAJAPATI BHĀNUDĒVA IV

BY

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The events of the reign of the Gajapati Pratāpa Vīra Niśśanka Bhānudēva or Bhānudēva IV, the last monarch of the Eastern Ganga family, have not yet received the attention of scholars which their importance demands. It is generally believed that he succeeded his father in A.D. 1414 or a little earlier, and ruled the kingdom up to A.D. 1434 when after his death Kapilēśvara of the solar family usurped the throne. In this paper, an attempt is made to describe the events of his reign in their proper perspective, and estimate the part played by him in the affairs of his age.

(i) The problem that deserves consideration at first is the date of Bhānudēva IV's accession. On the strength of two epigraphs at Simhāchalam dated Śaka 1336/A.D. 1414,<sup>1</sup> it is supposed that he must have come to the throne either in that year or a little earlier; but an inscription at Śrikūrmam<sup>2</sup> equates his 3rd aṅka with Kali 4512 (=S. 1333), and this points to Śaka 1331 as the year of his accession.<sup>3</sup> The reign of his father Narasimha IV must have come to an end in A.D. 1409 and Bhānudēva IV must have ascended the throne in the same year.

(ii) Though several inscriptions of the time of Bhānudēva have been discovered, they hardly throw any light on the events of his reign. What little is known about them is gathered from the records of the contemporary rulers of the neighbouring kingdoms, Muslim histories and the tradition preserved in the *kaiḥiyats* of the villages in the coastal Telugu country. The first important event of Bhānudēva's reign after his coronation was his invasion of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry which must have taken place during the regency of Allāḍa between A.D. 1417 and 1422. It is said in the Vēmavaram grant of Allaya Vēma that his father Allāḍa made friends with

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1. SII. vi. 1113, 1115.

2. SII. v. 1205.

3. M. Somasekhara Sarma, *The History of the Reḍḍi Kingdoms*, p. 189 n. 48.



the Gajapati and the king of Kārṇāṭa who came upon him.<sup>4</sup> The circumstances in which the Gajapati and the king of Kārṇāṭa attacked Allāḍa are not explained in the inscription. Nor is it clear whether they made the attack jointly as allies or came there independantly of each other for the purpose of conquest. An alliance between the Gajapati and the king of Kārṇāṭa at this time was utterly unlikely. To understand this point clearly, it is necessary to have an idea of the history of the Redḍi kingdom and its relations with the neighbouring states. The small but rich kingdom of the Redḍis excited the cupidity, both on account of its wealth and strategic importance, of the rulers of neighbouring states. Situated in the fertile deltas of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōḍāvary, it served, as observed by the poet Śrīnātha, as a hangman's noose around the necks of the kings of the three kingdoms of Vijayanagara, Bīdar and Cuttack.<sup>5</sup> The Rāyas of Vijayanagara were eager to appropriate the Redḍi dominion so that they might, make the Kṛishṇā and the sea in the northeast and east the boundaries of their kingdom. The Sultāns of Gulburga and Bīdar and their subordinates, the Velamas of Rāchakoṇḍa and Dēvarakoṇḍa cast envious glances at the fertile deltas of Gōḍāvary and the Kṛishṇā and were unceasing in their efforts to reduce them to subjection. And the Gajapatis were anxious to re-establish their authority over central and southern Kaliṅga which formed an integral part of the western kingdom of Veṅgī since the time of the Eastern Chālu-kyas. The Redḍi kings were no weaklings. They were sturdy warriors, and they carried warfare frequently into the enemy's territories. Like all kings, they were eager to extend their dominions. Unable to extend their territory in the west and north owing to the powerful opposition of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, the Velamas and the Bahmany Sultāns, they turned towards the petty principalities in the east which owed allegiance to the Gajapati, and began to reduce them to subjection gradually. This naturally brought them into conflict with the Gajapati, and war with Kaliṅga became one of the characteristic features of the Redḍi history almost from the beginning of their power. War began in the reign of Anapōta

4. EI xiii p. 241. 'Mitrīkrītya sam-āgatam Gajapatim Kārṇāṭa-bhūpam cha.

5. 'Muguru-rājulakunu mōhanibu puttinchu gurut=ainay=uri=trāḍu Kondavidu'.—*Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 60.



(A.D. 1353-64?), who after the conquest of the delta of the Kṛishṇā and the Gōdāvary led an expedition against Kalinga. Anavēma who succeeded Anapōta on the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu, continued his brother's policy of aggression and invaded Kalinga about A. D. 1375; he pushed forward his conquests up to Siṃhāchalam in the Viśākhapatam district, which thenceforward became the eastern boundary of the Redḍi kingdom. The succession to the throne of Koṇḍaviḍu on the death of Anavēma was disputed. Kumāragiri who succeeded him ultimately could only do so with the help of his brother-in-law Kāṭaya Vēma, who became his chief minister and *de facto* ruler of the kingdom. Taking advantage of the troubles which disturbed the peace of the Redḍi kingdom, Harihara II of Vijayanagara conquered the provinces of Śrīśaila in the west and Addanki in the south. At the same time, the Gajapati Narasiṃha IV seized some territory in the central and southern Kalinga and made himself the master of the country in the neighbourhood.

Though beset with enemies both at home and outside, Kumāragiri was able to stabilise his power with the help of his brother-in-law and minister. Kāṭaya Vēma was a good general and capable statesman. He persuaded Kumāragiri to cede to Harihara II the territory conquered by him and conclude peace with him. It was cemented by a marriage alliance between the royal houses of Vijayanagara and Koṇḍaviḍu. A daughter of Harihara II, was given in marriage to Kāṭa II, son of a Kāṭaya Vēma; and very probably the Vijayanagara emperor agreed to help Kāṭaya Vēma against his enemies. Having thus freed the kingdom from the danger of an attack from the south and the west, Kāṭaya Vēma accompanied by Kumāragiri hastened to Rajahmundry, whence he set out at the head of an expedition against the Gajapati in A.D. 1390. The expedition was completely successful and the Redḍi army penetrated to the shores of the Chilka lake, subduing several important local chieftains on their route. It was probably on this occasion that the Sultān of Paṇḍuva sent messengers to the court of the Redḍi King with presents suggesting perhaps the advisability of an alliance between them against the Gajapati.

The death of Kumāragiri in A.D. 1402 and the partition of the Redḍi kingdom between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma brought about a great change in the political



situation. A civil war broke out in the Reḍḍi dominions between Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and Kāṭaya Vēma; and all the southern powers with the exception of the Gajapati joined one side or the other. Dēvarāya I, who ascended the throne of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1406, warmly espoused the cause of Kāṭaya Vēma, and sent his armies to fight for his ally on the banks of the Gōdāvary. The Velama chiefs and their overlord the Bahmany Sultān joined Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma. In the war that followed Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma and his allies were successful at first. They penetrated to the banks of the Gōdāvary, killed Kāṭaya Vēma in one of the battles during their advance, and captured his family in A.D. 1416. But Allāḍa, the commander of the forces of Kāṭaya Vēma, retrieved the disaster with the help of Dēvarāya I, liberated the family of his master and placed his master's young son Kumāragiri II on the throne of Rajahmundry. It was at this time that the Gajapati and the king of Karṇāṭa, as stated in the Vēmavaram grant, arrived in the Rajahmundry kingdom. There cannot be much doubt about the intentions of the former. He must have come there to settle old scores with the Reḍḍis and wrest from them as much territory as he possibly could. The arrival of the Vijayanagara forces could not have been due to any hostile designs. Dēvarāya I, it may be remembered was an ally of Kāṭaya Vēma, whom he supported until his death in A.D. 1416 and helped Allāḍa to destroy his master's enemies subsequently. It is utterly unlikely that he should have changed his attitude suddenly towards the son of his old ally whom he helped to regain his throne and come upon him with his forces with hostile intentions. What actually happened seems to be this. On hearing of the Gajapati's invasion of the kingdom of Rajahmundry, Dēvarāya I who was still engaged in fighting with the Bahmany Sultān in southern Telingana sent an army to help young Kumāragiri II in driving back the invaders; and Allāḍa took advantage of the timely arrival of Vijayanagara forces and, presenting a bold front to the invader, persuaded him to give up his bellicose attitude and return to his kingdom. Allāḍa maintained friendly relations, according to Śrīnātha, not only with the Gajapati but with the king of Karṇāṭa and the Bahmany Sultān until the time of his death.<sup>6</sup>

6. 'Yavana-karṇāṭa-kaṭaka-bhūdhavulatōḍa chelimī v ā t i m c h i yēlīmche Telugu-bhūmī'.—Bhimēśvara Purāṇam 1. 6.



(iii) A few years after his invasion of the Redḍi kingdom, Bhānudēva IV fell into the hands of Sulṭān Hoshang of Dhārā and purchased his freedom by offering him a large number of war elephants. This event is described in several Muslim histories. The brief account of Abul Faṣl which enumerates all the relevant facts may be cited here with advantage:

"On one accasion, cunningly disguised as a merchant, he (Hoshang Shāh) set out for Jainagar. The ruler of that country accompanied by a small retinue visited the caravan. Hoshang took him prisoner and hastened back. While journeying together Hoshang told him that he had been induced to undertake this expedition in order to procure a supply of elephants and added that if his people attempted a rescue, the prince's life would pay the penalty. The prince therefore sending for a number of valuable elephants presented them and was set at liberty".<sup>7</sup>

This event, both according to Khwāja Nizām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad and Ferishta, took place in A.H. 825/A.D. 1421.<sup>8</sup>

Sulṭān Hoshang did not, however, escape scot-free. The Muslim historians give us but a partial account of the adventure. The inscriptions of the Redḍi kings of Rajahmundry and the contemporary Telugu literature present the other side of the medal. It is said in the Vēmavaram grant that Allāḍa defeated in battle the mighty Alpa Khān.<sup>9</sup> This is confirmed by the evidence of Śrīnātha and Niśśanku Kommana, two great poets who flourished at the court of Allāḍa and his sons. In the introduction of his *Bhimēśvarapurāṇam*, Śrīnātha refers to Allāḍa and his sons as the destroyers of the enterprise of Dhārā Sulṭān's invasion.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, in his *Kāśīkhonḍam* he alludes to the destruction of the pride of Dhārā Suratrāṇa.<sup>11</sup> Kommana, who also alludes to this incident in his *Śivalilā-*

7. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Eng. Tr.) Vol. 2 p. 219.

8. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Eng. Tr) iii pp. 475 ff. Briggs' *Ferishta* iv. p. 178 f.

9. EI. xiii. p. 241 'Jitv=ānalpa-vikalpa-kalpita-balam tam ch=Alpakhānam raṇe'.

10. 1: 28. 'Dhārā-suratrāṇa-dhātī-sam=āraṁbha-garva-pathōrāśi Kalaśajulaku'

11. 5: 337 "Dhārāpaṭāṇa-sārvabhauma-surathān=darp=āpahāra-kriyā| dhaurandharya-paṭiśṭha-niśṭhura-bhujā-dambhōli samāraṁbha'

6: 309 'Dhārā-suratrāṇa-darpa-dharāṇīdhra-pavī'.



*vilāsam*, adds an important fact not mentioned in the Vēma-varam grant or in Śrīnātha's works. 'Allāḍa', says he, 'defeated the Sultān of Dhārā in battle and caused his horses to be plundered.'<sup>12</sup> These epigraphical and literary allusions refer to one and the same event. The Alpa Khān mentioned in the Vēma-varam grant was the son of Dilāvar Khān, the Sultān of Dhārā. After the death of his father in A.H. 810/A.D. 1407, he ascended the throne, and assuming the name of Sultān Hoshang Ghōry, he ruled until A.H. 838/A.D. 1435.<sup>13</sup> During his long reign of twenty-eight years, Sultān Hoshang led an expedition to the east coast only once, and that was, as noticed already, in A.H. 825/A.D. 1421, when he came to Jainagar disguised as a merchant to procure elephants. It is said that 'in order the better to conceal his object, he took with him horses of different colours; viz., bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey, such as the Prince of Jainuggur was known to admire most.'<sup>14</sup> It must have been on this occasion that Allāḍa and his sons came into conflict with Sultān Hoshang. The exact circumstances in which this came to pass are not definitely known. Śrīnātha, no doubt, refers to the invasion of the Dhārā Suratrāṇa; but this invasion was not probably directed against the Redḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry but the Gajapati himself. For Sultān Hoshang planned the expedition of Jainagar to secure elephants with which he wanted to fight against his enemy, the Sultān of Gujarāt and not to conquer fresh dominions. Having fulfilled his object, he would have returned to his kingdom direct, instead of attacking the Redḍi territory which was far removed from his path. It is more likely that Allāḍa, who is said to have maintained friendly relations with Gajapati, might on hearing the news of his abduction by the Sultān have marched with his forces to Kaliṅga to oppose him there on his way. The intelligence that the Sultān had with him a choice collection of excellent horses might have served as an

12. See M. Somasekhara Sarma, "The Redḍi Kingdoms", Appendix, p. 551 v. 42. 'Dhārā-suratrāṇu bōra-nirjitu-jēsi kolla-vaṭṭinche tad-ghōṭakamula.

13. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.) iii pp. 468 ff. Briggs' *Ferishta*, IV. pp. 171 f.

14. Briggs' *Ferishta* iv. p. 178 f, cf. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbary* (Eng. Tr.) iii pp. 475-6. 'He took some silver grey and iron grey horses which the Rāy of Jainagar was very fond of'.



additional inducement; for Allāḍa and his sons loved horses; Doḍḍa was an expert horseman, and his skill in horsemanship was praised both by Śrīnātha and Kommana.<sup>15</sup> Whatever might have been the circumstances in which Allāḍa came into conflict with Sultān Hoshang, it is certain that he succeeded in inflicting defeat on the latter, and seized all the horses in his possession. The release of Bhānudeva from captivity by Hoshang on the frontiers of the former's kingdom was perhaps the direct outcome of the defeat sustained by the Sultān at the hands of Allāḍa and his sons.

(iv) The friendly relations between Bhānudevā IV and the Redḍis of Rajahmundry did not outlast the time of Allāḍa who died probably in A.D. 1423.<sup>16</sup> Soon after Allāḍa's death

15. *Kāśīkhaṇḍam* 1.52; *Sivalilāvilāsam* 1. 77.

16. There is considerable difference of opinion about the date of Allāḍa's death. The Government Epigraphist is of opinion that Allāḍa Redḍi 'was alive till A.D. 1431' (ARE 1937-38, part ii, para 58). This is hardly likely; for, as pointed out by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma, Ś. 1341 (A.D. 1419) is the latest known date of Allāḍa after which no record of his reign has been so far discovered. (*The Redḍi Kingdoms*, p. 185). He could not have, however, died in the next year. Though the installation of *Allāḍ-ēśvara-liṅga* at Pālakol on Sunday, 5 Māgha, Vikāri of Ś. 1341 (February A.D. 1420) (SII. v. 135) may at first sight seem to support this view; there is good reason to believe that he was alive subsequent to that date. In the first place, another inscription in the same place dated Śaka 1345, Śōbhakṛit, Pushya, ba 11. Tuesday, Makara-Samkrānti, registers a gift by a certain Pōṭu, son of Bābu, a gift for the merit of Allāḍa Redḍi; and his sons Kumārāyā, Anavōṭā Redḍi, Vēmā Redḍi, Vīrā Redḍi, and Anitalamma, the queen of Vīrā Redḍi (SII v. 104). As all the persons mentioned in the record excluding Allāḍa are known to have been alive at the time, it is reasonable to presume that like the others he was also alive. Secondly, the Vēmavaram grant of Allāyā Vēmā (EI. xiii, pp. 237-50) and the contemporary Telugu writers of the Redḍi court refer to Allāḍa's victory over Alpakhān, the Sultān of Dhārā. This must have happened, as pointed out already, at the time that Sultān's attack on the Gajapati in A.H. 825 (December 26, A.D. 1421 to December 15, A.D. 1422). Therefore, Allāḍa must have been alive at this time. It is obvious that Allāḍa was alive until A.D. 1423. He probably died in that year, for the inscriptions from that date onwards refer to Anitalama, her husband Vīrabhadra Redḍi and his brother Vēmā Redḍi as the rulers of the Rajahmundry kingdom.



Bhānūdēva IV seems to have invaded the coastal Telugu country and reduced it to subjection. According to the tradition preserved in the *Gaṅgavamsānucharita*, Kajjala Bhānūdēva having made his kingdom free from enemies went on an expedition of conquest to the south; and taking advantage of his absence from the capital, his ministers set up on his throne Kapilēndra. On getting the news of the revolution in his capital, Kajjala Bhānūdēva conquered the Guḍāri-kāṭaka country and established himself there.<sup>17</sup> Bhānūdēva's expedition appears to have penetrated to the southernmost limits of the Redḍi dominion. Several *kaifiyats* of the villages in the coastal districts of Telugu country allude to this invasion.

"Then the Redḍis from the time of Prōlaya Vēmā Redḍi to Rācha Vēmā Redḍi ruled until Śaka 1318 for a period of one hundred years. Then the country passed under the sway of the Gajapati. The Praudha Dēvarāya, the lord of the Narapati throne, defeated the Gajapati and annexed the land".

"Then Lāngūla Gajapati, the lord of the Gajapati throne, conquered all the hill and the land forts from Cuttack to Udayagiri. He ruled for a period of twelve years (Ś.S. 1342-53). Then the country passed under the sway of the Narapati kings of Ānegondi".<sup>18</sup>

Though the dates mentioned in the *kaifiyats* of the Gajapati conquest and the duration of his rule over the coastal Āndhra country are not quite accurate, the events described in them are substantially correct; and they occurred in the same order in which they are said to have taken place. The account of the *kaifiyats* is indirectly corroborated by the evidence of the inscriptions. Peda Kōmaṭi Vēma was ruling at Koṇḍavīḍu in December A.D. 1419, as shown by his Rudravaram grant.<sup>19</sup> As this is the latest known record of his reign, it is not unlikely that he died soon after, probably in A.D. 1420. His son and successor Rācha Vēma is said to have ruled for four years, after which, according to the *kaifiyats*, the Redḍi rule at Koṇḍavīḍu came to an end. Therefore, the fall of the Redḍi kingdom at Koṇḍavīḍu must have taken place in A.D. 1423. The history of Koṇḍavīḍu, between this date and A.D. 1432, the year in which Dēvarāya II set up his first inscription

17. *Kaliṅga Saṁchika*, pp. 342-44.

18. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, III. 49-50.

19. ARE. A. 7 of 1919-20.



at Koṇḍaviḍu, is a blank.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the affairs of the Redḍi kingdom of Rajahmundry are shrouded in obscurity. Allāḍa as stated already, died in A.D. 1423; and Anitallamma, the daughter of Kāṭaya Vēma, and her husband Virabhadra Redḍi supported by his elder brother, Allaya Vēmā Redḍi began to rule the kingdom in the same year.<sup>21</sup> During the next five years, no record of their rule is found anywhere in the kingdom, but their inscriptions make their appearance once again at the end of this period, and they run in a series up to A.D. 1438.<sup>22</sup> It is evident from these that between Ś. 1345/ A.D. 1423 and Ś. 1350/ A.D. 1428-29 the power of the Redḍis of Rajahmundry suffered an eclipse. The only cause which can account for this state of affairs both at Koṇḍaviḍu and Rajahmundry is the conquest of coastal districts of the Telugu country by the Gajapati, as described in the *Gāṅgavamśānu-charita* and the village *kāṣṭhyats*.

The Gajapati does not appear to have taken the field against the Redḍis alone. The Velama chiefs of Dēvarkoṇḍa and Rājukoṇḍa, the implacable foes of the Redḍis, seem to have joined him and rendered him valuable assistance in reducing the kingdom of Rajahmundry to subjection; for, several verses in the *Velugōṭivāriyamśāvali* are devoted to the des-

20. It has been suggested on the strength of a few Vijayanagara inscriptions (ARE 125 of 1925 dated Ś. 1344 and ND. III 104 dated Ś. 1346) that the Vijayanagara conquest of Koṇḍaviḍu began as early as A.D. 1420 and 1424. These inscriptions do not, as a matter of fact, indicate any acquisition of fresh territory by the Rāyas. The region in which they are found passed into the possession of Vijayanagara kings even during the reign of Kumāragiri Redḍi (A.D. 1386-1402).

21. SII. iv. 109, 114, JTA ii pp. 93-112.

22. ARE 447 of 1893	Ś. 1350 Kilaka.
„ 224 of 1899	Ś. 1351 Saumya
„ 226 of 1899	Ś. 1352 Sādhāraṇa
„ 225 of 1899	Ś. 1352 Sādhāraṇa
EI V. pp. 53-69	Ś. 1352 Sādhāraṇa
ARE 423 of 1893	Ś. 1355 Parīdhāvi
„ 223 of 1899	(Ś. 1355) Pramāḍīcha
EI. xiii. pp. 237-50	Ś. 1356 Ānanda
ARE 461 of 1893	Ś. 1356 Ānanda
„ 424 of 1893	Ś. 1359 Pingala
„ 426 of 1893	Ś. 1359 Pingala.



cription of the victory of Mādāya Līṅga over Allāya Vēma and his younger brothers, Vīrabhadra and Doḍḍa, the devastation of their territories and the conquest of Simhādri. One of the verses makes a special reference to the capture of the fort of Rājamahēndravara by Mādāya Līṅga, and the re-instatement of Allāya Vēma and Vīrabhadra as its rulers after their submission to the victor.<sup>23</sup>

23. *Velugōṭivāriṃśāvali* 112-118—The following deserve special notice.

"Gāṅga sākshiga mīri kadisi Rājamahēndravaramu chūrālugoni vachchināḍu".

"chatul=ōgragati rāya-śarabhamaṃ=avalīla-diruga Simhādri sādhiṃ-chināḍu".

"Vīrabhadruni Doḍḍavibhu Vēma-nṛipātula raṭṭadai kāl-ande beṭṭināḍu". (126)

*Ājīmukh=ātibhītul=agun=Allāya-Vēmana-Vīrabhadruḍun  
rāja-kul=ābhirāma raṇa-Rāghava Līṅga-nṛṣipāla nī mahā  
rājata-pātra damma dīni rājyamu-nīlpiri yinkan=ēmanan*

*Rājamahēndra-durgamulu rājulu-gaikonaḥ-uṇḍan=undure?* (116)

It has been suggested that Lingamanēḍu won these victories not as an ally of the Gajapati, as stated here, but of Dēvarāya II, who invaded the Viśākhapatnam district, in A.D. 1428.

"Lingama Nēḍu, son of Kumāra Mādā Nēḍu of Dēvarkonḍa, is credited in the *Velugōṭivāriṃśāvali*, to have defeated Allāya Vēma and Vīrabhadra in battle, ravaged Rājamahēndra Rājya and captured Simhāchalam. The invasions of Telungarāya (one of the officers of Dēvarāya II) and Lingama Nēḍu do not seem to have been two different campaigns. The Rēcherla kings maintained friendly relations with Vijayanagar rulers from Śaka 1339 (A.D. 1417), the date of the siege of Pānugal. Hence it may not be wrong to suppose that Lingama Nēḍu as an ally of Vijayanagar, took an active part in this eastern campaign (of Dēvarāya II) and his exploits in the coastal tract have to be assigned to this period (M. Somasekhara Sarma, *The History of the Redḍi Kingdoms*, p. 191)".

Lingama's participation in Dēvarāya II's campaign in the coastal Āndhra country in A.D. 1428 depends on the assumption that friendly relations continued unbroken from the time of the siege of Pānugal in A.D. 1417 between the Rēcherla kings and the rulers of Vijayanagara. This, however, was not the case. Friendly relations, no doubt, existed between them for some time. They even joined Dēvarāya II to oppose the invasion of Vijayanagara



The Gajapati could not, however, keep his hold on the coastal Āndhra districts long. His authority was soon challenged by the Vijayanagara emperor. Dēvarāya II, who on succeeding to the throne in A.D. 1422, had to face an invasion of the Bahmany Sultān Aḥmad Shāh, prevailed against him ultimately and after inflicting a defeat on the Muslim forces, drove them back to their own kingdom. He then turned his attention to the affairs of the coastal Āndhra country and sent his armies to the east to expel the Gajapati, annex Koṇḍaviḍu and re-establish the authority of the Redḍis in the kingdom of Rajahmundry. The events of the Vijayanagara campaign are not known; but there is no doubt that it was completely successful; for it is clearly stated in an epigraph at Mudabidire in S. Kanara district dated Ś. 1351 Saumya (A.D. 1429-30) that Dēvarāya, son of Vijayarāya, defeated the enormous and powerful Muslim cavalry, destroyed the numerous elephant forces of the Gajapati, and the ocean-like army of the king of the Āndhras.<sup>24</sup> An inscription at Simhāchalam in the Viśākhapatam district of Telungarāya, one of the officers of Dēvarāya II, dated Ś. 1350 confirms the evidence of the Mudabidire record and shows that the Vijayanagara conquest of the coastal Āndhra country was completed by A.D. 1428.<sup>25</sup> The revival of the authority of the

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empire by the Bahmany Sultān Aḥmad Shāh in A.D. 1423; but for some reason unknown at present they deserted Dēvarāya II in the midst of the war and retired to their country.

"Dev Ray" says Ferishta, "collected his troops, and inviting the Ray of Wurungole to come to his assistance, marched with a numerous army to the banks of the Toongbudra in the hope of extirpating the Mahomedans....

"It is proper to mention that the Ray of Wurungole had previously deserted his ally, and withdrawn his troops". Briggs' *Ferishta* II pp. 400-401.

Dēvarāya II would not have forgiven the treachery of the Velamas so soon, and sought their alliance in his campaign in the coastal Telugu country in A.D. 1428. It is more likely that Velamas helped Bhānudēva IV to conquer the Redḍi dominions; and it was perhaps for this purpose that they deserted Dēvarāya II in A.D. 1424 and retired to their country with the object of helping the Gajapati.

24. SII. vii. 202.

25. SII. vi. 905.



Reddis of Rajahmundry from A. D. 1428 onwards, as shown by their records,<sup>26</sup> points in the same direction. Aḥmad Shāh Bahmany contributed indirectly to the success of Vijayanagara arms; for, according to Ferishta, he invaded Telingana in A.H. 828 (A.D. 1424-5) and attacked the Velamas, the allies of the Gajapati, in their home territory. 'In the year 828', says Ferishta, 'the king in order to punish the Ray of Wurungole for joining the Ray of Beejanuggur (during Aḥmad Shāh's war against him) marched into his country, with the intention of conquering Telingana. On his arrival at Golkonda, he sent an army before him under Khan Azim, and halted with the main body for twenty-seven days. During this time, he received accounts that Khan Azim, notwithstanding the small force, had defeated the enemy, killed seven thousand Hindus, and obtained possession of Wurungole, the Ray having been slain in action. The king moved to Wurungole, took possession of those treasures, the accumulation of ages, which had till then been preserved from plunder... after which he detached him (Khan Azim) to reduce the remainder of Telingana which he effected in the space of four months, and returned to join the king at Wurungole'.<sup>27</sup> This must have been a staggering blow to the power of the Velamas. They could not have offered under the circumstances, any help to the Gajapati in opposing the advance of Vijayanagara armies. Without their assistance, he was unable to maintain his authority in the coastal Āndhra districts, and had to retreat to his own kingdom abandoning his conquests.

What happened to Bhānudēva IV after his defeat at the hands of Dēvarāya II is not known. An inscription at Simhāchalam dated Śaka 1352 shows that notwithstanding his defeat and loss of his recent conquests, he still held sway over Simhāchalam and its neighbourhood.<sup>28</sup> He was, however, soon driven out of this region by the Reddis sometime before Ś. 1356 (A. D. 1434); for it is stated in an inscription at Simhāchalam that Vēmā Redḍi son of Allāḍa Redḍi conquered by the strength of his arms Kaluvalapalli, Oḍḍādi and Poṭnūr with the territories dependent on them.<sup>29</sup> It was probably

26. SII. iv. I381, VI. 675, 225 and 226 of 1899.

27. Briggs' *Ferishta* II. p. 406.

28. SII, vi. 784.

29. SII, vi. 1168.



after the loss of this region that Bhānudeva, unable to return to his capital owing to the machinations of Kapilēśvara, retired, as stated in the *Gaṅgarāmśānucharita*, to Guḍārikaṭaka, identified with Varāṇsī in the Parlakimidi Zamindari and established himself there.<sup>30</sup> His subsequent career is of no interest to the historian, for with his retirement to Guḍārikaṭaka the sovereignty over Kalinga and Orissa passed into the keeping of the rulers of another dynasty.

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30. *Kalinga Samchika* p. 333.



# SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT CHŌĻA HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

BY

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, *Ootacamund*

In the beginning of 1950 I obtained for examination a valuable copper-plate charter, consisting of 55 inscribed plates, of the time of Rājendra Chōḷa I. The plates are in the possession of the Karandai Tamil Sangam, Tanjore, whose Secretary was good enough to lend them to me. The charter is a unique find both in respect of its bulk and the valuable historical information it furnishes. As usual with Chōḷa grants the genealogy of the line up to the donor king, *i.e.*, Rājendra Chōḷa I is given in Sanskrit verse embodying the achievements of the rulers of the line. Of particular importance in this *praśasti* are some verses which disclose a few hitherto unknown facts regarding the exploits of some rulers of the family. Reserving a full discussion of all the facts contained in these verses for my forthcoming edition of the copper-plates in *Epigraphia Indica*, I shall briefly review here some of the new facts revealed by the inscription.

Of Parāntaka I who ruled from A.D. 907 to 955 our record gives the important information that among the kings that he vanquished and whose dominion and wealth he appropriated, the Pallava was also one.

Nirjjitya Simhaḷa-patiṃ yudhi Pāṇḍya-rājam  
prakhyaṭa-kīrtim=atha Kēralam=apy=ajayyam (jēyam)  
vīras=sa Pallava-nṛipaṇ=cha yaśāmsi tēshām  
rāshṭrāṇi ch=ādi(dhi)ta vasūni cha vāhanāni ||

Hitherto it was believed that Āditya I had wiped out the Pallava power by defeating Aparājita and annexing his kingdom. The mention in the present grant of the Pallava as a foe of Parāntaka I also would indicate that either the latter helped his father in defeating the Pallava king or that the Pallava resistance continued even during the time of Parāntaka I who had to deal the final blow to the family. This raises two issues, *viz.*, (1) the date when the Pallava kingdom finally and completely passed into the hands of the Chōḷas and (2) the identity of the Pallava king whom Parāntaka I defeated if Parāntaka's encounter with the Pallava was a different engagement from the one his father had with Aparājita.

1. This paper was submitted to the History section of the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1951. It is being published here with the permission of the President of the section.



The prevalent opinion amongst scholars is to the effect that the annexation of the Pallava territory by Āditya I took place before *circa* 890 A.D. But recent discoveries impel us to revise the dates of the later Pallava kings descended from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla,<sup>1</sup> who must have come to the throne somewhere about A.D. 731. It is well known that this line of Pallava kings from Nandivarman II to Nṛipatuṅga held the Pallava kingdom in continuous succession without any interruption. Since a record of Nṛipatuṅga dated in the 41st year of his reign is now available, the last date up to which he ruled would be A.D. 910-11 and this date falls well within the reign of Parāntaka I. As the connection of Aparājita with the main line is still not ascertainable, it cannot be said with any degree of certainty whether by defeating him Āditya I gained possession of the entire Pallava kingdom or only a part thereof, the other part continuing to be under the administration of the main Pallava line represented by Nṛipatuṅga. The statement in the present charter that Parāntaka I defeated a Pallava and gained possession of his country, wealth and paraphernalia coupled with the fact that Nṛipatuṅga continued to wield authority even during the reign of Parāntaka I would strengthen the surmise made above that Āditya I, his father, had not completely liquidated the Pallava power by his victory over Aparājita. It is thus possible that Parāntaka I completed the conquest of the Pallava territory begun by his father by finally overthrowing Nṛipatuṅga in or about A.D. 910-11. Probably it is this subjugation that is referred to in our grant as the achievement of Parāntaka I. It should be admitted, however, that this new fact does not help us in determining either the position of Aparājita in the Pallava genealogy or the exact dates of his reign.

The next important event of Chōla history recorded in the plates is that Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōla defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya in battle and put him to flight.

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1. It has been shown in *Ancient India*, No. 5 (1949), p. 54, that the accession of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla must be placed subsequent to A.D. 730-1. Even assuming that he ascended the throne in 731 A.D., Nṛipatuṅga may be considered to have begun to rule about 870-71 A.D. This date is arrived at by adding up the known regnal years of the Pallava rulers from Nandivarman II to Nṛipatuṅga (*i.e.*, Nandivarman II, 65 years, Dantivarman, 52 years, and Nandivarman III, 23 years, making a total of 140 years; A.D. 731+140=871 A.D.)



Yō maṇḍal-āgra-parikhaṇḍita-vairi-shaṇḍaṇ=chandaṇ vijitya tarasā yudhi Vīra-Pāṇḍyam |  
 ārōpayat sapadi Saṁhya(sahya)-nagēndra-tuṅga-śrīṅgaṇ=divaṇ=cha vimalān=nija-kīrtim=uchchahiḥ ||

Though it was known that Parāntaka II had encountered a Pāṇḍya king, his name had not been found in any of the records. That Vīra-Pāṇḍya was killed by Āditya II, son of Parāntaka II, is well known. The information revealed by the Tanjore plates that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was also the adversary of Parāntaka II would show that both father and son fought a common foe. It would follow from this that the father's, *i.e.*, Sundāra-Chōḷa's, fight with Vīra-Pāṇḍya which resulted only in the rout of the latter was a different and apparently an earlier conflict. The second combat in which the Pāṇḍya lost his head at the hands of Āditya II was fought later. This confirms the very sound and sagacious suggestion made by the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar that the Chōḷa kings Parāntaka II and his son Āditya II had each a separate encounter with this same Pāṇḍya king and that the second of the two fights resulted in the Pāṇḍya's death.

Rājarāja, the Great, is credited with a victory over a Bāṇa chief whose name is not given and with cutting off the head of a certain Bhōgadēva.

Bāṇa-rājāṁ samutsārya bāṇē Bāṇāsura-dyutim |  
 Bhōgadēva-śīraś-chhēdam=akarōt=sa mahābhujah ||

What necessitated Rājarāja I to fight the Bāṇas who had been completely subjugated by Parāntaka I many decades ago cannot be ascertained. It may, however, be observed that we do know of a few Bāṇa chiefs of this period in the Telugu country who have issued their records without mentioning any overlord. One of them was Aggapa whose inscription dated Śaka 930, Vaiśākha, Punnama, Friday (A. D. 1008, April 23, Friday), is found at Sannāmūru in the Podili taluk, Nellore District.<sup>1</sup> Whether it was these Bāṇas of the Telugu country with whom Rājarāja I had to wage a war is not certain. Similarly, the identity of Bhōgadēva remains undetermined. We know that Rājarāja I defeated a Telugu Chōḷa chief called Bhīma and perhaps killed him too. The name Bhōgadēva is quite common among the Telugu Chōḷa rulers. But

1 ARE. No. 99 of 1947-48.



as Chōḍa Bhīma is not known to have had the surname Bhōga-dēva, it would be too much to hazard that Bhōgadēva and Chōḍa Bhīma were one and the same.

Coming to the donor of the grant, *viz.*, Rājendra-Chōḷa I, the first notable event of his reign recorded in the plates is that the Kāmbōja king sent his *ratha* as a present to the Chōḷa king aspiring for his friendship.

Kāmbōjarājō ripu-rāja-sēnā-jaitrēṇa yēn=ājayad=  
āhavēshu |

taṁ prāhiṇōt prārthita-mitra-bhāvō yasmai  
ratham rakshitum=ātma-lakshmim ||

Apparently, Kāmbōja here referred to is Cambodia in the Eastern Archipelago as the Chōḷa did not go as far as Kāmbōja in the north-west of India. As the Chōḷa king's expedition to Kaṭāha (*i.e.*, Kedah in Malay Peninsula) is referred to later in the present grant, the Kāmbōja ruler figuring here seems to be different from the Śailendra king of Kaṭāha. Attention should, however, be drawn to the fact that there were a few rulers belonging to the Kāmbōja-vaṁśa in possession of parts of Bengal before the time of Mahīpāla.<sup>1</sup> Since it is known that the ruler of Bengal whom Rājendra Chōḷa's armies defeated was the Pāla king Mahīpāla it is very doubtful if the Kāmbōja king subjugated by the Chōḷa was one of the Kāmbōja rulers of Bengal.

Another noteworthy fact mentioned in the plates is that Rājendra Chōḷa I proceeded against Mānyakhēṭa in order to fulfil the vow of his father Rājarāja I, who had declared that he would not have any recreation until he captured that city. Evidently the father died without fulfilling it as the son Rājendra Chōḷa I is herein stated to have accomplished his father's vow and to have burnt the city.

Tāvan=na kurvē girikā-vihāraṁ yāvan=na  
grihṇāmy=atha Mānyakhēṭam |

iti pratijñām sa samāpayishyan pītur=nripas=  
tat(d)-grahaṇ-ōtsukō=bhūt ||

It thus becomes known that the attack on Mānyakhēṭa was being planned even from the time of Rājarāja I.

These new bits of information obtained from the Tanjore plates will, it is hoped, enable scholars to understand more correctly and fully some aspects of Chōḷa history.



# SOME KAVI-RĀKṢASAS, THEIR IDENTITIES AND WORKS<sup>1</sup>

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

I

The Kavirākṣasīya is a well known minor poem of South India. It is a collection of 105 subhāṣitas in anuṣṭubh verses, employing the device of *double entendre*, *Sleṣa*. Aufrecht notes only some South Indian manuscripts of it in the Oppert, Hultzsch, Rice and Burnell Catalogues. The work takes its name after the author who is given as Kavirākṣasa. The work has been in print in Telugu and Grantha Characters in South India, together with a gloss on it by one Nāgañārya, a Telugu writer, son of Revañārādhya, of Bhāradvāja gotra. It has also been published from Bombay. Some years back, Sri Y. Mahalinga Sastri began to publish the work with his English notes in the Calcutta Oriental Journal, (II. 9, June 1935 and following numbers), to which a Sanskrit gloss was added by the editor of the Journal Sri K. C. Chatterji.

II

In the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, there are nine manuscripts of it, D. Nos. 12000-5 and R. Nos. 384 a-b and 385. Of these, D. 12004-5 have two anonymous glosses, the latter showing the bare *anvaya*; of the other manuscripts, three have a commentary by the same Nāgañārya who says that his was the first commentary on the work.

न पूर्वमेतद्विदुषापि केन

व्याख्यायि काव्यं कविराक्षसीयम् ।

तस्माच्छिश्नानां सुखबुद्धये तत्

व्याकर्तुमाकांक्षति संविचिन्त्य ॥

R. 384-b gives us the information that a scholar-minister named Giriappa finding that the Kavirākṣasīya verses were in a disorderly and scattered form, collected them and after scrutinising them with the help of scholars, codified them in

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1. Paper read in the Classical Sanskrit section of the XIVth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, 1948.



*six* Paddhatis; R. 384-a names these Paddhatis, enumerating *seven*,—Satprabhu, Duṣprabhu, Sajjana, Durjana, Saddvija, Durdvija and Strī, and the total number of verses is given as 105.

R. 384 a. सप्रभुदुष्प्रभुसज्जनदुर्जनसद्विप्रदुर्द्विजस्त्रीणाम् ।  
पद्धतयोऽत्रोच्यन्ते श्लिष्टोपमया सपञ्चशतपद्यैः ॥

R. 384 b. गिरियप्तेति विख्यातनामान्तर्वाणिमन्त्रिणा ।  
कविराक्षसपद्यानि विशीर्णानि भृशं पुरा ॥  
षट्पद्धतिक्रमेणैव संशोध्य त्रिबुधैस्सह ।  
कृताति तानि विदुषां तुष्ट्यै सर्वहिताय च ॥

While the total number of the verses mentioned by the Giryappa agrees with that found in the printed Grantha and Telugu editions, the order of the verses adopted in the Paddhatis into which Giryappa classified them, is not the same as is found in the other manuscripts or in the printed texts.

In the Jaṭāśaṅkar collection in the H. P. T. College, Nasik, there is a ms. (No. X. 1) of this work of Rākṣasa Kavi bearing the name 'Sūktisaṁgraha', and said to be complete in *five* paddhatis. It is this name and text that appear in the N. S. Press edition of the work of 1901. I am collating a number of manuscripts of this poem<sup>1</sup> and hope to present the textual problems in a contemplated critical edition of it.

From the third fasciculus of the new Bikaner Catalogue, p. 232, we come to know of two manuscripts of this work preserved in the Bikaner Library, containing a different commentary by probably a Svetavanavāsin of Tiruviśālūr in Tanjore District.<sup>2</sup>

1. Collations have so far been done for the Madras Govt. Oriental Library and Travancore University manuscripts. For some Adyar Library Mss. with different and more verses, see Ad. Lib. Bull., X. 3-4, pp. 195-8, 264, Mss. Notes by H. G. Narahari.

2. I am thankful to Mr. K. M. K. Sarma, then Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, for the extracts supplied from the Bikaner manuscripts, but the verses referring here to the commentator's name and parentage are corrupt.

Commentary: Beginning:—

चोलेष्वनुग्रामशताध्वरीन्द्रं यशोनिचोलेष्वनलीकवाचाम् ।

प्राचां प्रबन्धाभरणेषु कश्चिद् ग्रामाग्रगण्यो विशलूरिहास्ति ॥

यत्रत्यविद्वज्जनमन्दिरेषु....



## III

It has been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that, as the opening verse of the poem, गुणदोषौ बुधो गृह्णन् etc., has been quoted by Appayya Dīkṣita in his Kuvalayānanda,<sup>2</sup> the date of Kavirākṣasiya should be earlier than the 16th century. Nothing more has been known about this author or the work.

Kavirākṣasa seems to be a well-known name in Telugu literature and the following interesting facts are known about him from this source:<sup>3</sup>

1. Kastūriraṅga Kavi in his work on Telugu prosody, Lakṣaṇacūḍāmaṇi or Ānandaraṅgarāṭ Chandamu, (A.D. 1750) refers to Kavirākṣasa as one of the earlier poets (I. 68)<sup>4</sup> and as one of the authorities on Prosody; Kastūriraṅga quotes from Kavirākṣasa's prosodial treatise in Telugu six times. (II. 45; III. 4, 52, 62, 193, 211).<sup>5</sup> Kastūriraṅga quotes also a Sanskrit Subhāṣita of Kavirākṣasa—

अनन्तपदविन्यासचतुर्यसरसं कवेः ।

बुधो यदि समीपस्थो न दुर्जनपुरो यदि ॥ (?)<sup>6</sup>

which however is not found among the verses of the Kavirākṣasiya.

2. Appakavi (A.D. 1656) mentions the Kavirākṣasiya among works on Telugu Prosody (I. 5. p. 14).<sup>7</sup> More

तत्रालंकुर्वते केचित् कुलराधितरं द्विजाः (?) ।

चारित्रभूषणैर्गोत्रमंत्रैः(मंत्रैः)रन्यैः पवित्रितम् ॥

अत्यव्यवस्थे सत्यागिरिं द्विजेन्द्रः पुत्रं धरित्रीतलभागधेयम् ।

प्रासूत लोकत्रितये(यं) पवित्रं नेत्राञ्चलैर्यस्य स गोमतीशः ॥

तस्याभवत्सुरतीव शान्त्या शान्ताकुटुम्बी सह ऋश्यशृङ्गः ।

पितुः प्रियः श्वेतवनेनिवासी व्याख्यां व्यतानीत् कविराक्षसीयाम् ॥१०॥

Probably the genealogy of the author is : In Atrigotra Gomatīśa > Satyagiri > Svetavanavāsin or Svetāranya.

1. *Cal. Ori. Jour.*, *Opt. Cit.*

2. See under Upamālaṅkāra.

3. See Veresalingam Pantulu, *Lives of Telugu Poets*, Pt. I, p. 604 (Revised edn. 1917). I am thankful to Sri N. Venkata Rao, Telugu Dept., Madras University, for drawing my attention to these.

4, 5. Vavilla edn., Madras, 1922.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

7. Appakaviya, Vavilla edn., 1951.



important than this is a further reference that Appakavi makes (Intro. v. 46, p. 6, *ib.*) to Kavirākṣasa when he says later that Dakṣavāṭi Kavirākṣasa made a rule that only words authorised by the usage of *Śabdaśāsana* should be used. It is well-known that *Śabdaśāsana* is a title of Nannaya Bhaṭṭa (1050 A.D.).

3. A still more useful reference occurs in Vennalakaṇṭi Jannayya's Devakinandana śataka.<sup>1</sup> Jannayya says that 'Kavirākṣaḥ-śreṣṭha approved of his poetry. According to Jakkanna, the author of the Vikramārkacaritra in Telugu, Vennalakaṇṭi Jannayya was honoured highly by Devarāya of the first Vijayanagar dynasty (A.D. 1378-1404). And Jakkanna too mentions Kavirākṣasa among Sanskrit poets.<sup>2</sup>

We may therefore take that a celebrated Kavirākṣasa flourished about A.D. 1400, and that he hailed from Dakṣavāṭi (Drākṣārāma) in Āndhra deśa. The author of our Kavirākṣasiya śataka may be identical with this Telugu writer. The gloss on the work that we have already noted, one that expressly describes itself as the first gloss on the work, is by a Telugu writer.

This date of Kavirākṣasa is important for the consideration of the date of the anthology, Sūktiratnahāra of Kālīṅgarāya Sūrya who cites two of his verses (pp. 42, 132, Tss. edn.). In my article on this anthology in Vol. XIII of this Journal (*see* especially pp. 305-6), I brought down this date to the beginning of the 14th cent. Now, on the evidence of Kavirākṣasa's date this anthology has to be brought to the 15th cent.

#### IV

There is also a verse found at the end of the manuscript of the Kavirākṣasiya which attempts to explain the poet's name Kavirākṣasa.

साक्षरेषु भवतीह जगत्यां सर्व एव हृदि मत्सरयुक्तः ।

साक्षरं कविजनेषु यदेनं लोक एष कविराक्षसमाह ॥

'Sākṣara' means one highly learned or eloquent; but the world is always jealous of such a man; finding our author the most learned among the poets, the malicious world called him, in a

1. See Satakakavulacaritra by V. Subba Rao, 1924, Andhra Patrika, Madras, p. 72.

2. Vikramārkacarita, Vavilla edn., 1913, p. 12.



perverse manner Kavi-rākṣasa; by reversing the word 'Sākṣara' we get Rākṣasa.

In the commentary in the Bikaner manuscript we have a different explanation of the expression, though it is also based on the reversal of Sākṣara, or the idea of 'the perversion of the learned man.' We have this there at the end of the poem, as its hundredth verse:—

बहुभिर्न विरोद्धव्यं साक्षरैस्तु विशेषतः ।  
साक्षरा विपरीताश्चेत् राक्षसा एव केवलम् ॥

The gloss on it runs thus :

.....तत्रापि साक्षरैर्विद्वद्भिर्विशेषतो न विरोद्धव्यम् । विरोधः कृतश्चेत् किं कर्तुं शक्यत इत्याह—साक्षरा विद्वांसः विपरीताः कृताश्चेत् केवलमत्यर्थं राक्षसा एव राक्षसवन् मूलोन्मूलनं कुर्वन्ति । साक्षरा इति वर्णत्रयं वैपरीत्येन पठितं चेद् राक्षसा इति सिद्ध्यति । तस्माद् विदुषां सम्मानपूर्वकं सरस-सम्भाषणादिकं कर्तव्यमिति समञ्जसम् ।

It is suggested here that the learned should not be the thwarted lest they become perverse and incorrigible, verily like a demon.

In whatever manner the name was given to him, it was only a title, not his real name. We have the well-known expression *Brahmarākṣas* applied to scholars who way-lay as it were other scholars, put to them impossible questions and find fault with their answers; they are indeed great masters of learning, but are a nuisance to fellow-scholars; the expression *Kavi-rākṣas* may have the same origin and significance, as applying to a poet at court or at large cross-examining and criticising every other poet. As shown below, a Vidūṣaka in one of the plays produced in the Tanjore Mahratta court is given the name Kavirākṣasa. On the semantics of the word Kavi-rākṣasa, we may add this also: The words *Rākṣasa* and *Asura* are used to show extra-ordinary skill, labour and practice in an art or in doing a thing; '*asura-sādhana*' is a common term used in musical parlance for the prodigious training and practice one has put forth. Kavi-Rākṣasa therefore meant also a title of praise given to a highly gifted poet, and this poem of a century and more of verses in *double entendre* might have secured for our poet this name.



Whether one got this name for his falling foul of brother poets or for his high skill in difficult forms of composition, it is clear that Kavirākṣasa is a title. That it is so is further strengthened by the other Kavirākṣasas who flourished earlier as well as later.

## V

The earliest poet now known to have been accosted by such titles indicative of formidable proficiency is the Jain<sup>o</sup> Apabhramśa poet Puṣpadanta whose literary activity lay in the latter half of the 10th century. Puṣpadanta had not only the title 'Kavi-Rākṣasa' but also that of "Kavi-Piśāca."<sup>1</sup>

In his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, Aufrecht notes a lexicographical work against the name Kavirākṣasa, and refers to Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue. The work is *Ṣaḍarthanirṇaya*, a brief lexicon of words bearing six meanings each, described under No. 5066 in the new Descriptive Catalogue of the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

Beg: अब्जे मोक्षे जले क्षीरे सिंहे सूर्येऽपि चामृतम् ।

End: लताभेदे हरिश्चापि चन्द्रे सूर्ये च घोटके ।

विष्णौ सिंहे सुरेन्द्रे च सूरिभिः परिकीर्तितः ॥

Col: इति कविराक्षसप्रणीतषडर्थनिर्णयसमाप्तः ।

Though a homonymous lexicon like this is quite in keeping with a *śleṣakāvya*, like the *Kavirākṣasīya*, we have no evidence to clinch the identity of the Kavirākṣasa who compiled the *Ṣaḍarthanirṇaya*.

There is a *Bhāṇa* called *Rasikatilaka* of which a single manuscript is preserved in the Curator's Office, Trivandrum; *See* Des. Cat. VIII. pp. 3049-51, No. 1328. Its author is a Kavirākṣasa, of whom fortunately we have ample information from the author himself. The prologue and colophon in this play tell us that the author styled Kavirākṣasa was really one named Rāma or more fully Muddurāma, that he was a native of Tanjore, Coladeśa, that he was the son of Jānakī and Raghunāthādhvarin of Kaunḍinya Gotra, that King Śāhaji of Tanjore patronised him and presented him with horses, elephants, a gold shower, necklace, a village and the title *Kavi-Rākṣasa*. Śāhaji, eldest son of Ekoji, ruled from 1684 to 1710 A.D.

1. *See* P. L. Vaidya, Intro. to his edn. of Puṣpadanta's *Jasahara cariu*, Karanja, Berar, 1931, p. 19.



सूत्रधारः— (सप्रहासम्) वैदेशिकस्स, भोः श्रूयताम्—

जाल्यश्चहस्तिशिविकाकनकाभिषेक-

हाराग्रहारकविराक्षसनामधेयैः ।

राज्ञादृतो नृपसमे भवता न किंस्वि-

दश्रावि रामकविरार्यगृहीतनामा ॥

अपि च—

मखिवररघुनाथस्वस्तिकर्मोपजातः

सुगुणमणिखनिर्यश्चोलभूजन्मभूमिः ।

रसिकतिलकनामा तेन कौण्डिन्यकेन

व्यरचि रुचिरबन्धः कोऽपि भाषाप्रबन्धः ॥

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लोकानन्दमन्दमाकलयतामेकाधिपस्यात्मजः

श्रीशाहक्षितिपालशेखरमणिः शृङ्गारिणामग्रणीः ।

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इति श्रीकौण्डिन्यकुल.....षो रघुनाथाध्वरितनयस्य

जानकीगर्भजन्मनः कविराक्षसापरनामधेयस्य मुद्दुरामकवेः कृतौ

रसतिलकभागः समाप्तः ।

That a Kavirākṣasa like this flourished in Śāhaji's court, and was a celebrated author, is confirmed by another, external, evidence too. In the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, there is a manuscript of a play on King Śāhaji called Śṛṅgāramañjari-śāhajīya, by a poet named Appā Kavi or Periyappā Kavi. In the prologue to this play, it is said that Kavirākṣasa and Veda were greater poets of the court than the author.

पारिपार्श्वकः— नन्वितोऽपि निपुणतराः सन्ति कविराक्षस-

वेदकवि-प्रभृतयः ॥

Mad. Trien. Cat. R. No. 1843.

Kavirākṣasa mentioned here is the author of Rasikatilaka-bhāṇa, and Veda, the real author of Vidyāpariṇaya and Jivānanda, two allegorical plays ascribed to the Tanjore Mahratta minister Ānandarāya. It is significant that in the play Kāntimatī-Śāharājīya of a Cokkanātha produced in the same court, the Vidūṣaka is given the name Kavi-Rākṣasa.<sup>1</sup>

1. See Tanjore Descriptive Catalogue, No. 4339, p. 3370.



# MĀTRDATTA, A FRIEND OF DAṆḌIN<sup>1</sup>

BY

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Among the different Mātrdattas known to the Sanskrit literature of Kerala, the earliest is the one mentioned in the *Avantisundarikathā* of Daṇḍin,<sup>2</sup> a fragment of which along with an anonymous and incomplete metrical summary of the work has been brought to light by the joint efforts of S. K. Ramanatha Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Kavi.<sup>3</sup> The reference to Mātrdatta occurs in the introductory portion of the work. A great architect by name Lalitālaya comes to Daṇḍin in the Pallava court at Kañcīpura (modern Conjeevaram) and tells him that he has rejoined a broken hand of the idol of Māmalla-pura (modern Mahabalipura or the Seven Pagodas some miles south of Madras) and requests him to examine it and see whether he has done the work properly. The son of the commander-in-chief, Raṇamalla, who is there with Daṇḍin, persuades him to accede to the request of Lalitālaya, for by doing so the poet can have the pleasure of meeting his friends like Mātrdatta who have gone there from Kerala and are awaiting him there. The portion in the *Avantisundarikathāsāra* reads as follows:

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1. Paper submitted to the Classical Sanskrit Section of the XV Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay, 1949.

2. The other Mātrdattas are: (1) the father of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri, (2) the brother of the same author, (3) the teacher of Nārāyaṇa, the author of *Dhāturaṇāvalī*. A separate paper on the subject is under preparation by the present writer.

It may, however, be stated that it is only with some uncertainty we can speak of the last named scholar as a Keraliṇi.

The authorship of *Bhaktisāmvardhana* is attributed by some scholars to a Mātrdatta, though there is adequate evidence for showing the name of its author to be Brahmadatta. A paper on this problem also is under preparation by the present writer.

3. *Avantisundarikathāsāra and Avantisundarikathā*, Dakshina Bharati Sanskrit Series, No. 3, Madras, 1924. This publication was based on a palm-leaf manuscript procured from Malabar.



श्रुत्वा सेनापतेः पुत्रः कलाकौशलपेशलः ।  
 पार्श्ववर्ती परां मैत्रीं विभ्रदण्डिनमभ्यधात् ॥  
 आर्य सम्भाव्यतामस्य स्थपतेः प्रणयस्त्वया ।  
 अपि च स्पृहणीयं ते सुहृदामपि दर्शनम् ॥  
 मित्राणि मातृदत्ताद्याः केरलेभ्यो द्विजोत्तमाः ।  
 त्वद्दर्शनार्थमायातास्तस्मिन् सन्निदधत्यमी ॥

(Pariccheda I. Ślokas 44-46).

The corresponding portion in the *Kathā*, the original text, is full of lacunae in the printed edition and little can be made out of it.<sup>1</sup> But there is an old palm-leaf manuscript of the work in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library, in which this portion is more complete. It reads:<sup>2</sup>

आर्य सम्भाव्य [एवास्य शिल्पिवरस्य प्रणयः । ब्रह्माश्चर्याणि गिरिसमुद्रकान-  
 नानि । मित्रं च तवैष विश्वब्रह्मराशेः कल्पसूत्रटीका] कारस्य सकलविद्यानदीपूरवा-  
 रिधेः त्रयस्त्रिंशत् [तत्कृतविभूतिभावितत्रयस्त्रिंशस्य शापानुग्रहसमर्थस्य ब्रह्मर्षेर्भवरात-  
 नान्नः पुत्रः तत्पुत्राणां तत्समानमेधादिसर्वसम्पदां द्वितीयः त्र]य्यामङ्गे (ध्वैतिह्यकला)-  
 सु कवितायां चा[द्वितीयः सुहृन्मतनिर्विकारदत्तहृदयो गुरुपरिचर्यापरः परममा-  
 हेश्चरो लब्धवर्णकर्णधारः कर्णमपि नापरा....कस्यगशक्यातिक्रान्तो मन्त्रार्थतत्त्व]-  
 व्याख्यानचतुरश्वतुर्वेदवित् सर्वजन[मातृभूतकरुणावृत्तिर्मातृदत्तः तदा चैषा]....  
 (करस्वामिनो देहभजसहजकीर्तिराम्नायनिधिर...भूमिदेवनिवहचूडामणिर्देवशर्मा  
 त्वद्दर्शनाय केरलेभ्यः काः....तदेषामपि सङ्कल्पानुकूलोऽयमारम्भो निर्विचार....॥

From these passages we are able to gather certain facts about this Mātṛdatta. He belonged to Kerala and was the second son of a Brahmarṣi by name Bhavarāta, who was a very great scholar and who had commented on the *Kalpa-sūtra(s)* and performed numerous sacrifices. He was unequalled in his knowledge of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and Itihāsas and in his poetic powers. He had mastered the four Vedas and was an able commentator of the *mantras*. He was a great

1. vide p. 8.

2. Ms. Trivandrum, No. 10683, fol. 4. The square bracket indicates lacunae in the printed text filled up from the present manuscript and the simple bracket portions lost in this manuscript filled up from the printed text. Some expressions here are not quite intelligible.



devotee of Śiva and was full of love for humanity in general and for his friends in particular. He was a friend of Daṇḍin.

Since Mātrdatta was a friend of Daṇḍin, he must have been his close contemporary and must be placed towards the close of the 7th century A.D. And that scholars and writers of Kerala like these Bhavarāta, Mātrdatta and Devaśarman should find mention in one of the most important works of such a great author as Daṇḍin and in such terms as these, clearly indicates the high standard of scholarship and literary activity there, particularly relating to the Vedas, even in such early times, and of their wide popularity.<sup>1</sup>

Five works with Mātrdatta as their author can be noticed: three on religion namely *Satyāśāḍhaśrautasūtravṛtti*, *Satyāśāḍhagrhyasūtravṛtti* and *Rudrasūtravyākhyā*; one on philosophy tentatively named *Sarvamatasāṅgraha*;<sup>2</sup> and a poem by name *Kāmasandeśa*.<sup>3</sup> Of these the last two works can be proved to be by the 16th century writer Mātrdatta, the father of the famous scholar and poet Melputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri.<sup>4</sup> The other three works do not contain much detail about the author except that his name was Mātrdatta, as indicated by the expression मातृदत्तीया in the colophons. Cf:

इति सत्याषाढसूत्रगृह्यस्य द्वितीयप्रश्नस्य मातृदत्तीया वृत्तिः परिसमाप्ता ।

(Ms. Madras, R. 4119 b)

1. We are aware of two Vedic commentators Bhavasvāmin and Devasvāmin. Bhavasvāmin is the author of the commentary on the *Bodhāyanaśrautasūtra* (Mss. Trivandrum, 8611; Madras, R. 3781) and Devasvāmin is the author of *Svarāṣṭaka* dealing with accents in the Vedas (Ms. Trivandrum, 5206 b) and of commentaries on *Āśvalāyanaśrautasūtra* (Ms. Trivandrum, P. 37, C. 305; Madras, R. 4), *Āśvalāyanagrhyasūtra* (Ms. Trivandrum, C. 380; partly published in the Adyar Library Series, Madras) and the *San̥karṣakāṇḍa* in *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* (Ms. Trivandrum, 12395; Madras, R. 2695). They are believed to be Keralīyas and may be identical with the Bhavarāta and Devaśarman mentioned here, though we should remember that there are Vedic commentators with the names Devatrāta and Devasvāmisiddhāntin who are different from this Devasvāmin.

2. Ms. Trivandrum, 9846.

3. Ms. Trivandrum, 1028 g.

4. vide note 2 above.



इति मातृदत्तीया चतुर्थसूत्रव्याख्या समाप्ता ।

(Rudrasūtravyākhyā)

But when these works are considered in the light of the account of Māṭṛdatta given in the *Avantisundarī*, the possibility of their being his are immense indeed. We are also not aware of any other Māṭṛdatta of equal eminence in Vedic lore.

The two commentaries respectively on the Śrauta and Ḡṛhya sūtras of the Satyāśāḍha or Hiranyakeśi school of the Black Yajurveda are authoritative treatises, and can well be the productions of our author who is described as चतुर्वेदवित् and मन्त्रार्थतत्त्वव्याख्यानचतुरः. The *Śrautasūtravyākhyā* for chapters 19 and 20 (which really constitutes the *ḡṛhya* portion) has been published in the Anandasrama Series, Poona (No. 53, Part viii) and extracts from the *Ḡṛhyasūtravyākhyā* published by J. Kirste in Vienna (1889). Manuscripts of both are mentioned by Aufrecht who also gives the information that the *śrautasūtrī* is called *Mantramālā*<sup>1</sup>. Dr. Kirste observes that the four manuscripts he has used for his edition seem to go to a Grantha original and that the author sometimes refers to the reading of the Northerners.<sup>2</sup> This Māṭṛdatta must have been, therefore, a South Indian and this is another evidence in support of our identification of this Māṭṛdatta with the friend of Daṇḍin.<sup>3</sup>

The *Rudrasūtravyākhyā*<sup>4</sup> is a treatise in the form of a detailed commentary on four sūtras, presumably belonging to some Śaivite Āgama, and dealing with the detailed worship of Śiva in the Vaidic manner, and the epithet परममाहेश्वरः given to our author lends support to his authorship of it.

There is a work by name *Jaiminīyasūtravṛtti* written by Bhavatrāta and forming a commentary on the Śrautasūtra of the Jaiminīya school of the Sāmaveda.<sup>5</sup> This Bhavatrāta

1. vide *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 766.

2. vide Kirste's edition, Introduction, p. vi.

3. The writer is indebted to Dr. V. Raghavan for the information contained in Kirste's edition.

4. Ms. Trivandrum, 9846.

5. Ms. Trivandrum, L. 321, Madras R. 5507.



was the son of a Mātrdatta and it is worthwhile to examine whether this Mātrdatta can be identical with the scholar referred to by Daṇḍin. There is nothing in this work to decide its exact date, but it appears to be old. The following verses in the beginning of the work deserve our close attention:

नमस्त्रिनेत्राय जितात्मजन्मने

विजन्मने जन्मनिवृत्तिहेतवे ।

नभस्वदाकाशकृशानुमेदिनी-

जलेन्दुभास्वद्यजमानमूर्तये ॥ १ ॥

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यदधीना शिवप्राप्तिरिहामुत्र च देहिनाम् ।

तस्मै विद्वत्समितये नमः क्षपितपाप्मने ॥ ५ ॥

सामगायत्रममृतं सामवेदार्णवामृतम् ।

यस्मादानशिरे मर्त्या ब्रह्मणो विबुधा इव ॥ ६ ॥

मुनेर्ब्रह्मनिधेस्तस्य काश्यपस्य महात्मनः ।

बहवः प्रथिता वंशा विवस्वत इवांशवः ॥ ७ ॥

तेषु यस्याभवदृषिर्मठरो मण्डनं परम् ।

मधुस्संवत्सरस्येव मणिः फणिपतेरिव ॥ ८ ॥

तस्मिन् संजज्ञिरे वंशे सामगा गुणशालिनः ।

सिंहा इव सुवर्णाद्रौ धिष्ण्याग्नय इवाध्वरे ॥ ९ ॥

स वसिष्ठकुटिं नाम ग्रामं चोलेष्ववेक्षितम् ।

वंशोऽधिवसति श्रीमान् हंसश्रेणीव मानसम् ॥ १० ॥

आसीद् गुणनिधिस्तत्र हस्तिशर्मेति वेदभृत् ।

स केरलाख्यं सद्राष्ट्रमगान्नाग इवार्णवम् ॥ ११ ॥

तस्य पुत्रो बुधसमः सामर्ग्यजुषपारगः ।

अवनीन्द्रैरवन्याज्ञैः शिरसा धृतशासनः ॥ १२ ॥

श्रुतिस्मृत्यर्थतत्त्वज्ञो धर्मकर्मसु दक्षिणः ।

द्विजन्महितलाभाय द्विजन्मभिरुपाश्रितः ॥ १३ ॥

आसीदनुपमोत्साहः सर्वेषु खलु जन्तुषु ।

मातृतुल्यदयो नाम्ना मातृदत्त इति श्रुतः ॥ १४ ॥

परां काष्ठां गतवतः स सुतां बोधकर्मणोः ।

विश्वामित्रजमुख्यस्य ब्रह्मदत्तस्य लब्धवान् ॥ १५ ॥



तस्यामजनि यस्तेन स भवत्रात इत्यभूत् ।

स स्ववागनिभृत्यैव (?) व्याकरोत्यध्वरागमम् ॥ १६ ॥

In these verses the author gives much information about his family. In the village of Vasiṣṭhakuṭi in the Coḷadeśa (modern Tittagudi in the South Arcot District in Madras) there was a family of great Sāman scholars belonging to the line of Maṭhara descended from the sage Kāśyapa. In that family there was a scholar by name Hastiśarman who migrated to Kerala. He had a son by name Mātṛdatta who was a profound scholar well-versed in the three Vedas, Sāman, Ṛk and Yajus. Mātṛdatta had also grasped the truth of the Vedas and Smṛtis and was an adept in performing sacrifices. He was esteemed by Brahmins and attended to even by kings, and he had always a motherly affection for all living beings. His son was Bhavatrāta, the author of the *vṛtti*.

There is so much similarity between the accounts given in the *Avantisundarikathā* and in the *Jaiminiyasūtravṛtti* relating to Mātṛdatta that they strongly suggest the possibility of their relating to one and the same person. The expressions चतुर्वेदविद्, मन्त्रार्थतत्त्वव्याख्यानचतुरः and सर्वजनमातृभूतकरुणावृत्तिः in *Avantisundarī* may be compared with सामर्ग्यजुषपारगः, श्रुतिस्मृत्यर्थतत्त्वज्ञः and सर्वेषु खलु जन्तुषु मातृतुल्यदयः in the *Jaiminiyasūtravṛtti*. Mātṛdatta in *Avantisundarī* was a great devotee of Śiva (cf. *paramamāheśvaraḥ*). Bhavatrāta was also a devotee of Śiva. His work commences with a prayer to Śiva and similar prayers to the same god are seen at the commencement of every section in the work. Daṇḍin who was living in the Coḷadeśa<sup>1</sup> keeping friendship with this Mātṛdatta whose family had moved from there to Kerala not long before, is also quite understandable. And though this Mātṛdatta was a Sāmavedin, he might have commented on works belonging to the other Vedas as well and the commentaries on the Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta and Gṛhya sūtras may be the only works known at present.

But there is one difficulty. While the father of the Mātṛdatta in *Avantisundarī* is Bhavarāta, the father of the Mātṛdatta in the *Jaiminiyasūtravṛtti* is Hastiśarman. Can this

1. Daṇḍin was living not in Coḷadeśa, but in Tuṇḍira-maṇḍala.—Ed.



Hastiśarman and Bhavarāta be identical with each other? There is only one possibility. Hastiśarman of the Coḷadeśa must have assumed the name Bhavarāta when he settled in Kerala. This is quite likely because his son is named Mātr-datta and grandson Bhavatrāta, names which are widely current in Kerala even today while they are not met with in the Tamil country. On the assumption of this identity we may also suggest that the name in the *Avantisundarī* might have been Bhavatrāta and not Bhavarāta, though the manuscript now available reads it so; for the author of the *Jaiminīyasūtravṛtti* might have had the same name as his grandfather's, in which case it should be Bhavatrāta. This is quite possible since in the Malayalam script in which the manuscript is written, the difference between *ra* and *tra* is only a curve, the omission of which is not improbable in a manuscript containing numerous scriptorial errors.



DATE OF VAIDYAHĀRDAYĀNANDA, A WORK ON  
MEDICINE BY YOGI PRAHARĀJA — LATER  
THAN C. A.D. 1550

by

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Sri T. Chandrasekharan, the Curator of the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras, has published a new work on medicine called *Vaidyahrdayānanda* in the *Bulletin* of that Library (Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 1-46) for 1951. The editor supplies the following information about this work in his short note preceding the text:—

- (1) The work deals with certain diseases and their remedies. It is divided into five Prakāśas, viz., (i) *Ivarapratikāra*, ii) *Atisārapratikāra*, (iii) *Kāsapratikāra*, (iv) *Arocakapratikāra* and (v) *Rasādiññāna*.
- (2) The work consists of verses in different metres. The author says that it was composed at the request of his wife. It is in the style of conversation between husband and wife.
- (3) The author of the work is one Yogi Praharāja, son of Nilakaṇṭha of *Vatsa* family. We learn from this work that this Nilakaṇṭha was the preceptor of the Queen of Vikrama of Nandapura and was called Jamadagnideva.
- (4) Yogi Praharāja wrote another work on medicine called *Vaidyālaṃkāra* (p. 2 — “अस्मत्कृत-वैद्यालङ्कारे ज्ञातव्यानि”) which is unfortunately not available. The author says that he is well versed in medicine, music, art and astrology.

The editor says nothing in the above remarks about the date of this work on medicine.

Having published several papers on the history of Indian medical works, I got interested in the contents of this work and their bearing on its chronology. Unfortunately the author does not mention or quote from any previous authors or works as I found on a cursory reading of this work. This fact makes the problem of its chronology more difficult than I



anticipated. The identification of King Vikrama of Nandapura, to whose queen our author Yogi Praharāja was a preceptor, may settle the question of chronology finally ; in the meanwhile I note below a reference in this work, which gives us the earlier limit to the date of Yogi Praharāja and his *Vaidyahṛdayānanda*:—

On page 20, verse 45 of *Prakāśa* II refers to “नासाभूषामणि” or nose-ornament in the following lines :—

“स्फुरन्नासाभूषामणिरुचिरवक्त्रे मगधजा-

कषायाम्भःकल्कद्वयविहितमाज्यं मधुयुतम् ।”

It has been already pointed out that the work is in the form of a dialogue between husband and wife. In the above lines the husband addresses his wife as “one with face made beautiful by the sparkling nose-stud”. I believe that the “नासाभूषामणि” or nose-stud mentioned here is a typical ornament of South Indian ladies as contrasted with the elaborate *nath* of Mahārāṣṭra ladies. Evidently Yogi Praharāja hailed from South India, where the nose-studs have been current for some centuries, since the introduction of the nose-ornament in Indian life and culture about A.D. 1000 as I have proved in my elaborate paper<sup>1</sup> on the history of the Indian Nose-ornament. No scholar has been able to record so far a single reference to the nose-ornament in Indian sources prior to C. A.D. 1000. For the present any work of Indian literature referring to nose-ornament may be safely assigned to a period later than A.D. 1000. In accordance with this chronological criterion I am inclined to fix C. A.D. 1000 as the earlier limit to the date of Yogi Praharāja and his *Vaidyahṛdayānanda* which refers to the female nose-ornament.

The 5th *Prakāśa* of this work contains recipes of the strength-giving and passion-exciting type with fanciful names such as —

लङ्काहनुमदस, आनन्दभैरवरस, प्रतापमार्तण्डरस, चन्द्रशेखररस,  
अगरस्यदावानल, कालानलसूचिका, वृषतिवल्लभरस, चन्द्रकलारस, वसन्तकुसु-

1. See *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1939), Vol. XIX, pp. 313-334. For my other papers on ‘Nose-ornament’, see *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly* (Poona), 1940, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-9; *Ratna-dīpa* (Rajapur), 1941, pp. 22-24; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII (1941), pp. 506-511; *Jour. of Kalinga Historical Res. Society*, Vol. I, No. 4 (March 1947), pp. 281-283.



माकर, स्मरवृद्धिप्रयोग, कामिनारञ्जनचूर्ण, कामाग्निसंदीपनमोदक, रतिवल्लभ-मोदक etc.

We find such names in profusion especially in medical works composed after A.D. 1000 such as the *Sārṅgadharma Samhitā*. If we can trace the exact history of these names we shall be in a position to fix up the relative chronology of the medical texts mentioning these names.

• The reference to *Caraka* in the following lines is not of any use for chronological purposes:—

Page 13.—जातीफलचूर्ण (II, 4)

“आमातिसारं विनिहन्ति शूलं

प्रख्यातमेतत् चरकेण कान्ते ॥ ४ ॥”

Lolimbarāja (C. A.D. 1550-1620) of Junnar in the Poona District has written some medical works like *Vaidyajivana*, etc., in which he addresses his mistress *Ratnakalā*, a Muslim lady, everytime while giving recipes for diseases. In the present work also the husband in the dialogue mentions some recipes to his wife and addresses her in vocative adjectives such as —

कान्ते, प्रिये, उत्फुल्लोत्पलनेत्रे, मामिनि, कामिनि, वारिजाक्षि, नीलसरोज-लोचने, तन्वाङ्गि, वरोरु, ललने, चारुशीले, सुधाधरे, सुप्रभे, पङ्कजाक्षि, सुनेत्रि, सुलोचने, बिम्बोष्ठि, चकोराक्षि, बाले, श्रीफलस्तनि, चपललोचने, महिले, प्रफुल्लनवमालिकाचयसमुल्लसत्कुन्तले, चतुरे, सुभाषिणि, विचक्षणे, विलासिनि, कलावति, काञ्चनचम्पकामे, नयनाभिरामे, समुल्लसन्मन्मथवाणलोचने, धीरे, रुचिराङ्गशोभे, वनितावरे, विद्युत्प्रभे, पीयूषतुल्याधरे, सुन्दरि, सुकुमाराङ्गि, सरोजन्मकोशस्तनद्वन्द्वरम्ये, हरिणीनेत्रे, सुवदने, नवनीतसुकुमलाङ्गयष्टे, रुचिराधरोष्ठि, मृगशावकाक्षि, ललनाग्रगण्ये, गुणज्ञे, वामे, प्रेयसि, पल्लवाधरे, स्फुरन्नासाभूषामणिरुचिरवक्त्रे, कलाप्रवीणे, कलकण्ठि, शरलोचने, कम्बुकण्ठि, केलिलालसे, तन्वि, घनपीनपयोधरे, मनोहरे, तरलायताक्षि, सौरभाङ्गि, प्रियतमे, क्षीणोदरि, लसन्मल्लीदामस्फुरितपृथुवक्षोजयुगले, चीनवसने, धीणावाणि, अपाङ्गदूरीकृतकामबाणे, मनोज्ञवेषे, मुक्ताकलापाञ्चितकण्ठदेशे, कर्पूरागुरुवासिताङ्गलतिके, मृगेन्द्रतनूदरि, मदिराक्षि, कल्याणि, स्मित-शोभितास्ये, मधुरानने, कनककैतकीकिसलयातिचारुप्रभे, कुरङ्गनेत्रे, फुल्लारविन्दानने, शारदचन्द्रसुन्दरमुखि, खञ्जनलोचने, मृदाङ्गि, कोकिल-



मञ्जुलसूत्रे, विलसत्काञ्चनकाञ्चिभासुरे, मदालसाङ्गि, प्रवीणे, पीनजघने, नितम्बिनि, स्मितभषिणि, प्रवालललिताधरपाणिपादे, गायनलालसे, ताम्बूलराग-  
रुचिराधरमन्दहासरम्यारविन्दवदने, नीलारविन्दपरिशोभितपाणिपद्मे, ताटङ्क-  
रत्नरुचिरार्जितख(ग)ण्डयुग्मे, लीलावति, सङ्गीतकुशले, सुवदने, विनोदिनि,  
कनककन्दुकयुग्मनिभस्तने, चञ्चलापाङ्गि, कनककङ्कणपाणिपुग्मे, चारुवेषे,  
लसत्केशपाशे, स्फुरन्मन्दहासोल्लसद्गण्डदेशे, कोमलाङ्गि, इन्दीवराक्षि, अलका-  
निर्जितोत्फुल्लकञ्जलग्नालिमालिके, कुवलयनेत्रे, स्थिराजोमुखे(?), तार्क्ष्यमञ्जुल-  
वाणि(?), रसिके, केलिकराड्कुरस्थले, हेमरुचिस्तनि, नवनारदाभरुचिरे, अवले,  
सुवर्णकलशस्तनि, बन्धूकरम्याधरे, मृदुलाङ्गि, घनकुचे, शशाङ्कोज्ज्वले,  
अनङ्गरङ्गप्रवीणे, मदकलकलहंसीगामिनि, प्रेमशालि, कमनीयगात्रे, श्यामे,  
केलिकलाविलासचतुरे, मारकेलिरसिके.

The foregoing collection of romantic epithets in a work on medicine prescribing recipes,<sup>1</sup> some of which are of a bitter type, adds a little sugar-coating to these recipes. The title of the work, *viz.*, *Vaidyahrdayānanda* ('delight to the hearts of physicians') is, therefore, significant.

One of the numerous epithets recorded above is 'अनङ्गरङ्गप्रवीणे' i.e., "proficient in अनङ्गरङ्ग". We know as a matter of fact that there is a work on erotics called "अनङ्गरङ्ग". Possibly this work is referred to in this epithet and the epithet means that the lady addressed as "अनङ्गरङ्गप्रवीणे" was proficient in the art of love as prescribed in अनङ्गरङ्ग. If this suggestion is accepted we can definitely say that *Vaidyahrdayānanda* is later than *Anaṅgarāṅga*. About the author of the *Anaṅgarāṅga* we get the following information in the *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937:—

PAGE 206.—"*Kalyāṇamalla* (about A.D. 1172) of Kalinga country. In the *Kavīcaritra* he is mentioned as a Brahmin but some regard him Kṣatriya owing to the epithet 'malla' affixed to his name. He was in the service of Anaṅga-

1. It is worth while preparing a *Dictionary of Ayurvedic Recipes* with exact indication of the sources in which they are found. Such a Dictionary would be useful not only to the students of the history of Indian medicine but also to the manufacturers of Ayurvedic medicines.



bhīma, a king of the Kalinga country. He is the author of a work called *Anaṅgaraṅga* (about Śaka 1094 = A.D. 1172)—(*Kavīcaritra*)”.

If the date of the *Anaṅgaraṅga* given above, viz., about A.D. 1172 is correct we can definitely say that *Vaidyāhṛdayānanda*, which appears to refer to this work, is later than about A.D. 1250 or 1300.

I have already referred to the fanciful names of certain recipes in the *Vaidyāhṛdayānanda* and the necessity of studying the history of these names with a view to fixing the earlier limit to the date of this work. In this connection I consulted by learned friend Shri D. K. Shastri of the Zandu Pharmaceutical Works, Bombay, inquiring if he can give me the history of the two recipes mentioned in the present work, viz., (1) *Ānandabhairava-rasa* and (2) *Vasanta-Kusumākara-Rasa*. In his letter to me dated 1-4-1951, Shri Shastri observes:—

“There are 12 different formulæ of *Ānandabhairava-Rasa* in different Āyurvedic books and 4 formulae of *Vasanta-kusumākara-Rasa*, but the most used formulae of both are in ‘*Rasa-Ratna-Samuccaya*’, which was probably written in the 14th or 13th Century. *Ānandabhairava* again contains *opium* and hence both the formulae may not be older than the 13th Century.”

The foregoing remarks also enable us to conclude that *Vaidyāhṛdayānanda* is later than C. A.D. 1350.

N. K. Basu in his Introduction to the *Art of Love in the Orient* (Calcutta, 1947), pages 13-14, gives us the following information about *Anaṅgaraṅga* of Kalyāṇamalla:—

(1) Kalyāṇamalla was “Brahmin Court-poet of a provincial governor under the Lodi emperors of India”.

(2) *Anaṅgaraṅga* can indubiously be ranked as the most authoritative mediaeval work on the subject in the whole of the East. The time of its composition has decidedly been placed somewhere within the closing decades of the 15th Century A.D., though a section of scholars would like to put it back towards the latter half of the 12th Century<sup>1</sup> during the reign of the Kalinga King Anaṅgabhīma”.

1. See the extract from *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* given above, according to which C. A. D. 1172 is the date of *Anaṅgaraṅga*.



If the *Anaṅgarāṅga* can be decidedly assigned to the closing decades of the 15th Century, i.e., between about A.D. 1475 and 1500 as asserted by Shri Basu we may easily fix C.A.D. 1550 as the earlier limit to the date of *Vaidyahrdayānanda*.

In closing this paper I would request brother scholars to identify *King Vikrama of Nandapura*, to whose queen the father of our author Yogi Praharāja was a preceptor as stated in the following verse at the close of *Vaidyahrdayānanda*.

“यत्तातः प्रहराज्यौतिषरविः श्रीनीलकण्ठः सुधीः

श्रीमन्नन्दपुरेशविकमनृप [ : ] श्रीपट्टराज्ञीगुरुः । ”

The evidence recorded in this paper would, I hope, facilitate the identification of *King Vikrama of Nandapura* and would enable us to fix the date of *Vaidyahrdayānanda* finally within very narrow limits.

The later limit to the date of the *Vaidyahrdayānanda* cannot be fixed as the age of the manuscripts on which the edition of this work is based is not known. In this connection I inquired of the editor, who wrote to me on 27-5-51 as follows :—

“I wish to inform you that the copies of the manuscripts on which the edition of the work *Vaidyahrdayānanda* was based, were transcribed from the manuscripts of one Magoni Misra, Kandachuli, Rajāsīmhapuram, Aska Post, Ganjam District. The copies were taken in the years 1923-24 and 1926-27. The original manuscripts are not available in this Library and it is, therefore, not possible to throw any light on the age of the manuscripts.”



## BOOK REVIEW.

LIFE OF HIS HIGHNESS RAJA SHREEMANT SIR RAGHUNATHARAO, S. *Alias* BABASAHEB PANDIT PANT SACHIV, K.C.I.E., RAJA OF BHOR (By Rao Saheb V. G. Ranade, M.A., LL.B., Ex-Dewan, Bhore State), 1951.

Bhor was a small Maratha State to the west and southwest of Poona with a population of about 1½ lakhs. Since its merger in the Bombay State, its ruler gets an annual privy purse of 89,042 rupees. But the state has had a long history very much more important than its size or income in modern times would indicate. The Pant Sachiv of Bhore took a leading part along with the Pant Amatya of Bavada and the Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh in rendering heroic services to the Maratha cause at a time of great peril; these chiefs together won the famous war of Maratha independence against the mighty and determined Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb.

The present Pant Sachiv known as Shreemant Sir Raghunatharao *alias* Babasaheb has, like many of his predecessors, gained the love and esteem of the citizens of his state by the nobility of his character, the liberal nature of his political views, his humanitarian outlook and his constant readiness to help forward good men and causes. A full length biography of this cultured and noble ruler was written in four volumes in Marathi by Rao Saheb V. G. Ranade, M.A., LL.B., Ex-Diwan of the Bhore State. The fullness and the authenticity of the Marathi life and the excellence of its Marathi style are borne out by the opinions of several scholars and publicists, reproduced in the present volume which is an English abridgement of the life in one volume. Its aim is to present to the English knowing public, the history of the Bhore State and the achievements of the present Rajasaheb up to the 74th year of his life, which he entered on the 20th September, 1951. The reader will find here a loving and sympathetic record of a quiet and useful life led in the path of Dharma under the guidance of the great religious and ethical ideals enshrined in the Gita. The volume is very well printed and beautifully illustrated with maps and quite a large number of excellent illustrations. It gives a full account of the literary activity of the Rajasaheb and contains extracts from his striking speeches on several occasions. It carries appropriately a very appreciative foreword from the veteran historian of Maharashtra, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai. Sri V. G. Ranade deserves a word of congratulation on the successful completion of his labour of love.

K. A. N.



# A PRIMER OF INDIAN LOGIC

BY

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THE CINTĀMANISĀRANIKĀ  
OF  
DASABALA

EDITED  
BY  
PROF. D. D. KOSAMBI



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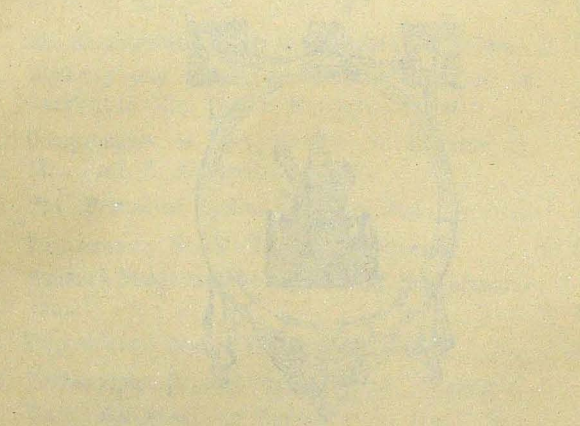


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## INTRODUCTION

The most interesting stanza of the empirical calendar printed herewith (for the first time) is 15 of the final section, which reads without emendation :

श्रीभोजे चतुरर्णवां कलयति प्रौढे तदोष्णा भुवं

वि(वे)ख्याते भुवि रत्नः(त्रः) संभवलघुवैरोचनेर्वालमः ।

गोलग्रंथविदां वरो दशबलः संस्मृत्य सौधोदनिं

बोधव्यामणुबुद्धिभिर्विहितवांस्तथ्यां तेथेः सारणं(णीम्) ॥ १५ ॥

The custom of Indian astronomical writers of working from the current year dates our author, for he bases his calculations on śaka 977 (1. 15, 4. 1, 6. 1) as the initial point. This began on March 1-2, 1055 A.D. according to L.D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* (vol. iii, Madras 1922). Thereby, we obtain two interesting byproducts.

The first is that Bhoja still ruled from ocean to ocean in 1055. The locative absolute and the present tense leave little doubt. This identifies the king as Bhoja Paramāra of Dhārā, the great Bhoja who left so deep an impression upon classical Sanskrit literature in its last great phase. The Paramāra copper-plate grants are dated in *saṃvat* years which began in *kārttika*, not *caitra* like the śaka years. For, Bhoja speaks (*Indian Antiquary*, vi, 1877, pp. 54-55) of making a land-grant in *caitra* of *saṃvat* 1078 after having conceived the idea in *māgha* of the same year. The first known grant of Bhoja's successor Jayasiṃha Paramāra is dated at Dhārā, as on *āṣāḍha vadi* 13, of *saṃvat* 1112, which is June 24-25, 1056 A.D.

The final years of Bhoja's reign are supposed to have been disturbed by an invasion led by the kings Karṇa Kalacuri and Bhīma Soḷaṅkī, who took Dhārā just after Bhoja's death.<sup>1</sup>

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1. D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāra Dynasty* (Dacca, 1933), chap. iv, pp. 88-122, especially 118. Also, H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Calcutta 1936), vol. ii. The records are unusually full at the period, but hard to date through the flights of poetic fancy. Merutuṅga's fables and the Kalacuri



The question is whether Bhoja was alive when Jayasiṃha made the grant, and secondly whether the sack of Dhārā could have taken place within the sixteen months to which our evidence restricts us. The latter is most unlikely, particularly as one of the invaders is supposed to have been the Soḷaṅki king, a neighbour of our author Daśabala, as it were. There is nothing to lead anyone to believe that Jayasiṃha could make land-grants from Dhārā, saluting Bhoja along with other ancestors, in the same style, if Bhoja had been alive. The conjecture comes from some negligible poetic references, and from Udayāditya claiming to be Bhoja's successor in samvat 1137. But the reason for this is quite clear, namely, that the invasion and defeat occurred during the inglorious reign of Jayasiṃha. The traditional season for campaigning is just after the rains have stopped; the period between October 1055 and June 1056 hardly leaves time enough for the capture of the capital and Jayasiṃha's re-establishment on the throne. One would be justified in concluding that Bhoja had died just before June 1056, when hostilities were expected or had commenced, but that the major actions of the war were fought later.

The second conclusion derived from the *Cintāmaṇi Sāraṇikā* needs some emendation of the second line of the stanza. As taken in my final text, it indicates that the author was an inhabitant of Valabhī, the younger brother of Ratna-sambhava (in both of which I have the support of the commentator), and had a patron or *guru* or progenitor named Vairocana. Both personal names are famous in the Māhāyāna Buddhist tradition, as is Daśabala; the title *mahākāruṇika-bodhisattva* and the reverent phrase *saṃsmṛtya śauddhodanim* leave no doubt as to the author being a Buddhist. On the other hand, his tag line (1. 62) *ākriḍante tridaśaramaṇi-tuṅga-pīna-staneṣu* is hardly the ascetic Buddhism of Gotama, and the dedication to Śāradā reminds us of Harṣa's *Nāgānanda*, with its Buddhist theme surcharged with Gaurī worship. In any case, there survived Buddhist families near Bhāvanagar in the 11th century, probably because they had come to terms with Śaivism.

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inscriptions leave no room to doubt the fact of the conquest, but it seems obvious that by Bhoja, the latter means Bhoja's successor, though the campaign may have been planned and even started when Bhoja was alive.



The work was first known through Theodor Aufrecht's catalogue of Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. (viii, Oxford, 1864) p. 327 b, No. 776. Aufrecht's meticulous report that the author was a Buddhist who wrote during the reign of Bhoja of Dhārā, with a date probably śaka 977, went unheeded in the absence of systematic Indian epigraphy, which was then just beginning. A second MS. of the work was found by P. K. Gode at the Rājāpūr Pāṭhaśālā; it was he who suggested the editing of the text. His photographs and the microfilm supplied by the Bodleian library form the basis of the text. The Rājāpūr codex is older, being dated *āṣāḍha śuddha 2* of samvat 1558,<sup>1</sup> and by far the more intelligently transcribed, but lacunary, having lost its initial folio, and being in a badly wormeaten condition. The Oxford copy is dated *kārttika śuddha 4*, of samvat 1596,<sup>2</sup> and in good condition, though the scribe was a professional who didn't know what he was copying. Both undoubtedly derive from the same source, as they show the same omissions, identical mislections, and reduplications. It further seems to me that the Oxford codex is a direct copy of the Rājāpūr MS. for the scribe repeats some slips of the other, without noticing the minute cancellation marks above the wrong letters; also, in 5. 3, the final devowelizing stroke on the preceding *prithak* has been mistaken to be a *mātrā* on the line below, to give the word *aīṣa*, which is actually the appearance of the Rājāpūr copy at a hasty glance. Unless the Rājāpūr scribe managed to duplicate the common model letter for letter and line for line, the Oxford copyist must have been directly influenced by him.

Thus, these two copies supplement each other only to the extent of giving a single somewhat corrupt manuscript. The text has necessarily to be emended, which was done with the

#### 1. Colophon—Rājāpūr Ms.:

श्री ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १५५८ वर्षे आषाढ शुदि २ गुरौ  
लिखितो[ऽ]यं ज्योतिष-दशबलसमा-मिति ॥ शिवमस्तु सर्वजगतः ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥  
॥ छ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ श्री ॥ हरिहराय नमः ॥ श्री ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ श्री ॥

[by a later hand]

इदं पुस्तकं भूगोल्युपनामक-सदाशिवोपाध्यायात्मज-परमानंदस्य ॥

#### 2. Oxford Ms.:

स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १५९६ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि ४ चतुर्थी वारधे ॥ रा०  
वीरन्याथ० पोथी ॥



powerful aid of my friend Prof. Dr. V. V. Gokhale. The scribes were Gujarāti, as shown by the regular substitution of *sa* for *śa*, interchange of *kha* and *ṣa*, writing *kṣunna* for *ṣunna* and an occasional *anusvāra* before a following nasal, as *bāmṇa*. These and other slips of the type have been silently emended. Extra letters to supply the gaps have been inserted in square brackets. Plenty of doubtful readings have been left as they were, either because I do not know the correct reading, or because the emendation is unnecessary. One real gap still remains after 2. 8, which we have not even attempted to supply.

From information supplied by Dr. V. Raghavan of the Madras University—an essential step in any modern Sanskrit text criticism, as his *Catalogus Catalogorum* has already become indispensable to all workers in the field—a commentary on the work was discovered. This is MS. No. 9518 of the Baroda Oriental Institute's collection. The commentator was one Mahādeva, son of Acyuta Lūṇiga. The colophon reports the work to have been composed in śaka 1180, which is amply confirmed by an example worked out for that year. The actual copy is dated samvat 1495, śaka 1360, by the hand of a Vaiṣṇava scribe Mahādeva. This scribe uses *prṣṭhamātrās* so unintelligently, in marked contrast to the original text, and makes his *ṇa* so close to the Mahārāṣṭrian, that he may be taken as from Mahārāṣṭra. But the commentator himself was a Gujarāt man. The name Lūṇiga would seem to prove this, for we know of a Lūṇigadeva, father of the Vāghelā hero Viradhavala, whose name is also variously reported as Lūṇapasāū, Lūṇapasāja, Lavaṇaprasāda, and Lāvaṇyaprasāda; of course, place names like Lūṇāvāḍā still remain in Gujarāt. This shows that the whole of Daśabala's tradition was confined to Western India, as is natural. For, the Islamic conquests made it difficult to spread his methods in Bhoja's former empire, and the Mohammedans, in any case, could utilize the work of a great contemporary of Daśabala, namely, Al Birūnī, who had mastered both Greek and Indian methods, along with Arabic contributions thereto. In the south, the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi naturally took its place at the head of Indian works. Daśabala gives nothing of any theoretical importance, which is the reason why his calculation methods for finding the tithi, nakṣatra, additional month, etc., could not match the Sūrya-siddhānta tradition.



This is one reason for not making much use of nor publishing the commentary, which I have nevertheless copied out in full. The text is very badly written, and the paper in poor condition, with the first folio again missing, the folios to seven written in a different hand from the rest, and many other folios so badly worn as to be often illegible. The final folios are even worn through completely in spots, which in any case proves that the copy and the system had been used heavily in calculations. Mahādeva supplies no new details about Daśabala, is ignorant about Buddhism, which he doesn't mention at all, and glosses the text without quoting it in full, or even quoting it extensively. Though he refers often to Brahmagupta, Vairocana is taken as 'son of Virocana', to apply to Daśabala himself, without explaining the locative absolute.

It follows from the inflection of both components that the title of the present work is 'the sārāṇikā named Cintāmaṇi'. The phrase *yoginām apy agamyē* may be derived from Bhartṛhari.

The Cintāmaṇi-sārāṇikā finds no mention in S. B. Dikshit's Marāṭhi history of Indian astronomy, but another work of Daśabala is mentioned there (*bhāratiya jyotiṣa śāstrācā itihāsa*, 2nd. ed., Poona 1931, ps. 239-40), namely, the *Karaṇa-kamala-mārtanḍa* (KKM). Dikshit noticed that the KKM follows the Brahmasiddhānta, with close points of contact with Bhoja's Rājamṛgāṅka-karaṇa, and praiseworthy tabulated methods of rapid computation. All of this might equally well have been said of the Cintāmaṇi. But Dikṣita's conclusion that Daśabala was a king of the Valabhi dynasty seems to me unjustified, being based only upon KKM 10.10:

वलभान्वयसंजातो विरोचनसुतः सुधीः ।

इदं दशबलः श्रीमान् चक्रे करणसुत्तमम् ॥ १० ॥

The actual MS of the KKM (20 of 1870-71, at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona) is a clear though comparatively late copy of a defective codex with *prṣṭhamātrās*. I feel justified in taking the real reading to have been Vairocana-sutaḥ. We must now agree with Mahādeva that Vairocana (not Virocana) was Daśabala's father. But Valabhānvaya need not mean king of Valabhi, or descendant of such a king; descent from any prominent citizen of Valabhi would suffice.

The KKM is dated śaka 980, all its calculations being based upon that year. There are no bright tag-verses such as



those found in the Cintāmaṇi, for any of the ten KKM colophons; nor any mention of Bhoja, nor of any other king, nor of Buddhism. Yet the identity with our Daśabala is not in doubt, for the stanza above is followed by our 6.16 with slight variations, and preceded by the identical 60-year cycle of saṃvatsara names in the same stanzas. Some of the KKM colophons say that it was 'part of Daśabala's *jyotiḥ-śāstra*', which would, if taken seriously, indicate a larger work, or at least a larger scheme of which nothing else is hitherto known. The soberer style could denote less discriminating patronage, following the death of Bhoja, just three years after the earlier work.

It is a great pleasure to express my gratitude for the valuable enendations suggested by Dr. V. Raghavan, and for his indispensable help with the proofs.

D. D. KOSAMBI.



## ॥ चिन्तामणि - सारणिका ॥

॥ महाकारुणिक - बोधिसत्त्व - दशबल - विरचिता ॥

॥ ॐ नमो श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

॥ ॐ नमः सूर्याय ॥

नमोऽस्तु ते पार्वति पङ्कजानने प्रियंवदे वन्द्यमुनीन्द्रवन्दिते ।  
दयापरे सुन्दरि शङ्करप्रिये कुरु प्रसादं मम देवि शारदे ॥ १ ॥

पुराचार्यैरेतैर्न खलु विहिताः स्वल्पविधिना  
निजग्रन्थे ह्यन्तः स्फुटतिथिभयोगप्रभृतयः ।  
अतः पश्यन् विश्वं गणितगहनोद्विग्नमधुना  
नमस्कृत्यार्केन्दू दिशति तदुपायं दशबलः ॥ २ ॥

एकक्षणात् कृतपरिस्फुटलक्षसङ्ख्य-  
नक्षत्रयोगतिथिबन्धुरसंविधानाम् ।  
पीयूषवृष्टिमिव हृष्ट(ष्टि)करीमजस्रं  
मत्सारणीं श्रुतिपुटैः कृतिनः पिबन्तु ॥ ३ ॥

[ अथ तिथिप्रकरणम् ॥ १ ॥ ]

तिथिप्रभृतिविज्ञानात् सम्यक् यात्रादि सिद्ध्यति ।  
अतस्तत्सारणीं ब्रूमश्चिन्तामणिमिमां स्फुटाम् ॥ ४ ॥  
चत्वारिंशत्सहाष्टाभिस्तिथीनांशे चतुःशतैः (४४८) ।  
चतुःपञ्चाशता युक्तं नक्षत्राणां शतत्रयम् (३५४) ॥ ५ ॥  
चत्वारिंशद्विनैकेन चतुर्भिरधिका शतैः (४३९) ।  
योगानां पद्धतिः सैषा स्वसङ्ख्यातुल्यकोष्टकैः ॥ ६ ॥  
वारनाडीविनाडीभिरधोऽधः सूचितक्रमैः ।  
तिथिनक्षत्रयोगानां पिण्डाष्टाविंशतिस्त्रिधा ॥ ७ ॥



लक्ष्यते या धनर्णाक्षैः कोष्ठकस्थैः पलादिभिः ।

पिण्डनाडीफलोत्पत्तयै स्पष्टार्थं रविकासु च ॥ ८ ॥

शरा(ङ्गा)ग्निमिताः (३६५) कोष्ठा रविकाणां पृथक् पृथक् ।

तिथेर्योगस्य च क्षेपाः स्वर्णनाड्यादि चिह्निताः ॥ ९ ॥

मीनान्तमध्यमोष्णांशोः प्रवृत्ताः प्रतिवासरम् ।

भुजाफलस्य यातस्य चरार्धस्य च कोष्ठकाः ॥ १० ॥

तावन्तो निखिला स्वर्णघटिकादिभिरन्विताः ।

ज्येष्ठमध्यकनिष्ठादीन् परिवर्तान् प्रचक्ष्महे ॥ ११ ॥

ध्रुवयोर्विष्ण्वयोगानां पिण्डाभावस्य सिद्धये ।

एतेषामेव संबन्धाः स्थिता वारध्रुवा निजाः ॥ १२ ॥

तिथिनक्षत्रयोगानां प्रतिबद्धाः पृथक् पृथक् ।

कदाचित् सर्वथा शून्यं जायते पिण्डकध्रुवः ॥ १३ ॥

कदाचिद्विकलेनाद्यो गम्येन च गतेन च ।

तिथ्यादिरित्यमामूलप्रवृत्ताः कोष्ठकास्त्रिधा ॥ १४ ॥

शाकः स्वरहयाङ्को नः (९७७) क्षुण्णः पक्षः शरैः (५२) पृथक् ।

क्षमाङ्कद्विपनृपातो नः (१६८९१) सिद्धाढ्यः (२४) क्षमानखैर्हतः

(२०१) ॥ १५ ॥

दिनादिः स्यात् पृथक् साब्दः सैको वारध्रुवः स्मृतः ।

पद्मिनीबन्धुवारादिरजादौ मध्यमे रवौ ॥ १६ ॥

ततोऽब्दौघः शिवः (११) क्षुण्णः पृथक् द्विस्थोदिगा (१०) हतः ।

शैलामराक्ष (५३३७) लब्धाढ्यश्चक्षुर्मुनिभिरन्वितः (७२) ॥ १७ ॥

नभोऽत्यष्टयंश (१७०) संयुक्तस्तत्त्वयुक् (२५) त्रिंशता (३०) हतः ।

यल्लब्धमधिमासा स्युः शेषं शुद्धिः प्रकीर्तिता ॥ १८ ॥

खं (०) रूपं (१) द्वौ (२) त्रय (३) इश्चान्द्री शुद्धिर्यदि तु जायते ।

व्येकास्तदाधिमासा स्युः शुद्धिस्तु त्रिंशता (३०) चिका ॥ १९ ॥

शुद्ध्या यातुर्तुभिर्हीनश्चैत्रादितिथिसंचयः ।

अब्दमध्येऽधिमासश्चेत्तद्याततिथिभिर्युतः ॥ २० ॥



शुद्धौ सत्यां स चेदल्पः प्रदेयः शुद्धितस्तदा ।  
शेषं च पञ्चषट्त्रिभ्यः (३६५) पात्यं शिष्टमहर्गणः ॥ २१ ॥

चरार्धरविकायातभुजाफलकृते कृतः ।  
वर्षौघः पूषभिः (१२) क्षुण्णः साधिमासः खवह्निभिः (३०) ॥ २२ ॥

हतश्चैत्रादिदिथ्याढ्यस्तिथिसिद्धयै तिथित्रजः ।  
स्वचतुःषष्टि (६४) भागोनश्चैत्रादितिथिसंचयः ॥ २३ ॥

विभुक्तविकलेनैष समवेतोदितादिता ।  
अब्दक्षुण्णाक्षषट्त्रयाढ्यः (३६५) शुद्धचूनोऽङ्काभ्रभूयुतः (१०९)  
॥ २४ ॥

वर्तमानभयोगाभ्यां गुरुवाराद्यहर्गणः ।  
तिथीनां संचयोऽधस्थः स्थाणुभिः परिताडितः ॥ २५ ॥

मार्गणाग्निरसोपेत (६३५) सून्यभ्रशैलाप्त (७०३) वर्जितः ।  
सिन्धुसिन्धुर (८४) संयुक्तः कथ्यते द्युगुणोऽथ वा ॥ २६ ॥

वारक्षेपोऽब्धयः पञ्चवसुवेदा (४, ५, ४८) स्तिथेः स्मृतः ।  
पिण्डप्रभृतयः शून्यमृक्षाणि शरबाहवः (०, २७, २५) ॥ २७ ॥

स्तम्भेरमं चतुर्वेदै (४४८) स्तष्टव्यस्तिथिसंचयः ।  
लब्धं तु तत्क्षणं नाम शिष्टं कोष्टकसम्मितिः ॥ २८ ॥

ऋणं वारोदयोऽभ्रं खमक्षरामाः कुसायकाः (० ऋ, ०, ३५, ५१)  
पिण्डप्रभृतयः शून्यं शैला नव दशोधनम् (०, ७, ९ धन, २) ॥ २९ ॥

आभ्यां तक्ष्णनिघ्नाभ्यां प्रक्षेपौ हीनसंयुतौ ।  
वारध्रवोऽर्कवाराद्यः पूर्णाद्यः पिण्डकः ध्रुवः ॥ ३० ॥

ध्रुवपिण्डप्रमातुल्यतिथिभिः परिताडिताः ५ ।  
वक्ष्यमाणाः क्रमादेते वाराद्या व्योमगोशराः ॥ ३१ ॥

त्रयः शून्यं सरिन्नाथाः (०, ५९, ३, ४०) पिण्डप्रभृतयः पुनः ।  
भूरभ्रं व्योममुन्यर्था (१, ०, ०, ५७) इति राशिद्वयं कृतम् ॥ ३२ ॥

वारपिण्डध्रुवाभ्यां तत्पिण्डाभावाय पातयेत् ।  
शिष्टकोष्टमितौ योज्यास्तथयः पिण्डसम्मिताः ॥ ३३ ॥



परिवर्तोऽत्र चेद्भावां(नां) विधिः प्राग्वद्वेत्तदा ।

इति वारध्रुवो यश्च पिण्डानां ध्रुवश्च यः ॥ ३४ ॥

तिथिकोष्टमितिर्यावद्व्यवहर्तुममी कृताः ।

वारध्रुवोऽयमारभ्यः शिष्टकोष्टकसम्मितिः ॥ ३५ ॥

तिथिकोष्टैर्युतः शिष्टैर्भोगः स्यादस्फुटस्तित्थेः ।

स्तम्बेरमकरै(२८)स्तष्टा शेषकोष्टकसम्मितिः ॥ ३६ ॥

स्वाष्टाविंशतिसंबद्धाः शिष्टं कोष्टाः प्रकल्पयेत् ।

पलैश्च रविकाक्षुस्तैः(णैः) स्वाष्टाविंशतिकोष्टजैः ॥ ३७ ॥

धनर्णाक्षैर्युता न्यूना रविकाः स्युः परिस्फुटाः ।

आभिरेव धनर्णाक्षरविकाभिश्च संस्कृतः ॥ ३८ ॥

भुक्तपिण्डघटीक्षुणैः स्वाष्टाविंशतिकोष्टजैः ।

पलाद्यैः संस्कृतश्चैष तिथिभोगः स्वखण्डवत् ॥ ३९ ॥

भुक्तपिण्डघटी त्रिंशदधिका वेत्रसंस्क्षरेत् (संस्कृता ?) ।

भोग्याभिस्तत्र नाडीभिर्धनर्णाभ्यां विपर्ययः ॥ ४० ॥

चरार्ध पञ्चभिर्भक्तं कोष्टकस्थं पलादि यत् ।

इष्टाक्षप्रभया क्षुण्णं स्वदेशे तन्निगद्यते ॥ ४१ ॥

तेन स्वर्णवशात् सार्धमध्यसंबन्धिभिः पलैः ।

भुजाफलस्य जातस्य विनाडीभिश्च संस्कृताः ॥ ४२ ॥

इति नाड्यादिकस्पष्टस्तित्थिभोगः खगोदयात् ।

सौम्येतरदिशोर्यान्तैर्निजषड्भागवर्जितैः ॥ ४३ ॥

योजनैरुज्जयिन्याश्च षट्खाक्षि(२०६)सहितोज्जिताः ।

खाब्धिभक्ताः (४०) फलं यत्तत्पलच्छायाङ्गुलादिगा(१४३)॥४४॥

तद्वर्गात् सूर्यवर्गाद्या(१४४)न्मूलमक्षश्रुतिः स्मृता ।

षट्(६)क्षुण्णाद्विषुवत्कर्णात् स्वदेशान्तरयोजनैः ॥ ४५ ॥

अन्यस्तादभ्रदिग्भक्ता(१००)द्विनाड्यादिफलं विदुः ।

लंकावन्तीकुरुक्षेत्रेखायाः पूर्वपश्चिमे ॥ ४६ ॥



देशान्तरतया स्वर्णं वशतः प्रत्यहं दिशोः(?) ।  
द्विधस्तिथिस्त्रिरकः सन् करणान्याद्वि(धि?)तिष्ठति ॥ ४७ ॥

बवंबालवमाचार्याः कौलवं तैतिलं गरम् ।  
वणिजं विष्टिरेतानि करणानि प्रचक्षते ॥ ४८ ॥

आद्यं शकुनिसंज्ञं स्याद् द्वितीयं स्याच्चतुष्पदम् ।  
नागाह्वयं तृतीयं स्यात् किंस्तुघ्नं स्याच्चतुर्थकम् ॥ ४९ ॥

स्थिराण्येतानि बहुले चतुर्थस्योत्तरार्धतः ।  
अथ तिथ्यर्धभोगाय तिथिभ्यो भोगजन्मनाम् ॥ ५० ॥

गतगम्यान्तरार्धेन युक्तो नाखाग्नि(३०)नाडिकाः ।  
गताद्गम्येऽधिके न्यूने भुक्तिः स्यात् करणेषु च ॥ ५१ ॥

प्रवृत्तिश्च निवृत्तिश्च तया तेष्वेव साध्यते ।  
त्रिंशच्च(३०)रार्धनाडीभिर्द्वैध्रीभिः संस्कृता दिनम् ॥ ५२ ॥

धुमानः स्यात्तदूना तु षष्टिर्मानं निशां प्रति ।  
स्वदेशनाडिकापूर्वं चरार्धं बाध्वनः फलम् ॥ ५३ ॥

तुल्ययोः स्वर्णयोरैक्यमनैक्यं स्यादतुल्ययोः ।  
निर्दिष्टस्वर्णकालाभ्यां कृत्स्ना वारप्रवृत्तयः ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वदेशेऽर्कोदयस्याप्रात् पृष्ठाच्च परिकीर्तिताः ।  
समं चार्कोदयेनैव क्षि(क्ष)पाचरपतेः पुशि (पुरि) ॥ ५५ ॥

अवमं तत्स्पृशत्येको यत्र वारस्तिथित्रयम् ।  
तिथिश्च यत्र वारांस्त्रिंशदिनस्पृक् तदुच्यते ॥ ५६ ॥

निजध्रुवकजाः पिण्डनाड्यो द्विस्थाः समाहताः ।  
स्वाष्टाविंशतिखण्डानां पलायैः स्वर्णशालिनाम् ॥ ५७ ॥

यतोऽथ खण्डविश्वे(श्ले)षदलेन व्योमषट् हताः ।  
लब्धेन हीनसंयुक्तं तदैक्यार्धं यथाक्रमम् ॥ ५८ ॥

भोग्यादभ्यधिकोनं तु तद्भोग्यं खं स्फुटं विदुः ।  
अनेन स्पष्टखण्डेन रविकाः पिण्डनाडिकाः ॥ ५९ ॥



नीताः स्पष्टत्वमथवा योग्याः [स्युः] तिथिभयोगयोः ।  
विदित्वेत्यं तिथेः स्पष्टां सारि(र)णीं निखिलो जनः ॥ ६० ॥

सूर्याचन्द्रमसोलोकान् दीर्घमासाद्य मोदय(ते) ।  
कोष्टबद्धावुभौ यस्मात् सूर्याचन्द्रौ परिस्फुटौ ॥ ६१ ॥

एतां सम्यग्दशबलकृतां सारणीमर्थसारां  
ज्ञानज्योतिःकुमुदकलिकां कर्णयोर्ये वहन्ति ।  
ते भुक्ते (क्त्वे)न्दुद्युमणिवसती योगिनामप्यगम्ये  
आक्रीडन्ते त्रिदशरमणीतुङ्गपीनस्तनेषु ॥ ६२ ॥

इति महाकारुणिक-बोधिसत्त्व-

दशबल-विरचितायाम् चिन्तामणौ सारणिकायां  
तिथिप्रकरणं प्रथमं समाप्तम् ॥

[ अथ नक्षत्रप्रकरणम् ॥ २ ॥ ]

द्युगणः पृथगष्टिघ्नां (१६) काक्षविश्वाप्तवर्जितः (१३५९) ।

नक्षत्रौघः ससिद्धाढ्यस्तष्टस्तुरगबाहुभिः (२७) ॥ १ ॥

अवशिष्टं भवेद्विण्यम् (?) अश्विन्यादियथाक्रमम् ।

भानां वारादयो वेदाः कुम्भिनः सशरास्त्रयः (२,४,५८,३) ॥ २ ॥

पिण्डाद्या भानि गोबाणा नयने क्षेपकौः(के)स्थिरौः(रे)(२७,५९,२) ।

ज्यायान् भ-परिवर्तः स्याद्भूरामश्रुतिपावकैः (३४३१) ॥ ३ ॥

वारादौ षड्भुजाक्षाणि स्वर्गिणः खसुधाकराः (६, ५२, ३३, १०) ।

पिण्डादयोऽभ्रमभ्रं च काष्ठाविशिष(ख)बाहवः (०,०,१०,२५) ॥ ४ ॥

मध्यमः परिवर्तोऽयं चतुःपञ्चत्रिभिः (३५४) स्मृतः ।

वारादयः शशी विश्वे लोचने वसुसिन्धवः (१,१३,२,४८) ॥ ५ ॥

पिण्डाद्या गगनं व्योमखगुणाः शैलपाणयः (०,०,३०,२७) ।

कनिष्ठः परिवर्तस्तु शिलीमुखचतुःकरैः (२४५) ॥ ६ ॥

वाराद्या द्वौ शराक्षाणि मुनयः करसायकाः (२,५५,७,५२) ।

पिण्डाद्या भानि बाणाक्षान्यङ्गरामानभःकराः (२७) ॥ ७ ॥

परिवर्तो महाज्येष्ठच्छिद्रानलनवग्रहैः (९९३९) ।

वारादयोऽप्सराः सिद्धाः षट्त्रयो मुनिवह्नयः ॥ ८ ॥



पिण्डाद्या गगनव्योमव्योमद्विरदसागराः ।

नंध (२७, ५५, ३६, २०) दचन्द्रा पञ्चेषवो रसाः ॥ ८ ॥ (?)

पिण्डप्रभृतयः खेन्दो(दू) भूजिनाः शरसागराः (०, १, २४, ४५) ।

परिवर्तैः क्रमात् स्वैः स्वैस्तत्क्षेत्रक्षत्रसंचयम् ॥ ९ ॥

प्राप्तं तत्क्षेत्रमुद्दिष्टं शिष्टं कोष्टकसम्मितिः ।

ये स्वीयपरिवर्तेषु वारपिण्डाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ १० ॥

स्वस्वतक्ष्णनिधास्ते प्रक्षेप्याः क्षेपकस्थिरे ।

वाराद्यैः पिण्डकाद्यश्च ध्रुवकः स्यात् पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ११ ॥

वारध्रुवेण योक्तव्याः कोष्टास्तच्छेषसम्मिताः ।

भवन्त्याकोष्टपर्यन्तमिमे भोगाः सुधान्वित्(त्वि)षः ॥ १२ ॥

स्वपञ्चत्रिंशदंशाब्धं (३५) शेषं कोष्टकसम्मितिः ।

तष्टानागाश्विभिः (२८) शेषं पिण्डाष्टाविंशतिः स्वकाः ॥ १३ ॥

तत्पलैस्त्रिहताः पिण्डनाडिकाः स्युर्विनाडिकाः ।

आभिश्च संस्कृता भोगाः स्वाष्टाविंशतिकोष्टवत् ॥ १४ ॥

पिण्डयातासु नाडीषु गम्यासु पुनरन्यथा ।

चरार्धस्य विनाडीभिर्देशान्तरपलैः सह ॥ १५ ॥

भुजाफलपलैर्जातपरपि[ण्डाश्च] संस्कृताः ।

परिशिष्टा भवन्त्येव महापुरिद्वयोदयात् (?) ॥ १६ ॥

नक्षत्रयोगपिण्डानां गतागम्याश्च नाडिकाः ।

चतसृणां विधातव्या मध्यदेया न या दिशाः ॥ १७ ॥

ज्येष्ठमध्यकनिष्ठादि पिण्डानां परिवर्तनैः ।

एतद्वशेन वाराणां मन्ये या परिवृत्तयः ॥ १८ ॥

इति नक्षत्रविज्ञानादिह प्राप्यौ(प्यो)र्जितश्रियम् ।

लोके हिममयूखस्य स्थितिं बध्नात्यनीश्वराम् ॥ १९ ॥

इति महाकारुणिक-सत्त्वबोधि । दशबलविरचितायां चिन्तामणौ सारणिकायां

नक्षत्रप्रकरणं द्वितीयं समाप्तम् ॥



[॥ अथ योगप्रकरणम् ॥ ३ ॥]

द्युगणोऽधः शिवक्षुण्णः (११) सप्तशैलेन्दुभिर्हतः (१७७) ।

लब्धेनोपरिमो (?) युक्तो जायते योगसंचयः ॥ १ ॥

सषोडश (१६) युतः शैललोचनै (२७) रवशेषितः ।

योगाविष्कम्भपूर्वाः स्युः स्थिरक्षेपोऽथ कथ्यते ॥ २ ॥

क्रमाद्वारादिको वेदा गिरिबाणाः शराब्धयः (४, ५७, ४५) ।

पिण्डाद्यस्तुरगाक्षाणि वसुबाणाः कृताब्धयः ॥ ३ ॥

परिवर्तो भवेद्योगैर्ज्येष्ठोऽष्टाङ्गयुगर्तुभिः (६४६८) ।

वाराद्याः षट् सुपर्वाणः स(शि)खिचन्द्रा हविर्भुजः (६, ३३,  
१३, ३) ॥ ४ ॥

पिण्डाद्या भानि गोबाणा भूतवाताः खबाहवः (२७, ५९, ५५, २०) ।

मध्यमः परिवर्तस्तु रन्ध्रत्रिमकरालयैः (४३९) ॥ ५ ॥

वाराद्यास्तत्र खं कुम्भि चन्द्रास्ताना रसेषवः (०, १८, ४९, ५६) ।

पिण्डाद्या भानि नन्दार्था वेदवारिधयो रसाः (२७, ५९,  
४४, ६) ॥ ६ ॥

कनीयः परिवर्तोऽपि विलोचनदृग्निभिः (३२२) ।

वारादिर्द्वे नवाम्भोधिगुणा मार्गणपावकाः (२, ९, ३४, ३५) ॥ ७ ॥

पिण्डाद्यः पुष्करं त्रीणि शैलरामाः स्वरेषवः (०, ३, ३७, ५७) ।

योगैर्ज्येष्ठतमः कुम्भिछिद्राग्निकृतसिन्धुभिः (४४३९८) ॥ ८ ॥

वारादयस्त्रयः शक्राश्चन्द्राक्षाणि स्वराग्रयः ।

पिण्डाद्या भानि गोबाणा नन्दाक्षाणीन्दुबाहवः (३, १४,  
५१, ३७) ॥ ९ ॥

परिवर्तैः क्रमात् स्वैः स्वैस्तक्षे योगेषु संचयः ।

लब्धं तु तत्क्षणं नाम शिष्टं (२७, ५९, ५९, २१)  
कोष्टकसम्मितिः ॥ १० ॥

संबन्धं परिवर्तानां वाराद्यः पिण्डकादि च ।

निजतत्क्षणसंक्षुण्णाः कुर्यादेकत्र संस्थितिम् ॥ ११ ॥



स्थिरक्षेपकसंयुक्तं ध्रुवकः स्यात् पृथक् पृथक् ।

वाराद्यः पिण्डकाद्यश्च शेषं कोष्टकसम्मितिः ॥ १२ ॥

प्रारभ्य वारध्रुवकः संयोज्यः प्रतिकोष्टकम् ।

योगभोगाः स्युरेवैते किञ्चित् किञ्चिदसंस्फुटाः ॥ १३ ॥

स्वत्रिदक्षांशरहिता (२३) शेषकोष्टकसम्मितिः ।

तथा कुम्भकरैः (२८) शेषं स्वाष्टाविंशतिकोष्टकः ॥ १४ ॥

स्वाष्टाविंशतिखण्डेन तिथिवद्रविका निजाः ।

परिस्पष्टा धनर्णाख्यैराभिर्भोगाश्च संस्कृताः ॥ १५ ॥

स्वकीयपिण्डनाडीभ्यः स्वाष्टाविंशतिकोष्टकैः ।

विष्णवे यथा तथोत्पाद्य स्वर्णसंज्ञा विनाडिकाः ॥ १६ ॥

आभिश्च संस्कृताः कार्या भोगास्ते कोष्टकाः सदा ।

चरार्धस्य विनाडीभिर्देशान्तरपलैः सह ॥ १७ ॥

भुजाफलपलैर्जाता पलैरपि च संस्कृताः ।

परिस्पष्टा भवत्येते योगभोगाः खगोदयात् ॥ १८ ॥

तिथिनक्षत्रयोगानां भोगास्ते परमार्थतः ।

यत्सिद्धं चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां तदाद्यन्ता भवत्यमी ॥ १९ ॥

चन्द्रसूर्यप्रसादेन दुष्प्राप्यं प्राप्यते नभि (नृभिः) ।

चन्द्रार्कप्राप्तजन्मासौ मया तु तिथिसारणी ॥ २० ॥

यदृच्छं योगानां गतिमधिगतार्थां प्रतिदिनं

विजानीते सम्यग्गणितसरणौ प्राप्तिपटिमा ।

स सूर्येन्द्रोर्लोकानधिवसति भूयश्च रमते

वरस्त्रीणां तुङ्गस्तनकलशयोर्मन्मथ इव ॥ २१ ॥

इति श्री-महाकारुणिक-बोधिसत्त्व-दशबल-विरचितायां

चिन्तामणौ सारणिकायां योगप्रकरणं

तृतीयं समाप्तम् ॥



[॥ अथ प्रकीर्णप्रकरणम् ॥ ४ ॥]

शाकोऽगनगनन्दोनः (९७७) सूर्यघ्नो (१२) माससंयुतः ।  
द्विस्थो द्विघ्न (४) स्त्रिधाश्वाग्निद्वाढ्यो (२३७) व्यघ्रेषु (५०७) भाजितः  
॥ १ ॥

युक्तस्तल्लब्धचन्द्राभ्यां (१) द्वयक्षक्षमा (१५२) तशवेन्दुयुक् (१११)  
भूविश्वा (१३१) विहृतः प्राप्नोऽधिमाससहितो गणः ॥ २ ॥

अधिमासस्य यच्छेषस्वाभ्रार्काक्षलवोनितम् (५१२०) ।

तन्मुक्तोऽभीष्टमासन्नबाणविश्वघटीगणः (१३५) ॥ ३ ॥

पष्ट्याप्तो भध्रुवो भादि स्याद्दर्शान्तेऽर्कचन्द्रयोः ।

नक्षत्रध्रुवकः क्षुण्णो द्वाभ्यां (२) योगध्रुवः स्मृतः ॥ ४ ॥

स पूर्वोक्तगणः क्षुण्णः सप्तार्चिर्जलराशिभिः (४३) ।

द्विस्थोऽगाहीमचन्द्राब्धीष्वाप्तो (५४१८६८६) नो रसविश्वयुक् ।  
(१३६) ॥ ५ ॥

तत्पट्वेन्द्रलवो (१४०६) ष्ध्याढ्यो (४) गुण (३) क्षुण्णगणार्धयुक् ।

वारध्रुवो (व)श्च तष्टः स्यात् (७) लङ्कायां तपनोदयात् ॥ ६ ॥

माससंघोऽभ्ररुद्रघ्नः (११०) शरगोद्विरसान्वितः (६२९५) ।

श्रुतीभगिरिविश्वाप्त (१३७८४) स्तिथ्यन्ते पिण्डकध्रुवः ॥ ७ ॥

द्विघ्न (२) मासगणेनाद्योऽष्टाक्षि (२८) तष्टो भवेदसौ ।

तिथेर्वारादिको भोगः शून्यं नन्देष्वो गुणाः ॥ ८ ॥

पूर्णनिर्झरिणीनाथाश्चक्षुस्तु दिनरोचिषः (०, ५९, ३, ४०, २, १२) ।

अस्य पिण्डादिको भोगः शीतांशुर्गगनं नभः ॥ ९ ॥

वसुधाधरभूतानि पृथिवीधरबाहवः (१, ०, ०, ५७, २७) ।

मानोर्भ्रप्रभृतिर्भोगो वियद्वेदाधरादृशः ॥ १० ॥

अङ्गभूतानि षड्बाणास्तितिं प्रति निदर्शिताः ।

इष्टार्कः स्वदशांशोनेष्टतिथ्याद्यः क्षपापतिः ॥ ११ ॥

प्रतिमासं भवेद्भोगः (०, ४, २१, ५६, ५६) सदा वारादिकस्तिथेः ।

चन्द्रमाः पृथिवी रामा आकाशश्चसना रसाः (१, ३१, ५०, ६) ॥ १२ ॥



पिण्डादि नयने व्योम गजाक्षीण्याब्धिसिन्धवः (२, ०, २८, ४४) ।  
ध्रुवे भानां यमौ काष्ठा वस्वक्षाणि फणिद्विकाः (२, १०, ५८, २८) ॥ १३

वारादिरेकधिष्यस्य हिमदीधितिर्म्बरम् ।

द्विवेदा गुणभूतानि मूर्च्छनाः समुदाहृताः (१, ०, ४२,  
५३, २१) ॥ १४ ॥

पिण्डादिरेकधिष्यस्य शशिक्षमाविधुसिन्धवः ।

रसश्रोताश्विनी (स्रोतस्विनी) नाथास्तुहिनां शुशिलीमुखाः (१, १,  
४२, ४६; ५१) ॥ १५ ॥

योगस्येकस्य वारादिर्गगनं रसमार्गणाः ।

गगनेचरचक्षूंषि मूर्च्छना गुणसिन्धवः (०, ५६, २९, २१, ४३)

पिण्डादिरेकयोगस्य पूर्णं हयशिलीमुखाः ।

सिद्धा रन्ध्राणि गोचन्द्रा इति भोगाः स्वकाः स्वकाः (०, ५७,  
२४, ९, १९) ॥ १७ ॥

मध्रुवस्वेष्टमासान्ते विकलं पृथगन्वितम् ।

स्वाब्धीमभाग (८४) बाणाग्निभागाभ्यां (३५) तद्विशोधयेत् ॥ १८ ॥

वारपिण्डकनाडीभ्यो धिष्यन्ते ध्रुवको भवेत् ।

योगध्रुवस्य विकलं निजाद्रीन्दु (१७) लवोनितम् ॥ १९ ॥

स्वाग्निभ्रंशो न (२३) मन्यत्र वारपिण्डघटीगणात् ।

शोधयेदवाशिष्टं तु योगान्ते ध्रुवको भवेत् ॥ २० ॥

पिण्डाभावकला प्रोक्ता उत्कृष्टः पिण्डकध्रुवः ।

चतुस्त्रिद्व्येकनाडीषु गम्यासु च गतासु च ॥ २१ ॥

ध्रुवको धिष्ययोगानां पिण्डाभावात्मकः स्मृतः ।

भूयिष्ठविकलेनापि पिण्डाभावात्मकस्तिथेः ॥ २२ ॥

सिन्धुरद्विमितैर्धिष्ये नाड्यस्तु तुरगाब्धयः (४७, ३०) ।

पिण्डानां सदलोपेतास्ता एव धनसंज्ञिकाः ॥ २३ ॥



धनं वारेषु खं पूर्णपक्षाः खं श्रुतिसायकाः (०, २०, ०, ५४, ४) ।  
भसङ्ख्यैर्भौरिपलैर्युक्ता नाड्योऽब्धिभूमयः (२७, १४, १२, ऋ) ॥ २४

ऋणं पिण्डेषु वारेषु रसा गगनगेन्द्रवः ।

स्तम्भेरमभुवः शून्यं क्षेपमाचक्षते धनम् (६, १९, १८, ०, ध) ॥ २५ ॥

स्वं नाड्यः स्वाग्निभिर्योगैर्द्व्यब्धयोऽक्षपलान्विताः (३०, ४२, ५, ध) ।

पिण्डेऽन्देतास्तु तारेषु स्वमभ्रं वेदभूमयः ॥ २६ ॥

आकाशतटिनीनाथाः प्रालेयांशुप्रभञ्जनाः (०, १४, ५६, धर४२?) ।

गोद्वियोगैः स्मृतिपलैर्युक्ता नाड्यः शरेन्द्रवः (२९, १५, १८, ऋ) ॥ २७

ऋणाख्याः पिण्डकेष्वेता वारक्षेपोऽथ कथ्यते ।

कृ(ऋ)तवोऽष्टेन्द्रवो रुद्रा अन्तरिक्षाग्नयो धनम् (६, १८, ११, ३०) ॥ २८ ॥

बुध्वा सर्वध्रुवान् स्वांस्तैर्दर्शसंवन्धिनः पुरा ।

तिथिनक्षत्रयोगैश्च पिण्डतुल्यैः समाहृतैः ॥ २९ ॥

स्वस्वभोगैरिमान् स्वान् स्वान् भ्रंशयेदथ वर्धयेत् ।

पिण्डाभावो ध्रुवो येन तिथ्यादीनां प्रतीयते ॥ ३० ॥

दृष्टपिण्डघटीनां च परिवर्तानुसारतः ।

स्वबुद्ध्या कृशतां कुर्यात् क्षेपैरुक्तैर्भयोगयोः ॥ ३१ ॥

आदितः कोष्टकान् स्वे स्वे तादृग्वारध्रुवान्विताः ।

तिथ्यादीनामिमे भोगा भवेयुरपरिस्फुटाः ॥ ३२ ॥

पूर्ववद्रविकायातश्चरार्धाद्युक्तकर्मणा ।

संस्कृताः स्पष्टतां यान्ति तरणेरुदयात् परः ॥ ३३ ॥

यदा पुनर्विलोमेति(न) तिथ्यादीन् कर्तुमिच्छति ।

निजवारध्रुवेभ्यस्तान् कोष्टकान् शोध[ये]त्तदा ॥ ३४ ॥

क्रमेण च तथा कुर्यात्स्वपिण्ड(स्य) घटीफलम् ।

उत्क्रमेण यथाकोष्टं चरार्धं रविकादि च ॥ ३५ ॥



इति निगदितशेषं सारणीं सारमेत-

च्छ्रवणपथमुपेतं शश्वदालोचयन्तः ।

इह हि विविधभोगात्(न्) प्राणिनः प्राप्य सम्यक्

त्रिदिवमथ वसन्तश्चन्द्रलोकं लभन्ते ॥ ३६ ॥

इति महाकारुणिक-बोधिसत्त्व-दशबल-विरचितायां

चिन्तामणौ सारणिकायां प्रकीर्णप्रकरणं

चतुर्थं समाप्तम् ॥ ४ ॥

[ ॥ अथ संक्रान्त्यानयनम् ॥ ५ ॥ ]

कृत्स्नस्तिथिध्रुवः प्रोक्तः सार्धं भोगैरनेकधा ।

भूयःसंक्रान्तयोऽर्कस्य प्रतीयन्तां पृथक् पृथक् ॥ १ ॥

शाकः स्वरहयाङ्गोनः क्षुण्णः पक्षशरैः (५२) पृथक् ।

क्ष्माङ्गद्विपनृपाप्तोनभूनखै(२०१)र्भाजितः फलम् ॥ २ ॥

यत्साब्दसूर्यसंक्रान्तेर्वारादिस्तद्भवध्रुवः ।

एष द्वादशभिः क्षेपैः समायुक्तः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ ३ ॥

स्वष्टाः संक्रान्तयः पूष्णो जा(त)स्तस्मादिहोदयात् ।

सप्तविंशतिभिः क्षेपैर्भतुल्यैः प्रतिसंचिताः ॥ ४ ॥

(इति) संक्रान्त्यानयनं समाप्तम् (॥ ५ ॥)

[अथ संवत्सरानयनम् ॥ ६ ॥]

शाकः सप्तस्वराङ्गोन(९७७)स्त्रिस्थः स्मृतिशसंयुतः(?) ।

पञ्चाङ्गाढ्यः(६५)खगोभाग(९०)खकृशानुभि(३०)रन्वितः ॥ [१] ॥

तष्टषष्ट्या (६०) गुरोरब्दाः खगोशेषं चतुर्गुणम् ।

मध्यमार्कस्य च क्रान्ताः स्युः प्रयातान्यहानि च ॥ ३ ॥

प्रभवो विभवः शुक्लः प्रमोदोऽथ प्रजापतिः ।

अङ्गिराः श्रीमुखो भावो युवा घाता तथैव च ॥ ३ ॥

ईश्वरो बहुधान्यश्च प्रमादी विक्रमो वृषः ।

चित्रभानुः सुभानुश्च तारुणः पार्थिवो व्ययः ॥ ४ ॥



सर्वजित् सर्वधारी च विरोधी विकृतः खरः ।  
नन्दनो विजयश्चैव जयो मन्मथदुर्मुखौ ॥ ५ ॥

हेमलम्बी विलम्बश्च विकारी शर्वरी प्लवः ।  
शुभकृच्छोभनः क्रोधी विश्वावसुपराभवौ ॥ ६ ॥

प्लवङ्गः कीलकः सौम्यः साधारणो विरोधकृत ।  
परिधावी प्रमाथी च आनन्दो राक्षसोऽनलः ॥ ७ ॥

पिङ्गलः कालयुक्तश्च सिद्धार्थो रौद्रदुर्मती ।  
दुन्दुभी रुधिराद्वारी रक्ताक्षः क्रोधनः क्षयः ॥ ८ ॥

तिथिनक्षत्रयोगानां सारणीममृ-च (?) काम् ।  
प्राप्येतामन्त्य(त्य)जं पश्चात्तापं को वा न मुञ्चतु ॥ ९ ॥

अहो स्वार्थस्य सिद्धार्थाः प्रारम्भाः सर्वदेहिनाम् ।  
अस्माकं तु जनं प्राप्य प्रीतिपीयूषवृष्टये ॥ १० ॥

कृतेन ग्रन्थरत्नेन मम मण्डल(य)तो महीम् ।  
विद्वद्विपणिषु ब्रूत कति सन्ति परीक्षकाः ॥ ११ ॥

यावत् क्षितौ क्षितिपतिः क्षितिरन्तरिक्षं  
धत्तेऽन्तरिक्षममृतांशुमयं च लक्ष्म ।  
तावत् प्रमोदजननी हृदि सज्जनाना-  
मेषास्पदं दशबलस्य कृतिः करोतु ॥ १२ ॥

भाविर्भावकरः समग्रकरणो भूत्वा तिथीनां गणान्  
विभ्राणः प्रतिराहमर्थिषु बहूधा(द्धा)राश्च योगैर्मुदा ।  
स्वर्णाद्यस्फुटकोष्ठकप्रभृतिभिः प्रस्तारितोऽर्थैर्मया  
पञ्चाङ्गस्तिथिरेष सारणि मया मूर्तः प्रसादोऽर्पितः ॥ १३ ॥

वहति गणितगर्वं गोलकज्ञः कदाचि-  
द्यदि मदनपरोऽसौ मुक्तसौजन्यवर्त्मा ।  
जगदुपकृतियोगाजि(ज्जि)त्वरेऽस्मत्प्रबन्धैः(न्धे)  
प्रथम(य)तु निजविद्यागर्वितो दूषणानि ॥ १४ ॥



श्रीभोजे चतुर्णवां कलयति प्रौढे तदोष्णा (प्रौढेन दोष्णा) भुवं  
 विख्यातो भुवि रत्नसंभवलघुवैरोचनिर्वालभः ।  
 गोलग्रन्थविदां वरो दशबलः संस्मृत्य शौद्धोदनिं  
 बोध(द्ध)व्यामणुबुद्धिभिर्विहितवांस्तथ्यां तिथेः सारणीम् ॥१५॥

धन्यैरार्यभटादिभिर्निजगुणैर्दिण्डीरपिण्डोज्ज्वलै-  
 राब्रह्मादि विसारिभिः प्रतिदिशं विस्तारिताः कीर्तयः ।  
 स्मृत्वा तच्चरणाम्बुजानि रचितोऽस्माभिः परः(र)प्रार्थितै-  
 र्ग्रन्थोऽयं तदुपार्जितैः स्वसु[र]कृतैः प्रीतिं भजन्तां प्रजाः ॥१६॥

इति महाकारुणिक-बोधिसत्त्व-दशबल-विरचितायां चिन्तामणौ  
 सारणिकायां संक्रान्ति-संवत्सरानयनं  
 प्रकरणं समाप्तम् ॥ छ ॥

गताब्दैर्गुणितम् एतत् । १ । १५ । ३१ । १७ ॥ १७ ।  
 संक्रान्तिमहानक्षत्रकोष्ठकेषु युक्तं स्पष्टाः संक्रान्तयो भवन्ति ॥



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Besides,

153. இடித்துவரை நிறுத்தலு மவர தாகும்  
கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியு மவர்வரை நின்றலின்.  
*Itittu-varai-niruttal-u m-avara t-ākum*  
*Kilavan-un kilatti-y-u m-avar-varai nirralin.*

Since the husband and the wife obey their words, they are entitled to set them right forcibly if they go wrong.

When are they in love-quarrel short or long?

154. உணர்ப்புவரை யிறப்பினுஞ் செய்குறி பிழைப்பினும்  
புலத்தலு மூடலுங் கிழவோற் குரிய.  
*Unarppu-varai y-irappinuñ cey-kuri pilaippinum*  
*Pulattal-u m-ūtal-un kilavōr k-uriya.*

Husband is entitled to be in love-quarrel short or long when the wife is too obstinate to yield to his sweet persuasion and when he mistakes the time and place of meeting suggested by the lady-love.

Who is to intercede then?

155. புலத்தலு மூடலு மாகிய விடத்தும்  
சொலத்தகு கிளவி தோழிக் குரிய.  
*Pulattal-u m-ūtal-u m-ākiya v-iṭattum*  
*Cola-t-takū kilavi tōlik k-uriya.*

The wife's friend is entitled to have her say when they are in love-quarrel short or long.

What else can the wife's friend say?

156. <sup>1</sup>பரத்தை மறுத்தல் வேண்டியுங் கிழவி  
மடத்தகு கிழமை யுடைமை யானும்  
அன்பிலை கொடியை யென்றலு முரியள்.  
*Parattai maruttal vēṇṭi-y-un kilavi*  
*Maṭa-t-takū kilamai y-uṭaimai yān-um*  
*Anpilai koṭiyai y-enral-u m-uriyaḷ*

The wife's friend is entitled to tell the husband, 'you are not attached to your wife, you are hard to her', since she wants to prevent him from having companies with concubines and since the wife is too credulous not to suspect him.

What is the wife entitled to say then?

157. அவன்குறிப் பறிதல் வேண்டியுங் கிழவி  
அகமலி<sup>2</sup> யூட லகற்சிக் கண்ணும்  
வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி தோற்றவும் பெறுமே.

1. பரத்தை...கிழவி (இளம்.); பரத்தைமை...கிழத்தி (நச்.)

2. அகமலி (இளம்.); அகன்மலி (நச்.)

*Avan-kurip p-arital vēṇṭu-y-un kīlavi*  
*Aka mali y-ūṭa l-akarci-k kaṇ-ṇ-un*  
*Vērrumaṇ k kīlavi tōṟra-v-un perum-ē*

The wife is entitled to use even harsh words when she wants to know the mind of the husband at the words of her friend and when she, being pleased, is to end the love-quarrel.

What is the husband to do then?

158. காமக் கடப்பினுட் பணிந்த கிளவி  
 காணுங் காலக் கிழவோற் குரித்தே  
 வழிபடு கிழமை யவட்கிய லான.  
*Kāma k kaṭappinuṭ paṇinta kīlavi*  
*Kāṇuṇ kālai k kīlavōr k-uritt ē*  
*Vali paṭu kīlamai y-avaṭk-iyā l-āṇ-a.*

The husband then is entitled to use soft words if he is in urgent need of union, since the wife is always devoted to him.

What is the wife to do then?

159. அருண்முந் துறுத்த வன்புபொதி கிளவி  
 பொருள்பட மொழிதல் <sup>1</sup>கிழவோட் குரித்தே.  
*Aruṇ-mun t-urutta v-anpu-poti kīlavi*  
*Poruḷ-paṭa molital kīlavōṭ k-uritt-ē.*

The wife has to speak in such a way as to suggest her reconciliation and deep love towards him.

Note:— This *sūtra* suggests that it is not nice for the wife to express in words her attitude.

What happens when there is long love-quarrel?

160. களவுக் கற்பு மலர்வரை வின்றே.  
*Kaḷavu-ṇ karpu m-alar varai v-inr-ē*

It is not possible to avoid the public talk about the love-quarrel both during *kaḷavu* and *karpu*.

What happens when there is *alar*?

161. அவரிற் றோன்றுத் <sup>2</sup>காமத்து மிகுதி.  
*Alarir rōṇruṇ kāmattu mikuti.*

Love towards each other is sharpened through public talk.

Does the same happen in another situation?

162. கிழவோன் விளையாட் டாங்கு மந்தே.  
*Kīlavōṇ vilaiyāṭ ṭ-āṅku m-arr-ē*

1. கிழவோட்கு (இளம்); கிழவோட்கும் (நச்.).

2. காமத்து மிகுதி (இளம்.); காமத்திற் சிறப்பே (நச்.).



The same happens when the husband is engaged in sports in river, garden etc.

Note:—*Naccinārkkiniyar* takes this *sūtra* with reference to concubines. It is not necessary to restrict it so.

Are the interceders entitled to inform the wife of the husband's wrong deeds?

163. மனைவி தலைத்தாட் கிழவோன் கொடுமை

தம்முள் வாதல் வாயில்கட் கில்லை.

*Manaivi talaittāt kilavōn koṭumai*

*Tam-m-ula v-ātal vāyilkaṭ k-illai*

The interceders are not entitled to speak about the objectionable conduct of the husband before his wife.

Is it always so?

164. மனைவி முன்னர்க் கையறு கிளவி

மனைவிக் குறுதி யுள்வழி யுண்டே.

*Manaivi munnar-k kai-y-aru kīlavi*

*Manaivik k-uruti y-ulvāli y-unṭ-ē.*

Such words as will unnerve the wife may be used when she is at the point of being reconciled.

What is the form of address adopted by interceders?

165. முன்னிலைப் புறமொழி யெல்லா வாயிற்கும்

பின்னிலைத் தோன்று மென்மனார் புலவர்.

*Munnilai-p pura-moli y-ellā vāyirkum*

*Pinnilai-t tōṇru m-enmanār pulavar.*

Learned men say that all interceders are used to address persons in third person at the latter half of their mediation.

How do *kūttar* intercede?

166. தொல்லைவ யுரைத்தலு நுகர்ச்சி யேத்தலும்<sup>1</sup>

பல்லாற் றுனு முடலிற் றகைத்தலும்<sup>2</sup>

உறுதி காட்டலு மறிவுமெய்ந் நிறுத்தலும்

ஏதுவி னுரைத்தலுந் <sup>3</sup>துணியக் காட்டலும்

அணிநிலை யுரைத்தலுங் கூத்தர் மேன.

*Tollavai y uraittalū nukarcci y-ēttal-um*

*Pal-l-ār rān-u m-ūṭalir rakaittalum*

*Uruti kāṭṭal-u m-arivu-mey-n niruttal-um*

1. ஏத்தலும் (இளம்.); ஏற்றலும் (நச்.)

2. தகைத்தலும் (இளம்.); தணித்தலும்

3. துணிய (இளம்.); துணிவு (நச்.)



*Ētuvi n-uraittal-un tuniya-kē kūtṭal-um*  
*Ani-nilai y-uraittal un kūtṭar mēn-a.*

*Kūtṭar* are used to quote previous instances, to speak highly of their union, to end their love-quarrel in diverse ways to convince them of the aim of life, to correct their thoughts, to tell them what their action will lead to, to tell them why they should consent for the union and to tell her that the present mode of wearing her ornament will serve no useful purpose.

Note:—1. *Naccinārkkiniyar* says that the first *four* are with reference to the *wife* and the last *four* with reference to the *husband*. *Aninilai*, according to him, means “the form of decoration on the breasts, shoulders etc., of the wife”. But *Iḷampūraṇar* seems to think that all the *eight* may be with reference to *both the husband and the wife*.

Besides,

167. நிலம்பெயர்ந் துரைத்த லவணிலை யுரைத்தல்<sup>1</sup>

கூத்தர்க்கும் பாணர்க்கும் யாத்தவை யுரிய.

*Nīlam peyarn t-uraitta l-avaṇilai y-uraittal*  
*Kūtṭarkkum pāṇarkkum yāttavai yuriya.*

Both *kūtṭar* and *pāṇar* are entitled to go where the husband resides and tell him his wife's condition.

Note:—1. According to *Naccinārkkiniyar*'s reading the first line means “telling him her condition so that he may change his residence.”

What are the duties of *ilaiyōr* (youngsters)?

168. ஆற்றது பண்புங் கருமத்து வினாவும்<sup>2</sup>

ஏவன் முடிபும் வினாவுஞ் செப்பும்

ஆற்றிடைக் கண்ட பொருளு மிறைச்சியும்

தோற்றஞ் சான்ற வன்னவை பிறவும்

இனையோர்க் குரிய கிளவி யென்ப.

*Ārratu paṇṇ-uṅ karumattu vilaiṇ-um*

*Ēvaṇ muṭiṇ-um viṇā-v-uṅ ceppum*

*Ārriṭai-k kaṇṭa poruḷ-u m-iraiacci y um*

*Tōrraṇ cāṇṭa v-annaṇvai pira-v-um*

*Iḷaiyōr k-kuriya kiḷavi y-eṇṇa.*

1. ...உரைத்த லவணிலை (இளம்.); ...உறைதல் வரை நிலை..

(நச்.)

2. வினையும் (இளம்.); வினாவும் (நச்.)



They say that youngsters are entitled to describe the nature of the route, the result of their action and the end of their order, to ask him what they have to do and to tell him the necessary things unasked, what they found on the way, the *karupporuḷ* and other things that came within their view.

Note:—1. The reading *viḷaiṇum* is better than *vinaiyum*.

Note:—2. Details about *iraicci* will be found in *Poruḷ-iyal*.

Besides,

169. உழைக்குறந் தொழிலுந் காப்பு முயர்ந்தோர்<sup>1</sup>

நடக்கை யெல்லா மவர்கட் படுமே.

*Uḷai-k kurun tolil-un kōppu m-uyarntōr*

*Natakkaḷ y ellā m-avarkaḷ paḷum-ē*

They are entitled to do personal service and to watch, and do other acts which may be done to the great.

170. பின்முறை யாகிய பெரும்பொருள் வதுவைத்

தொன் முறை மனைவி யெதிர்ப்பா டாயினும்

இன்னிழைப் புதல்வனை வாயில்கொண்டு புகினும்

<sup>2</sup>கிழவோ னிறந்தது நீனை இ யார்கண்

கலக்கல முரிய னென்மனார் புலவர்.

*Pin-murai y-ākiya perum-poruḷ vatuvai-t*

*Toṇ-murai manaiṇi y-etir-p-pā ī-āyinum*

*Inṇilai-p putalvanai vāyil-konṭu pukiṇum*

*Kiḷavo n-irantatu ninaṇi y-āṅkaṇ*

*Kalaṅkal-u m-uriya n-enṇanār pulavar.*

Learned men say that the husband noting his wife receiving the other wives married after her with lamps etc. and getting into their houses with her son provided with ornaments may think of the past and feel troubled in his mind.

What does the wife do then?

171. தாய்போற் கழறித் தழீஇக் கோடல்

ஆம்மனைக் கிழத்திக்கு முரித்தென மொழிப

கவவொடு மயக்கிய காலே யான.

*Tāy-pōr kalar-i-t talī-k kōṭal*

*Āy-manai-k kiḷattikku m-uritt-eṇa molipa*

*Kavavoṭu mayāṅkiya kālai yān-a.*

1. உயர்ந்தோர் (இளம்.) (உயர்ந்தோர்க்கு (நச்.)

2. இறந்த துணைய கிழவோன் (இளம்.)

கிழவோ னிறந்தது நீனை இ (நச்.)

When the husband is in a troubled condition, the wife may admonish him like his mother and embrace him.

Note:—1. The wife may act the part of a mother to *kāma-k-kilatti* if she is in distress.

Besides,

172. அவன்சேர்வு காத்தல் கடனைப் படுதலின்  
மகன்ற யுயர்புத் தன்னுயர் பாகும்  
செல்வன் பணிமொழி யியல்பாக லான.  
*Avan-cōrvu kāttal kaṭaṇ-ena-p paṭutalin*  
*Makunrā y-uayarpuṭ tan-n-uayar p-ākum*  
*Celvan paṇi-moli y-iyalpāka lān-a*

Since it is the duty of the wife not to disclose her husband's objectionable ways, she may consider, in obedience to the husband's advice, the honour of *kāmakkilatti* to be her own honour.

Where do husbands not meet their wives?

173. எண்ணரும் பாசறைப் பெண்ணோடு<sup>1</sup> புணரார்.  
*Eṇ-n-arum pācarai-p peṇṇōṭu puṇarār.*

Husbands do not meet their wives in the tents of war.

Note:—1. *Nacčinārkkiniyar's* reading is better.

May they meet other women?

174. புறத்தோ ராங்கட் புரைவ தென்ப.<sup>2</sup>  
*Purattō r-āṅkaṭ puraiṇa t-eṇpa.*

They say that union with women other than *irkilatti* and *kāmakkilatti* is allowable.

How do *pārppār* (brahmans) intercede?

175. காமநிலை யுரைத்தலுந் தேர்நிலை யுரைத்தலும்  
கிழவோன் குறிப்பினை<sup>3</sup> பெடுத்துக் கூறலும்  
ஆவொடு பட்ட நிமித்தக் கூறலும்  
செலவுறு கிளவியும் செலவழுங்கு கிளவியும்  
அன்னவை பிறவும் பார்ப்பார்க் குரிய.  
*Kāma-nilai y-uraittal-un tēr-nilai y-uraittal-un*  
*Kiḻavōṇ kurippinai y-eṭuttu-k kūral-un*  
*Āvoṭu paṭṭa nimittan kūral-un*  
*Celav-uru kiḻavi-y-um celav-aluṅku kiḻavi-y-um*  
*Annavai pira-v-um pārppār-k k-uriya.*

1. பெண்ணோடும் (இளம்.); பெண்ணோடு (நச்.)  
2. புணர்வதாகும் (இளம்.); புரைவதென்ப (நச்.)  
3. எடுத்துக் கூறலும் (இளம்.); எடுத்தனர் மொழிதலும் (நச்.)



Brahmans are used to tell the husband of his amorous condition and of what is worthy of him, to openly express in words his mind and to encourage him to proceed or discourage him from proceeding on account of good or bad omens etc.

Note 1. The meaning of *kāma-nilai-y-uraittal* and *celavurukilavi*, according to Iḷampūraṇar is 'telling him of her amorous condition in his absence' and 'the words that he has gone.'

Note 2. It seems that Tolkāppiyāṇār uses the terms *antaṇar* (sūtra 144) and *pārppār* (sūtra 175, 190) to denote 'brahmans who are doing the six duties assigned to brahmans' and 'brahmans who are in service under chieftains, richmen, etc.,' respectively.

What is the general duty of all interceders?

176. எல்லா வாயிலு மிருவர் தேளத்தம்  
புல்லிய மகிழ்ச்சிப் பொருள வென்ப.  
*Ellā vāyil-u m-iruvār tēettum*  
*Pulliya makilcci-p poruḷa v-enpa.*

All interceders, they say, have the duty of creating amiability between the two—husband and wife through pleasing words.

What do they do in special cases?

177. அன்புதலைப் பிரிந்த கிளவி தோன்றின்  
கிறைப்புறங் குறித்தன் நென்மஞர் புலவர்.  
*Anpu-talai-p pirinta kilavi tōṇṇin*  
*Cirai-p-puraṇ kurittan neṇmaṇār pulavar.*

Learned men say that, if they have to use harsh words, they are to use them in their hearing distance out of their sight.

Is the wife allowed to speak highly of herself in the presence of the husband?

178. தற்புகழ் கிளவி கிழவன் முற் கிளத்தல்  
எத்திறத் தானுங் கிழத்திக் கில்லை  
முற்பட வகுத்த விரண்டலங் கடையே.  
*Tar-pukal kilavi kilavan-mur kilattal*  
*E-t-tirāt tān-uṇ kilatti-k k-illai*  
*Mur-paṭa vākutta v-iraṇṭ-alaṇ kaṭai-y-ē.*

The wife does, under no circumstances, speak highly of herself before the husband except on two occasions mentioned above.



Note. The two occasions referred to are different according to Ilampūraṇar and Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar. According to the former, they are, when he begs his wife and convinces her of his love towards her after being in the company of concubines mentioned in the lines, 22 and 23 of the 44th *sūtra* of the *Akattiṇaiyiyal* and according to the latter those which gave room to *sūtras* 32 and 33 above.

Is the husband allowed to speak highly of himself before his wife?

179. கிழவி முன்னர்த் தற்புகழ் கிளவி  
கிழவோன் வினைவயி னூரிய வென்ப.  
*Kilavi munnar-t tar-pukal kilavi*  
*Kilavōṇ viṇai-vayi n-urīya v-eṇpa.*

They say that the husband speaks highly of himself before his wife when he starts for war.

Who has the right to refute him?

180. மொழியெதிர் மொழிதல் பாங்கற் குரித்தே.  
*Moḷi-y-etir moḷital pāṅkar k-uritt-ē.*

The husband's friend has the right to refute his statement.  
Besides,

181. குறித்தெதிர் மொழித லஃகித் தோன்றும்.  
*Kuritt-etir moḷita l-a. ki-t tōṇrum.*

Rarely does he refute him, understanding his mind through suggestion.

What does the husband generally do?

182. துன்புறு பொழுதினு மெல்லாங் கிழவன்  
வன்புறுத் தல்லது சேற லில்லை.  
*Tuṇp-uru poḷutiṇ-u m-eḷḷāṅ kilavaṇ*  
*Vanp-urut t-allatu cēra l-illai.*

The husband has to force his wife, on all occasions of separation, to give her consent.

183. செலவிடை யழுங்கல் செல்லாமை யன்றே  
வன்புறை குறித்த றவிரச்சி யாகும்.  
*Celav-iṭai y-aḷuṅkal cellāmai y-anṇ-ē*  
*Vanp-urai kuritta ravircci y-ākum.*

The pain at the time of separation for war is not dispensed with by not going, but by pressing the wife to give her consent.



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